

PSF

GEORGIA CAMPAIGN, 1938

PSF: Georgia Campaign, 1938

Box

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Subject File "G"

PSF: Georgia Campaign
1938

Hyde Park, N. Y.,
June 29, 1938.

Dear Walter:-

Mac has given me that mighty nice note of yours and I want you to know that I appreciate it. I had never even suggested that you had spoken in offensive terms about me though I did feel that at the time of the Court fight you were a bit emphatic in suggestions that I had horrid designs on the Judiciary.

Then, of course, there was the usual crop of cloak room rumors about things said in conversation. These rumors I never pay any attention to anyway, so you can rest your mind on that score.

I do not think I need to tell you that I have for you personally high respect and affection. You are a scholar and a gentleman.

With this mutual regard we can both of us disagree with each other heartily and deeply in regard to economic or social questions -- and I think we probably do. I tried to make that point of view clear in my speech last Friday night. There is no moral or ethical reason why you should not be a conservative and seek to lead the Democratic Party into conservative lines of action and conservative lines of policy. I take the other point of view because I honestly believe that such an attitude on the part of the Party will, first of all, destroy the Party in a few years, and, second, jeopardize the nation and its government.

May I put it another way? If you lived in Maine or Vermont or parts of Upstate New York or Illinois or Colorado or California, the chances are ten to one that you would have been a Republican and in such a case, with your ability, you might very well have been a Republican Senator. If you had been you would have been an old and close friend of mine just as Bert Snell and Jimmy Wadsworth and Fred Hale

Because I feel so deeply about the future of the country, I guess this divergence will continue but that does not mean that our personal friendship will in any way be affected by it.

With my sincere regards,

Very sincerely yours,

Honorable

WALTER F. GEORGE, GA., CHAIRMAN
 JAMES H. JONES, UTAH
 ELLISON D. SMITH, S. C.
 TOM CONNELLY, TEX.
 ROBERT J. BRADLEY, OHIO
 M. M. LOGAN, KY.
 FRED H. BROWN, N. H.
 F. RYAN DUFFY, WIS.
 CARL A. HATCH, N. MEX.
 SHERMAN MINTON, IND.
 HERBERT E. HITCHCOCK, S. DAK.
 THEODORE P. GREEN, N. I.
 GEORGE L. BERRY, TENN.

WARREN R. AUSTIN, VT.
 HERMAN W. JOHNSON, CALIF.
 GERALD P. NYE, N. DAK.
 H. STYLES BRIDGES, N. H.

CHRISTIE B. KENNEDY, CLERK

United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON
 PRIVILEGES AND ELECTIONS

*President's
 personal
 file*

Dear Marain I wish to ask
 you as a personal favor
 to hand the letter attached to
 the President.

*Yours
 Walter F. George*

To Hon. Marvin Mc Intyre,
 Secy to the President,

WALTER F. GEORGE, SA., CHAIRMAN
 CLAM H. KING, UTAH
 JESSE D. SMITH, S. C.
 TOM CONNALLY, TEX.
 ROBERT J. BULKLEY, OHIO
 M. M. LOGAN, KY.
 FRED H. BROWN, N. H.
 F. RYAN DUFFY, WIS.
 CARL A. HATCH, N. MEX.
 SHERMAN MINTON, IND.
 HERBERT E. HITCHCOCK, S. DAK.
 THEODORE F. GREEN, R. I.
 GEORGE L. BERRY, TENN.

CHRISTIE B. KENNEDY, CLERK

United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON
PRIVILEGES AND ELECTIONS

THE WHITE HOUSE
JUN 27 11 41 AM '38
RECEIVED

Monday, June 27th -

Dear Mr. President -

I have learned indirectly that you feel that I had in public address on one same occasion spoken in offensive terms regarding your good self. If my information is correct, I hasten to assure you that I have never meant to be offensive to you. On the contrary, I have had and still have for you the deepest personal affection. I may have, and regret it, too little self-control at times but I am unwilling to have you think I have on any occasion at any time felt any thing but deep affection for you.

Cordially Walter George
 To the President,
 The White House.

JUSTICE RUSSELL ASKS F.D.R. STAND

Father of Senator Gives President Opportunity To Tell His Preference.

By the Associated Press.

Speculation over President Roosevelt's possible intervention in the Georgia senatorial campaign was stirred anew yesterday when Chief Justice Richard B. Russell challenged the chief executive to speak out plainly against Senator Walter F. George.

The father of Georgia's junior senator opened an avenue for the President to voice his preference in a statement saying he would await Mr. Roosevelt's speech at Barnesville August 11 before making his choice in the senate race.

The jurist—beaten by George in a senatorial primary 12 years ago—made his provocative statement in explaining Eugene Talmadge's claim that the head of the Russell clan would support him for the senate.

Speaking at Winder, the Russells' home, the former Governor said Judge Russell "has announced he would support me and vote against Senator George" because of the senator's vote for American adherence to the World Court.

Judge Russell confirmed the opposition to George, saying "one

thing is certain: I am going to vote against Walter George." But he explained "It is not correct at this time to say who I am going to vote for."

In a written statement released later, Judge Russell indicated his choice lay between Talmadge and Lawrence Camp, New Deal federal attorney from Atlanta.

"If the President (contrary to my expectations) is so weak that he will allow the lot of soft soap from Walter George . . . to prevent him from speaking out . . . I might be forced to vote for another candidate than Camp," Russell wrote.

The "soft soap" to which the chief justice referred was George's recent descriptions of the President as a "great and good man" and his claim that he "never fought the national administration." Senator George, who has opposed some of the President's key legislation, did not mention the President in his opening campaign speech and Camp has repeatedly charged that George seeks to "destroy" the President.

Big Program Today.

This development in the senatorial race served to overshadow the day's activity in the gubernatorial race while candidates for both major offices went through a shortened Friday program on the eve of a rousing program today.

Governor Rivers made no speech yesterday while John J. Mangham, Bremen banker and farmer, carried on his campaign over the radio from Atlanta. Hugh Howell, Atlanta attorney, made informal appearances at Wrightsville and Jackson, and Robert Wood, Athens salesman, continued his sound-truck tour.

Howell told his Jackson audience Governor Rivers forced the publishers of a Georgia history to include his picture and reference to him before he would purchase the volume for Georgia schools. At Wrightsville the Atlanta attorney said "the Rivers administration plans to put a sales tax on the people in order to support and expand the extravagant government."

"I oppose a sales tax on principle," he said. "I believe that the expense of government should be borne by the wealth of the state and not by the poverty of the state and a sales tax puts the burden of government directly on those who have to spend their entire income to live."

George and Camp both were without speaking dates yesterday, but William McRae, Atlanta attorney, carried his Townsend old-age pension advocacy into Monroe, Gainesville and Winder.

Says George Opposes REA.

Talmadge invaded south Georgia to tell a Cordele audience that Senator George is opposed to the rural electrification program, despite the senator's vote for the REA and his claim that he actively has sponsored projects in Georgia.

The former Governor chose the seat of Crisp county, a pioneer in public ownership of electrical systems and in rural electrification, to declare Senator George cannot "disentangle himself from the tentacles of the Georgia Power Company."

All four of the senatorial aspirants planned to present their arguments to the voters today. Talmadge remained in south Georgia for appearances at Swainsboro and Baxley. Camp moved into northwest Georgia for an afternoon address at Cedartown. George was slated for a radio talk from Atlanta tonight and McRae was to continue his "barnstorming" through Madison, Greensboro and Crawfordville.

Mangham arranged the heaviest Saturday schedule in the gubernatorial quartet, being dated up for Crawfordville, Sparta, Worthen, Sandersville and Tennille. Howell was to take his message to Zebulon and LaGrange. Rivers and Wood announced no engagements.

PSF: Georgia Campaign

File
personal

August 1, 1938

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT:

Herewith a memorandum from Sidney Hillman
on the Southern political situation, as requested.

Fee
T.G.C.

SIDNEY HILLMAN, CHAIRMAN

THOMAS KENNEDY, Sec.-Treas.

SOUTHEASTERN OFFICE

Textile Workers Organizing Committee

OF THE

Committee for Industrial Organization

ATLANTA NATIONAL BUILDING

Atlanta, Georgia

R. R. LAWRENCE, DIRECTOR

July 25, 1938

Mr. Sidney Hillman, President
Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America
15 Union Square
New York, N. Y.

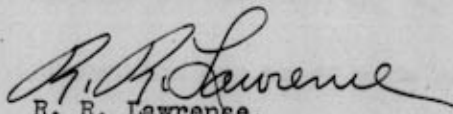
Dear Brother Hillman:

Inclosed herewith is survey and memorandum on the political situations in Georgia, South Carolina and the Second Congressional District of Georgia, made by Dowell E. Patterson of the International Typographical Union in accordance with our conference in Charlotte, July 11th.

Arrangements have been made to set up a temporary working organization of Labor's Non-Partisan League tomorrow night for the immediate purpose of furthering the candidacy of Lawrence Camp for the United States Senate.

Trusting the material will be of some value, I am

Fraternally yours


R. R. Lawrence,
Regional Director.

Incs.

RRL/McD

SIDNEY HILLMAN, CHAIRMAN

THOMAS KENNEDY, Sec.-TREAS.

SOUTHEASTERN OFFICE

Textile Workers Organizing Committee

OF THE

Committee for Industrial Organization

ATLANTA NATIONAL BUILDING

Atlanta, Georgia

July 26, 1938

R. R. LAWRENCE, DIRECTOR

Mr. Sidney Hillman, President,
Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America,
15 Union Square,
New York, N. Y.

Dear Brother Hillman:

Supplementing my letter with report of Dowell E. Patterson on Georgia's Senatorial Campaign, Patterson obtained additional information and he feels that this supplementary point should be communicated to the President for what it may be worth:

It appears that Governor Rivers, of Georgia, has the authority or can assume the authority to waive or even annul the poll tax, in the State of Georgia, by executive proclamation especially under such circumstances as now obtained economically.

There is precedent to substantiate this by actions of former Governors with regard to other forms of taxation.

If the President suggests such a course in his Barnesville speech, on Aug. 11th, the State will be split wide open and the farmers and common people would vote regardless of poll tax receipts or anything else to the contrary notwithstanding.

Trusting that this information may be of some material value, I am

Faternally yours,

R. R. Lawrence
R. R. Lawrence,
Regional Director

RRL/ow

from Dennis F. Patterson. (organizer
for International Typographical Union) working in Johnston's
campaign

NOTES ON SENATORIAL CAMPAIGN IN SOUTH CAROLINA

Patterson's investigation checked by Lawrence J.

Governor Olin D. Johnston is making a valiant fight against Senator (Cotton Ed) Smith, senior senator of South Carolina, entrenched by many years of service and Secretary of the Committee on Agriculture. Smith is being supported by the ultra reactionaries of the State. Johnston is steadfast in his support of President Roosevelt and the New Deal.

An amazing situation presents itself in South Carolina. Senator Byrnes, Mayor Burnet R. Maybank, of Charleston, candidate for Governor of South Carolina, and other alleged New Dealers are not supporting Johnston for the senate, but to the contrary have joined in a conspiracy to defeat Johnston. It appears that Johnston, who came up from the ranks as a cotton mill boy just doesn't belong to the elite.

Johnston has never denied the President and has defied the opposition.

The opposition is rattling the nigger, rabble rousing about Smith's walk out of the Philadelphia Convention. The Byrnes-Maybank-Pinckney (Pinckney is head of the WPA) machine is allegedly supporting Edgar Brown for the senate. Brown has quite a personality and is a good campaigner. He styles himself a New Dealer. It is said that he was put into the race by the above named machine in order that they may have an alleged New Deal candidate to support instead of the odious Olin D. Johnston, despised by the "upper crust" in South Carolina. Brown is the brother-in-law of John Stevens, cotton mill magnate and is alleged to have ample funds with which to make the race as a New Dealer.

Newspapers over the state are ringing with righteous indignation over "outside interference and the perservation of Democracy". They want no advice, counsel or visit from the President of the United States, especially the present president, Franklin D. Roosevelt.

Mayor Maybank, of Charleston, who has the support of Harry Hopkins of the WPA, does not want the President to come to South Carolina. It would do him no good with the reactionaries who are supporting him, and he already has the support of all the administration can give through the support of the Pinckney-dominated WPA. Moreover, the President's visit to South Carolina would greatly enhance the already very favorable chances of Governor Johnston of being elected over Smith and Brown in the first primary election. (There is a run off in South Carolina if the leading candidate does not receive a majority of all votes cast.) If Johnston does not get in on the first primary, there is possibility of collusion.

Maybank, who has the above-mentioned Tory and New Deal support, has in no way advocated the President's principles or the New Deal in his campaign. The closest thing is to brag about his ability to get money out of the Federal Government, with the inference, of course, that he has the President's approval---when such approval can be used an asset---on the contrary, the acceptance of the money is readily condoned when there is no other evidence of New Dealism, by the reactionary groups.

Labor's Non-Partisan League, strong in South Carolina due to the successful organization work and contractural relations obtained through the C. I. O., particularly in the industrial counties, is working hard for Johnston. Because of this fact the newspapers, particularly the Charleston News and Courier which is supporting Maybank for governor,

is making a concerted campaign against Johnston and the Labor's Non-Partisan League in an effort to embarrass Johnston with the "traditional" Democrats. Naturally, "out-side interference", "nigger control" of the Democratic Party and the C. I. O.-tainted Labor's Non-Partisan League, is being used against Johnston. Fundamentally, the opposition is against Roosevelt and the New Deal.

Information obtained from high places is to the effect that Maybank, after his election as Governor, if and when he may be that fortunate out of a field of eight, would be the mouthpiece of reaction and his administration would then extend two years after that of President Roosevelt. Maybank would continue as a New Dealer as long as he could receive monetary blessing from the Roosevelt administration.

Johnston carrying the full burden of the Roosevelt and labor stigma without the benefit of the Federal machine which is working for Maybank, must depend upon his mass following of common people and the quiet organization by Labor through the Non-Partisan League. The very character of the fight discloses that Johnston and the Non-Partisan League has some people "jittery" in South Carolina. Nevertheless, nothing should be taken for granted with the type of opposition Johnston has in South Carolina. Ruthless chicanery will be resorted to before the campaign is over.

It is therefore recommended and earnestly urged that President Roosevelt make at least one speech in South Carolina in behalf of Governor Johnston, who has been consistent in his support of the President. The President should make certain that his visit is not "hogged" by those who are denying him now when the going is tough and the true test of loyalty is demanded. It would not be necessary to say a great deal in South Carolina as the situation is different than that of Georgia in

many respects. But a slight compliment and a friendly gesture toward Johnston on the platform of a passing train, say at Johnston's home town of Spartanburg, would be sufficient. This overture toward Johnston is reasonably safe as he is strong in his own right and with the President's blessing he is a sure thing.

Johnston can win with the proper show and without the expenditure of money. Meticulous care should be taken however, that Senator Byrnes, whose home town is Spartanburg and who is not a candidate this year, does not steal the show from Johnston. The Presidential smile with his arm around Johnston will be ample. Johnston and the friends of Roosevelt will do the rest.

It would be a dismal mistake to have any candidate out of the eight gubernatorial presume on the President by making themselves conspicuous at any public appearance of the President. There are candidates in that race that have come out openly for Civil Liberties and the protection thereof, representation for labor on all boards and commissions administering labor laws, opposition to sales tax, and other liberal platforms. Several have perfect labor records in the legislature of the State. The Mayor of Charleston and candidate for governor is now under fire for permitting Nazism in Charleston. (See Industrial Leader, July 21st edition.)

Undoubtedly, the people of South Carolina will be greatly inspired by a message from President Roosevelt in behalf of Governor Johnston. It is a safe bet. Johnston's defeat of the long-time Senator Ellison D. Smith would be a national victory for the President, as much has been printed about his being one senator impossible to defeat. Johnston, can and will win, probably in the first primary with the President's endorsement. This statement is made after a tour of the

South Carolina

-5-

state and careful check. Johnston is all that the President should
take responsibility for in South Carolina.

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Don Lawrence

PSF: Georgia Campaign
file personal 1938
EJ

NOTES OF SENATORIAL CAMPAIGN IN GEORGIA

Bx 151

Survey shows that Lawrence Camp may be elected if President Roosevelt makes an appeal for him in his speech in Georgia, August 11. Indications are that Camp cannot be elected without the President's open support and appeal to the voters of Georgia.

The President will be at a disadvantage in making this appeal inasmuch as he must take a stand against the incumbent, George. It would appear that this disadvantage can be overcome by the President prefacing his remarks with a statement substantially in effect: "As a taxpayer in my adopted state of Georgia, I feel compelled to appeal to my fellow citizens to support the policies and principles of the Democratic administration. I am deeply grateful for the loyal support accorded me by this great state and the records will, I believe, support the fact that I have not forgotten Georgia. It occurs that it is entirely fitting and proper that my friends and all loyal Democrats should desire an expression on matters pertaining to the support of the present administration by those selected by the people of this state to represent them. It is to those people, my friends and fellow Georgians, who believe that the course of my administration has been for the greatest good to the greatest number, that I address these statements and solicit your continued aid and support."

The President after attaching himself to the state of Georgia should go on from there and make known to the people what he desires of them and the reasons therefore. This procedure will take away from the opposition the stock attack of "outside influence and pressure", Yankees, niggers, New Deal and anti-New Deal and other chips of demogouery.

George can be defeated with the President's support. The unit voting system in this state gives Talmadge a distinct advantage with the small agricultural counties having unit votes. But the President's appeal to the farmers will go far to offset Talmadge.

Camp is a good campaigner. He is handicapped by the need of proper finance. His own estimate is that he could be elected with an additional amount of \$10,000 to what he has already been able to raise and pledges subscribed. Attached hereto is a newspaper clipping from the Atlanta Constitution, June 24th edition, in which a printed list of contributors to George's campaign fund appears. It will be noted that among these contributors are many influential reactionaries and it is said that there are some Republicans among them.

There may be a question of the advisability of the President's intervention in the state campaign in Georgia. Consideration has been given to this point. It would appear there is no alternative. The opposition would continue as vicious and indeed would be heartened by the President's reluctance to speak out. In the role of a fighter the President would enlist added support and the efforts of his admirers would be renewed with added vigor. (See attached newspaper clipping, quoting Judge Russell, father of Senator Russell, Junior senator from Georgia) The President, as cited above has the distinct advantage of doing in Georgia what he can do in no other state except New York, namely to speak as a citizen of his adopted state. There will be great reluctance, even among the tory and subsidized newspapers, to go as far as to disown him as a son of Georgia for fear of the reaction of the people.

Camp has shown good judgment in directing his fire against George in the first part of the campaign. George's following will naturally bring about the mobilizing of the liberals and workers and small business men and farmers against the reactionary group as is publicly supporting George. Meantime, after the President's appeal, much of Talmadge's following will desert him and they will not have been antagonized before that time by Camp's poking at Talmadge. This appears a wise procedure.

Newspapers are making much of the endorsement given by the American Federation of Labor for George and the statements of representatives of Labor's Non-Partisan League in Washington, classifying congressmen, with the inference that the Non-Partisan League is C. I. O. dominated. This is having some bad effect. However, to offset this condition, a Non-Partisan League for Labor is to be set up. (There was one functioning here when President Roosevelt ran for office in 1936 but has since disbanded). The new setup, on an immediate temporary basis, will through its spokesman state that the League will function exclusively in the State of Georgia and endorse and support no candidates except those who pledge support of President Roosevelt and his policies and program. The League will then state that it will await further and definite action until after the President's speech in Georgia on August 11. This procedure will offset to a certain degree the accusations of the press that the League is dominated by outside control, telling the citizens of Georgia "how to vote".

