Replies to your communications relative to registration and voting among Negroes in Jefferson county we submit the following for your consideration:

1. The number of Negro male voters is 354.

2. As to registration we were denied the right to register as citizens. But our women were forced to fill out three different papers (naturalization papers, not notwithstanding the fact that women were only required to give their names and addresses. Over 800 of the best qualified Negro women applied for registration after going through the above process of registration they were told that their certificates would be mailed to date less than 60 days after the same have received their certificates with the books closed until the first of August in July 1901. All white women were given their certificates even they applied for registration.

It seems to be the policy of those in authority to discourage
registration and voting among our people by indirect methods. Our inability to secure the services of any of the white lawyers to
look after interests showed plainly that there existed a mutual
understanding of some kind. With the assistance of some defeated can-
didates (Rep) we hope to present a protest to this Congress demanding
a congressional investigation of the election laws of Ala. We await
your advice regarding this matter.

I am enclosing clippings. I regret that I cannot furnish you
with samples of the Registration papers used here for the Negro vote,
as they were not obtainable by any method.

The population of Jefferson county White ———— 10,1835
Colored) ———— 12,1833
Total ———— 202658

The total number of white voters is 90,000:

" " Negro " less than 600

This gives you some idea as to our representation,

I am respectfully,

Chas. E. McDowell, Secy.
December 3, 1920.

Hon. Isaac Siegel
Representative from
the State of New York,
32 Chambers Street
New York City

Dear Sir:

In behalf of twelve million people of the United States, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People asks that its representatives be heard by the House Committee on the Census, of which you are chairman. Be kind to place such facts before your committee as will bring about a Congressional investigation of violent, illegal and unconstitutional disfranchisement of colored people in southern states, and a consequent reduction in representation of those states, as provided in the Fourteenth Amendment of the United States Constitution.

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People is prepared to place before the Committee on the Census, evidence showing that colored people who desired to register in the southern states were prevented from registering by force, or by intimidation, or by unjustifiable delay, and that colored people who had registered were, by the same means, prevented from casting their ballots. Records, addresses and registration certificates of colored persons who were denied the right to vote, together with the names of election officials who denied them the right, records of the activities of the In Film Klan, designed to suppress prospective voters, are in possession of this Association and will be made available to the Committee on the Census.

The Assistant Secretary of this Association sends a personal recommendation of the ability of Negroes to and near Greensboro, Florida, in the course of which witnesses residing two hundred, a school house and a Negro well were burned. He will testify before your Committee that July 1st, a Negro who was lynched in connection with those disorders and was accused of having attempted to vote without having paid the necessary tax, had, in fact, paid such taxes.

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People strongly urges upon the Committee on the Census, through
you its chairman, the necessity of this time of showing some disposition to enforce the provisions of the United States Constitution with regard to the ballot in the United States. Colored people of the country, many of whom have come from the southern states to the north by reason of the terrorism which prevails in communities where colored people are dis- tracted, are looking to the United States Congress for re- dress and for an affirmation of the rights guaranteed by the Constitution. A failure on the part of the Committee on the Census to take cognizance of the facts of disfranchisement which no one in the United States can deny will constitute a grave affront to American citizens of every complexion who see in the validity of the ballot a fundamental of representative government.

Yours very truly,

[Signature]

Secretary,
National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

H.E. Dun
In Jacksonville, Florida, every possible method of intimidation and unjust delays were used to prevent the Negroes from voting on November 24. In the second, sixth, seventh and eighth wards white vigilantes intimidated the voters of Jacksonville. It was done ostensibly by the enforcement of voter registration. White persons were encouraged by white men, women and colored men, more than 4,000 registered and qualified colored voters in these four wards alone in the vicinity of Jacksonville were in line from 3:30 to 4:15 P.M. and were not allowed to vote. The names, addresses and registration certificates of more than 4,000 citizens who were not allowed to vote are in the hands of a committee of citizens of which Captain A. W. Boyd of 225 West Duval Street, is Chairman. Incidents were being repeated from these wards at the time of my visit to Jacksonville during election week. The vote has probably been awarded by new Captain Floyd in rookery of valuable assistance in giving information on this subject, as well as Attorney E. S. McMill.
July Perry, another Negro of the community, was taken from the jail at Orlando and lynched.

Methods of intimidation used in this country prior to election are given in detail in an article to appear in the Crisis for January 1923, a copy of which will be sent you.

I attach herewith copy of a letter written by a northern white man, Alexander Sharnoff, Campaign manager for the state of Florida of the Republican party. I also attach copy of a letter from a Negro letter sent to ex-postmaster J.L. Ocheal and Jack John T. Homey, both white, of Orlando showing methods of the Klan in terrorizing white men.
Disfranchisement of Colored Americans in the Presidential Election of 1920

THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION
FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE
NATIONAL OFFICE, 70 FIFTH AVENUE
NEW YORK CITY
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DISFRANCHISEMENT OF NEGRO AMERICANS IN THE
PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION OF 1920

Complete evidence of the disfranchisement of Negro Americans in the election of 1920 could be obtained only by federal or congressional investigation. There is, however, sufficient evidence available to justify a demand for such an inquiry. This evidence the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People has undertaken to collect and publish herewith.

It will be seen that in two states, Mississippi and Georgia, colored women were prevented from voting on the ground that they had not been able to comply with the state registration law. In Florida, colored people were threatened with arrest if they made erroneous statements at registration; were so delayed in Jacksonville that the polls closed before many had had opportunity to cast their ballots; and, in the small town of Ocoee, a number of colored people were massacred because one of them persisted in the attempt to vote.

The means used to disfranchise colored people included so-called "educational qualifications" under which colored women were asked questions no lawyer could be expected to answer, when the law required only that they be able to read portions of the federal Constitution. Terrorism was resorted to by the revived Ku Klux Klan which paraded in Jacksonville and elsewhere immediately preceding the election. Throughout the South every possible obstacle was placed in the way of the Negro's voting. Probably not one Negro voted in Mississippi unless he was personally known to a white man who permitted him.

The evidence offered in this pamphlet consists chiefly in reprints of newspaper clippings and quotations from letters. Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois, editor of the Crisis, has kindly consented to use of his statistical analysis of the disproportionate power in Congress of the southern states, the result of including the disfranchised Negro population in the basis of representation. He has also consented to use of the report of Walter F. White, assistant secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, on the riots in Ocoee, Florida.

The names of the writers of letters quoted from are withheld because publication would endanger the persons of the writers.
PART I
THE ELECTION AND DEMOCRACY

W. E. B. Du Bois

In 1920, for the first time in twenty years, a presidential election has coincided with the decennial census. This gives us a chance to examine with some care the actual working of democracy in the United States. Unfortunately, however, while the election is still fresh in our imagination, it will probably be six months or more before all the necessary census figures are published.

Nevertheless a preliminary study, based partially on estimates, will have some value. We know definitely the total population by states and the number of voters cast. We have a proposed apportionment of representatives which will probably be enacted into law without essential change. We need to know the voting population and this we can only estimate. From these data Table A has been prepared.

A study of this table leads us to conclude that democracy in the United States even in the basic matter of popular voting is failing to function properly. We may, in fact, by rearranging the states note certain astonishing differences. (Table B.)

THE ELECTION OF 1920 (TABLE A)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>State</th>
<th>Population</th>
<th>Registered Voters</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>California</td>
<td>13,074,355</td>
<td>2,014,670</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arizona</td>
<td>398,026</td>
<td>19,247</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Texas</td>
<td>1,782,054</td>
<td>222,507</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colorado</td>
<td>625,949</td>
<td>141,359</td>
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<tr>
<td>Illinois</td>
<td>1,203,595</td>
<td>230,287</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Missouri</td>
<td>780,000</td>
<td>177,988</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tennessee</td>
<td>323,000</td>
<td>73,760</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New York</td>
<td>2,040,000</td>
<td>1,193,069</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ohio</td>
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<td>327,393</td>
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<td>Michigan</td>
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<td>312,705</td>
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<td>Wisconsin</td>
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<td>Indiana</td>
<td>1,340,001</td>
<td>219,455</td>
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<td>Illinois</td>
<td>1,203,595</td>
<td>230,287</td>
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<tr>
<td>Pennsylvania</td>
<td>959,000</td>
<td>175,305</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New York</td>
<td>2,124,000</td>
<td>309,150</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ohio</td>
<td>2,124,000</td>
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<tr>
<td>Illinois</td>
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<td>230,287</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Missouri</td>
<td>780,000</td>
<td>177,988</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nebraska</td>
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<td>122,000</td>
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<tr>
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<td>177,988</td>
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<td>177,988</td>
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<tr>
<td>Nebraska</td>
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<tr>
<td>Oklahoma</td>
<td>690,000</td>
<td>122,000</td>
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<tr>
<td>New Mexico</td>
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<tr>
<td>Illinois</td>
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<td>177,988</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Missouri</td>
<td>780,000</td>
<td>177,988</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

EXPLANATION OF TABLE A

Column number 1 is the state name. Column number 2 is the total population according to the census of 1920. Column number 3 is the estimated total population, derived by voting in the general election of 1920.

Column number 4 is the percentage of the total population, which is the percentage of the voting age population. Column number 5 is the total number of votes cast, and column number 6 is the proposed bill of the Republican party, as given by the Secretary of the Treasury.
## Table B

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Column number 1</th>
<th>Column number 2</th>
<th>Column number 3</th>
<th>Column number 4</th>
</tr>
</thead>
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<td>S. C. 7</td>
<td>S. C. 4.5</td>
<td>S. C. 4.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Meck. 11,400</td>
<td>Meck. 3</td>
<td>Meck. 3</td>
<td>Meck. 3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ga. 11,400</td>
<td>Ga. 11,400</td>
<td>Ga. 11,400</td>
<td>Ga. 11,400</td>
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<tr>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ala. 2,018</td>
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<tr>
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<tr>
<td>Tenn. 2,018</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<tr>
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<tr>
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<td>N. Dak. 2,018</td>
<td>N. Dak. 2,018</td>
</tr>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<td>D.C. 2,018</td>
<td>D.C. 2,018</td>
<td>D.C. 2,018</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Md. 2,018</td>
<td>Md. 2,018</td>
<td>Md. 2,018</td>
<td>Md. 2,018</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Two main divisions immediately appear: one where the number of voters in proportion to the representatives in Congress apportioned is less than 50,000; where less than 50 per cent. of the total voters actually vote, and where less than 25 per cent. of the population vote; and another division where there are from 50,000 to 100,000 voters as compared with the representatives apportioned; where from one-half to 50 per cent. of the possible voters vote, and where from 26 to 47 per cent. of the total population vote.

These criteria do not make quite the same divisions and on account of the approximate nature of our figures we can not explain all the discrepancies. However, states with one representative, like Nevada, Wyoming, Delaware, New Mexico, can not be judged by the number of voters as compared with the representative apportionment for obvious reasons. Pennsylvania and Massachusetts have evidently a large foreign population which is both voluntarily and involuntarily disfranchised.

Of the main divisions, however, as evidenced by the two ends of the scale there can be no question. If, therefore, we group the states as follows, we get Table C.

In the United States we have three approximations to democracy. The great Middle West and the South West are states where 70 per cent of the total vote, and

## Table C

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Percentage of Representative Vote</th>
<th>Percentage of Total Vote</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>New England</td>
<td>1.0000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mountain States</td>
<td>0.5000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Border States</td>
<td>0.2500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pacific &amp; Northwestern</td>
<td>0.1250</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1. In 1910, 55 per cent of the population of the United States was 31 years of age and over. By taking 54 per cent of the population of each state we get a rough approximation of its potential voters, and thus we may subtract the unregistered foreign adults, who number about 30 per cent of the population. The resulting figures have a considerable margin of error, but they can be used as a basis and checked up when the census figures of 1920 appear.

2. This group is not the conventional one, but is dictated by the facts. Even here North Carolina belongs rather with the Border States than with the South.

The white—political power of the South as calculated from the above data is:

\[ \text{South} = \text{North} \times \frac{1}{10} \]

The white—political power of the South is nearly 73,000 voters.

In contrast to this notice the South, here with a total population of nearly 23,000,000

Minneapolis, Iowa, Wisconsin, Michigan, Illinois, Indiana, Ohio, South—Alabama, North—Carolina, South—Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Arkansas, etc.
and a probable voting population of nearly thirteen million there were in 1920 less than two and a half million votes cast. Less than 16 per cent of the total population voted and of the men and women 21 years or over about 18 per cent. vote. We have the astonishing total of ten and one-third millions of possible voters disfranchised, or 82.4 per cent!

Notwithstanding this the Southern portion of the Union will receive 104 representatives in the 67th Congress, thus requiring only 21,248 votes per representative.

Between these two extremes there are three other sections: the North West, the Border States and the East. The Border States and the North West, while less democratic than the Middle West, nevertheless have between sixty and seventy thousand voters per Congressional representative, and disfranchise about 40 per cent. of their population voluntarily or involuntarily. As compared with the Middle West and South West democracies, we may call these republics.

On the other hand, in New England and the Middle States we have at least the beginning of distinct aristocracies—probably plutocracies. From 44 to 59 per cent. of their voters are disfranchised and 55,000 voters suffice for a representative in Congress. Their preponderance of political power comes undoubtedly from their disfranchised foreign population and from that part of the native population which has lost faith and interest in voting.

In the South we have an oligarchy ruling rotten boroughs, and a few calculations make this manifest: if the South with its 104 representatives is properly represented, then the Middle West ought to have 479 representatives instead of 129; the Pacific and Northwestern States ought to have 91 instead of 32; the South West ought to have 54 instead of 10; the Border States should have 157 instead of 62; the Middle States should have 265 instead of 101; and New England should have 89 instead of 35. Or, to put it another way, if the Middle West is properly represented, then the South instead of having 104 representatives ought to have 31. These figures are, of course, tentative and may be criticised because of the assumptions made in estimating the voting population and the disfranchised foreigners. Nevertheless on the whole they approximate a correct picture of the dangerous situation in this country. If democracy is to survive, action and vigorous action looking toward the enforcement of the 14th Amendment is absolutely necessary.
PART II

ELECTION DAY IN FLORIDA

WALTER F. WHITE

An unknown number of dead, men of property and standing forced to leave their homes and families under threat of death, thousands of qualified votes dashed from casting their ballots—these constitute a portion of the results of the elections of 1930 in the state of Florida.

To that list might be well added an increased bitterness on the part of both white and colored people towards each other.

It is not possible to write of race relations in the South today without giving due prominence to the revival of that sinister organization, the Ku Klux Klan.

There is hardly a town or community to be found which does not have its branch. Certain it is that wherever one goes in the South one hears of the "Klucks" and what that order is going to do to maintain "white supremacy."

A new generation of Negroes has arisen with thousands of university, college, high school and grammar school graduates among them; possessing property and the respect for self that accompanies such possessions.

In regard to the Klan, even the uneducated Negro looks upon it with amused contempt.

In Jacksonville, a parade of the local Klan was held on Saturday night, October 30. Large numbers of colored people turned out to view the parade. White colored woman of the ante-bellum type that is fast disappearing, called derivatively to the marching Klucks:

"White folks, you ain't done nothing. Them German guns didn't scare us and I know them white faces ain't goin' to do it now."