Summarily, the campaign in Georgia will be hard-fought. The opponents of President Roosevelt sense that they have an advantage in raising all the old traditional bogey's against New Deal policies, plus

the fact that President Roosevelt's term as President is within two years of its termination, gives inspiration for the reactionary group heretofore timid, to have courage enough to now come out in the open and fight.

In many instances those opposed to the New Deal have through brazen hypocrisy, been able to grasp administration of New Deal agencies and funds. For the most part the degenerate aristocracy has been rehabilitated but with no appreciation to its benefactor. To the contrary this class will, except in rare instances, use its influence against the President while being supported by the New Deal.

The President must depend on the mass industrial workers, the farmers and some small business men, who will not be conjoled and flattered into the opposition.

With the President's support and the concerted efforts of labor and the quiet organizational activities of the Non-Partisan League, Lawrence Camp can be elected to the United States senate from the State of Georgia despite the unit rule and vicious opposition.

PSF: Georgia Campaign
1938

WHITE 82

FROM: MR S E EARLY
ACTION: MR H MCINTYRE

RESTRICTED

NITE

1938

File personal

Mr. J. Samuel Millett

0001 FOR LOWELL MILLETT

PLEASE SEND COPY OF REPORT TO THE PRESIDENT BY MCINTYRE WHO WILL MEET
HIM UPON ARRIVAL PENSACOLA PERIOD THE PRESIDENT WILL READ REPORT AS
SOON AS POSSIBLE AND ADVISE YOU REGARDING RELEASE NOT LATER THAN
AUGUST TENTH PERIOD HE HOPES YOU CAN DEFER RELEASE UNTIL THEN 2240

TOR IN CODE ROOM 0210/2

PSF: Ga. Campaign

August 1, 1938

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT:

(1) When the previous transcript of George's voting record was sent I was not sure that I understood what was meant by the message relayed to me through Kannee to get George's "record" before votes were taken.

In collaboration with Clark Foreman there has been prepared, therefore, the accompanying additional material showing George's attitude as well as his final votes on legislation relating to agriculture, power (which in the South is cheap fertilizer), social security, wages and hours, income tax, relief and housing, together with another form of itemization of George's record since 1933. At Pensacola we will also have for you a record of every bill that George has introduced since 1933 -- to show his lack of initiative and how little he is justified in calling anybody else a "rubber stamp".

(2) Also enclosed is a carbon copy of the original Gettysburg draft prepared for you by Foreman, Mellett and Brant, which I understood you were taking with you as the basis for a speech on Southern economics at Athens.

(3) The report of the National Emergency Council on Southern economic conditions will be released on Monday, so that it will be in the Southern newspapers before you speak at Athens. Mellett will wire you for your formal approval a release of the report before you return.

(4) I am advised that Lawrence Camp has already received campaign contributions from sources outside of Georgia totaling \$15,000.

T.S.C.
T.C.C.

(5) There are two additional suggestions for a speech concerning George in the accompanying letter to me from Clark Foreman.

August 1, 1938

Dear Tom:

Herewith are some suggested topics for the President's speech in Georgia. Two things in addition are important to call to his attention:

1. The papers in Georgia have made much over the President's speech in Kentucky in which he pointed out Barkley's experience giving him the advantage over Chandler. It is very necessary that he counteract this in some way in Georgia.

2. It is important for him to mention Lawrence Camp's name - not only his last name, but his first; as Sidney Camp is running for Congress in the Fourth District of Georgia, where the President will be speaking, and he should avoid any possibility of confusion between the two.

Chail

Attached topics:

Agriculture
Reorganization
Social Security
Wages and Hours
Income tax, Relief, Housing
Brief of George record

Section 1 - Agriculture

I have always advocated legislative initiative on the part of Congress. It is only in those cases where the initiative is not taken by Congress to accomplish necessary goals that I have felt justified in making specific suggestions. For instance, in the fall of 1937 I called a special session of Congress to deal, among other things, with farm problems. I welcomed at that time, and always welcome, any bills that will meet the needs of the people. But no legislation was proposed by Senator George, and none was passed by that special session to relieve the farmers. If there had been, and if the Congress had not waited until the spring of 1938 to pass the needed legislation, there would not have been the resulting delay in the payment of checks to farmers and in the allotment of acreage. During the entire time that I have been the head of the Democratic party, Senator George has not once introduced a bill seeking to relieve any form of human distress in the South or out of the South.

One of the fundamental objectives of the Democratic administration has been to give to the farmers of the country the purchasing power sufficient to enable them to buy manufactured goods, at least on some such basis as existed before the War. This attempt to balance our economic life is of tremendous importance to the South, which is so largely rural and so predominantly dependent upon cotton. Senator George attacked this proposal in the Senate and advocated that, instead of balancing the purchasing power of the farmers to take care of their needs, the Government buy the cotton from the farmers at a price lower than, and certainly not to exceed, the cost of production. In other words, instead of helping the Administration to bring about better conditions for the farmers and allowing them at least the advantages they enjoyed before the War, Senator George advocated a continuance of

the disadvantages which farmers now have to face when they purchase from the city and sell their cotton to the brokers. This is not my idea of a new deal for farmers. This is not my idea of the best way to restore prosperity in Georgia, in the South, or the country. I want the farmers not only to make more for their cotton than the cost of production, but to make enough in addition so that they will be able to enjoy all the advantages of our American civilization. I do not believe in any kind of system which discriminates against the farmers and favors the cities at the expense of the farmers.

I have consistently contended for better prices for cotton and better living conditions for farmers. Take, for instance, the question of fertilizer, which is so intimately linked up with the cost of power and so necessary for the cultivation of cotton. Has Senator George ever made any suggestions as to how farmers of Georgia or of the country may get cheaper fertilizer? There is no evidence of his ever having submitted such a bill since I have been in Washington. Yet he has consistently opposed practically every measure introduced in the Senate which would tend to reduce the cost of electricity to everyone who uses it and to make fertilizer cheaper for the farmers.

Senator George voted against the ratification of the treaty with Canada which would have allowed the generation of very cheap electricity by the St. Lawrence river. He also voted against the measures on the part of this administration which would have done away with the unnecessary holding companies that complicate our financial structure and unnecessarily raise the cost of electricity.

The power which is being provided to farmers for the first time throughout the country by such rural electrification lines as those which we are to dedicate today can only be readily used if it is cheap enough to enable the

farmers to buy it. I believe that the people of Georgia want me to find ways whereby this power will be cheap. I believe that the people of Georgia want a senator who will not be content to vote no against every proposal made by the Democratic Administration, but who will positively seek to find ways whereby cheaper electricity will be provided for the farmers and the people in the cities, and whereby fertilizer may be more cheaply produced through cheap electric power.

Senator George, in introducing this resolution, spoke in the Senate on January 8, 1953, as follows: "If we are to do more than pay mere lip service to economy at this session of the Congress, it seems to me to be necessary to confer upon the President of the United States absolute authority to consolidate, disband and reorganize within the executive department, independent agencies of the executive department, and upon within executive departments, and to affect thereby, the abolition, merger, expansion and various executive services both in the executive department and in the so-called independent agencies."

I think that Senator George was right in introducing this resolution. I think that President Hoover should have been given the power to reorganize the executive branch, but he was not, and the responsibility falls upon us in the Senate. The resolution which Senator George knew we were to be necessary. But when a bill was introduced in the Senate that would have given to a Special President the authority which Senator George advocated for President Hoover, Senator George did everything he was going to do to prevent it. He asked for a vote on the bill, and then he was defeated. He voted to defeat it.

The bill which was introduced in the Senate in 1953, which would have given to a Special President the authority which Senator George advocated for President Hoover, Senator George did everything he was going to do to prevent it. He asked for a vote on the bill, and then he was defeated. He voted to defeat it.

Section 2 - Reorganization

There has been, for a long time, a great need to improve the administrative branch of the Government - to do away with needless duplication and futile red tape. This is a need which all who have experienced any dealings with the Government will readily perceive. Senator George, in 1932 when Hoover was President, perceived this need and actually introduced a joint resolution authorizing President Hoover to reorganize the executive agencies of the Government. Senator George, in introducing this resolution, spoke in the Senate on January 6, 1932, as follows: "If we are to do more than pay mere lip service to economy at this session of the Congress, it seems to me to be necessary to confer upon the President of the United States blanket authority to consolidate offices and bureaus within the executive department, independent branches of the executive department, and where public service will not be affected thereby, to abolish outright boards, commissions and various executive services both in the executive department and in the so-called independent branches."

I think that Senator George was right in introducing this resolution. I think that President Hoover should have been given the power to reorganize the executive branch; but he was not, and the responsibility fell upon me to do the necessary house-cleaning and reorganization which Senator George knew so well to be necessary. But when a bill was introduced in the Senate that would have given to a Democratic President the authority which Senator George advocated for President Hoover, Senator George did everything in his power to destroy it. He voted to recommit the bill, and when that was unsuccessful, he voted to defeat it.

You will remember that orders were sent out from the Gannett committee in New York to defeat this reorganization bill. Great vested interests demanded

that this reorganization of the Government not be allowed. So we find the case of a senator who introduced a very similar bill giving power to President Hoover to reorganize, reversing himself completely under pressure from the corporations and actually voting against giving these powers to the head of his own party.

Section 3- Social Security

Perhaps the two greatest achievements of the Federal Government in this century have been the passage of the social security law and the law requiring fair wages and decent hours. When these laws were before the Senate, they received very strange treatment from the senior Senator from Georgia. Title II of the Social Security Act establishes the insurance provision for old people. Senator George submitted an amendment which would practically have destroyed the value of Title II. Under his amendment, all the people who were employed by institutions or corporations with less than 50 employees would have denied the protection of the Act. If the Senator had had his way, half the people who are now receiving the protection of old-age insurance would not have had it. In other words, of the 21 millions of workers who now, under the provisions of the Social Security Act, can look forward to reaching the age of 65 with the assurance that at that time the Federal Government will provide funds to help them in their old age, approximately 10½ millions would have been denied this protection by Senator George's proposed amendment. Or, to relate these figures to the State of Georgia, 185,000 Georgians would not have received the protection which they are now receiving. Fortunately for those 10½ million people, and for the country as a whole, Senator George's amendment was voted down overwhelmingly.

Then the Republican Senator from Delaware, Senator Hastings, proposed an amendment which would have struck out entirely all provisions securing old age payments. And Senator George voted for this amendment. If Senator Hastings and Senator George had prevailed, 21 million workers in the United States, and 370,000 workers in the State of Georgia, would have lost the protection the Federal old age insurance now provides through the Social Security Act. After these amendments had been voted down so overwhelmingly, Senator George voted for the bill.

Section 3 - Income tax, Relief, Housing.

Section 4 - Wages and Hours

In March 1935, Senator George voted to cut the relief bill in half - from four billion dollars to two billion. In June 1937 he voted to reduce the amount of money for relief and at the same time voted to require the states and local governments to match the money from the WPA with 25% from local funds. When that was unsuccessful, he voted for the amendment reducing the contribution from local sources. Again in February, 1938, he spoke and voted for an amendment to the relief bill which would have forced the communities to put up 40% of the funds used for relief. You can imagine how the people would have been put to work in Georgia if any of these amendments had carried.

The attempt on the part of this administration to protect the workers in the factories from being unfairly exploited and unjustly subjected to undercutting by competitors in other regions was represented by the wages and hours bill calling for the establishment of wages below which workers would not be paid, and hours longer than which workers would not be kept on duty without extra pay. Like the AAA, this was a proposal to get a better balance in our economic life and to give the workers greater purchasing power, thus re-invigorating our whole economic life.

When this bill was before the Senate, Senator George spoke against it. In June 1938, Senator George voted against the Wagner Housing Bill. He voted to send it back to the committee, and being unsuccessful in that, he proposed an amendment which would have limited the housing act. He voted against it. All the record votes show Senator George on the side against the workers, and his speeches show him to be in favor of paying lower wages to Southern workers than to Northern workers. Those who realize that the future of the South lies in the increasing prosperity of these farmers and workers cannot understand the willingness on the part of vested interests and their spokesmen to sacrifice the prosperity of the whole to benefit temporarily the small minority.

Senator George's record belies the claim that he has been in fundamental sympathy with the New Deal. On the other hand, his sympathy has been consistently shown in his votes to protect the wealthy against income taxes. As early as 1934 he spoke and voted against bills attempting to tax the wealthy in order to provide necessary funds. In June 1936 he spoke against an amendment to the Revenue Act for taxing undistributed profits, and submitted a report opposing undistributed profits tax.

Section 5 - Income tax, Relief, Housing.

In March 1935, Senator George voted to cut the relief bill in half - from four billion dollars to two billion. In June 1937 he voted to reduce the amount of money for relief and at the same time voted to require the states and local governments to match the money from the WPA with 25% from local funds. When that was unsuccessful, he voted for the amendment requiring a 40% contribution from local sources. Again in February, 1938, he spoke and voted for an amendment to the relief bill which would have forced the communities to put up 25% of the funds used for relief. You can imagine how few people would have been put to work in Georgia if any of these amendments had carried.

In June 1936, Senator George voted against the Wagner Housing Bill. In 1937 he proposed an amendment which would have limited the housing act to three years. When this was voted down, the Senator voted against the bill entirely. Thus the efforts of the administration to provide decent housing at a low cost to people who otherwise must live in dirty and diseased slums, has been opposed by Senator George.

Efforts to help the farmers, the workers, the unemployed and the poorly housed have all met with his opposition. And there is no record of his ever once supplying a substitute which would have done the job in a different way.

Senator George's record belies the claim that he has been in fundamental sympathy with the New Deal. On the other hand, his sympathy has been consistently shown in his votes to protect the wealthy against income taxes. As early as 1934 he spoke and voted against bills attempting to tax the wealthy in order to provide necessary funds. In June 1936 he spoke against an amendment to the Revenue Act for taxing undistributed profits, and submitted a report opposing undistributed profits tax.

(1934 session continued)

1933 - Volume 77

- March 28 - p. 4591: Speech on cotton (attacking Secy. of Agriculture).
- March 30 - p. 1039: Speech in favor of relief bill.
- April 6 - p. 1350: Voted for Black 30-hour week bill.

1934 - Volume 78

- March 10 - p. 4146: Voted against LaFollette amendment to cattle bill providing funds for eradication of Bang's disease.
- March 14 - p. 4475: Voted against ratification of Great Lakes - St. Lawrence Waterway Treaty.
- April 5 - p. 6087: Speech against high income taxes.
- p. 6091: Voted against LaFollette and other amendments.
- May 14 - p. 8739: Voted against Johnson amendment for loans-to-industry bill, authorizing RFC to make loans to municipalities to purchase existing light plants. (Vote was 37 to 37.)
- May 22 - p. 9244: Voted against Norris amendment to give Federal Government control over primary elections.

1935 session - Volume 79

- Jan. 29 - p. 1147: Voted in favor of our entering the world court.
- Feb. 21 - p. 2395: Voted against prevailing wage amendment to 1935 relief act (with Administration on this).
- March 7 - p. 3105: Voted to increase strength of regular army from 118,750 to 165,000 enlisted men.
- March 19 - p. 3969: Voted to cut relief bill from 4 billion to 2.
- March 27 - p. 4526: Voted against LaFollette amendment providing that income tax returns shall be public records. Also spoke against it on previous day.

(1935 session continued)

March 28 - p. 4591: Speech on cotton (attacking Secy. of Agriculture).
p. 4614: Voted in favor of repeal of pink-slip law.

May 24 - p. 8161: Voted for navy bill.

June 11 - p. 9053: Voted for Dietrich amendment eliminating so-called death sentence clause from utility holding company law.
p. 9063: Voted for Lonergan amendment.
p. 9065: Voted against utility holding company law.

June 18 - p. 9515: Spoke in favor of Clark amendment to social security act exempting from act companies having private pension systems of their own.

June 19 - p. 9631: Voted for Clark amendment.
p. 9642: Proposed amendment practically emasculating social security act. Defeated.
p. 9648: Voted for Hastings amendment eliminating Title II from the bill. Two other Democrats voted with him; rest were Republicans.
p. 9650: Voted for the Social Security bill.

June 24 - p. 9960: Voted against Farmers' Home Corporation bill (aid to farm tenants).

July 12 - p. 11074: Spoke in favor of exempting fruit canners from AAA.
p. 11086: Voted in favor of exemption.

July 16 - p. 11232: Voted against committee amendment on AAA providing for fixing of prices by handlers of agricultural committees.

July 17 - p. 11300: Same.

July 23 - p. 11641: Opposed amendment requiring processing taxpayer to make certain disclosures as conditions precedent to recovery of tax.

Aug. 8 - p. 12714: Voted against withdrawing right to sue in gold-clause cases.

Aug. 15 - p. 13210: Voted against LaFollette amendment to income tax law, increasing surtaxes on higher brackets.

p. 13213: Same.

p. 13222: Same.

p. 13245: Voted against Borah amendment providing against future issuance of tax exempt securities.

Aug. 21 - p. 13982: Voted for Tydings amendment to Guffey-Snyder bill, eliminating taxing features of the act (emasculates the bill).

p. 13985: Same, reducing tax from 15% to 5%.

Aug. 22 - p. 14084: Voted against Guffey-Snyder bill.

1936 session - Volume 80

March 18 - p. 3932: Voted against Frazier amendment to War Department bill, preventing compulsory military training at colleges receiving aid under the act.

March 24 - p. 4257: Voted against LaFollette amendment to Agricultural Appropriation act, appropriating funds for elimination of diseased cattle suffering from tuberculosis and Bang's disease. (Page 4254 contains list showing substantial number of Georgia farmers benefitted under the act.)

March 30 - p. 4584: Voted to recommit bill tightening provisions of Packers and Stockyards Act, S. 1424.

April 1 - p. 4796: Voted for Connally amendment to P. and S. act.

June 3 - p. 8808: Spoke against Black and LaFollette amendment to revenue act taxing undistributed profits.

(1936 session continued)

- June 16 - p. 9565: Voted against Wagner housing bill.
- June 19 - p. 10163: Submitted report opposing undistributed profits tax.

1937 session - Volume 80

- March 1 - Appendix: Address delivered on Feb. 28 opposing President's court proposal.
- April 5 - p. 3136: Voted in favor of Byrnes amendment to Guffey Act outlawing sit-down strikes.
- p. 3141: Voted for Borah amendment.
- p. 3145: Did not vote on Guffey bill.
- June 15, 1937; p. 5718: Voted conservative on amendment to 1937 relief act. (This would have reduced the relief appropriation.)
- p. 6032: Voted for 25% contribution by local agencies before receiving WPA moneys.
- June 22 - p. 6033: Voted for committee amendment requiring 40% contribution.
- July 26 - p. 7596: Voted in favor of motion to recommit S. 69 to limit freight trains to 70 cars. (Sponsored by railroad brotherhoods.)
- July 29 - p. 7784: Spoke against wage and hour bill.
- July 30 - p. 7887: Voted to exempt tobacco and cotton warehouses from the act.
- p. 7947: Voted to exempt dairy industry.
- p. 7948: Voted to exempt agricultural processing industries.
- p. 7954: Voted for Maloney amendment.

(1937 session continued)

July 30 - p. 7954: Voted to recommit the bill.
 (con'd)
 p. 7957: Voted against the bill.

p. 8196: Voted for Byrd amendment limiting cost of houses
 under housing act.

p. 8196: Proposed amendment limiting act to 3 years.

p. 8373: Voted against housing bill.

Special session - 1937

Nov. 18 - p. 118: Spoke against anti-lynching bill.

Dec. 13 - p. 1366: Speech on Coal Commission and on cotton
 (amazing economic doctrine).

Dec. 15 - p. 1528: Voted against committee amendment on AAA bill.

p. 1560: Voted against Byrnes amendment.

Dec. 16 - p. 1640: Voted against McNary amendment.

1938 session - Volume 83

Jan. 24 - p. 964: Speech on anti-lynching bill.

Feb. 22 - p. 2298: Voted against repeal of Woodrum amendment.

Feb. 23 - p. 2335: Spoke for Bailey amendment to relief bill,
 requiring 25% contribution by local communities.

p. 2337: Voted for Bailey amendment.

March 15 - p. 4524: Voted for Walsh amendment to reorganization bill.

March 18 - p. 4865: Didn't vote on Wheeler amendment.

March 21 - p. 4962: Didn't vote on Byrd amendment.

(1938 session continued)

March 21 - p. 5084: Voted for Clark amendment.
(con'd) p. 5085: Didn't vote on Clark amendment.

March 22 - p. 5101: Didn't vote on Byrd amendment.
p. 5103: Didn't vote on Clark amendment.

March 24 - p. 5301: Voted for Byrd, Bailey and Burke amendment.

March 28 - p. 5529: Voted to recommit the bill.
p. 5530: Voted against the bill.

April 8 - p. 6616: Voted to repeal tax on sales of produce for
future delivery (trading in futures)

April 9 - p. 6753: Voted against LaFollette amendment to income
tax law.

May 3 - p. 8181: Voted for big navy bill.

PSF: Ga. Campaign

THE NATIONAL EMERGENCY COUNCIL

OFFICE OF THE
STATE DIRECTOR FOR GEORGIA

Atlanta, Georgia
August 5, 1938

Mr. Rudolf Foster
The White House
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Foster:

Herewith is enclosed some material
for the President, which I am sending through you at
the request of Mr. Tom Corcoran.

Sincerely yours,

Clark Foreman

Clark Foreman.

Enclosures:

File
personal
100

THE NATIONAL EMERGENCY COUNCIL

OFFICE OF THE
STATE DIRECTOR FOR GEORGIA

Atlanta, Georgia
August 5, 1938

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT:

At Tom Corcoran's suggestion, I am submitting the following for your consideration in connection with your forthcoming speech at Barnesville, Georgia:

(1) It appears from the record of bills introduced, and the amendments proposed, by Senator George since 1933, that he has not initiated any major legislation for the welfare of the people of the South or for the country as a whole. A copy of this record is attached.

(2) It would be helpful to Lawrence Camp if you would not only mention his name, but tell the people of Georgia of his career of service to the Democratic party and liberal ideas. A short statement of his record is attached.

(3) It appears that Senator Russell will preside, and will therefore be tied in pretty closely. If in speaking, you could throw out a word to contrast Russell's support with George's opposition, I think it might keep the Russell machine in line. A suggested statement with reference to Russell's position on the Reorganization Bill is attached.

(4) Talmadge is hoping to benefit from the Barnesville speech, and the George forces are making a big effort to persuade people that a vote for Camp is a vote for Talmadge. It might be well to offset this strategy by suggesting that as far as the New Deal is concerned, there is little choice between George and Talmadge, as in fact they serve the same interests.

Sincerely yours,

Clark Foreman

Clark Foreman.

RECORD OF LEGISLATIVE INITIATIVE BY SENATOR GEORGE SINCE 1933

AGRICULTURE

BILLS

- S. 1998 - 75th Congress, 1st Session, Page 2803
Authorizing the collection and publication of statistics on peanuts.
- S. 1811 - 74th Congress, 1st Session, Page 1824.
Providing for the collection and publication of statistics on terpentine and resin.
- S. 80 - 74th Congress, 1st Session, Page 102.
Authorizing an appropriation for the eradication and control of screw worm.
- S. 81 - 74th Congress, 1st Session, Page 102.
To provide for the collection and publication of statistics of peanuts by the Department of Agriculture.
- S. 41 - 73rd Congress, 1st Session.
To provide for the publication on certain transactions in cotton on boards and exchanges.
- S. 1316 - 73rd Congress, Page 1537.
To provide for the collection and publication of statistics by the Department of Agriculture.
- S. 688 - 73rd Congress, 1st Session, Page 706.
Authorizing the RFC to liquidate mortgages up to 75% of the face value; also to repurchase land for 75% of the figure at which the same was foreclosed. The RFC to receive first mortgages.
- S. 3949 - 75th Congress, 3rd Session, Pages 8205, 8255, 8258
Cotton acreage allotments.

AMENDMENTS

- To House Resolution 12624 - 74th Congress, 2nd Session, pages 7899 and 8508.
Amendment limiting the expenditure of money appropriated for the Soil Conservation and Domestic Allotment Acts so that no more than two million dollars should be available to the Department of Agriculture for the purpose of carrying out the provisions of such Acts with respect to lands devoted to the production of naval stores.
- To House Resolution 8492 - 74th Congress, 1st Session, page 11295.
To relieve tung seed of their products from the equalization tax of Section 15-D of the AAA,

To House Resolution 3835 - 73rd Congress, 1st Session, Page 1711

To provide emergency relief with respect to agricultural indebtedness, and to provide for the orderly liquidation of joint stock land banks through the levying of a processing tax.

To Senate Bill 2787 - 75th Congress, 2nd Session, Page 1149

Amendment providing that the provisions of the Agricultural Relief Act as to the adjustment of national quotas should be based on a national allotment rather than adjusting the quota of the several states producing tobacco.

Page 1152

To amending the Allotment Act to make allowances for drought, flood, hail, or other abnormal conditions.

Page 1333

To eliminate the county agent as a member of the county committee and make him Secretary of the Committee.

Page 1334

To have State Committees appointed by the Secretary of Agriculture with the recommendation of the State Extension Service.

Page 1346

To pay the price adjustment of three cents per pound on cotton at the earliest practical time for the 1937 crop.

Page 1441

Amendment to the tobacco section of the Allotment Act so that allowances could be made for seed-bed and other plant diseases.

To S. 3668 - 75th Congress, 3rd Session, Page 5488

To increase the 1938 allotments for each State for flue-cured tobacco by not more than 4%.

To S. J. Resolution 117 - 74th Congress, 1st Session, Page 4365.

Amending the Work Relief Bill so that the President would have the right to use relief funds at his discretion for the AAA.

EDUCATION

BILLS

S. 2404 - 73rd Congress, 2nd Session, Page 911

To provide for the cooperation by the Federal Government with the States in meeting the crisis in public education.

S. 2837 - Page 2829

The same as S. 2404.

S. 2119 - 73rd Congress, 2nd Session, Page 304.

Appropriates \$3,750,000 for vocational education.

ADDITIONS

To House Resolution 12120 - 74th Congress, 2nd Session, Page 8009.
Amending the vocational Educational Bill so that no part of the funds could be used by industry for the purpose of gain.

To Senate Bill 501 - 73rd Congress, 1st Session, Page 504.
An amendment to Section 201 of the Emergency Relief and Construction Act of 1932, to provide certain loans by the Reconstruction Finance Corporation to aid in the support and maintenance of public schools.

VETERANS

BILLS

- S. 2883 - 74th Congress, 1st Session, Page 7964.
Extending time for veterans to file suit under Employees Compensation Act.
- S. 894 - 75th Congress, 1st Session, Page 294.
To provide for the renewal of five-year level-premium term policies of veterans insurance for an additional five-year period.
- S. 1813 and 2891 - 75th Congress, 1st Session, Pages 2001 & 8070
To increase existing rates of death compensation, payable to widows, children and dependants of world war veterans.
- S. 2120, 2121, 2374, 73rd Congress, 1st Session, Pages 304 & 765
To maintain credit of the United States of America.

AMENDMENTS

- To House Resolution 9725, 75th Congress, 3rd Session,
Death Compensation for widows and children of veterans.
- To House Resolution 3896, 74th Congress, 1st Session.
Authorizing the payment of adjusted service certificates immediately and to provide time in which applications must be filed.
- To House Resolution 6663, 73rd Congress, 2nd Session, Page 3298
Providing that veterans whose claims had already been adjudicated could be paid by the Veterans Administration.
- To Senate Bill 1785, 73rd Congress, 1st Session, Page 4246
Providing for disabled veterans whose disability was not service connected.

TAXES

AMENDMENTS

- To House Resolution 12396, 74th Congress, 2nd Session, Page 9108
Providing that the payer of excise taxes should have
right to appeal to the Board of Tax Appeals as in the
case of the state taxes income and other taxes.
- To House Resolution 9185, 74th Congress, 2nd Session, Page 7487
Providing for the collection of revenue from intoxication
liquors.
- To House Resolution 9682, 75th Congress, 3rd Session, Pages 6732, 6762
Tax Revision.

CORPORATIONS

BILLS

- S. 3271, 74th Congress, 1st Session, Page 1127
Providing for the deductibility of charitable and other
contributions by corporations for the purpose of income
tax.
- S. 1897, 74th Congress, 1st Session, Page 2064

To amend the original Interstate Commerce Act relative to loss
and damage claim.
- S. 3661, 73rd Congress, 2nd Session, Page 9222
To authorize the formation of a body corporate to insure the
more effective diversification of prison industries.

AMENDMENTS

- To House Resolution 8492, 74th Congress, 1st Session, Page 11401
To require proof by manufacturers, that the processing tax,
which had been collected by the AAA, was not passed on to the
purchasers.
- To House Resolution 8870, 74th Congress, 1st Session, Page 12923
To amend the Copyright Act so that newspapers would be liable
to damages not in excess of \$200 for the publication of a
copyrighted photograph instead of \$20,000 as provided by the
original bill.
- To House Resolution 1713, 73rd Congress, 2nd Session, Page 4161
To provide that no part of the prison industries' working capital

fund could be used to buy yarn with which to make cotton duck, and further, that none of the fund could be applied to the cost of operating any machine used in the manufacture of cotton textiles for more than thirty hours in any week.

WAGES AND HOURS

AMENDMENTS

To Senate Bill 158, 73rd Congress, 1st Session, Page 1349
To exempt agriculture and primary processing from the provisions in the Five Day Week, Six Hour Day Senate Bill.

To House Resolution 5755, 73rd Congress, 1st Session, Page 5258
The National Recovery Bill authorized the President when he found unfair or destructive wage cutting or other activities contrary to the policy of the bill to pass certain rules and regulations for a designated geographic area. This amendment provided that the President's rules and regulations must apply to the entire industry affected over the United States without respect to geographical subdivision.

To Senate Bill 2475, 75th Congress, 1st Session, Page 7951
To exclude any employee of any Express Company subject to the Railway Labor Act.

BANKRUPTCY

BILLS

S. 2521, 73rd Congress, 2nd Session, Page 1544
To establish a uniform system of bankruptcy.

AMENDMENTS

To House Resolution 5884, 73rd Congress, 2nd Session, Page 7907
To amend the uniform system of bankruptcy so that the personal representative of the deceased could take advantage of the provision of the Act for a composition with the creditors of the deceased debtors.

WAR MINERALS RELIEF

BILLS

S. 3675, 73rd Congress, 1st Session, Page 9430
To amend Section 5 of the Act of March 2, 1919, generally known as "War Minerals Relief Statutes".

MUNITIONS

BILLS

S. 2998, 74th Congress, 1st Session, page 8666
To control trade in munitions.

C. C. C.

BILLS

S. 82 - 74th Congress, 1st Session, page 102
To authorize for the disposal of surplus personal property,
including buildings of the emergency conservation work.

ALCOHOL ADMINISTRATION

AMENDMENTS

To House Resolution 9185, 74th Congress, 2nd Session, page 7487
To allow each member of the Federal Alcohol Administration
to be paid \$10,000 per annum instead of \$8,000 as
provided by the conferees.

MARITIME

BILLS

S. 50 - 73rd Congress, 1st Session, page 2966
A Resolution designating May 22nd as National Maritime Day.

BANKING

AMENDMENTS

To Senate Bill 1 - 73rd Congress, 1st Session, page 59
The object of this Bill was to give the President the
power to incorporate any bank into the Federal Reserve
System at his discretion. The amendment which was sub-
mitted would not allow this action unless the bank desig-
nated consented to the incorporation.

SOCIAL SECURITY

AMENDMENTS

To House Resolution 7260 - 74th Congress, 1st Session, pages 9258, 9642
Providing that the employees of all corporations or insti-
tutions with less than fifty employees could not claim the
protection of the Social Security Act. 185,000 Georgians
would have been denied the provisions of the Act.

HOUSING

AMENDMENTS

To Senate Bill 1685 - 75th Congress, 1st Session, page 8100
To provide that the Low-Cost Housing Act would expire
at the end of two years and that all contracts or
commitments would be carried out by such agencies or
authority as the Congress should designate.

To Senate Bill 1685 - 75th Congress, 1st Session, page 8196
To provide for the expiration of the Act after three years.

HIGHWAYS

AMENDMENT

To House Resolution 11687 - 74th Congress, 2nd Session, pages 5927
and 6914.
Providing for Federal Aid for Highway Systems.

APPROPRIATIONS

AMENDMENTS

To House Resolution 8837 - 75th Congress, 3rd Session, page 3286
Independent office appropriations.

To House Resolution 9621 - 75th Congress, 3rd Session, page 6223
Interior Department appropriations.

To House Resolution 9995 - 75th Congress, 3rd Session, page 6225
War Department appropriations.

REORGANIZATION

AMENDMENT

To Senate Bill 3331 - 75th Congress, 3rd Session, page 3393
Reorganization of Executive Departments.

POST OFFICE

AMENDMENT

To Senate Bill 3022 - 75th Congress, 3rd Session, pages 6806, 6814
Appointment of Postmasters.

LOCAL BILLS

73rd Congress - 15
74th Congress - 26
75th Congress - 20

EXHIBIT (2)

RECORD OF LAWRENCE S. CAMP

For four years (1920 to 1924) Lawrence Camp represented Campbell County in the Georgia Legislature, serving on the Labor and Education Committees. He voted for a New Deal before the New Deal began.

He was one of the first state democratic chairman in the United States to advocate publicly the nomination of Franklin D. Roosevelt for President. He presided over the Democratic Convention in Georgia which instructed the Georgia delegates to support Roosevelt. He was a delegate to the National Convention in 1932, and a member of the Platform Committee.

Camp was appointed Attorney General of Georgia by Governor Russell in 1932.

In 1934, Camp was appointed United States Attorney by President Franklin D. Roosevelt. When he took office, the criminal calendar was approximately three years behind schedule. Although the business of the office increased greatly, Lawrence Camp, as United States Attorney, with no increase in personnel, caught up with the calendar in less than three years, and his office has consistently ranked among the first two in the whole country in the expedition of the trial of criminal cases.

In 1936, Lawrence Camp took the initiative in redeeming the Democratic party in Georgia from control by reactionary forces. He nominated Marion Allen to manage the Roosevelt campaign in Georgia.

EXHIBIT (3)

When Senator George refused to support the Administration's reorganization bill despite the fact that he had introduced a measure giving President Hoover similar powers, an attempt was made by the Gannett Committee to influence Senator Russell's vote by calling upon the people of Georgia to put pressure on Senator Russell. In striking contrast to Senator George's desertion of the party is the statement with which Senator Russell met this challenge:

"Mr. Gannett states, Senator Russell declared, "that my position on this legislation is undeclared. But for the appeal for financial support contained in the last paragraph of his letter, I would be at a complete loss to understand Mr. Gannett's objective.

I have always favored the reorganization and simplification of our national government in the interest of efficiency"

PS F: Georgia Campaign, 1938

THE NATIONAL EMERGENCY COUNCIL

THE
FOR GEORGIA

Atlanta, Georgia
August 5, 1938

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT:

RE: SPEECH AT ATHENS, GEORGIA

Fifteen Georgia agencies, including the important luncheon clubs, the Georgia Congress of Parents and Teachers, the Georgia League of Women Voters and the Georgia Press Association, have for more than a year been cooperating in a Fact Finding Movement which publishes pamphlets on Georgia called the Georgia Inventory Series. This Coordinating Committee has been doing an excellent job, and in a way anticipated the report to you on economic conditions in the South by the National Emergency Council.

The latest report of the Fact Finding Movement called "Religious, Civic and Social Forces in Georgia" has just come from the press, and a copy is attached hereto. On page 21 of this pamphlet, it is remarked that the poor people of this State are restricted from voting by the poll tax. The pamphlet states further "And it is doubtful whether Georgia can ever have political democracy so long as the major portion of her laboring people remain economically and politically inarticulate."

This statement, in a publication backed by such formidable sponsors, seems to me to offer you a good opportunity for mentioning the effort to abolish the poll tax. I am informed that Governor Rivers has the power to suspend the tax by proclamation. If he would do so, I believe the result would be most useful to the liberal movement in Georgia and in the South. There are some who feel, however, that Talmadge would gain the most. I have not yet had an opportunity to mention this to the Governor, but he has agreed to see me next Monday morning, and I will speak to him about it at that time.

Sincerely yours,

Clark Foreman

Clark Foreman.

See page 21

PSF: Georgia Campaign
1938

RELIGIOUS, CIVIC, AND SOCIAL FORCES IN GEORGIA

Report prepared on request of the Coordinating Committee of the Citizens' Fact Finding Movement by Dr. M. Ashby Jones, minister and lecturer, in cooperation with Dr. J. C. Wilkinson, Athens First Baptist Church; Dr. W. A. Smart, Emory University; Dr. Arthur Raper, Agnes Scott College; with the assistance of organizations throughout the State. This is the twelfth subject in the State Inventory which has been advanced over the period of a year.

A Land of Many Churches
Scattered Population, Low Incomes
Big Urban Churches and Little Rural Ones
Landless and Unchurched People
The White Church Ignores; the Negro Church
Acquiesces
The Class Basis of the City Congregation
Cooperation Among Churches
A New Sense of Mission
Community Projects of Civic Clubs
Business and Professional Organizations
Merit Badges and Camp Fires
Patriotic and Fraternal Organizations
Other Organizations
Reaching the Unequal Places
A Challenge to Democracy

AUGUST
1938

GEORGIA INVENTORY SERIES 1937 - 1938

Georgia—Past and Present (September)
Georgia—Natural Resources (October)
Georgia—Agriculture (November)
Georgia—Industry and Commerce (December)
Georgia—Health (January)
Georgia—Education System (February)
Georgia—Public Welfare (March)
Georgia—Penal System (April)
Georgia—Political System (May)
Georgia—Tax System (June)
Georgia—Federal Activity (July)
Georgia—Religious, Civic and Social Forces (August)

ORGANIZATIONS FORWARDING CITIZENS' FACT FINDING MOVEMENT

Georgia Congress of Parents and Teachers
Georgia District, Civitan International
Georgia District, Kiwanis International
Georgia District, Lions International
Georgia District, Pilot International
Georgia District, Rotary International
Georgia Division, American Association of University Women
Georgia Education Association
Georgia Federated Church Women
Georgia Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs
Georgia Federation of Women's Clubs
Georgia Home Demonstration Council
Georgia League of Women Voters
Georgia Library Association
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RELIGIOUS, CIVIC, AND SOCIAL FORCES IN GEORGIA

In her religious, civic, and social forces, as in her natural resources and people, Georgia is a veritable empire. Church spires are as much a part of the Georgia scene as her hills and streams; and almost no town of any size can be approached without the roadside reminder of one or more civic clubs. The social organizations of the state, too, afford thousands of citizens opportunities for personal participation and community service, while within no other state can be found better or bigger barbecues, watermelon cuttings, cane grindings, or fish fries.