The situation in the smaller towns and isolated rural communities where the Negro population is widely scattered is of a more serious nature. The Klan can work their vengeance on any Negro who dares offer them by being too progressive or being suspected of some crime, great or small, or by incurring the displeasure of any white man of the community. This vengeance extends to white men who offend some loyal member of a Klan or who dare show too great friendlinesses for Negroes—whether for selfish or other motives.

The following Klan warning was sent to a prominent white lawyer of a Florida town who advised Negroes to qualify, register and vote in the recent election.

"We have been informed that you have been telling Negroes to register, explaining to them how to become citizens and how to assert their rights."

"If you know the history of reconstruction days following the Civil War, you know how the 'scalawags' of the North and the Black Republicans of the South did much as you are doing to install into the Negro the idea of social equality. You will remember that these things forced the loyal citizens of the South to form class of determined men to maintain white supremacy and to safeguard our women and children."

"And now you know that history repeats itself and that he who resists to your kind of a game is handling armed tools. We shall always enjoy white supremacy in this country and he who interferes must face the consequences."

GRAND MASTER FLORIDA KU KLUXES.

Copy
Local Ku Klucks
Watch this man."

An example of what can be done and what has been done in a small town is the election riot at Cocoa, Orange County, Florida. For weeks before November 2, word had been sent to the Negroes that no colored man would be allowed to vote. The statement was emphasized with the threat that any Negro attempting to cast his ballot would be severely punished. One colored man disregarded the warning. He was the most prominent man in his community, owned a large orange grove worth more than ten thousand dollars, his own house and an automobile. He had always borne the reputation of being a sane leader among his people and had
never been involved in trouble of any kind. Therein lay his unpopularity. He was too prosperous—"he a nigger." Mr. Moses Nor-

man, attempted to vote. He was beaten severely and ordered to go home. The press reports stated later that he had not paid his poll tax nor had been registered. On this point and the proceeding events, may I quote the state-
ment of a white man of the town also said: "... he was denied upon the ground that he had not paid his poll tax, when, as a matter of fact, the record of this county if they have not been destroyed will show that he had paid his tax. The press claimed that he made a threat that he was going home to get his gun, and that he did vote. I do not believe that anyone, situated as he was, would have been foolhardy enough to make such a threat. After the poll was closed, a number of armed men went to his home, without a warrant and without authority of law as is claimed by those approving their action, to arrest this Negro. Two white men were shot in the Negro's backyard. From that time on for three days the community ran riot. I do not believe it will ever be known how many Negroes were killed. Every Negro house, schoolhouse, church and tabernacle in that community was burned, in some instances with women and children occupying the houses, and thus burned to death... The prevailing is a fair sample of conditions which exist in most parts of the state.

The story is optimistically told above. When Norman left the poll he went to the home of Jolly Perry, another colored man, whose house was unoccupied with the things that he was fors-

aken of a rats orange grave owned by a white man living in New Kent—just the job which the community felt化d harbored for a Negro. When the mob attacked the colored community the colored people fought with self-defense, killing two white men and wounding two, according to news accounts. Citizens of the town told me that eight or ten whites were killed but that they would not allow the information to become known, fearing the effect on the colored population. However, the mob unraveled the settlement, set fire to it, shot down or forced back into the flames colored men, women and children who attempted to flee. The number murdered will probably never be known. The figures generally given varied from thirty to thirty-five. One husky, long-haired white citizen in Orange of whom I asked the number of dead, said: "I don't know exactly but I know fifty-six niggers were killed. I killed seventeen myself."

Whatever the number, two of those known to have died, were a colored mother and her two-

week old infant. Before the ashes of the burned houses had cooled, eight members of the mob rushed in and sought clandestine the charred bones of the victims as souvenirs. As I stood on the spot approximately twenty-twos hours following the slaughter, the remains looked as though some one had gone over them with a fine-toothed comb.

An amusing aftermath of the occurrence was the attitude of the white inhabitants of Orange County. Talking with numbers of them, the opinion of the majority seemed to be that the bloodshed that had taken place— that the white people had acquitted themselves rather meritori-
ously in checking whom and presumptuous ambitions of Negroes in attempting to vote. Even the white children of Steele felt that an event similar in enjoyment to a circus had taken place. One bright-faced and alert girl of eleven when asked what her had occurred, said happily of her home "we had some fun tearing up some niggers." There was no thought of horror at the deed— it was accepted as a matter of course.

Some of the methods used in the smaller towns in diminishing the Negro vote and particularly the colored woman vote were unique. In Orange and Prince Edward counties, a colored woman would attempt to register, on being asked her age, for example, she would say twenty-four. She would then be asked the year in which she was born. Many of them being illiterate, would not know. The registrar would then probably say, "If you are twenty-four, you were born in 1892, weren't you?" The applicant, seeking to get the ordeal over, would reply in the affirmative. Before she had been away from the place very long, warn-

ing for perjury had been sworn out against her and she had been arrested. I found many cases equally flagrant where Negro warmen had been impresticted for such "offenses" as these.

In the same manner men would be intimidat-

ed and threatened. A white lawyer told me laugh-

ingly of how a Negro would approach a registra-

tion booth in his county, Orange, and ask if he could register. The office then, in most cases of the poorer order of whites, would reply, "Oh yes, you can register, but I warn you to tell you some-

thing. Some God damn black b— is going to get killed about the selling business yet."

In Greene, Goldsboro County, the leading col-
ored man of the town, a physician, owner of a drug store and other property including an ex-

ceptional home, on election day was surrounded as he approached the polling booth to cast his
THE SIXTH WAVE POLLING TENT, JACKSONVILLE, FLORIDA, COLORED SIDE. ABOUT 600 IN LINE DURING ENTIRE DAY.
FALLON, by a crowd who got in his face and强迫 him to wipe his face. His "crime" was that of advising colored men and women to register and vote. He has since been ordered to go out of the town but, retaining his recertainty, and now appears rather than solicit. He has always been a good citizen and highly respected by both white and colored people.

Two brothers of Lake City, Columbia County, who also were good citizens, prosperous and the owners of a large mechanic, business, were called from their homes two weeks before election day; beaten almost to death and ordered to leave town immediately for the same reason of urging Negroes to vote. One has gone; the other lies at the point of death from a stroke of paralysis brought on by the battering.

Nor are those isolated cases but rather are they typical of what took place in many parts of the state. The West Palm Beach Part of October 20 carried an article with the significant statement: "Silas R. C. Baker, will receive deputysheriff at the poll, for giving dark violation of the election laws as far as they appear and ask for ballots." The inference is that only Negroes violated the election law, while it is generally known that while Democratic voters openly carried ballots into the booth, which is directly contrary to law. Only Negro Republicans were arrested for this violation.

In Jacksonville, where Negroes from slightly more than half of the population of 100,000, the situation was different. In spite of pressure of the Ku Klux Klan, several newspapers promised to withdraw Negro voters, and the announcement two days before election that 4,000 ostracists had been seats out it black form for the streets of Negroes, the colored were turned out en masse. Most of the colored people lived in the second, sixth, seventh and eighth wards. An active campaign was carried on after the passage of the suffrage amendment which resulted in the registration of more colored than white women in all four of the wards. Racist stories threatening domination by "Negro washermen and cooks" failed to bring out the white women to register. The number of women was added the large registration of men, white and colored, in the spring of 1920. Yet, in the second, seventh and eighth wards the total vote did not equal the registration of colored women above. While in the sixth ward the total number of votes cast was only a few more than the number of women, white and colored, registered.

Every possible effort was made to hamper the voting of Negroes. The polling places were arranged with four or five queues—one each for white and colored women. More than four thousand colored men and women, whose names, addresses and registration certificate numbers are in the hands of responsible colored citizens of Jacksonville, were in line from 8:00 a.m. to 5:00 p.m., the hour of closing the polls, and were not allowed to vote.