The churches, in addition to worship services, maintain extensive programs and activities by Sunday schools, organized women, young people and children. Then, too, there are colleges, universities, hospitals, children's homes, kindergartens, clinics, and the whole home and foreign mission programs.

The Georgia Baptist Convention, to illustrate, maintains an orphans' home at Hapeville which serves more than 300 children; has Mercer, Bessie Tift, Shorter, Norman, Jr., and Brewton-Parker colleges; and operates the Georgia Baptist Hospital in Atlanta.

The Methodist Episcopal Church, South, maintains two orphans' homes with more than 400 children. It shares in the support of the following educational institutions: Young Harris, LaGrange, Wesleyan, Reinhardt, Andrews, Paine—a joint enterprise of this denomination and the Colored Methodist Episcopal Church—and Emory University, with its Emory Hospital.

Such are the benevolent and educational institutions maintained by the two largest white denominations in Georgia. Except for lack of space, the similar work being done by other denominations would be listed. In Georgia, as elsewhere throughout America, the Jews and Catholics have maintained numerous hospitals, orphan homes, and other social service agencies.

The Negro denominations, too, have established orphans' homes and educational institutions throughout the state. A list of the colleges includes: Spelman College, Morehouse College, and Central City College, by the Baptist; Morris-Brown College by the African Methodist Episcopal. In addition to Paine College, already mentioned, the institutions for higher education for Negroes maintained by the combined efforts of Negro and white churches are: Fort Valley Normal and Industrial School, by the Protestant Episcopal; and Clark University and Gammon Theological Seminary, by the Methodist Episcopal Church.

Then there is the work of the women's missionary societies, particularly their concrete local projects, social programs, and organized studies of economic, political, and social conditions. The materials for the young people's organizations are commonly of a broad cultural nature, and stimulate an understanding and tolerant attitude toward other nations and peoples. The conferences of the young people, some inter-denominational, mark a very wholesome development in the field of modern religious activity.

There are 34 institutions in the state caring for 3,055 children; 12 of these homes are maintained by the various churches and serve 959 children, while the others are maintained by fraternal orders, civic clubs, public funds, and private resources.

Georgia is characterized by a large church membership and an unusually large number of churches, the Negro group showing a higher proportion of church members than the white. Generally ranked among the states that put most emphasis upon church matters and sometimes referred to, along with other Southern states, as being in the "Bible Belt," the meeting of regional, national, and international church bodies is not uncommon in Atlanta and other leading Georgia cities. In 1931 the Ecumenical Methodist Conference convened in Atlanta, with representatives from all the nations and peoples of the earth participating. In 1939 the World Baptist Alliance is slated to come to Atlanta, again made up of representatives from all nations and races.

The men's civic clubs in Georgia have a total membership of about 8,000, the federated women's clubs of more than 20,000, other women's organizations—exclusive of missionary societies and patriotic societies—40,000, parent-teacher associations nearly 55,000, patriotic organizations 30,000, fraternal organizations 90,000, boys' and girls' clubs 30,000. Large as this membership is, it will be observed later in this report that a large proportion of the population of the state, particularly among the poorer farm families and the lowest income city dwellers, are generally not reached except by state programs of health, education, and public welfare; the federal activities provided by the Civilian Conservation Corps, National Youth Administration, Works Progress Administration, and Farm Security Administration; and such state and local welfare agencies as the Family Welfare Society, the American Red Cross, the Tuberculosis Association, and so on.

A LAND OF MANY CHURCHES

There were 1,350,184 church members reported in Georgia by the 1926 census of religious bodies. In 1937, as shown by the separate denominational reports, the membership had risen to 1,633,000. The church membership in 1926 was a number equal to 71 per cent of the state's population over fifteen years of age, in 1937 to more than 73 per cent. For the United States the 1926 church membership was equal to but 66 per cent of this age group.

In 1926 there was a church to every 124 members in Georgia, a church to every 235 members in the United States. Georgia, with 10,898 churches, ranked third in number of churches, though thirteen states had more church members, seven had more churches with Sunday schools, thirteen had more Sunday school scholars, and twenty-two had larger aggregate values in church buildings.

Not only were more of Georgia's people church members, but fewer of her members were children—scarcely one-tenth under fifteen, while nearly one-fifth of those of the United States were under this age. Then, too, 60 per cent of the Georgia members were females as compared with 55 per cent for the whole country.

The total expenditures of all Georgia churches averaged \$1,357; of all churches in the United States, \$3,783. The value of the average church building in Georgia was \$5,751, the national average \$18,920. In 1916 the average values were \$2,895 and \$8,844; in 1906, \$1,901 and \$6,788. It should be said that the small, weak churches of Georgia are duplicated in practically all other deep South states.

The explanation for Georgia's large number of churches is to be found in her various denominations, the schisms within denominations and congregations,

the scattered rural population of the state, the low family incomes of property-less rural dwellers and industrial workers, and the presence of a dual system of religious organization along the race line.

The present memberships of the leading denominations of the state, in order of their size, are as follows:

Negro Baptist	538,000
Southern Baptist	481,000
Methodist Episcopal, South	268,000
African Methodist Episcopal	100,000
Colored Methodist Episcopal	38,000
Presbyterian in the United States	33,000
Methodist Episcopal	24,000
Disciples of Christ	24,000
Protestant Episcopal	21,000
Jews	19,000*
Roman Catholics	18,000*
Primitive Baptist	15,000*
Lutheran	10,000
Colored Primitive Baptist	9,000*
African Methodist Episcopal Zion	8,000
Free Will Baptist	7,000*
Church of God	5,000
Churches of Christ	4,000*
Methodist Protestants	3,000*
Jesus Christ of the Latter Day Saints	3,000
Congregational	3,000
Presbyterian in the U. S. of America	2,000*

* Estimate for 1937. The figures for all other denominations are from the latest annual reports of these denominations, and are given to the nearest thousand.

Other smaller denominations include: the Advent Christian, Seventh-Day Adventists, Church of Christ—Scientists, Church of the Nazarene, Churches of God—Holiness, Greek Orthodox, Wesleyan Methodist, Congregational Methodist, New Congregational Methodist, Cumberland Presbyterian, Universalist Church, and a score of others with still fewer members.

Each of the largest denominations in the state showed marked increases since 1926: Negro Baptist 40 per cent, Southern Baptist 20 per cent, Southern Methodist 9 per cent, African Methodist Episcopal 25 per cent, Colored Methodist Episcopal 22 per cent, and Presbyterian Church in the United States 8 per cent. Substantial gains, too, are reported by the Disciples of Christ, Church of God, and Lutheran while the Protestant Episcopal shows only a small gain. Losses were registered by the Congregational, Greek Orthodox, Methodist Episcopal, and Jesus Christ of the Latter Day Saints denominations.

Taken together, the membership of the Southern Baptist and the Negro Baptist churches constitutes more than one-half the state's church members. When the Methodist—white and colored—are added, well over four-fifths of

Georgia's church members are accounted for. Over 85 per cent of the white members are Baptists and Methodists, and nearly 95 per cent of the Negroes. In many communities the rivalry is keen between denominations—within each racial group—but it is by no means limited to Georgia.*

SCATTERED POPULATION, LOW INCOMES

Though the rural white church is losing its membership to the town and city church, it remains a church until its last members die or move their membership.

The decadence of agriculture in much of the older section of the state accounts for the presence there of many dwindling church organizations. The fact, too, that Georgia farm incomes are low penalizes the church even in areas which have not suffered loss of rural population. Lowered planes of living, whether in the old plantation sections or in the newer rural sections of the state, mean that many rural people have a great interest in the past; they turn back to times when their status was more satisfying than at present. In such communities the burial ground and the traditional place of worship serve as reminders of the vanished glory.

The continued consolidation of the white schools into the villages and towns further undermines the community spirit needed to keep the rural church an effective organization. Though some form of larger parish organization—whether consolidation, unification, or federation—has many advantages, it must be observed that some form of organized transportation, not unlike that of the consolidated schools, must be provided for outlying families. Otherwise, when rural churches merge, the poorer families without automobiles, many even without horse and buggy, will be virtually cut off from an opportunity to participate. But, as will be shown presently, many of the poorer families are already without church participation because of traditional social distinctions.

In growing cities the new churches within either race which come from denominational rivalry and schisms within congregations can be built up in time, but in the rural areas they stand as monuments to a lack of cooperation, if not to community dissension.

It has not been uncommon for large plantation owners and urban industrialists to build churches for their employees. The workers frequently encourage the establishment of such a church, for it affords some of them opportunities for leadership while to others it is a convenience. It must be observed, however, that such churches may afford employers the opportunity to stabilize—even control—their workers. Moreover, there is evidence that a false appeal to religion is sometimes used to arouse fear and hatred of labor organization.

BIG URBAN CHURCHES AND LITTLE RURAL ONES

Only a little more than one-sixth of Georgia's churches, according to the 1926 census of religious bodies, were in urban communities. The state's urban churches had an average of about 300 members, the rural church slightly less than 100; the corresponding figures for the United States were 546 and 115, respectively. Even though ten states had fewer members to the rural church

than Georgia, only Arkansas and Alabama had rural church edifices of less value. The average rural church in Georgia was valued at \$2,457, in the United States at \$6,198. The urban church in Georgia was valued at \$27,276, which is slightly more than one-half the average for the typical urban American church, but eleven other states, most of them Southern, had urban churches of less value.

The annual expenditure of the urban church in Georgia was \$6,243; in the United States, \$10,011. Twelve states fell below Georgia, while eight spent more than twice as much. Expenditure for the rural church in Georgia, \$566, was the lowest in the nation; the average for the United States was \$1,400. Thirty-three states had an expenditure twice that of Georgia, fourteen had over four times as much. Of the ten states showing average expenditures for rural churches of less than \$1,000 only one (Montana) was outside the South.

Sunday school scholars per urban church in Georgia averaged 192, over against 210 for the nation, with twenty-eight states showing fewer scholars per church and no state showing more than 30 per cent more; while for rural churches it was 56 in Georgia and 76 in the United States, four Southern states and New Hampshire falling below Georgia.

There are often great differences within the same denomination in the equipment and program of the church in the restricted residential area and the one in the industrial section of the same city. There are differences even within the same area between various denominations of the same race. But the differences can be best seen within the leading denominations.

In 1937 the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, had 1,523 congregations in Georgia. One hundred and seventy-one of these were served by full-time pastors, 100 by half-time pastors, 165 by third-time pastors, and 1,087 by pastors who were in charge of four or more churches. Of the congregations with full-time pastors, one-fourth were in Fulton County alone—which had but one-tenth of the denomination's state membership—and more than two-fifths of them were in Fulton, Chatham, Bibb, and Muscogee Counties, which had approximately one-fifth of the total membership. Most of the remaining churches with full-time pastors were located within the ten next most populous counties of the state. Which is to say, the church with a full-time pastor was a city or county-seat town church.

A study of the salary of the pastors within this same denomination revealed similar differences between urban and rural. Out of 500 pastors, all three of those who received salaries of \$5,000 served Atlanta churches, of the 39 who received between \$3,000 and \$5,000, 16 served churches in the five largest cities and most of the others in the state's ten next most populous towns. While on the other hand, practically all the 108 who received less than \$1,000 were serving rural churches. Then, too, practically all the 272 congregations which reported no Sunday school were in the same rural areas where pastors serve the greatest number of churches and receive the smallest salaries.

The Woman's Missionary Society work of this denomination further illustrates the differences between the urban and rural churches. In the North Georgia Conference, for example, 450 societies—representing 350 churches—reported contributions. Four of the 6 contributions for more than \$1,200 were from Atlanta, and 1 each from Athens and Decatur. Eleven of the 27 societies reporting contributions between \$400 and \$1,200 were in Atlanta, and the remainder in the larger towns. Nearly all the 209 societies which reported less than \$25—46 less than \$6—were in rural sections. These figures measure

* Since it was in Georgia, however, that the Southern Baptist Convention and the Presbyterian Church in the United States were organized, and since Georgia was the residence of Bishop Andrew and the slave who precipitated the organization of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, it may be that—historically speaking—the church membership of Georgia has been more indistinguishable and less able or willing to abide by the policies of the general church councils, and consequently more given to the formation of new religious organizations whether by way of larger or smaller schisms.

but a part of the differences, for more than 400 rural churches reported no contribution at all. The total contributions for the year of the 450 missionary societies from the 350 churches was \$54,335, of which amount the wealthiest 33 societies—nearly one-half in Atlanta alone—contributed \$30,017, whereas the poorest 417 societies contributed only \$24,318.

The figures for the Georgia Baptist Convention, for 1937, are not unlike those just presented. Of 2,354 churches in the state, 295 had preaching every Sunday, 334 twice a month, and 1,725 once a month or less. The total contributions for all purposes of individual Baptist churches in the state showed wide differences: 105 churches exceeded \$5,000, of which number 24 were in Atlanta and 20 in Augusta, Macon, Columbus, Rome, Gainesville, and Savannah. On the other hand, there were 967 churches whose total annual contributions amounted to less than \$200 each, and practically all of them were in the rural sections.

In pastors' salaries, too, the same differences occur: 5 of the 8 who received more than \$5,000 a year served churches in Atlanta; 18 of the 37 with \$3,000 to \$5,000 a year were in Atlanta and the other four largest cities, and the 19 others were located in the secondary urban communities of the state. Not a single rural minister received a salary of \$3,000. Six hundred and sixty-four churches of this denomination, restricted almost solely to the rural areas of the state, contributed less than \$100 a year toward the salary of their minister, and 706 more contributed less than \$250. It should be observed that even when four or five or six rural churches are served, the rural ministers received only a fractional part of the salary which the urban pastor received. Broadly speaking, the urban pastors are not paid too much, but the rural pastors are paid entirely too little to render effective service.

The urban churches not only have the more expensive plants and pay better salaries, but they carry on a more varied program. Practically all urban and town Baptist churches had Sunday schools, but 326 rural churches reported none; 1,382 rural Baptist churches were without a Woman's Missionary Society, and 1,576 reported no B. Y. P. U. A study of any of the other denominations would show similar differences between the urban and rural churches. Except in the old plantation section, the loss of membership in rural Negro churches is less than for the white, for school consolidation has not undermined the small Negro rural community and, too, fewer of the rural Negroes have automobiles and buggies and consequently must attend churches within walking distance.

Such detailed facts about the leading white denominations make it clear that the present church organization is not providing an adequate program for a great proportion of the rural people who are now church members. And there are considerable numbers who are not reached at all.

LANDLESS AND UNCHURCHED PEOPLE

In the rural church of Georgia one sees only a few people in overalls, yet many landless farmers have only overalls and denim jackets. It should be observed here, as shown by Dr. Paul Chapman in his fact-finding study on agriculture, that almost 70 per cent of the farmers in Georgia own no land, and that slightly more than three-fifths of the state's 164,331 farm tenant families in 1935 were of the white race.

Most church-goers, as pointed out in *The South's Landless Farmers*, require at least three things to be comfortable: some dress clothes—what the farmer

calls "Sunday clothes"—a little money for the collection plate, and the ability to entertain the preacher at a meal now and then. The typical farm tenant is not able to wear Sunday clothes, to put money in the collection plate, or have the preacher come to his house for a meal.

In many plantation counties a larger proportion of the Negro than of the white tenants are church members. The rural Negro church, though usually relying upon the scattered landowners for leadership, is within reach of the tenant and wage hands. The preacher is paid but little, his formal education is limited, his vocabulary is that of the fields, the songs are those of the common people, the church building is crude and the furnishings plain. In plantation areas the rural white church, though small, is painted; the pews are usually varnished, the aisles are carpeted, the man in the pulpit uses college language, the people read Psalms from a book and sing to the accompaniment of a reed organ or a piano; the preacher—who usually lives in a nearby town and receives a small salary—always appears for the monthly preaching service in a clean white shirt, pressed trousers, and shined shoes. Moreover, as pointed out above, the rural white church membership is shifting to the town churches. In short, the rural Negro church reflects the status of the farm tenant, while the rural white church reflects the status of the landowner. Herein lies a part of the explanation of the larger church affiliation among Negro tenants than white tenants. The other part of the picture is the traditional loyalty which the Negro has for the Negro church, which has been peculiarly his own organization—the center of his community activities.

But not all white tenants are unchurched. For the most independent and the most successful tenant families—even in the big plantation sections where Negro tenants were used almost exclusively until recent years—frequently belong to the church and sometimes take an active part, as do many of the tenants in the upper Piedmont counties, long characterized by white tenancy. Then, too, there is emerging in widely scattered communities a number of highly emotional religious expressions which are gaining a considerable following among the white croppers and wage hands. The facts raise this composite question: What can the planter-status rural white church, the tenant-status rural Negro church, or the emotional religious expressions (Holiness, etc.) do to afford opportunities for constructive church participation which can help improve the present conditions of the landless farmers in the plantation areas?

THE WHITE CHURCH IGNORES; THE NEGRO CHURCH ACQUIESCES

Generally speaking, the pastors of the open country, white and Negro, are absentee preachers. They seldom know each other even by sight. Now and then a rural white or Negro preacher may denounce a particular member of the other race, or the behavior of the other race in general. Usually, however, the white church just ignores the Negro. Almost nothing is said about him, no mention of his inadequate school facilities, of his political disfranchisement, of his enforced landlessness. Little is taught in the Sunday school or said from the pulpit which would lead the rural child to think that the church's theory of brotherhood includes the members of the other race. It must be remembered here that most of the smaller rural churches have neither women's missionary societies nor young people's organizations—the chief outlets of the churches' literature that emphasizes the need for the study of local community conditions

and affords program material dealing with the contributions and achievements of the various racial groups.

Some rural whites have a deep concern for the Negro, but in most communities the church's practice of ignoring the Negro prevails unchallenged. The rural Negro church appears to acquiesce in the white church's inherited definition of the racial situation, and so both churches are restricted in so far as the fostering of any economic and cultural reconstruction is concerned. In the churches of both races the emphasis is commonly placed upon the individual, and it seldom reaches a sense of responsibility for local social conditions, for too often any statement or activity which assumes that every person is of worth—the basic philosophy of the Christian religion—is tabooed because it threatens not only the established relation between the races, but the two-class white community with its landed and dependent white families.

Small as are the economic assets of the open country churches, low as are the salaries of the once-a-month preachers, inadequate as are the buildings and equipment, the churches of both races are doubtless no more materially handicapped by economic conditions than they are spiritually bound by class demarcations and race dogmas, which rest upon the premise that propertyless whites and Negroes would not be normal human beings even if they were well-fed, educated, and afforded all opportunities to become responsible and responsive citizens.

THE CLASS BASIS OF THE CITY CONGREGATION

Within the metropolitan community itself it is not unusual to find some pastors in the same denomination receiving three or four or five times as much salary as others. The differences are most noticeable in cities where the owners and executives of industrial concerns are members of one church and the industrial workers and their neighbors are members of the same denomination, but of another congregation. The church organization in large cities merely follows the residential organization of the city with its natural areas—slums, industrial communities, and exclusive residential sections. There are some overlapping of membership, of course, but the general pattern remains clear as evidenced in the location and equipment of the churches, pastors' salaries, and contributions.

Because of the organization of the city, with the poorer and richer people concentrated in separate sections, the urban church does not have to deal with the same situation as the rural church in the plantation section. Each major class of the population in the city is large and compact enough to have one or more churches of its own, and consequently the church can serve the people without violating the class distinctions of the community. Not so with the sparse white population of the plantation area. The church there must know no class distinctions, less it cut off from membership the class without social position in the community.