Unless the problem of the ballot is solved, each or the collection of Southern representa-
tion, a fence bill of some other image, and the entire problem of race relations submitted to clear thinking and just dealing, our race riots and similar disturbances are just beginning.

PART III

NEWSPAPER REPORTS OF INTIMIDATION AND DENIAL OF REGISTRATION

(From the New York Times, October 7, 1920)

TRAVELING NEGRO POLITICAL

Florida Band Rolls How From Bed and Leaves Negroes Alone in His Neon

(Exclusive to the New York Times)

JACKSONVILLE, Fla. — B. J. Jones, the Negro Chairman of the Columbia County Repub-

lican Club of Lake City, Fla., who has been active in urging Negro women to vote, was taken

out of his bed on Tuesday night by unknown parties and with a noise about his neck was

handed into an automobile in his night clothes. He was carried several miles and left being

allowed to think would he be gagged, was al-

lowed to escape. After wandering about, he

found a telephone and called up the Sheriff of

Columbia County, to obtain an arrest so that

he might return home in safety.

Besides urging Negro women to vote, Jones

was reported to have been organizing churches,

lodges, and night schools and carrying on a pro-

agenda to have Negro women expelled if they
failed to exercise the franchise. He also organized meetings to instruct Negro women how to vote.

The situation caused by the incident is thought to be serious. The feeling created by the extension of the franchise to the Negro women is tense in other parts of the state, and state troops will probably be called to Major County to guard the election there in November.

(From the Enquirer, October 30, 1929.)

KE KLAN KLAN TO PARADE STREETS.

JACKSON, Miss., October 30.—The riders of the Ku Klux Klan will parade the streets of Jacksonville tonight dressed in the old regalia, with fiery eyes at the head of their column.

It is reported that the local Klan has a membership of four thousand, most of whom will participate.

New York, Oct. 30.—The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People has announced that it has been advised that there will be a parade of the Ku Klux Klan in Jacksonville, Florida, tonight “to terrorize the colored people out of voting.”

Telegram have been sent to Senator Harding, to Governor Coolidge, and to Attorney General Palmer asking that the parade be prevented.

(From the Post, Oct. 30, 1929.)

OFFICERS WILL ARREST NEGROES WHO TRY TO VOTE ILLEGALLY NOVEMBER 2.

Names of Negroes Found on Registration List Who Committed Perjury in Making Registration Affidavits—Republicans Hold Rally Tonight.

County officials have checked over the list of names of registered persons and found on the list the names of negroes who are not qualified to vote. Some of the negroes are Mahomans who have not taken out naturalization papers others are “teeter” Negroes who have been convicted of crimes and are therefore ineligible to vote. Some have not lived in the state or county of precinct long enough to entitle them to vote. They have committed perjury in the affidavits they made when they registered.

There will be Democratic challenges at the polls in the Negro precincts of the county to challenge the votes of these Negroes.

In addition to this, Sheriff R. C. Baker will have several deputy sheriffs at the polls prepared to arrest black violators of the election laws as fast as they appear and ask for ballots.

(From the Deposit, Mich. News-Tribune, October 31, 1929.)

S. C. REFUSES VOTE TO ILLITERATE NEGRO WOMAN.

COLUMBUS, S. C., October 30.—Appeal of 32 Negroes voted from the decision of the Richland County Board of Registration. The decision was made when brought before Judge Marcellus S. Whaley. The county court, on the ground that his court was without jurisdiction in the matter.

This case, which has attracted considerable attention, grew out of the attempt of a large number of Negro women to enter their names on the books of registration.

They held that, when they applied to register, the board required them to read, not the Constitution, but excerpts of the civil and criminal code of South Carolina. They were asked to explain the sections read. When they declined to do so, the board refused to allow them to register.

(From the Jackson, Ga., Argus, October 31, 1929.)

320 NEGROES REGISTERED HERE FOR THE ELECTION.

Last Plague This Week in the Board of Registrars.

The Richland County board of registrars met this week to purge the list of colored voters. There were 320 names on the list, but a considerable number of these were cut off through failure to pay state and county taxes.

About 1,500 white voters are registered and eligible to vote in the election of November 2.

(From the New York Sun, September 22, 1929.)

MISSISSIPPI WOMEN CAN'T VOTE THIS YEAR.

Four Months' Registration Law Bars Them From Polls.

Special to The Sun and New York Herald.

JACKSON, Miss., Sept. 29.—The women of Mississippi do not want to be in any hurry to register, but partly to the fact that they cannot

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vote this year on account of the legal require-
ment that they shall have registered four months 

prior to the date of election. After Tennessee 

and Connecticut had ratified the Nineteenth Amendment, it was too late to come within the 
four months' registration law.

To date the Hindo County Register (Republi-
can) says that fifty-six women have registered, 
only one of those being a negro. As it has been 
known all along that the great majority of the
women of Mississippi cared nothing about the 
battle, but it is supposed that in course of time 
and in response to the importunities of candi-
dates for office they will pay their $2 poll tax 
and get their names on the voting list.


MANY NEGROSES NOT QUALIFIED 
REGISTER

WOMEN'S VOTERS LEAGUE DEMANDS THAT IT
BE STRIPPED

MORE THAN 1,000 ENROLLED

ONLY 300 OR 400 MORE WHITE WOMEN 
HAVE REGISTRED

An astonishingly large number of negro 
women—more than 1,000—have registered to 
vote in Chatham County in the few weeks that 
have elapsed since Tennessee ratified the federal 
suffrage amendment.

Only 300 or 400 more white women, with all of 
the campaigning that the Chatham County 
League of Women Voters has done, have regis-
tered in that time. The exact number of white 

women who have registered is 1,232, while 1,849 

Negro women have recorded their names on the 
registration book.

Negroes are allowed to vote in general elec-
tions, but the requirements are such that here-
fore, the number of Negroes that have regis-
tered has been in significant and the effect of their 
vote has not been felt. How it happens that 
so many Negro women have been able to get 
their names on the permanent registration lists 
of Chatham County in a few weeks, when the 

number of Negro men who have registered in the 
many years that they have had the right to 
do so is very little if any larger, is what is con-
cerning the League of Women Voters and indeed many other parties.

As outlined in the letter sent to Mr. Owsen, 
the officers of the League have personal knowl-
dge that the Negro women are not being re-
quired to meet the requirements which the law 
lays down. On this basis, no doubt, steps will 
be taken to have the list so purged that only 
those persons who are legally qualified will re-
main on. Such a purging, it is believed, will 
greatly reduce the list.

In one instance, according to information ob-
tailed by the League, the tax collector, who has 
charge of the registration in the county, has not 
complied with the requirements relating to the 
method of registration. The law sets out that 
the register must formally certify in writing to 
each name that is registered, in a blank space, 

providing on the registration form. This, it is 
pointed out, has not been done, and may have 

the effect of nullifying the entire registration of 

women.

(From Dunson's Weekly, New York, October 30, 
1999)

THE COLORED WOMAN AND SUP-
FRAGE

ENTRY LISTED USED IN THE SOUTH TO DE-
TERMINE THE RIGHT TO VOTE

... the following article republished from the 

New York Herald of October 24th.

"In Florence, Ala., a hairdresser was told that 

if colored people attempted to go to the court 
house to register they would be arrested upon 

any charge that could be thought of at that 

\time."

"The president of a Negro insurance company 
in Atlanta was told to expect reprisals in the 

form of business interference if members of his 

organization displayed any desire to participate in politics."

"Another element referred to as 'good nigh-

ters' are those who teach school, practice medi-
cine and operate small businesses, all easily sus-
ceptible to pressure by virtue of license require-
ments, tenure of job and location of business. 