There has been much discussion about the problems of the rural and industrial churches, but the fundamental situations remain unaltered. The rural community is poor, sparsely settled and by different races, the church is weak, the pastor is inadequately paid, the church program is limited. The workers in the industrial community are not rich, and employment is not always regular. If the church is supported solely by the workers, the salary for the preacher is low and the program is materially limited. If the church is supported largely

by the employer, there is great likelihood that the program will be without social and spiritual vitality.

It is because of these economic and social handicaps of the church in the rural and industrial communities that emotional religions are making inroads among sharecroppers and industrial workers.

COOPERATION AMONG CHURCHES

Despite the wide variance in church plants and pastors' salaries, inter-church activities are common. The camp meeting, a rural inter-church institution—sometimes inter-denomination—remains vital in a few Georgia communities, in others it has been abandoned; a few of the most famous camp sites now boast permanent equipment, donated and maintained by successful though nostalgic city dwellers.

Practically all the churches cooperate in the calendars of their respective denominations, with services and periods set aside for the varied work of the denomination. At district, state, and regional conventions, representatives from the individual churches carry forward the program of the women's organizations, young people's activities, Sunday school, and other specialized phases of church work.

Several of the denominations have well-established precedents in interracial activities. The Protestant Episcopalians, white and Negro, work together helpfully in many communities, including several rural areas. The Woman's Auxiliary of the Presbyterian Church in the United States has for years conducted training schools for Negro women, and in many churches the young people's department maintains Sunday schools or missions for Negroes or underprivileged whites. The Methodist Episcopal Church, South, in cooperation with the Colored Methodist Episcopal Church, as shown already, jointly support Paine College in Augusta; the Woman's-Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, cooperates in the maintenance in Georgia of one social center for Negroes, the Bethlehem House in Augusta, and two Wesley Houses for whites, in Atlanta and Columbus.

The Southern Baptist, Congregational, Methodist Episcopal, Roman Catholic, and practically all other white church members of the state share in the varied programs of their denomination, which include activities designed to create and maintain racial harmony. All white church bodies have time and again officially denounced mob violence, plead for justice to the Negroes, and gone on record as favoring improved educational facilities for them.

Practically every city, and a few rural counties, have a white and a Negro ministerial association. The activities of these associations are usually limited largely to conferences and the promotion of community-wide religious (usually evangelistic) efforts.

City-wide evangelical meetings are well established in practice, though less popular than formerly. A few successful efforts have been made to launch simultaneous revivals in all evangelical churches, white and Negro alike, in a city or county. And at least one state-wide series of revivals has been sponsored. Inter-denominational church services of the white or Negro churches in a community are common occurrences.

The Atlanta Christian Council, organized more than twenty years ago, represents the most persistent inter-denominational effort in the state. And it was

this council that set up the Committee on Church Cooperation—composed of ministers and laymen from the evangelical churches of the city—with its civic and social program. For a number of years it has maintained an active interracial committee, which has met monthly and upon call when community situations warranted it.

There are five units in Georgia of the Council of Federated Church Women. The purpose of this organization is to unify the efforts of all church women in the task of establishing a Christian social order.

Several of the churches of Georgia cooperate in the work of the Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America, with its potent departments of evangelism, race relations, social service, and publicity. The factual studies and public pronouncements of this national inter-denominational church body constitute a veritable library of dynamic social realism.

There are ten Temple Sisterhoods in Georgia with 829 members. They are affiliated with the National Federation of Temple Sisterhoods, the main purpose of which is to encourage and guide religious education and cooperate with Jewish and non-Jewish organizations in educating for peace and social betterment. This organization distributes the monthly digest of *The Jewish Braille Review*.

The National Council of Jewish Women have five sections in Georgia with approximately 490 members. Their efforts are directed towards closer cooperation in religion, philanthropy, civics, education and peace.

The Y. M. C. A., Y. W. C. A., and Salvation Army, with their varied and continuous programs and activities are of a truly inter-denominational religious character. The Y. M. C. A. in Georgia has 12 white city associations, and 2 Negro branches, with a total membership of over 12,000. The Y. W. C. A. has 7 city associations and 1 Negro branch, with nearly 32,000 members.

The programs of the student Y. M. C. A. and the Y. W. C. A. reach into most of the colleges and universities of Georgia, stimulating campus activities, promoting the discussion of vital issues, and fostering state and regional student conferences. Their work in the high schools is discussed later under boys' and girls' clubs.

The Southern headquarters of the Salvation Army is in Atlanta. The 46 officers there do part-time work in the state, and 33 pastors do full-time work. The congregations served by the 33 pastors have a membership of 5,523, nearly half of whom are children. The Army's blue uniforms, horns, street services, soup kitchens, sleeping quarters, Christmas fund and other activities constantly remind city dwellers of the association's slogan, "A man may be down but he is never out!"

It will be observed that the inter-church and inter-denominational activities further emphasize the dominant role of the religious organizations of the city, as do also the location and programs of the Y. M. C. A., Y. W. C. A., and Salvation Army.

A NEW SENSE OF MISSION

The crux of the church problem in Georgia, as of the many problems already studied by the Fact Finding Movement, resolves itself to its industrial, rural, and racial phases.

There is urgent need that the church people of the state concern themselves with programs to increase family incomes, increase home ownership, increase community participation of the rank and file of the people who can attain their citizenship only as they are afforded the opportunity for a larger measure of

personal responsibility and self-direction. In proportion as the church devotes itself to services which reach the propertyless family—even the propertyless Negro family—it will find a new vitality, a new sense of mission.

The weaker church, whether in the plantation sections, the poorer soil areas, or in the low-wage urban community is commonly penalized by ineffective pastors. The truth is, a great proportion of these churches are served by inadequately trained ministers or by seminary students and recent graduates of seminaries who are, as it were, taking their internship in the poorer communities to qualify for the better paying pastorates.

The only approaches by which the glaring differentials between churches—even within the same denomination—can be corrected is through (1) an increase of farm incomes and industrial wages and (2) the maintenance of a fund by which the larger resources of the richer communities can be devoted to the work of the denomination in the poorer communities. The problem of the weak church cannot be solved by evading it through limiting churches to the wealthier communities. The unchurched people of the state, as well as the church people of small means in rural areas and industrial centers, constitute a real challenge to the religious leadership of Georgia.

THE COMMUNITY PROJECTS OF CIVIC CLUBS

The men's civic clubs of Georgia, with nearly 8,000 members, exercise a great influence in the state. There are several clubs in each of the large cities and one or more in at least 119 of Georgia's 159 counties.

The Rotary, with 45 clubs, has approximately 2,046 members; the Kiwanis, with 54 clubs, 2,027 members; the Lions, 70 clubs, approximately 2,000 members; the Exchange, 14 clubs, with 600 members; the Civitan, 13 clubs, about 600 members. The Sigma Pi Phi, a national Negro fraternity, is the only Negro organization with members in Georgia which corresponds to the national and international organizations listed above.

In addition to weekly or monthly luncheons or dinners, the civic clubs provide much social activity for their members. Each organization also has some project of a state- or nation-wide nature on which it works; and practically all the local clubs have projects.

The Kiwanis Club, for example, maintains a lively interest in underprivileged children. A number of their clubs have done worthwhile work. To illustrate: in Thomasville they promoted and assisted in financing a traveling rural library; in Brunswick 40 underprivileged girls were given two weeks at camp; the Rome club provided free eye examination and glasses to needy children; a home for abandoned or needy children was sponsored and supported by the Moultrie club; in Americus a hare-lip operation for an underprivileged boy was financed; the Atlanta club has contributed about \$100,000 to Hillside Cottages in the past sixteen years.

The state project of the Lions Club has centered around the blind; thousands of Braille magazines and white canes have been distributed. Some local projects are: Ellijay and Chatsworth are working for a national park, in that part of the state; the Clarksville club, a fish hatchery; Cartersville, glasses for school children; Crawford, building a grandstand and park; Crawfordville, a cannery; Dalton, school lunches for needy children; Decatur, a Camp Fire organization for girls; Gainesville, a tuberculosis sanatorium and school lunches for underprivileged children; Heard County, a playground; LaFayette, a new hotel; Lithonia, a county fair; Summerville, a basketball court; Tallapoosa, lunches

for needy children; Union Point, a vocational training school; and so on with the active clubs throughout the state.

The Atlanta Civitan Club, to mention some of the activities of but one of the thirteen clubs in Georgia, built a camp for girls at a cost of \$12,000 and contributes regularly to its maintenance; for years it has sent a monthly check to the Atlanta Tuberculosis Association for milk for underprivileged children; it also sponsors a citizenship essay contest in the public and private high schools of the city, providing a scholarship to Agnes Scott College and one to Draughton's Business College. This year it is paying one week's expenses for ten underprivileged boys at the Bert Adams Boy Scout Camp; each year at Christmas it provides a tree, toys, and an outfit of clothing for about fifteen children whose names are secured from the Atlanta Family Welfare Society. Just recently the club gave \$150 to the Scottish Rite Hospital Milk Fund.

Again, by way of illustrating what Rotary does, some of the work of the Atlanta Rotary Club is: it took the initiative in the establishment of the Bert Adams Boy Scout Camp; over a period of years it has loaned over \$200,000 to 845 Georgia boys and girls to enable them to remain in college; at present it is featuring the exchange of students between America and foreign countries, and promoting understanding between Rotarians in different nations as a practical contribution to international understanding and world peace.

The civic clubs encourage high standards of business ethics and afford opportunity for the leading business and professional people in cities and the more prosperous county-seat towns to become acquainted. With the use of first names and nicknames, the old polite titles are losing their former significance. The civic clubs have introduced many business and professional men to welfare projects. In almost any city, a roster of the board members of the Boy Scouts, Y. M. C. A., Family Welfare Society, Tuberculosis Association, and similar agencies will reveal that a large proportion are people who became interested in community service through the programs of their civic clubs or church.

While the civic clubs have inspired a great range of social improvements, their programs and activities, even more than those of the churches, are limited to the upper economic groups of the urban communities of the state.

Someone has pointed out that almost any idea can gain currency if the women's organizations will promote it. The large membership no less than the frequent meetings and varied activities of the Women's Clubs in Georgia illustrate the point.

There are nearly 20,000 members in the 350 individual clubs of the Georgia Federation of Women's Clubs. And varied as are the interests and programs of the individual clubs, the Federation coordinates their activities in providing social opportunities for the members and in promoting educational, civic, social, and moral advancement in Georgia. Through its various departments, these clubs afford a valuable outlet for individual creative expression and community participation.

The Georgia Federation of Colored Women's Clubs has 225 affiliated clubs, a total membership of a few thousand, and a still larger membership of local clubs which cooperate in programs of the State organization. For years its central project was the establishment of a state home for delinquent Negro girls which was recently completed and accepted by the State.

The American Association of University Women, with 12 branches and 7,688 members, carries on an effective educational program through public forums, lectures, and concerts.

The Business and Professional Women's Club, with 12 associations and 450

members, promotes the interest of business and professional women. They work to elevate standards and extend opportunities through education for the employment of women.

The Pilot Club, with 10 local units, has 313 members. Its purpose is to provide opportunities for friendship among business and professional women and raise business standards. The two Quota Clubs in Georgia have 32 members.

There are five Junior Leagues in the State, composed of young women from the privileged group, who carry on an active charitable and civic program.

The Georgia League of Women Voters encourages widespread active political participation, and carries on a continuous educational program for its own members and the community. The organization does not endorse or oppose candidates for public office but supports principles of government only.

Here again, we find organizations meeting needs but falling short of reaching the poorer portions of Georgia's population, except through special projects reaching limited groups and their influence as molders of public policy.

BUSINESS AND PROFESSIONAL ORGANIZATIONS

The Georgia Education Association, with nearly 14,000 members, is organized to promote the cause of education in Georgia and to advance the preparation and remuneration of those in this profession. Good work has been done by the Association in the re-organization of grade and high school curricula.

The Georgia Negro Teachers and Educational Association has a membership of 2,500. It encourages its members to raise their certificates by summer school training, and carries on persistent efforts with the State Department of Education and County Boards of Education for more equitable support of Negro education.

There are 720 associations of the Parent-Teacher Association in Georgia, with a total membership of 48,135. The aims and ideals of this organization are well-known, and their manifold contributions to the improvement of school plants, equipment, and furnishing hot lunches and other activities need no extended mention here. The Colored Parent-Teacher Association has a similar program with 139 associations and over 5,000 members.

Numerous as these parent-teacher associations seem, half the white high schools and over three-fourths of the elementary schools have none. Only one Negro school in every twenty-five has a parent-teacher association. Again, it is the whites in the poorer rural communities and the Negroes who are least adequately served. The small proportion of Negro schools having parent-teacher associations reflects the large number of one-teacher schools in the rural sections of the state, which can be reduced only through some program of consolidation made possible by public transportation.

The Georgia Library Association has 200 members and represents 174 libraries operated for the general public, 50 of these being regularly established public libraries while the remaining 124 are "demonstration libraries" organized and operated as a part of the state-wide WPA library project. Nearly half the population is still without public library services, and the state association hopes to stimulate the employment of a school library supervisor in the State Department of Education to promote the development of a well-rounded program of library service in the elementary and secondary schools of the state, to secure larger appropriations for public libraries, and to effect appropriate provisions for library service for Negroes by all public libraries. Incidentally,

the State Library Association points out in its report that the proportion of Georgia's people without public library service has been reduced from 71 per cent to 48 per cent by the state-wide WPA library project.

The Georgia Home Demonstration Council has an aggregate membership of nearly 30,000. The local councils, usually rather small, meet in the homes of members or at schoolhouses, and work to improve family and community relationships and raise the economic and social status of the rural family through more intelligent home-making practices. The Home Economics Association has 470 members; it promotes interest in the teaching of home economics and in the improvement of home life.

The Georgia Academy of the Social Sciences has a state-wide membership of interested people, and features forums and the presentation by leading scholars of facts upon vital social issues. The Civic Educational Council attempts to coordinate the activities of the civic and educational groups. The members of the Georgia Historical Society, Economics Association, Political Science Association, Mathematics Association, and other state-wide educational groups participate in the state, regional, and national meetings of their organization. There are one or more chapters of the American Association of University Professors in the state, and three chapters of the nation's oldest scholarship fraternity, Phi Beta Kappa.

The ranking business organization in Georgia is the Chamber of Commerce, which has 35 associations in the state. The local associations work for the advancement of commercial interests and help advertise the advantages of the local community. There are a few county Chambers of Commerce, the most promising being the one recently organized in DeKalb County. In Atlanta there is a well-organized and active Negro Chamber of Commerce.

The Junior Chamber of Commerce has 47 associations and 3,500 members. Their general program includes the development of Georgia's resources, the elimination of highway accidents, and stamping out social diseases.

The Georgia Press Association, with 208 papers represented, (71 papers not represented), features an annual meeting and an annual Press Institute at the University of Georgia with outstanding newspaper men and scientists on its program. It should be noted in passing that *The Atlanta World* is the only Negro daily newspaper in the world.

Space will permit only a partial listing of numerous other business and professional groups: The United Georgia Farmers, with several thousand members; the Georgia Medical Association, with its county associations, research, and clinics; Registered Nurses Association, the Georgia Bar Association, with its numerous members and program to safeguard the profession from unethical practices; the Georgia Humane Society; the Georgia Association of County and Peace Officers, and others.

MERIT BADGES AND CAMP FIRES

The Boy Scouts of America have 10 councils in Georgia, with 14,152 members. This organization's program of character building and citizenship training through its merit badge work, camp activities, and good turn daily need but be mentioned to call to mind the khaki clad youngsters.

There are 110 Hi-Y Clubs in Georgia—74 for white boys with a membership of 1,943, and 36 clubs for Negro boys with 720 members. Playing a vital part

in many a Georgia high school, the Hi-Y Club stresses clean sports and courageous living the better to create, maintain, and extend through school and community high standards of Christian character.

The membership in Georgia of the Future Farmers of America aggregates more than 6,000 pupils enrolled in the vocational agricultural classes of 200 schools. The Future Farmers are organized to help a farm boy help himself.

The Atlanta Boys' Club, recently organized, hopes to reach a membership of 1,000. It is a unit of the National Boys' Clubs. The oldest club in Georgia is located in Savannah.

The Girl Scouts have 37 troupes in Georgia, 2,917 members. Girls from seven- to eighteen years of age are members. The Tri-Hi-Y Club in Georgia has a total membership of 2,607 girls in 104 clubs—70 white clubs with 1,842 members, 34 Negro clubs with 765 members. The Camp Fire Girls, with 7 groups and nearly 1,200 members, also emphasizes creative recreation and character building.

Over 70,000 boys and girls are members of the 159 4-H Clubs sponsored by the State Department of Agriculture in cooperation with the federal extension service.

These and other boys' and girls' organizations meet community needs but they, too, stop far short of providing opportunities for the participation of many poorer children.

PATRIOTIC AND FRATERNAL ORGANIZATIONS

The patriotic organizations in Georgia have a total membership of over 30,000. The leading women's patriotic organizations in Georgia include the United Daughters of the Confederacy with 115 chapters and 7,500 members, the Daughters of the American Revolution with 86 chapters and 4,082 members, the American Legion Auxiliary with 85 chapters and 3,385 members, the Daughters of the American Colonists with 180 members, and the Georgia Society of Colonial Dames of the Seventeenth Century with 125 members.

The activities of these organizations include marking historic sites, placing genealogical records in the Department of Archives, co-operating in patriotic celebrations and memorial exercises, aiding disabled soldiers and sailors, promulgating patriotism and fostering Americanism.

The chief men's patriotic organizations in the state are the American Legion with 164 posts and 11,000 members, the Veterans of Foreign Wars with 60 posts and 2,500 members, the Disabled American Veterans of the World War with 16 posts and 600 members, and the Spanish War Veterans with 11 posts and approximately 1,000 members.

The American Legion's general program includes child welfare activities, the promotion of patriotism, the helping of disabled veterans—the "Poppy Lady" is a revered resident of Georgia—and the fighting of what it considers un-American influences. Many local Legion posts in Georgia, as throughout the country, carry on community projects. Among other things, the Atlanta Post has featured its Americanism work and sponsored the Big Brothers' Christmas Fund; the Macon Posts, a medical clinic for children; the Athens Post, a swimming pool and park; the Albany Post, a municipal golf course, to mention but a few of the local projects. The state organization has promoted the junior baseball series now in progress.

The Veterans of Foreign Wars, in addition, to patriotic activities, are sponsoring the establishment near Atlanta of a camp for underprivileged boys.

Because of the secret membership of some fraternal organizations, it is difficult to estimate the number of members they have in the state. The Elks have 18 lodges with 3,037 members; Knights of Columbus, 6 lodges with 800 members; Order of Odd Fellows, 113 with over 5,000; Maccabees, 15 with 953; Improved Order of Red Men, with 9 lodges and 676 members; the Shriners, 3 lodges with 4,000; the Masons, 510 lodges and 40,430 members; Woodmen of the World, 428 with 25,000; Junior Order of United American Mechanics, 87 councils with 11,000; and the Knights of Pythias, besides several smaller orders for white members scattered through the state.

Several of the larger fraternal organizations have women's auxiliaries. In the state the Woodmen of the World Circle has 81 active auxiliaries with a membership of 3,492; Rebekah Lodges, 27 with 854; the Order of the Eastern Star, 111 chapters with 7,840 members, to name but three.

The Ku Klux Klan, with national headquarters in Atlanta, has members in many Georgia communities as shown by the hooded figures in parades and in mysterious night rides. The membership is secret, as are also the plans and programs.