Those so situated must not only surrender politi-
cal notions, but must do missionary work among 
those otherwise inclined."

"A typical practice is to delay the issuance of 
tax receipts to Negroes or to question their reg-

ularity long enough to prevent registration. An-

other device is to separate white and colored 

applicants for registration, and so long as whites 
continue to come no colored are registered and 
carefully manipulated closing time arrives just 
as the last white person has registered.

"Ordinances preventing the assembly of white 

people and Negroes in the same public place are 

very effective."
“In rural communities methods of a more elemental character are used. Open threats of violence, such as a Ku-Klux visit, with its jestings and crop burnings or naked lynchings at midnight, have so often been made good the colored brother is convinced of the certainty of such retribution and lays his politics alone.

“Disorderly conduct charges, particularly when common practice for an Negro disputing a white man’s testimony in court, have a discouraging tendency on those who might want to vote.

“Facing blackboard of discrimination, embarrasment, possible loss of jobs, restriction of the much needed credit, the fear of violence are not likely to encourage great numbers of colored women to vote the polls.”

—New York Herald, October 24, 1929.

(From New York Sun, September 22, 1929.)

NEGRO WOMEN IGNORE BALLOT IN LOUISIANA

1,000 REPRESENTATIVES IN NEW ORLEANS

Special to the Sun and New York Herald.

New Orleans, La., Sept. 21.—Practically no Negro women have attempted to register in Louisiana. A few appeared at the registration board, but were promptly challenged by watchers and less than a dozen registered. About 1000 white women have registered in New Orleans, and approximately 200 have registered in the country parishes of the state. Twenty five registration clerks were turned away from the women’s registration office in Washing-ton Arsenal Hall, Saturday, to make room for women clerks. Their appointment was demanded by women suffrage leaders of the city and state, . . .

(From the New York World, March 29, 1930.)

BAR NEGROES AT PRIMARY

MONTGOMERY, Ala., March 29.—Negro voters will not be allowed to participate in the Alabama Democratic primary May 11, under a ruling today by W. J. Nealkit, chairman of the State Democratic Executive Committee. This ruling was explained, all Negro voters from exercising the right of suffrage in the general election in November.

(From the St. Louis Herold, Richmond, Va., October 30, 1930.)

INTIMIDATING COLOROE WOMEN VOTERS

(Associated Negro Press)

JACKSONVILLE, Fla., Oct.—The first arrest since women began filing registration offices to take advantage of women suffrage took place, in Jacksonville yesterday when Juanita Allen, colored, was taken into custody upon the com-plain of Frank M. Ironmonger, supervisor of registration. The charge placed against her was perjury. Registration officials and 300 warrants had been sworn out for Negro women, and that they will be served on election day.

According to Mr. Ironmonger, Miss Allen swore that she was twenty-one years old, Julian Hargrave, an attorney, in an address before the County Board of Commissions, claimed to know of plans of colored Republicans to rush the voting booth on the day of election. Their plan was to crowd the booths early in the morning and to prevent the entrance of white voters until all colored women who were disfranchised with the passing of the Anthony amendment had cast their ballots.

PART IV

LETTERS FROM THE SOUTH

The following reports are from letters sent to the National Association for the Advance-ment of Colored People. All of these letters are signed, and the names are known to the Associa-tion. To safeguard the writer from possible mob violence, the names are withheld.

(From a letter dated Birmingham, Ala., November 3, 1939.)

Replying to your communications relative to registration and voting among Negroes in Jef-perna County we submit the following for your consideration:

(1) To wit: Negro male voters, 314; Negro female voters, 225 (app.).

(2) As to registration we were directed the right to register as citizens. But our women were forced to fill out two different papers (Naturaliza-tion Papers) notwithstanding the fact white women were only required to give their name, age and address. Over 4,500 of the best quali-
and Negro women applied for registration. After going through the above scheme of registration they were told that their certificates would be mailed. To date less than 100 by this scheme have received their certificates with the books closed until the first ten days in July, 1921. All white women were given their certificates when they applied for registration.

It seems to be the policy of those in authority to discourage registration and voting among our people by indirect methods. Our inability to secure the services of any of the white lawyers to look after our interest showed plainly that there existed a mutual understanding of some kind. With the assistance of some defeated candidates (R.a.) we hope to present a protest to Congress demanding a congressional investigation of the election laws of Alabama. We await your advice regarding this matter.

I am enclosing clippings. I regret that I cannot furnish you with copies of the Registration papers used here for the Negro women as they were not obtainable by any method.

The population of Jefferson County:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>White</th>
<th>Colored</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>151,933</td>
<td>121,933</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Total: 303,888

The total number of white voters was 50,000. The total number of Negro voters less than 900.

This gives you some idea as to our representation.

(From a letter dated Tuscaloosa, Alabama, January 13, 1921.)

No one was induced to register at this place and only four were allowed to vote. After all of the Grant Democrats had the county and the state.

(From letter dated Montgomery, Ala., November 8, 1920.)

There are fifty thousand of colored people in Montgomery County, and of this number only about three hundred are able to vote. The registration books opened on the 14th day of October last and closed on the 26th.

The colored people went to the court house on the 14th of October for the purpose of registering; they were told to come back on the 26th of October, which was the last day. Others went every day thereafter; each was told to come back on the 26th.

On the 26th of October the colored people went back in great numbers. At least seven hundred applied for registration. They accepted their blanks which had been given, with the understanding that they would mail them their papers the following day. Out of that number only thirty-five women and twenty men were accepted. Among the prominent members of the race who were denied the franchise were . . . . . [the names of five well-known persons are mentioned].

This is my personal experience; applied for registration on Oct. 14, was given blank and told to fill out and bring back later, as there was no place reserved for the colored to fill out their blanks in the court house. We all had in mind the best place we could.

I promised blank on October 20 and was asked why I had not registered before? I gave them my reasons and I were told that the registration books were open for the purpose of registering young men who had been of age since the last registration, and women and that there were no laws to register me.

However, I went back on October 26th, and left the blank duly filled in, but I have not heard from it since.

(From a letter dated Boston, Va., October 28, 1920.)

In regard to colored women registering, we all had trouble and no colored women were allowed to register until the last day, which was on Saturday (even though a great many of us had tried to register several times), and because we were allowed only one day there was not time enough for many to register.

It took one or two of us to register white women, while we were kept anywhere from fifteen to thirty minutes. I am told white women could not add age, residence and etc., while we were given a blank paper and told to write our application and if we left out one of the six points we were told we had failed.

Then we were asked six other questions and in many cases an experienced lawyer could not have answered them.

According to the Daily Press fifty colored women were allowed to register and eighty-five paid taxes.

The night -- -- and I went over to register and our applications had been made out and correct, we were told to come back on Saturday at 2:30 o'clock and they would register us, but he said "To tell you the truth we are not going to bother with a lot of colored women." He told one of the teachers afterwards he asked us to come late so we would not be able to spread the news to other colored women that we had registered.

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It was very humiliating and embarrassing to say the least but we were determined to keep going until we found out exactly their attitude towards us.

(From letter dated Montgomery, Ala., 10-12-'85.)

On the opening time colored women and men were down to register which was refused them. While men were down them to intimidate the men and women and the registrar threatened to arrest one woman if she did not leave. In my case the registrar was going to have me arrest me but his hand was called and he removed. One deputy sheriff told me to leave the court house at once. This is how my case stands or happened. The Registrar—do you own any property? I handed him my tax receipt. Question: How long have you lived here? Answer, 35 years. Have you paid your poll tax? Am. The law don't require it. Can you get two white men to vouch for you? Yes. You can. You have known me for I was a boy. Mr.—standing there, I was partly rared by his family; but both replied, you are all right—- but I can't do it.