Secret orders are popular, too, with the Negroes of Georgia. The Improved Order of Samaritans has 500 adult lodges with 22,000 members and 300 juvenile lodges with 5,000 children. The Prince Hall Grand Lodge, Ancient, Free and Accepted Masons of Savannah, organized in 1870, has a membership in the parent lodge of 5,000 with 300 subordinate lodges. A list of Negro fraternal orders, particularly if the independent lodges and all the auxiliaries were included, would fill several pages.

The purposes of the fraternal orders are varied, with the death insurance and sick benefit popular phases of most of them, whether for white or Negro. The ancient ritual and secret handclasp behind locked doors, opened only by the passwords, lend glamor to the meetings and status to the members.

Many of the national fraternal orders represented in the state maintain in Georgia, or elsewhere, hospitals, clinics, homes for the aged and so on.

It is of particular interest to Georgians that an Atlantan, Forrest Adair, sold the idea of hospitals for cripple children to the Shriners of the nation. It came about in this wise: Mr. Adair was attending the national convention of the Shriners at Portland, Oregon, in the early twenties. Under his hotel window a lone Shriner, in the small hours of the morning, was playing away at "I'm Forever Blowing Bubbles," a new song hit of the day.

Next morning Mr. Adair went on the floor of the Convention, asked whether the lone Shriner had not spoken for the whole organization? Was the Shrine just passing the time—just blowing "pretty bubbles in the air"? Maybe so, but the Shrine ought to develop a nation-wide service for crippled children, ought to build and maintain hospitals through the nation like the Scottish Rite Hospital in Atlanta.

That his challenge did not go unheeded is shown by the record: at a cost of over \$10,000,000 more than 30,000 crippled children have been served in the 14 Shrine hospitals.

OTHER ORGANIZATIONS

Only a few of the local organizations and associations can be mentioned, but suffice it to say the number is legion. In Atlanta, for example, there are the Optimist Club, the Friars, Gyro Club, Inquiry Club, Moron Club, Young Men's Professional Club, Poetry Club, Fifty Club, Appalachian Trail Club, and scores of others for whites, while the Twenty-Seven Club and still other scores of clubs serve in a similar way the Negroes of the city, and so it is with every city and town and with some rural communities.

Marietta has its forum, Bartow County its Euharlee Farmers Club with unbroken monthly meetings for over a half century, Atlanta its series of public forums made possible by the Federal Bureau of Education, Athens the Annual Institute of Public Affairs of the University of Georgia, Atlanta and Decatur, the Citizenship Institute of Emory-Tech-Agnes Scott; the college communities throughout the state have their visiting lecturers and artists, the small-town folk have their itinerant carnival and their black-faced minstrels, the landless whites their dances by weird mountain music, and the landless Negroes the freedom of a fish fry.

Even yet the real picture of Georgia's organized social life has just been scratched, and there is space to do little more. There are all sorts of local spontaneous groupings—vital and unrelated: discussion clubs, social clubs, drinking clubs, hunting clubs, hiking clubs, baseball clubs, sewing circles, riding clubs, mothers' clubs, debating clubs, and gangs—gangs of boys to play marbles, steal apples, throw rocks, pick up coal along the tracks, and other gangs—gangs of auto thieves, rum runners, safe crackers, dope addicts, and still other gangs of hitch-hikers, "gondola riders," drug store loafers, delivery boys, girls who prefer risky excitement to monotonous security, boys who slip away from rural puritanical parents on Sunday afternoon to the 'ole swimmin' hole, and on without end, up and down Georgia.

REACHING THE UNEQUAL PLACES

Georgia has many organizations with programs and activities designed to serve the social welfare needs of the state. The State Departments of Public Welfare, Health, and Education represent the larger public efforts by the state, while the Civilian Conservation Corps, Works Progress Administration, Farm Security Administration, National Youth Administration and other federal agencies are meeting needs beyond the sphere of the programs of the local and state organizations.

Something of the unmet welfare needs in Georgia can be seen by a few facts from the State Department of Public Welfare, as of June 30, 1938: 37,074 applications for old age assistance had been approved while 39,795 applications were pending investigation, 1,197 applications for aid to the blind approved and 1,023 pending, 4,854 applications of families for aid to dependent children approved and 6,779 pending investigation. Of the cases investigated thus far, four-fifths have been found eligible for aid, meaning that not more than half the need in these three fields is being met. Moreover, the assistance for those who do get on the approved list is small—about \$9.50 per month for the aged person, \$10.50 for the blind person, and \$8.00 for the dependent child.

In view of the greater welfare needs of the rural areas and of the inadequate religious, civic, and social service rendered by organizations in these areas, it is significant that upward of three-fourths of the aged people, blind people,

and dependent children now receiving aid from the State Department of Public Welfare are located in rural communities. Moreover, the proportion of Negro applications approved is but slightly below the Negro proportion of the state's population, and the racial differential is not so great as in the pay for the public school teachers of the state. Then, too, nearly 95 per cent of the old age clients are either unemployable or from the unskilled laborers, domestics, or farm labor and operator groups.

The Civilian Conservation Corps, in June, 1938, had 7,093 Georgia young men enrolled, making available to them and their parents \$177,325 monthly. Every county in the state was represented, the smallest enrollment, 8, from Liberty County and the largest, 360, from Fulton, which has forty times as large a population.

The Farm Security Administration is developing farm ownership projects at Irwinnville and Eatonton for whites, and at Henderson for Negroes, to mention but three of this federal agency's largest rural community developments in the state. In 35 counties five or so tenants are being assisted into ownership, while the Rural Rehabilitation Program is providing credit and supervision to more than 7,000 rural families who would otherwise be unable to plant a crop. With a cow and a garden, and food for the table and for canning, the "rehab" families are able to use their cash crop to meet their debts, improve their standard of living, and increase their ownership of personal and household property.

The National Youth Administration, too, reaches into the groups where the need is greatest. The school aid program of the past year provided assistance up to \$6 a month to 6,000 students in more than 700 secondary schools, and up to \$15 per month to 3,500 students in 51 institutions, and up to \$30 per month to 100 graduate students who otherwise could not have remained in college. Nearly 3,000 more young people, from families certified as in need of public assistance, received employment at prevailing wages (forty to fifty-seven hours per month) on community projects, and 500 boys and girls are being trained through work and theory in agriculture, home-making, and so on, at eight residential training projects where they receive ten dollars a month and maintenance.

In the month of June, 1938, the Works Progress Administration provided 46,955 unemployed persons with work for which they secured \$1,865,227 in wages. In addition to its work programs for men and women of varying degrees of skills, making possible monthly incomes of \$21 and over to thousands of heads of unemployed families, the WPA maintains a state-wide adult educational program and a state-wide recreational program. Since 1933 no less than 55,000 adults have learned to read and write, and at present 519 teachers are giving 22,287 adults instruction in vocational education, naturalization, and so on. About 500 adults are now enrolled in WPA classes in workers' education, designed "to train people in clear thinking through a study of matters which affect their daily lives as workers and citizens." The recreational program maintains 170 playgrounds under supervision and uses 79 community centers scattered throughout the state. Folk dances, athletics, music, and drama are featured and provide opportunities for the personal participation of a half million Georgians a year.

The American Red Cross, always on hand when disaster comes and always helpful to veterans, has chapters in 149 Georgia counties with a total membership of 76,200—2.3 per cent of the state's population.

The work of the Georgia Tuberculosis Association is organized in 130 counties. Christmas seals are common-place to city dwellers and not unknown to many rural Georgians. The "follow-up" service, for ambulatory patients unable to employ the services of a private physician, is now providing treatment for about 300 patients, 160 of these in rural districts.

In the largest cities there are numerous private social agencies, most of them having originated within the leading churches, which are now commonly co-ordinated through a community chest. With the expansion of state services and the coming of the federal relief agencies, many private agencies have been able to shift their emphasis from relief giving to case work service.

The Georgia Conference on Social Work has a state membership of 554. It sponsors an annual meeting to further its work of disseminating reliable information respecting charitable and correctional problems, sets up committees to help integrate the work of the various social agencies, sponsors legislation which promotes social welfare advancement, and fosters the development of an enlightened public opinion as the initial step toward an adequate social welfare program.

The Georgia Child Welfare Association has been instrumental in improving the standards of child care, and in the development of scientific child placement. The work of the Fulton—DeKalb Child Welfare Association has been most noteworthy.

That there are two major races in Georgia and that many social welfare problems arise therefrom is common knowledge. Race antagonism can be overcome through conference, cooperative effort in constructive community projects, and through education. Such is the approach and program of the Georgia Committee on Interracial Cooperation, with 94 members. It is the state branch of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, organized in Atlanta in 1919 by the Atlanta Christian Council. Its techniques of conference, cooperative community projects, and education have been adopted widely in America and foreign countries.

The labor unions, American Federation of Labor and CIO, have a substantial membership in some Georgia cities. The democratizing influence of labor organization upon workers and community policy provides the broad basis on which the right of labor to organize has become a fundamental tenet of modern American life. That the two branches of organized labor are in competition with each other in Georgia, as in the nation, does not explain the relatively small union membership in Georgia, for actually the membership has increased markedly since the coming of the CIO. The fundamental fact is that, historically speaking, slavery rather than citizenship is the background of Southern labor. The relatively small participation of Georgia's people in politics—enforced upon the Negro by the white primary, as upon all poorest people by the retroactive poll tax requirements—is another present-day expression of the same thing that lies back of the slow development of the labor union movement. It is not convincing when a person condemns the CIO by praising the A. F. of L., or vice versa. Revealing information can frequently be had by inquiring of the attitude held toward the A. F. of L. before the emergence of the CIO.

The point here is this: industrial democracy and paternalism are different economic systems, just as representative government and feudalism are different political systems. And it is doubtful whether Georgia can ever have political democracy so long as the major portion of her laboring people remain economi-

cally and politically inarticulate. The major question, then, about organized labor in Georgia is one that involves the average articulate, responsible citizen no less than the employee and the employer. That is, organized labor is a political as well as an economic question and consequently must be the concern of all who have faith in representative government and democratic institutions.

Other state welfare organizations in Georgia include the Georgia Policy Association, with its convictions that the fundamental needs in Georgia can be met only when an intelligent public policy has been developed concerning matters of agriculture, education, public health, and public participation in community life; the local branches of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, which emphasizes the use of legal means to safeguard the rights of Negroes, and the Urban League, with interracial sponsorship, which provides a wide range of services to urban Negroes in a few of the larger cities of the state.

Throughout the state, there are numerous local welfare organizations and councils which seek through committee work to integrate the social welfare activities of the city.

A CHALLENGE TO DEMOCRACY

These facts about the religious, civic, and social life of Georgia, necessarily brief, nonetheless affording something of a picture of the state, clearly outline those portions of the population which are well served by religious and civic organizations and those being overlooked, ignored, or disowned by most of the organized life of the state.

The groups in most need of material and cultural assistance are the poorer urban dwellers, stranded rural laborers, wage hands and farm tenants, and in many sections of the poor-soil areas of the state a considerable number of small farm owners. The facts presented in this report, coupled with those of earlier Fact Finding reports, show that these families are the same ones that have the poorest houses, lowest incomes, vote least often, have the poorest educational opportunities, the least adequate health facilities—that these families are precisely the same families which the religious, civic, and social organizations of the state serve most lamely. It is of first importance, too, that it is in this portion of Georgia's population that the birth rate is highest. In short, a disproportionate part of Georgia's future citizens are being born and reared in these handicapped areas.

When the rate of farm tenancy is sketched, it becomes perfectly clear that farm tenancy does not represent biological inferiority of the tenant group, but rather the effects of the unbalance between urban and rural economy, the losing of the world monopoly in cotton production, the severe erosion of soil in large sections of the state necessitating increased expenditures for commercial fertilizers. Biological disintegration, when it does occur, cannot be seen in a few years; it is rather a matter of generations. But the increase of landlessness among Georgia's farm people has frequently been pronounced within such short periods as five or ten years.

Taking Georgia's white farm population alone, the rate of tenancy increased from 41.8 per cent in 1900 to 56.9 per cent in 1935. During this thirty-five-year period there was a numerical increase of white farm tenant families of nearly 40,000, while in the same period the number of Negro tenant families decreased by more than 9,000, so that now over three-fifths of Georgia's farm tenant families, as shown above, are of the white race. These figures mean that more

and more of Georgia's rural white population is choosing between unemployment and tenant farms which Negroes operated heretofore.

It is clear that the dynamic forces involved here are economic disintegration and not biological inferiority, because the record stands clear that the white farm tenants of Georgia have their biological heritage in common with the most wealthy and most cultured portions of the state's population. There is clear evidence, too, that the Negro group is handicapped not by biology but by inadequate opportunities for personal and group development. Negro educational attainment in Georgia is relatively low when compared with the white, but it is exceedingly high in view of the fact that scarcely one-sixth as much public money has been devoted to the education of the Negro child as to the white.

A word needs to be said, from the national point of view, about the high birth rate in the poorer rural areas. Because more than a score of the wealthiest and most populous states do not have a birth rate high enough to maintain a stationary population, they will either lose population or attract numerous migrants from the high birth rate sections. Obviously, the richest nation on earth should be able and willing to maintain at least a stationary population and, if so, so-called "surplus children" of the high birth rate areas are needed to offset the low birth rates of the wealthier communities and states. In the nation then, as in Georgia, these relatively large families in the poorer rural homes constitute not a threat but a challenge to our religious, civic, and social forces.

If the citizens of the America of the future are to have good health—which can come only from a balanced diet and adequate medical care—and if they are to have educational opportunities, which can be had only by providing good schools for the children in the communities where they live, it means quite definitely that the resources of the nation wherever they are shall have to be made available to serve the fundamental needs of the children of the nation wherever they are. Also within the state, this philosophy must permeate the religious, civic, and social organizations so that the available resources of the state, concentrated in the largest cities, can be made available to the needs of the people of the state. Moreover, this same philosophy must become regnant in the wealthier states before they can be safeguarded against the incoming of costly migrants, costly because of their inadequate education, because of their lack of a tradition of community participation, and often because of their poor health, resulting from meager diets and lack of medical care.

The whole fact-finding effort in Georgia emphasizes the need for a clear understanding of the nature of our major problems of low incomes, meager political participation, and the stifling assumptions of race and class distinctions. The leadership of Georgia cannot escape these problems by ignoring them, nor can it correct them by denying the organic relationship of Georgia's problems and resources to the problems and resources of the nation as a whole. Both the people of Georgia and the United States have a great deal to win by effecting programs which will afford opportunities for the fullest development of the neglected groups. They need adequate food, medical care, and the chance to have a responsible part in the religious, social, political, and economic life of the state. Meeting these basic needs is a challenge to democracy in Georgia and in the United States.

*file
Senator George*

*PSF: Georgia Campaign,
1938*

The attached tabulation shows the vote of Senator George, compared with that of the Senate Majority Leader, on all important legislation where a record vote was taken in the 73rd, 74th and 75th Congresses.

*See p.p. 8, 10, 12, 16, 17.
18, 22.*

SEVENTY-THIRD CONGRESS
1st Session
(March 4, 1933 to June 16, 1933)

		Senator <u>Robinson</u>	Senator <u>George</u>
H.R. 3835	AGRICULTURAL ADJUSTMENT ACT, 1933		
	-Amendment that no land shall be leased for the reduction of acreage. Rejected.	No	No
	-To fix the weight of the silver dollar grains, etc. to protect the foreign commerce of U.S. against the adverse effect of depreciated foreign currencies. Rejected.	No	Yes
	-To include payment of the bonus. Rejected.	No	No
	-To accept payment (for a period of 6 months) in silver from foreign countries on foreign debts. Agreed.	Yes	No
	-Amendment in the nature of a substitute for the bill. Rejected.	No	No
	-On motion relating to the amendment with respect to peanuts. Agreed.	Yes	No
	-On passage of the bill. Passed.	Yes	Yes
H.R. 1491	BANKING ACT, 1933.		
	-On bill to provide relief in the existing national emergency in banking. Passed.	Yes	Yes
H.R. 2820	ECONOMY ACT.		
	-On amendment to the bill. Rejected	Yes	No
	-Passage of the bill. Passed.	Yes	Yes
H.R. 5040	GASOLINE AND POWER TAXES.		
	On amendments to the bill:		
	-Amendment to tax electrical energy produced by privately owned power companies at the rate of 3 per cent Rejected.	No	Yes

		Senator <u>Robinson</u>	Senator <u>George</u>
	-To tax the producer of 500 kilowatt hours the same as if he had purchased the energy (Barkley - No) Agreed	Not voting	No
S. 158	FIVE-DAY WEEK (BLACK BILL)		
	-Amendment that no article or commodity shall be shipped in interstate commerce etc. which was produced or manufactured in any establishment etc. in which any person was employed or permitted to work more than 5 days a week or more than six hours in any one day. Rejected.	No	No
	-Amendment to prohibit the carriage of articles in interstate and foreign commerce which have been produced in plants utilizing more than a thirty-six hour week or more than eight hours in any one day. Rejected	Yes	Yes
	-Amendment that the Act should not apply to articles not produced in the United States. Rejected.	No	No
	-Amendment that Act should not apply to manufacturers bound by contract to deliver articles within a specified time. Rejected.	No	No
	-On passage of the bill. Passed.	Yes	Yes
	-On motion to reconsider the vote on the passage of the bill. Rejected.	No	Yes
S. 1272	MUSCLE SHOALS AND TENNESSEE VALLEY ACT		
	-Vandenberg amendment that percentages to be paid Alabama and Tennessee should be subject to change and revision by the Board. Rejected.	No	Not voting
	-Bankhead amendment providing for the manufacture of nitrate and fertilizer ingredients. Rejected.	No	No
	-On passage of the bill providing for operation of Government properties. Passed.	Yes	Yes
H.R. 5755	NATIONAL INDUSTRIAL RECOVERY ADMINISTRATION		
	-Amendment to strike out the "licensing section". Rejected	No	No
	-Amendment that nothing in the bill should supplant existing labor agreements, etc. Rejected.	Yes	Yes

Senator
Robinson

Senator
George

-Amendment that "no trade or industrial association shall be eligible to receive the benefits of this title unless such associations give equal voting strength to the industry of each state, etc., irrespective of the magnitude of the trades, industries, etc. of the different states". Rejected.	No	Yes
-Amendment that the President shall, after investigation, raise tariffs on imported articles if same come into this country in such quantities as to have adverse effect on N.R.A. Agreed.	Yes	Not voting
-Motion to strike out Title I. Rejected.	No	No
-Committee amendment to strike certain language relating to articles produced in the United States. Agreed.	Yes	Yes
-Amendments clarifying committee amendments. Agreed	Yes	Yes
-Amendment relative to flood control. Rejected	No	Not voting
-Amendment to issue notes instead of bonds to finance N.R.A. Rejected.	No	Not voting
-St. Lawrence waterways amendment. (Barkley - No) Rejected.	Not voting	No
-Amendment to reduce Federal gasoline tax one-half cent per gallon. Rejected.	No	No
-Amendment to except from taxes imposed by Section 312 certain corporations enumerated in Section 201 of the Revenue Act. Agreed.	Yes	Yes
-Amendment providing for an excise tax on sales by manufacturers. Rejected.	No	No
-On passage of the bill. Passed.	Yes	Yes
-Conference report. Agreed.	Yes	Yes
 S. 812 UNEMPLOYMENT RELIEF		
-on the bill. Passed.	Yes	Yes