(From a letter dated American, Ga., November 9, 1866.)

It is a burning shame just how the colored people are treated, i.e., the mass of them. The registrar would hide the book or himself, he would tell the people the registration book was in another precinct or he'd leave his office and put a lady in there who would know nothing about registration. All this would happen only to nine-tenths of the colored people. More than 250 colored women went to the polls to vote but were turned down or their ballots refused to be taken by the election manager. I mean in the City of American, Ga.

(From a letter dated Numbers, Miss., Oct. 14, 1866.)

Your letter of October 8th came to me in due course of mail. With regard to the questions proposed relative to the number of Negro voters in my county (Adams), I wish to state that upon inquiry at the Circuit Court’s office, showing that only twenty-six (26) Negroes were eligible to vote in the coming Presidential election—of this number only about one-half usually availed themselves of the opportunity to vote. There is no intimidation practiced against colored voters in Presidential elections nor in Special City or County elections. On account of the white primary law, we have had only one party system in the state of Mississippi. This, of course, is largely responsible for the indifferent attitude of the Negroes of this county and I may say of the entire state toward the right of suffrage. I am firm in the opinion that if the Republican Party was really alive to its best interest in this state and all other Southern states for that matter, much more interest would be manifested in political matters than at present. Not only would a very large Republican vote be polled, but I think it would stimulate interest in the Democratic party as well, because of the competition that would be developed. Newspapers make little or no reference to the Negroes in politics, considering, of course, they eliminated entirely from the equation by the white primary laws. I can give you no specimen of printed campaign matter bearing on the Negro vote.

These are the general facts in connection with the present campaign concerning the Negroes of Adams County. We have no local white or colored leaders in the Republican Party, who take any special interest in the present campaign. Finally, I may say that we have no Republican Party in the State of Mississippi.

(From a letter dated Shreveport, La., October 30, 1866.)

We lined up six hundred of our most learned race men of Carlos Parish and had them go down and register because we were all affiliating with the Republican Party. All were thrown out, but four, three registered with their property and one under the educational test.

(From a letter dated Phoebus, Va., Oct. 7, 1866.)

I took the liberty to interview Mr. of Hampton, St. John, Va., formerly teacher in the public school of Hampton or rather of Elizabeth City County, and she states that she was twice refused by the registrar, and after a formal appeal to the Circuit Judge, she was admitted.

She states that she was asked the following questions: (1) What is the maximum and minimum in a senatorial district in Virginia; (2) what class of citizens can vote without paying poll tax; (3) when can the right of Habeas Corpus be suspended; (4) what children are exempt from the compulsory school law; (5) who presides over House and Senate respectively; (6) how many counties has congress and how long can congress remain in session. Mrs. stated that after she was turned down twice and made her appeal, she was admitted by the Judge who refused to pass on the
tion of registrar, as a question of law, but, simply ordered her registered. She was three weeks, or name of these other women who had a similar experience. You recall, no doubt, that the Virginia law requires no questions asked at all after 10 A.M. While women were required and required to make sure applications properly after it had been announced in papers that the action of the registrar would be continued.

PART V

DID NEGROES WANT TO VOTE?

(From the St. Louis Post-Dispatch, October 19, 1923.)

NEGRO WOMEN IN SOUTH HASTEN TO REGISTER NAMES

Several Registrars Report the Democratic Workers and There Is Not Much Talk of Race Issue Revival.

When the Women To Prevent Misuse

Some Registrars Refuse White Women Rather Than Black Newcomers—Conditions Likely to Persist, VA.

The sentiment of Southern partisans against women suffrage to the effect that it would relieve the Negro race at the ballot box, is proving to be ill-founded here. In the city of Richmond prominent Negroes are trying to register 8,500 of their women. It is reported that more Negroes, many of whom are well educated and property owners, are enlisted in the battle and should not be deprived of it.

Miss Adah Clark, an active member of the Equal Suffrage League of Virginia and head of the Colored Committee of that organization, told the Post-Dispatch correspondent that the women were being described by Democrats and Republicans alike to register for the November election.

"The Negro women of this city are manifesting deep interest in the suffrage movement," said Miss Clark.

"About 8,000 women, or more than 5,000 of them whites, have qualified by paying the necessary tax, $1.25, and answering satisfactorily the questions of the Registrar. Up to last Saturday night from 766 to 8,000 [20] colored women were listed. In the last three months approximately 12,000 were listed. Estimating from this and the number of women already registered, I would say that the women will match the men 2 to 1.

"The University of Virginia, William and Mary College, and other educational institutions are helping the women prepare for their new part in politics by conducting classes in citizenship. This work has been going on since early spring. "Here is the process in Virginia. Each prospective woman voter must be assessed and pay (in advance for 10%) a tax of $4.00 before she can register. When she goes to the Registrar she presents her tax receipt, and is given a blank to fill in in her own hand, without the aid of anyone, giving her name, age, the date and place of her birth, her residence now, and two years preceding, and stating whether or not she has voted before. After this is done the Registrar then has a right, at his discretion, to ask "any question" as to her qualification as an elector."

Miss Clark did not say so, but the jokers for the Negro woman is found in the "discretion" given the Registrar as to her qualifications. The way to the ballot box is rough and rugged in the Registrar is a partisan. He may ask the applicant to read, write, and explain a section of the Constitution of the United States.

(From the Asheville Ga. Chronicle, November 4, 1923.)

NEGRO WOMEN IN ATLANTA Sought Privilege to Vote

In Every Ward in City Presented Themselves at the Polls—for White Women.

ATLANTA, Ga., Nov. 2—Chronicle Bureau.
The Kitchell house—In every ward in the city of Atlanta Negro women presented themselves this morning when the polls opened and demanded that they be allowed to vote. In three of the wards white women did the same thing. In the sixth ward, which apparently had been settled upon, the Republican mayor, appointed by the ordinary to represent that party and for a few minutes in control of the polling place, and opened the way to the women. Later, when the other managers arrived, a protest was made, the question was put to a vote, and the Republican manager was outvoted. Immediately the incident was reported to Ordinary

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Jefferson County, under approximately 100 votes had been cast by the women, of which 74 and 66 were by Negro women. The order was at once sent to the poll to stop all further female ballots, and the announcement was made by the official that the sixth ballot vote will be thrown out of the Adastra and Fulton County court when it is tabulated. Dr. E. H. Peck is the Republican manager who presided the vote.

From the Jacksonville, Fla., Times-Union, September 3, 1900

3776 WOMEN HAVE REGISTERED IN CITY; 1,725 OF THEM ARE WHITE, 2,051 NEGROES

MAJORITY OF WOMEN REGISTERED IN SIX OF ELEVEN WARDS OF CITY ARE NEGROES

Women and Men of City Must Be

Brought to Realization of Conditions In Duty of Every White Woman to Register

Number of Women Registered

Since the registration books have been open to the women, the registration at the court house and in the various wards of the city follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ward</th>
<th>White</th>
<th>Negro</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>First</td>
<td>260</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>268</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second</td>
<td>88</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>93</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Third</td>
<td>145</td>
<td>28</td>
<td>173</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fourth</td>
<td>170</td>
<td>57</td>
<td>227</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fifth</td>
<td>101</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>157</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sixth</td>
<td>319</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>374</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seventh</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>367</td>
<td>409</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eighth</td>
<td>65</td>
<td>236</td>
<td>301</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ninth</td>
<td>138</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>159</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tenth</td>
<td>300</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>312</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eleventh</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>14</td>
<td>61</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>1,725</td>
<td>2,051</td>
<td>3,776</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

CHECK NEGRO WOMEN IN RUSH TO REGISTER

Aid is Desired to Illustrate in Richmond in Filing Forms and Many Fail to Qualify

Sewell Was in the Line

Practise Had Been to Have Friends Go to the Registrars' Office to Help Fill Out Forms

(Special to The New York Times)

Richmond, Va., Sept. 15—Negro districts yesterday turned loose scores of colored women, all claiming to qualify to vote. Before 9 o'clock in the evening a line had formed before the door of the office of the central Registrar, and when the office closed tonight more than 100 colored women were still in line demanding that the Registrar retain until they could qualify.

Joseph W. Stewart, Republican Chairman of the Third Congressional District; Captain L. E. Frazer, of Republican campaign headquarters; Edgar Afton, Jr., and other Republicans rushed to the scene of hearing that many colored women were being turned away. They made no complaints, however, and disappeared after a survey of the situation.

PART VI

THE VOTE

(From the Atlanta, Ga., Constitution, November 3, 1900)

NEGRO WOMEN DENIED VOTE IN SAVANNAH

Savannah, Ga., November 2.—Special—

These voters of General County's opinion as the basis for their favor, a group of negro women demonstrate the right to vote today at the Chatham County courthouse. Their ballots were not accepted by the managers.

It was suggested that there might have been influence brought upon them to attempt to vote in order that young might be laid for a possible contest of the election of Congressional and other Democratic. Two Republican candidates for congress were active in the first district. E. S. Muller of Savannah, representing one wing of
the Republicans, and Don Clark, also of Swanne-
kill, the conclusion of the "fly-fishing."

From the Atlanta Constitution, November 3, 1880.

VOTES OF NEGRO WOMEN ARE VOID

79 CAM Polling in Sixth Ward Before Voting. To Stand as Judge of

By R. H. Jeffries

The success of seventy-nine Negro women, in casting their ballots in the sixth ward of Atlanta, was announced when, following the orders of Ordinary Thomas H. Jeffries, election officers throw out each of their tickets before tabulating the results Tuesday night.

Tuesday morning a large number of Negro women presented themselves at the sixth ward polling place and asserted the right to cast their ballots and, with the permission of Dr. J. C. Price, Republican manager at the place, seventy-nine succeeded in polling their tickets before a proper copy of Judge Jeffries ruled the proceedings.

When the first Negro woman had cast her ballot over the objections of W. H. Brown, Democrat, the other managers at the voting place, ever more rapidly following her action, and Mr. Brown immediately quit his post, declaring he was disgraced, and reported the Republican manager's procedure to Judge Jeffries, who immediately appointed Deputy Ordinary Thomas Moorer with orders to keep all women, white or black, from voting in the ward, and if Dr. Price failed to carry out his oath as manager to remove him.

The Republican manager first objected to Judge Jeffries' orders, but finally agreed to observe the terms of his oath, it is stated. Negro men, who accompanied the women as they demanded the right to vote, asserted the letter were invited to cast their ballots on the ground of a vote in favor of R. A. Lovett's rule that any woman could vote on Tuesday's election, regardless of whether she was registered. Ordinary Jeffries found his order on the statute law, which provides all voters must be registered six months prior to election day.

Many were made by some Republican leaders that the election of Congressmen W. J. Upshaw would be contingent on the ground women were denied permission to vote. Official cognizance of the situation in the sixth ward was taken by Department of Justice agents, who have received orders to immediately report all alleged election irregularities.

(From the New York Tribune, November 3, 1880.)

NEGRO WOMEN ARE DEBIE BAL-

LOT, AT ROLLS IN GEORGIA

ATLANTA, Ga., Nov. 2.—Efforts of Negro wom-

en to vote and the fact that about seventy-five of them did actually cast their ballots in the sixth ward polling place were the outstanding features of election day in Atlanta.

The sixth ward polling place was the only one in the city where women, white or black, were allowed to vote. The ballots cast by the Negro women will be thrown out.

(From the Shenandoah Journal, July 10, 1880.)

ILL INTRODUCED TO KEEP VOTE FROM GEORGIA NEGRO

ATLANTA, Ga., July 15.—By V. P.—Representative Daniel R. Moss County, today intro-

duced a franchise bill which he hoped would completely disfranchise Negroes in Georgia.

The measure, which Emick said was the fruit of long study by a prominent attorney, provides that no person born on the African continent nor any person descended from such person may vote.

(From the Pittsfield Press, Ga., Oct. 31, Novem-
ber 4, 1880.)

FLORIDA NOW KILL SIX NEGROES IN REPRISALS

Election Fight in Which Two Whites Die Followed by Encounters

ONE MAN IS INJURED

(From Associated Press to Canton Times.)

ORLANDO, Fla., Nov. 3.—(A. P.)—Five Ne-

groes have been burned to death and another burned to a tree as a result of a fight which started at the polls at Ocoee, near here, last night, after election officials had refused to grant Mr. Norman, a Negro, to vote, on the ground that he had failed to pay his poll tax.

Two white men were shot and killed and another severely wounded in the fracas which preceded the wholesale lynching. The Negroes burned met death in factors in which they had congregated and which were fired. The fifth Negro killed was taken from a just out the morning by a mob.
PART VII

EDITORIALS AND INTERVIEWS

(From Vardaman's Weekly, January 13, 1912.)

... God Almighty never intended that the white man should share sovereignty and dominion with the Negro in this country, and the white people of Mississippi are not going to let him. ... There should be an amendment to the Federal Constitution prohibiting the Negro from voting, regardless of his educational accomplishments, or his property holdings...

(From the Pelican, La., October 29, 1912.)

According to the tax collector and registrar of Fulton County ten Negro women have registered to vote white women in the city of Atlanta. At the time of registration books were closed; it is not that three automobiles were being used to bring Negro women to the court house to register. Evidently we will have to have another disfranchisement law put on the statute books of Georgia...

(From the Idaho States, Idaho Falls, Thursday Telegram, October 29, 1912.)

JUDGE KILSEY BLANTON POINTS OUT DANGERS OF NEGRO IN POLITICS

... There can be no such thing as the exercise of political rights by the Negro without threatening and disturbing the white man's social status and the continuous occasion for racial conflict. Hope and red letters followed the wake of this disturbance of the social status. The Negro, encouraged by a group of white men among us, has challenged the State from supremacy over the war between the classes and now we seem to be threatened by a return of the troubles of the reconstruction period. Louisville is now in the throes of such a conflict... Is this to remain a white man's country? Is the white man to maintain his supremacy? If so, how much supremacy? Is his claim to supremacy a delusive question? If the Negro has the right to assert political rights, he has the right to triumph if he can, and the assertion of such right is essentially a challenge to the white man's position...}

(From the Concord, N. C., Tribune, October 19, 1912.)

NEGROES ACTIVE AT ASHEVILLE

Reports from Asheville state that more than one hundred Negroes tried to register there one day last week, and that a number of the women were registered. The Asheville Citizen states that one of the Negro women stated that there was in organization now which had for its purpose the registration of all Negro women, and the organization is certainly trying to fulfill its mission in life. The Republicans always accuse the Democrats of bringing up the Negro question in this state, but how can the Democrats help this when the Republicans are always bringing the Negroes into politics in this state. If state Republicans haven't anything to do with the activity of these Negro organizations, why don't they protest to northern Republicans who are wasting the money to get these Negroes registered? It is time the Negro was out of politics in this state and the Democrats are willing for him to get out, if the Republicans, whether they are state or national will give him the chance.

(From the Campbell News, Pinehurst, Ga., October 8, 1912.)

The Democratic candidates were nominated in a white Democratic primary, in which no one was allowed to vote, except White Democrats. Before the Civil War, when the Negroes were not allowed to vote, there was no need of a White primary, but when the Carpet-baggers and Yankee scalawags immigrated South and lined up the Negroes at the voting places, it became necessary to have a White Democratic primary, in order that the politics of the South should remain in the hands of the White people, and up to this date the White People have ruled the politics, so far as Georgia has been concerned. This fact has been accomplished principally by the White People nominating their candidates for various offices. For the reason that the Negro is denied the right to vote in the Democratic primary, they invariably vote a Republican ticket, and we do not believe that there will be
any exception to this in the coming General Election.