		Senator Robinson	Senator George
H.R. 5389	VETERAN'S COMPENSATION OR PENSIONS FOR SERVICE-CONNECTED DISABILITIES.		
	-Amendment to Independent Offices Appropriation Bill, prohibiting the President from reducing vet- eran's compensation or pension for service-connected disability in excess of 25 per cent. Re- jected.	Yes	Yes
H.R. 3341	LEGALIZATION AND TAXING OF BEER.		
	-On the Bill. Passed.	Yes	Not Recorded
H.J. Res. 192	REPEAL OF GOLD CLAUSE		
	-On the Bill. Passed.	Yes	Yes
SEVENTY-THIRD CONGRESS 2ND SESSION (January 3, 1934 to June 18, 1934)			
H.R. 6976	GOLD RESERVE ACT OF 1934.		
	-Amendment to create Foreign Ex- change Board. Rejected.	No	No
	-Amendment limiting Stabilization Fund. Rejected.	No	No
	-Amendment requiring Treasury pur- chase of silver. Rejected.	No	Yes
	-Final Vote. Passed.	Yes	Yes
H.R. 7527	ADDITIONAL CWA RELIEF APPROPRIATION (EMERGENCY RELIEF APPROPRIATION ACT OF 1934)		
	-Conference Report. Agreed to.	Yes	No
	-Motion to reconsider conference report on CWA appropriation bill. Rejected.	No	Yes
H.R. 6663	INDEPENDENT OFFICES APPROPRIATION BILL - passed over the President's veto. (This Act returned presumptive cases to rolls receiving veterans benefits, provided for increased hospitalization for veterans of World War, and provided for Spanish War Veterans' pensions.)	No	Yes

		Senator <u>Robinson</u>	Senator <u>George</u>
	RATIFICATION OF ST. LAWRENCE WATERWAYS TREATY. Rejected.	Yes	No
H.R. 8573	PHILIPPINE INDEPENDENCE BILL. Passed.	Yes	Yes
H.R. 8402	BANKHEAD COTTON CONTROL BILL Passed	Yes	Yes
H.R. 7835	INTERNAL REVENUE BILL, 1934 (George voted with Robinson on all amendments except where Robinson was not recorded.) Passed	Not recorded	Not recorded
H.R. 5950	MUNICIPAL BANKRUPTCY BILL Passed	Yes	Yes
S. 3487	LOANS TO MUNICIPALITIES FOR POWER PLANTS -Johnson amendment to Loans to Industry bill permitting RFC loans to municipalities for power plants. Rejected.	No	No
S. 3420	SECURITIES EXCHANGE ACT, 1934 -Fletcher amendment reducing time in which suit may be brought for misrepresentation from 2 to 1 year. Adopted. <i>Agreed</i> -Steiner amendment reduces penal- ties. Rejected. -Bulkley amendment to prohibit marginal trading. Rejected -Costigan amendment providing for Federal Trade Commission supervision. Rejected. -Reynolds amendment permitting Com- mission to receive only necessary information concerning stocks listed. Rejected. -Hastings amendment striking out requirement of financial statement from Securities members. Re- jected. -Final vote on the Bill. Passed.	Yes Not recorded No No No Yes	Yes No Yes Yes No No Yes

		Senator Robinson	Senator George
H.R. 8687	RECIPROCAL TARIFF ACT		
	-Johnson agricultural amendment. Rejected.	No	No
	-Johnson amendment requiring trade agreements to be submitted to Congress. Rejected.	No	No
	-Hastings amendment to terminate agreements in six months. Re- jected.	No	No
	-Final vote on Bill. Passed.	Yes	Yes
H.R. 9745	SILVER PURCHASE ACT, 1934.		
	-Bonus amendment. Rejected.	No	No
	-Long amendment to remove tax amendment. Rejected.	No	No
	-Final vote on the bill. Passed.	Yes	Yes
S. 3794	HOUSING ACT, 1934 (Creating FHA). Passed	Yes	Yes
S. 3580	FARM BANKRUPTCY ACT. Passed	Yes	Yes

SEVENTY-FOURTH CONGRESS
1st Session
(Jan. 3, 1935 - August 20, 1935)

WORLD COURT.

	-Norris amendment requiring two-thirds Senate vote. Rejected.	No	Not recorded
	-Long amendment declaring continuance of Monroe Doctrine. Rejected.	No	Not recorded
	-Final vote to ratify United States ad- herence to World Court. Rejected.	Yes	Yes
S. 1384	FARM CREDIT AMENDMENTS.		
	-Carey amendment concerning livestock corporations. Agreed.	No	No
	-Wheeler amendment reducing interest rate. Agreed.	Yes	Yes

	<u>Senator Robinson</u>	<u>Senator George</u>
-To modify Wheeler amendment on interest rates. Agreed.	No.	Yes
-Long amendment prohibiting deficiency judgments. Rejected.	No	Not recorded
H.J. Res. 117		
EMERGENCY RELIEF APPROPRIATION ACT, 1935 (WORK RELIEF)		
-McCarran amendment calling for payment of prevailing wage. Agreed.	No	No
-Costigan amendment specifying construction of Public Works. Rejected.	No	No
-Long amendment providing one billion dollars for students assistance. Rejected.	No	Not recorded
-Long amendment reducing students assistance to \$100,000,000. Rejected.	No	No
-Thomas amendment, providing no money for military purposes other than improvements. Agreed.	Yes	Not recorded
-McCarran prevailing wage amendment - reconsideration. Rejected.	No	No
-Prevailing wage on Federal projects only. Agreed.	Yes	Yes
-Byrd amendment reducing appropriation from four to one billion. Rejected.	No	No
-Adams amendment reducing the appropriation to two billion. Rejected.	No	Yes
-Second Adams amendment reducing the Work Relief appropriation to two billion. Rejected.	No	Yes
-Schall amendment to liquidate all Government appropriations within ninety days. Rejected.	No	No
-Neely amendment, providing five hundred million for schools. Rejected.	No	Yes
-Cutting amendment, providing forty million for schools. Agreed.	No	Yes
-LaFollette amendment to increase amount to nine billion. Rejected.	No	No

		Senator <u>Robinson</u>	Senator <u>George</u>
	-Borah amendment for repealing NIRA anti-trust exemptions. Rejected.	Not recorded	No
	-Thomas inflation amendment. Motion to lay on the table. Agreed.	Yes	Yes
	-Conference report on bill. Agreed.	Yes	Yes
	-Final vote on the bill. Passed.	Yes	Yes
H.R. 6359	"PINK SLIP" REPEAL.		
	-LaFollette amendment attempting to substitute for "pink slip" publicity of income tax return. Rejected.	No	No
	-"Pink Slip" Repeal	Yes	Yes
S. 5	FOOD AND DRUG BILL		
	-Bailey's amendment on seizures	No	Yes
H.R. 3896	BONUS BILL		
	-Thomas' amendment authorizing appropriation for payment of bonus, VINSON BILL. Agreed.	No	Not recorded
	-Clark amendment substituting Vinson Bill for Harrison Bill. Agreed.	No	Yes
H.R. 1	VOTE ON PATMAN BONUS BILL. Passed.	No	Yes
	-Vote to override President's veto. Veto sustained.	No	Yes
S. 2357	INCREASING POWERS OF TVA		
	-Amendments. Passed.	Yes	Yes
S. 1958	WAGNER LABOR RELATIONS ACT		
	-Tydings amendment. Rejected.	Not recorded	No
	-Vote on Bill. Passed.	Yes	Yes
S. 2796	PUBLIC UTILITY ACT OF 1935		
	-Dieterich amendment eliminating death sentence. Rejected.	Paired	Yes

		Senator <u>Robinson</u>	Senator <u>George</u>
	- Longman amendment delegating S.E.C. powers of selecting elimination. Rejected.	Not recorded	Yes
	-Final vote on bill. Passed.	Not recorded	No
S.J.Red. 113	NRA EXTENSION. Passed	Paired for	Paired for
H.R. 7260	SOCIAL SECURITY ACT		
	-Clark amendment exempting private companies having individual systems. Agreed.	No	Yes
	-Borah amendment assuring minimum benefit payments to aged of \$30 a month. Rejected.	No	Not recorded
	-Hastings amendment to kill old age benefits. Rejected.	No	Yes
	-Final vote on Bill. Passed.	Yes	Yes
H.R. 8492	A.A.A. AMENDMENTS		
	-Guffey hops amendment. Agreed	No	No
	-Committee amendment on canned fruit. Rejected.	Not recorded	No
	-Committee amendment on milk. Agreed.	Yes	No
	-Moore's flaxseed amendment. Agreed	No	Not recorded
	-Guffey amendment to eliminate barley from processing tax. Rejected.	No	No
	-Walsh motion to reconsider milk. Agreed.	No	Yes
	-Committee Milk amendment. Rejected.	Yes	No
	-Connally amendment on trade exportation and consumption. Rejected.	No	Yes

	Senator <u>Robinson</u>	Senator <u>George</u>
-George motion on credit and re- fund. Agreed.	No	Yes
-Truman motion to reconsider bar- ley. Rejected.	No	No
-Russell motion to reconsider rayon tax amendment. Rejected.	No	Yes
-LaFollette imports amendment. Agreed.	No	Yes
-McCarran trade agreements amend- ment. Agreed.	Yes	Yes
-Walsh motion to table the McCarran amendment. Agreed.	Yes	Yes
-Robinson motion to table Carey trade agreements amendment. Agreed.	Yes	Yes
-Vote on the bill. Passed.	Yes	Yes
H.R. 7617 BANKING ACT OF 1935.		
-Nye amendment offering substitute for Title II of the bill (Amend- ments to Federal Reserve Act.) Rejected.	Not recorded	No
-LaFollette amendment to Title III (which set up uniform stand- ards of banking practices) Rejected	Not recorded	No
H.J. Res. 348 GOLD CLAUSE		
-Withdrawing right to sue United States. Passed.	Yes	No
S. 3055 GOVERNMENT CONTRACTS BILL (WALSH- HEALEY ACT)		
-Clark motion to recommit. Rejected.	No	Yes
-Clark amendment as substitute for Committee amendment. Rejected.	No	No
-Clark amendment restricting the Act to 2 years. Agreed.	No	Yes

	Senator <u>Robinson</u>	Senator <u>George</u>
COMMITTEE AMENDMENTS TO FEDERAL ALCOHOL CONTROL BILL. Agreed	No	Yes
REVENUE ACT OF 1935		
-Vandenberg amendment to recommit Rejected.	No	No
-LaFollette Amendment to increase surtax, to begin at \$3,000. Rejected.	No	No
-LaFollette Amendment to surtax (less drastic) - Rejected.	No	No
-Committee Surtax amendment. Agreed.	Yes	Yes
-Borah amendment to eliminate tax exemption on Government securities. Agreed.	No	No
-Final vote on the Bill. Passed.	Yes	Yes
ACT CREATING RAILROAD RETIREMENT SYSTEM. Passed.	Yes	Not recorded
GUFFEY COAL BILL (See Bituminous Coal Act, 75th Cong. 1st Sess.)		
-Neeley Motion to consider bill. Agreed.	Yes	Not recorded
-Tydings amendment striking out the tax amendment. Rejected.	No	Yes
-Tydings amendment for 5 per cent coal tax. Rejected.	No	Yes
-Vote on the Bill. Passed.	Yes	No
NEUTRALITY RESOLUTION		
-Motion to concur in House amendment. Agreed.	Yes	Yes
SEVENTY-FOURTH CONGRESS 2nd Session (January 3, 1936 to June 20, 1936)		
BONUS		
-Thomas (Okla.) Inflation amendment (payment by U.S. silver certificates, U.S. notes, etc.) Rejected.	No	No
-Russell motion to reconsider Connally amendment making provisional lieutenants eligible for bonus. Rejected.	No	Yes

RIDER, PAGE 12

S. 3483

RURAL ELECTRIFICATION

Norris Amendment relieving expenditures of R.E.A.
from certain General Accounting Office restric-
tions.
Passed.

Yes

No

Senator
Robinson

Senator
George

-Neely amendment to pay bonus bonds with non-interest bearing U.S. notes. Rejected.

No

No

-Passage of the bill. Passed.

Yes

Yes

-Payment of Adjusted Service Certificates over Presidential Veto. Passed.

Yes

Yes

SOIL CONSERVATION

-Wagner amendment to restore fair ratios of income of farmer and non-farmer groups. Rejected.

No

No

-Vandenberg amendment regarding limitation of imports. Rejected.

No

No

-Connally amendment regarding export debenture. Rejected.

No

No

-McNary substitute amendment restricting grazing privileges. Rejected.

No

No

-Motion to re-commit the bill. Rejected.

No

No

-Passage of the bill. Passed.

Yes

Yes

S. 3978

R.F.C. BANK STOCKS TAX

-Exempts R.F.C. bank stocks from taxation. Passed.

Yes

Yes

S. 3423

Rider

~~RURAL ELECTRIFICATION~~

~~Act establishing R.E.A. and authorizing R.E.A. Administrator to make certain loans and expenditures. Passed.~~

Yes

No

S. Res.
265

A.A.A. BENEFIT PAYMENTS

-Motion to table Barbour amendment to obtain Resettlement data along with A.A.A. benefit payments over \$10,000. Agreed.

Yes

No

-Motion to table Carey amendment to obtain Civil Service data along with A.A.A. benefit payments over \$10,000. Agreed.

Yes

Not
recorded

		Senator <u>Robinson</u>	Senator <u>George</u>
H.R. 3455	FLOOD CONTROL BILL (AUTHORIZING STATE COMPACTS)		
	-Guffey amendment for Government to assume construction cost of railroad and highway relocations. Rejected.	No	Not recorded
	-Bilbo amendment that Federal Government assume all costs of river and stream improvements. Rejected.	No	No
H.R. 6772	COMMODITY EXCHANGES		
	-For regulation of commodity exchanges. Passed.	Yes	Yes
H.R. 12624	FIRST DEFICIENCY APPROPRIATION BILL		
	-Amendment striking out clause relating to rural rehabilitation. Rejected.	No	Not recorded
	-Germaneness of Robinson amendment for study of Passamaquoddy Dam and Florida ship canal. Agreed.	Yes	Yes
	-Branch of Robinson amendment with re- spect to Florida Ship canal. Agreed.	Yes	Yes
	-Branch of Robinson amendment with re- spect to Passamaquoddy Dam project. Rejected.	Yes	Yes
	-Robinson motion to table Hastings motion to reconsider vote by which authority was given to investigate Florida ship canal. Agreed.	Yes	Yes
	-Vandenberg amendment in nature of sub- stitute for Title II and providing state administration of relief. Rejected.	No	No
	-Passage of the bill. Passed.	Yes	Yes
H.R. 12395	REVENUE BILL OF 1936. Passed.	Yes	Yes
	-Conference report on Revenue Bill of 1936. Agreed.	Yes	Gen. pair
476	CIVIL SERVICE		
	-To prohibit political influence in promotion of civil service em- ployees. Passed.	Yes	Yes

		Senator <u>Robinson</u>	Senator <u>George</u>
	WAGNER LOW-COST HOUSING. Passed	Yes	No
H.R. 12800	GUFFEY COAL BILL (See Bituminous Coal Act - 75th Congress, 1st Session)		
	-Motion to consider bill. Agreed.	Yes	No
	-Frazier amendment to Guffey Coal Bill in nature of Frazier-Lenke Farm Refinancing Bill. Rejected	No	Yes
SEVENTY-FIFTH CONGRESS 1st Session (January 5, 1937 to August 21, 1937)			
S.J. Res. 3	NEUTRALITY RESOLUTION, 1937		
	-Amendment to Neutrality Act to pro- hibit exportation of arms, ammunitions and implements of war to Spain. Passed.	Yes	Yes
	-Conference report on resolution Adopted	Yes	Not recorded
S. 415	R.F.C. EXTENSION		
	-Byrd amendment limiting extension to one year. Rejected.	No	No
	-Authorizing continuance of R.F.C. for two years. Passed.	Yes	Yes
H.R. 3587	FIRST DEFICIENCY APPROPRIATION BILL		
	-O'Mahoney amendment increasing amount for air mail carriage. Agreed.	Yes	No
	-Committee amendment reducing amount for relief to \$775,000,000. Rejected.	No	No
	-Schwellenbach amendment requiring reports of all Congressional employees loaned to Congressional committees. Agreed.	Yes	Not recorded

		Senator <u>Robinson</u>	Senator <u>George</u>
H.J. Res. 96	RECIPROCAL TRADE AGREEMENTS		
	-Amendment prohibiting duty regulations on foreign imports below amount necessary to equalize domestic cost of production. Rejected.	No	No
	-O'Mahoney amendment requiring trade agreement to lie before Congress for 30 days before it becomes effective. Rejected.	No	No
	-Pepper amendment requiring duties on agricultural and horticultural products to be maintained at a point to equalize domestic production at cost. Agreed.	No	No
	-Extending President's authority to negotiate trade agreements to June 12, 1940. Passed.	Yes	Yes
H.R. 2518	SUPREME COURT RETIREMENTS		
	-Providing for retirement of Justices of Supreme Court. Passed.	Yes	Yes
H.R. 4985	BITUMINOUS COAL ACT		
	-Byrnes amendment declaring that sit-down strikes are illegal. Rejected.	No	Yes
	-Borah amendment removing exemption from anti-trust laws granted code members. Rejected.	No	Yes
	-Passage of the Bill. Passed.	Yes	Gen. Pair
S. Con. Res. 7	SIT-DOWN STRIKES		
	-Resolution declaring sit-down strikes are illegal and condemning labor espionage. Passed.	Yes	Yes
H.R. 6730	SECOND DEFICIENCY APPROPRIATION BILL		
	-Amendment to provide funds for T.V.A. Agreed.	Not recorded	Yes

		Senator <u>Robinson</u>	Senator <u>George</u>
H.R. 6551	EXTENSION OF CIVILIAN CONSERVATION COMPS.		
	-Clark amendment reducing Director's salary. Agreed.	No	No
	-Byrd amendment limiting life of Act to two more years. Rejected.	No	Yes
	-Passage of the bill. Passed.	Yes	Yes
H.R. 5478	VETERANS INSURANCE VETO		
	-On over-riding President's veto of bill extending privilege of renewing expiring veterans policies. Passed.	No	Yes
H.J. Res. 361	UNEXPENDED RELIEF FUNDS <i>APPROPRIATION</i>		
	-Amendment barring use of unexpended balances except where obligated or contracted. Rejected.	No	Yes
	-Robinson amendment requiring local communities to meet 25 per cent of relief costs. Rejected.	Yes	Yes
	-Committee amendment requiring local communities to meet 40 per cent of costs. Rejected.	No	Yes
H.J. Res. 375	EXCISE TAX EXTENSION		
	-Committee amendment limiting extension of excise taxes to one year. Rejected.	No	Not recorded
	-LaFollette amendment lowering surtax brackets and increasing rates. Agreed.	Gen. Pair	Not recorded
	-Truman motion to reconsider vote on LaFollette amendment. Carried.	Yes	Not recorded
	-LaFollette amendment lowering surtax brackets and increasing rates (second vote on amendment after reconsideration). Rejected.	No	Not recorded
H.R. 6763	FARM INTEREST VETO	Senator <u>Barkley</u>	
	-On over-riding President's veto of bill extending reduced interest rates on Federal Land Bank Loans to Farmers. Passed.	No	Yes

Senator
Rarkley

Senator
George

COURT BILL

-Logan motion to recommit Supreme Court Judicial Reform Bill. Agreed.

Yes

Yes

TRAIN LENGTH LIMIT BILL

-Hale motion to recommit the train length bill. Rejected.

No

Yes

LABOR STANDARDS (WAGES AND HOURS)

-Lodge amendment restricting imports of commodities produced by sub-standard labor. Rejected.

No

No

-Reynolds amendment exemptin from Act employees of tobacco, cotton and other seasonal industries. Rejected.

No

Yes

-Reynolds amendment exempting employers of ten or ~~more~~ ^{less} employees. Rejected.

No

Yes

-McCarran amendment barring competitive foreign imports. Rejected.

No

No

-Borah amendment exempting dairy products industries from bill. Agreed.

No

Yes

-Dieterich amendment exempting perishable agricultural products industries during harvesting season. Agreed.

No

Yes

-Schwellenbach amendment clarifying preceding agricultural amendment exemptions, Agreed.

No

Yes

-Johnson (Colo.) amendment having Wheeler-Johnson child labor provisions. Agreed.

No

Yes

-Overton amendment exempting cotton gin employees from Act. Rejected.

No

Yes

-Connally amendment barring effect of orders under the Act until they have lain before Congress for 60 days. Rejected.

No

Yes

-Maloney amendment substituting system of unemployment survey upon which would be based wage and hour standards. Rejected.

No

Yes

-Connally motion to recommit labor standards bill. Rejected.

No

Yes

-Copeland motion to lay on table anti-lynching bill (H.R. 1507) offered as amendment to S. 2475 - Labor Standards. Agreed.

Yes

Yes

	Senator <u>Barkley</u>	Senator <u>George</u>
-Bailey amendment requiring Senate confirmation of all employees of Labor Standards Board paid \$4,000 or more annually. Agreed.	Yes	Yes
-Passage of the Bill. Passed.	Yes	No
S. 1685 HOUSING ACT OF 1937.		
-Byrd amendment limiting unit cost of dwellings. Agreed.	No	Yes
-George amendment fixing three-year expiration date of Act. Rejected.	No	Yes
-Logan amendment placing the housing authority under Interior Department. Agreed.	Yes	No
-Byrd motion to lay on table McCarran motion to reconsider Byrd amendment limiting unit cost of dwellings. Agreed.	No	Yes
-Passage of the bill. Passed.	Yes	No
S. 1667 HELIUM CONSERVATION ACT.		
-Borah amendment providing for appraisers for cost of determination of helium gas property. Rejected.	No	Yes
-Passage of the bill. Passed.	Yes	No
ANTI-LYNCHING TEST VOTE		
-Barkley motion to adjourn. (Test vote as to whether Anti-Lynching Bill will remain for pending business. If motion carried, Anti-Lynching Bill will be displaced.) Rejected	Yes	Not recorded
SEVENTY-FIFTH CONGRESS 2nd Session (November 15, 1937 to December 21, 1937)		
S. 2787 AGRICULTURAL ADJUSTMENT ACT OF 1938.		
-McNary amendment to limit provisions to 1938, 1939 and 1940. Rejected.	No	No
-Mahoney amendment to increase to 15 per cent the corn carry-over before marketing quotas become effective. Rejected.	No	No

	<u>Senator Barkley</u>	<u>Senator George</u>
-Bailey amendment setting level below which tobacco quotas may not be reduced. Rejected.	No	No
-Lee amendment exempting farmers whose annual production is less than \$300 from quota and acreage reductions. Rejected.	No	No
-Bailey amendment restricting percentage reduction on tobacco quotas for producers of flue-cured tobacco. Rejected.	No	Yes
-Copeland amendment exempting wheat and corn used for feed for dairy cattle. Rejected.	No	Not recorded
-Vandenberg amendment limiting authorization for funds to five hundred million dollars. Rejected.	No	Not recorded
-Committee amendment removing specified authorization and inserting authorization for such amounts as are necessary. Agreed.	Yes	No
-Byrnes amendment relating to amount of annual marketing quotas allotted to each State. Agreed.	Gen. pair	No
-Lee amendment substituting domestic allotment plan for committee provisions respecting cotton. Rejected.	No	No
-McNary amendment to prevent diverted acreage being used in dairy production. Agreed.	No	No
-Amendment limiting useability of diverted acreage for livestock, poultry, etc. for marketing purposes. Agreed.	No	No
-McNary amendment adding provisions for purchase of wheat. Rejected.	No	No
-Smith amendment providing for Commodity Credit Corporation purchase of cotton in the open market up to six million bales or until 12¢ per pound price is reached. Rejected.	Yes	Yes
-McAdoo amendment as substitute for the bill which would authorize the Secretary of Agriculture to set minimum prices for corn, cotton, wheat, rice, tobacco. Rejected.	No	No

		Senator <u>Barkley</u>	Senator <u>George</u>
	-Motion to recommit the bill. Rejected.	No	No
	-Final vote on the bill. Passed.	Yes	Yes
H.R. 8730	AMENDMENTS TO THE NATIONAL HOUSING ACT (FHA)		
	-Lodge amendment requiring payment of prevailing wages during the Housing Act. Agreed.	Yes	No
	-Vote on the Bill. Passed.	Yes	Yes
SEVENTY-FIFTH CONGRESS 3rd Session (January 3, 1938 to June 16, 1938)			
H.R. 1507	ANTI-LYNCHING BILL		
	-Connally motion to adjourn (Attempt to displace the bill) Rejected.	No	Yes
	-To invoke cloture rule against debate on Anti-Lynching Bill.	Yes	No
	-Glass motion to consider Indepen- dent Offices Appropriation Bill (Attempt to displace Anti-Lynching Bill). Rejected.	No	Yes
	-To invoke the cloture rule. Rejected.	Yes	No
	-Barkley motion to consider relief appropriation bill. (Displacing Anti-Lynching Bill) Agreed	Yes	Yes
H.R. 8730	AMENDMENTS TO THE NATIONAL HOUSING ACT		
	-On agreeing to conference report. Agreed.	Yes	Not recorded
H.R. 8505	AGRICULTURAL ADJUSTMENT, 1938.		
	-On agreeing to conference report on Farm Bill (Agric. Adj. Act, 1938) Agreed.	Yes	Yes

Senator
Barkley

Senator
George

ADDITIONAL RELIEF APPROPRIATION BILL

-Bone amendment to increase amount from \$250,000,000 to \$400,000	No	No
-Schellenbach amendment to repeal provision of 1930 Act requiring funds to be expended throughout the fiscal year. Approved.	No	No
-Amendments requiring mandatory minimum contribution by communities for projects. Rejected.	No	Yes
-Vote on the Bill. Passed.	Yes	Not recorded

HIGHWAYS

-McKellar motion to transfer consideration of bill for construction of superhighways from Committee on Banking and Currency to Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads. Agreed.	No	Yes
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GOVERNMENT REORGANIZATION

-Walsh amendment to strike out section providing for single Civil Service Administrator. Rejected.	No	Yes
-Wheeler amendment requiring Congressional approval of all reorganization orders. Rejected	No	Paired for
-Byrd amendment to reduce Government expenditures by not less than 10 per cent. Rejected.	No	Paired
-Pitman amendment that Forest Service shall not be abolished nor transferred from Department of Agriculture. Rejected.	No	Yes
-Clark amendment exempting Veterans Administration from the bill. Rejected.	No	Yes
-Clark amendment that the President shall not be authorized to abolish, consolidate or transfer the functions of the Veterans Administration. Rejected.	No	Yes

Senator Senator
Barkley George

-Clark amendment describing and limiting the functions and duties of the proposed six Administrative Assistants. Rejected.

No Not recorded

-Byrd amendment that Executive Order shall be accompanied by detailed report showing increase or decrease in expenditures. Rejected.

No Not recorded

-Clark amendment that the President shall not be authorized to abolish or transfer the Bureau of Biological Survey. Rejected.

No Not recorded

-Byrd amendment that the President shall not be authorized to abolish or transfer the functions of the General Accounting Office. Rejected.

No Yes

-Walsh motion to recommit the bill. Rejected.

No Yes

-Vote on the bill. Passed.

Yes No

H.R. 9682 REVENUE ACT, 1938.

-Finance Committee amendment striking out House provisions excluding excise tax on pork. Agreed.

Yes Yes

-Finance Committee amendment to repeal the 3 cents per hundred tax on sales of produce for future delivery. Agreed.

Yes Yes

-Lee amendment to make it a misdemeanor to transport liquor into dry States. Agreed.

Yes Yes

-Lodge amendment to reduce the tax rate for Old Age Benefits under Social Security Act. Rejected.

No No

-Russell Amendment imposing an import tax on jute. Rejected.

No Yes

-Pope amendment to impose a processing tax on farm products. Rejected.

No Yes

-LaFollette amendment to increase surtax on personal incomes. Rejected.

No No

		Senator <u>Barkley</u>	Senator <u>George</u>
	-Clark amendment to remove tax exemption on Federal, State, and municipal bonds. Rejected.	No	Not recorded
H.R. 8837	APPROPRIATIONS FOR GILBERTSVILLE DAM (TVA).		
	-Barkley motion that Senate insist on its amendments. Agreed.	Yes	Yes
S. 3845	CIVIL AERONAUTICS ACT.		
	-Truman amendment eliminating provision which gives President authority to remove Commission members for cause. Agreed.	Yes	No
	-Barkley motion to table motion to reconsider Truman amendment.	Yes	No
H.J. Res. 679	RELIEF-RECOVERY APPROPRIATION BILL		
	-Maloney amendment providing for municipal loans for utility construction. Rejected.	No	No
	-Lodge amendment adding \$500,000,000 to WPA and eliminating PWA funds. Rejected.	No	No
	-Hatch amendment to prohibit Federal office holders from attending political conventions as delegates. Rejected.	No	Yes
	-Copeland amendment providing for ear-marking flood control expenditures. Rejected.	No	Not recorded
	-Byrnes motion to table Lodge amendment providing for increase in old age benefit payments under Social Security Act. Agreed.	Yes	Not recorded
	-Vandenberg amendment providing for State administration of relief and requiring State sharing in cost. Rejected.	No	No
	-McAdoo amendment allocating \$50,000,000 to the Surplus Commodities Corporation for purchase of agriculture products for relief clients. Agreed.	No	Not recorded

	<u>Senator Barkley</u>	<u>Senator George</u>
-Thomas (Okla.) amendment setting minimum wage of \$40 a month for workers on relief projects. Agreed.	Yes	Yes
-Holt amendment requiring relief administration employees with one year's service to be granted Civil Service status. Rejected.	No	No
-Austin amendment to prevent political activities of persons employed by or receiving relief on Public Works Projects. Rejected.	No	Yes
-Burke motion to reconsider vote by which Senate rejected Hatch amendment restraining persons paid by relief funds from attending political conventions. Rejected.	No	Yes
-Byrd amendment striking out Title II providing for public works. Rejected.	No	No
-Vote on the Bill. Passed.	Yes	Yes

H.R. 10618 FLOOD CONTROL CONFERENCE REPORT

-Authorizing construction of certain public works on rivers and harbors for flood control	Yes	No
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H.R. 10530 FARM INTEREST VETO

-To extend for two years interest rate on land bank loans. Passed over Presidential veto.	Yes	Yes
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PSF; Georgia Campaign, 1938

Seventy-five years ago, on this field of consecrated sorrow, Abraham Lincoln dedicated this nation to a new brotherhood, founded on those principles of liberty and union in whose blending lie the dignity and strength and hope of common men.

When Lincoln spoke here, in November, 1863, the battle of Gettysburg was less than five months past. These rolling hills and meadows, which now lie green about us, were cut with the bright and cruel scars of breastworks. The scattered trees lifted their broken limbs, shattered by cannon ball and shell, and the dead leaves that drifted over the soldier dead were cut by the very bullets that took the lives of those who lay below.

Lincoln, on that November day, dedicated a national cemetery to the Northern dead, but in the imperishable words he uttered there was solace for all who fought and bled upon this field; there was support to all who in later years sought to bind up the wounds of war.

The rebirth of freedom which Lincoln asked for, the determination he expressed that government by the people and for the people should not perish - these were to be realized through triumph of arms, but beyond that triumph, foreshadowed on this field where we stand today, Lincoln saw that real victory could be won only through a rebirth, in North and South alike, of the spirit of freedom blended with the spirit of unity.

"Let us judge not, that we be not judged," said Lincoln in his second inaugural, and thereupon he asked the victorious North, "with malice toward none, with charity for all, ... to bind up the nation's wounds." Today, when time has laid its healing balm upon those wounds,

and upon later wounds inflicted with less reason, we can see more clearly that the wounds of all came from the same sources in human nature. However mistaken one side or the other may have been, in choice of policy, the sense of right was deep and firm and tenaciously held to. The cost of that war, in blood and anguish and material wealth, was multiplied by the human factors that gave nobility to the struggle, and thereby heightened the sadness of it.

Seventy-five years have passed since Pickett's men charged up Cemetery Ridge, and, shattered by withering fire, carried the doom of the Confederacy with them in their retreat. Today the men who wore the Blue, and the men who wore the Gray, are here together, a fragment spared by time. They are here together, united by the memory of old, divided loyalties, and united more firmly by the common loyalty that later years supplied. We honor them today, not asking under which flag they fought, but thankful that they stand today under our common flag, and seeing in their unity a symbol of national strength and progress.

The spirit of this gathering today was in Abraham Lincoln when he called upon the nation, in 1865, to rebuild its broken structure on a foundation of goodwill. The germ of this spirit was in his utterance, ^{here} at Gettysburg, when the roar of battle, hardly hushed upon this field, still was echoing elsewhere. It is a tragedy, some may say a greater tragedy than the war itself, that the spirit of Abraham Lincoln, the spirit to which he gave voice while the armies of North and South were still in the field, did not dominate the peace that followed, the peace that was no peace.

"With malice toward none, with charity for all," Lincoln would have sought to rebuild a nation devoted to freedom and democratic unity. The southern states, he said, had never legally left the Union, therefore the people of the South should return to the duties and privileges of citizenship as soon as possible without punishment or deprivation of rights. In law, a supreme arbitrament supported Lincoln's theory, for indissoluble union had been proclaimed on the battlefield. But the weight of military victory, uniting the states, was overbalanced by the weight of human shortcomings, driving them once more apart.

So we had the tragedy of Reconstruction. With Lincoln dead at the hand of a half-mad assassin, President Andrew Johnson was overwhelmed by those sinister forces of fanatical reaction that seem to gain power at the end of every war, and the South went through the terrors of economic ruin, social chaos and political exploitation.

Let us not assume too confidently that all this would have been avoided had Lincoln lived. The radical Republicans who reduced Andrew Johnson to a presidential shadow, the zealots who lacked but one vote of removing him from office by impeachment, were punishing him for courage, not cowardice; for wisdom, not folly. They were punishing him for attempting to carry out the policies of Abraham Lincoln. Lincoln himself had been the target of their anger when, using his power as commander in chief of the army, he showed mildness and fairness in reconstructing the governments of Arkansas, Louisiana, Tennessee and Virginia. I can well believe that all the venomous hatred and calumny heaped upon Andrew Johnson would have fallen to the lot of Lincoln had he undertaken, after the lapse

of his war powers, to stem the current of revenge that swept the congressional elections of 1866 and reduced the South to the status of conquered provinces.

Perhaps Lincoln would have been victorious. But the mighty moral force that now attaches to his name had not then been built up. Whoever occupied the White House, from 1865 to 1869, was bound to be confronted and challenged by elemental forces of incalculable strength and destructiveness, and these forces triumphed.

So perished the old South, whose better spirit, shorn of the incubus of slavery, had survived four years of furious battle, and so perished the hope of a quick and peaceful return to national unity. The lasting evil of Reconstruction was not in the field of politics. The abuses of carpetbag government were so plainly visible that the North itself aided in bringing them to an early end. The heavy blow dealt by Reconstruction was in the realm of the people's livelihood. The South was torn to pieces economically. The ravaged fields and burned houses that testified to the inherent nature of war had their counterpart in an economic prostration that was a needless accompaniment of peace. With one system of labor upset, with markets lost, with local industries prostrated and local capital wiped out, nothing could be put in systematic place of them except a feeble dependence upon a single staple, cotton. And the same combination that won the war - the union of industrial east and agricultural west - put forward a tariff policy that narrowed the market for cotton and heightened the cost of the goods for which cotton was to be exchanged.

Thus, for at least four decades, the South struggled under its burden, before anything more than a shadow of economic reconstruction had become visible. When genuine reconstruction came, with the rise of southern manufactures in the twentieth century, it proved to be a reconstruction largely in the interest of absentee owners, absentee financial interests, while the common people of the South were subjected to a new system of exploitation that threatened them with permanent degradation.

Early in the development of southern industrialism, the discovery was made that northern industries could move South, and, through lower wage rates and longer hours, undersell their northern competitors. With labor organized in the North, unorganized in the South, the discrepancy was sharpened, and many northern industries were forced South to preserve themselves from bankruptcy.

A period of expansion, when factories are being built, produces evidences of prosperity going beyond the factory payrolls, but when that expansion is based on low wages, the final level of prosperity is determined by the wage level itself. Therefore, in the South, there can be no lasting advantage in an industrialism based on exploitation of workers, while the effect nationally is to drag the general level of wages and of wealth down to the lowest stratum. Today the interests of North and South alike demand that we reconstruct this reconstruction, and turn from the exploitation of underpaid men and women to an economy based on fair treatment of all.

I address these remarks, not primarily to the people of the South, but to all the citizens of America, to wage earners, farmers, and industrial leaders, to those who speak in our pulpits, to editors and political leaders, as well as to the voiceless multitude that determines the basic course of democratic government.

In a democracy, seeking to lift the economic level by common action, the interests of all these groups are fundamentally the same, and are opposed by only a handful of deliberate exploiters. The vast majority of industrialists are the victims of forces they do not like, but which they cannot stand against or do not understand.

Speaking to the people of the South, I say but this: You need not have, nor should you tolerate, a lower level of living than the rest of the country. But to escape from such a level, more is needed than to build up the income of the factory workers in your new industrial empire. It is impossible, in any commonwealth of men, to have one large group prosperous while pitted against a lower group. The welfare of the white race in the South, the well being of the millions who work in factories and upon southern farms, depends in the last analysis upon the welfare of the Negro race. You may not have, perhaps you will not have for centuries, economic parity between the races, but they will rise together or go down together in any industrial economy based on political democracy and individual freedom.

And just as there can be no sectional prosperity where men and women are stratified in varying levels of poverty, so there can be no national prosperity where one great section is below the national level. By common efforts, the section below that level can be lifted up, but in the unrelieved interplay of competitive forces it will drag the other down.

We had, on this field of Gettysburg, an example of the courage and tenacity of the common man. The war that reached its culmination on these hills was not a contest between brilliant military leaders, nor a rivalry in the cold mechanics of death. It was a test of the staying power, the will and devotion of the people of America, their willingness, unhappily divided, to pay the price for the things they believed in most deeply. So measured, that war of brother against brother is not to be judged by its outcome, for in the weighing of the human spirit devoted to that contest, no man can discover a tilting of the scales. The Blue and the Gray alike were victorious, and they both met defeat. They were victorious, because they gave themselves, to the uttermost limit of their beings, to the cause they believed to be right. They met defeat, because these fine human talents were pitted against each other in processes of destruction, each cancelling the other, when they might have been devoted in concert to a peaceful settlement of more questions than the war involved.

But if this is true, it gives America at this moment a foundation upon which to attack the problems we face today, problems that overhang us as heavily in the economic field as slavery did in its political aspect.

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Let us, then, make the attack in concert, a nation united for a common objective, a people who have learned through error, as well as trial and precept, that in union there is strength.