There is really only one issue, as far as Georgia is concerned, and that is whether the White Man will continue to rule politics or not.

(From the Chicago Tribune, February 16, 1936.)

Women suffrage probably will be adopted but it had to win against the South. The South is opposed to extension of suffrage because that involves the Negro vote which is not cast but which must always be suppressed. Restrictions of suffrage are nominal to sections which must maintain restrictions of suffrage.

(From the Shreveport, La. Journal, October 30, 1929.)

The grandfather clause in our state constitution, whereby we have been legally insuring white supremacy, has been nullified by a decision of the United States Supreme Court in a case taken up from Oklahoma, which patterned its law after Louisiana's. Read what Judge Land further says on the subject, stressing the necessity of a constitutional convention to provide security:

"The only legal method of perpetuating white democracy and preserving Caucasian civilization in this state is by calling a constitutional convention without delay and adopting the provision contained in the constitution of the state of Mississippi declaring that every elector shall be able to read any section of the constitution of the state, or he shall be able to understand same when read to him or give a reasonable interpretation of the same. This provision of the Mississippi constitution has been held not to conflict with the United States constitution, fifteenth amendment, in the case of Williams vs. State of Mississippi, 178 U. S. 187, and has had the effect of legally disenfranchising the Negro voters in that state."

(From the Atlanta Constitution, September 26, 1936.)

HARDWICK SAYS NEGRO WOMEN MEGANCE BALLOT

"...But what I did before in the disenfranchisement of Negro men, I stand ready to do in the problem now facing our state and I want to assure the voters of Wilkes and adjoining counties that I will always fight for white supremacy in Georgia and for the preservation of the integrity of the Democratic party."

(From the State, Columbus, S. C., January 21, 1933.)

Is it possible that any of those advocates are so blind as not to see that that amendment, if ratified, will make the Negro woman legally qualified to vote? And are they so obstinately heedless as not to expect that the disfranchisement of the Negro women will be followed by a like qualifying of the Negro men, by the enforcement of the 15th amendment, which is still in the constitution of the United States? And can they not read and understand the plain provision of each of those amendments that the congress of the United States shall have power to enforce such disfranchisement? And can they not see this power of congress deprives every state of its power to regulate voting?

(From the Shreveport, La. Times, January 8, 1929.)

UNDER WHICH FLAG?

(From Texas Gazette.)

...The educational test applied by our laws, as a qualification for the exercise of the right to vote is of such a simple nature that twice or three times, as many Negroes could qualify under that test to vote in Texas, as whites. This is unquestionably true and the only reason that these Negro voters do not register and qualify by paying the poll tax is that the spirit of physical force, invoked against them, in 1928, still looms over and abides with them...

(From the Atlanta Constitution, September 21, 1936.)

TIME TO HELP

The most cherished birthright of the south is white supremacy. And that is the controlling force, irrespective of the usual party issues, that makes the Democratic party the hope of the South today, just as it was the salvation of the South in the last sixties, when the reconstruction battle had to be fought and won for the interest and purity and sacredness of the southern home...
Dr. Thurgood Marshall
Assistant Special Counsel
N.A.A.C.P.
65 Fifth Avenue
New York, N.Y.

Dear Dr. Marshall:

In reply to your letter of April 5, 1937, I wish to give the following information which has been secured through Professor Lester F. Jackson who is a teacher of Government at Virginia State College, Petersburg, Virginia. Mr. Jackson has been very active in the matter of getting the Negro to vote. He has made several studies of the whole problem.

1. Approximately 7,000 Negroes vote in the general elections in Virginia.
   - Fully 75 per cent of these are urban voters.

2. Negroes participate in democratic primaries all over the state with the possible exception of every few counties in the South.

3. Approximately 1,000 vote in the primary and general elections.

4. There is no discrimination whatever in the poll tax since both races are required to pay the tax. Even and these Negroes are determined against with regard to registration but this opposition is growing less and less. They have no trouble whatever in any of the cities of Virginia, none in the northern and western counties, and very little in the others. There is no concerted effort to prevent Negroes from registering in any county. For example, the refusal to allow a Negro to register is the least taken by only one out of five or five registrars in a county, frequently where there is opposition by a given registrar he may be replaced without opposition. The threat of a tax often will bring them around.

The lack of opposition to registration in Virginia grows out of several court decisions in this question, including one important one in 1931. These decisions virtually invalidate the written laws on this subject as one reads it in Virginia's constitution.

The hold back in Virginia, then, with respect to voting by Negroes is not the white people or both as is in the history of the Negroes themselves. Some of these are nondemocratic by the old republican tradition, others frankly say that “politics is the white folks’ business”. One of the greatest deterrents for white and black alike in the same class. poll tax requirement of $1.00 per capita six months prior to the general election, and paid up three years prior to the year one expects to vote. For example qualified voters increase the civic and economic power of any group.
In order to vote in 1937 in Virginia the tax must be paid for 1934, 1935, and 1936. Many Negroes lose all interest when they are confronted with $4.00 plus interest and penalty ($5.10) in order to vote six months in advance.

I hope the above information will be some value to the person who is making the survey.

Very truly yours,

[Signature]

R.L. T discuss, President
Petersburg Branch
N.A.A.C.P.
900 Willow St.
Petersburg, Virginia
My dear Sirs,

The Young Men's Civic Club of this city was organized for the sole purpose of getting more degrees to become registered voters in this city. There were only 100 registered degrees out of 49,000 at the time of this club's inception. This was four months later than we have been in operation, we have added two more degrees to the list of voters. But now we need to have reached a higher goal.

Little or no questions were asked of our applicants in the beginning as that carried them up for registration. But after we had succeeded in placing the first 100 names in the book we found that the votes would be placed quite slow. Then as we moved in and out about the closer school and were successful in placing 200 more names, the requirement of registration of the applicants became more difficult. Many started doubting the age of the applicants, with the registers containing such verses as birth certificates, insurance policies, and the like. Finally, we were told that the birth certificates have only been issued to those since 17 years old. However, we worked through these difficulties until we crossed the 300 mark. These bodies did not locate our ancestry, they decline to pull another book. We are now in the Georgia State or Union, and we want the vote.

There were five qualifications which will enable any American citizen residing in the county of state to become a registered voter. It was quite a surprise to me and the applicants had to be prepared to answer the questions as we called the books and qualified ourselves with these five qualifications, as well as qualifying them into the minds of our applicants.

As we neared the 400 mark, the requirements became more difficult. The qualifications became more exact, they wanted only birth certificates, proper as courts are not accepted, because they could not answer the questions who was the president of the Union in 1927 at the age of the certificates. Many questions referred back to the nineteenth century.

Our work has come to the point where many are called but few are chosen. Please let us sincerely try to win our experiences along these lines. So far the YMCAs have been successful in dealing with such matters in the South, especially Georgia. How did you stand such opposition?

Whatever information you have to give on these lines would be highly appreciated at this organization. We realize the YMCAs have a record for the above complaints.

Yours truly,
The Young Men's Civic Club.
Hon. William O. Canyon,  
Washington, D. C.  

My dear Senator:  

I write you in preference to some of our other  
friends in the Senate, for the reason that I know you to be a  
conservative lawyer and have no desire to stir up any political  
excitement but merely to appeal through you to the constituted  
authorities of the United States, to at least make some effort to  
remedy conditions as they exist in this part of the country.  

As a person, I might state, that you can perhaps judge from  
my previous correspondence that I am, viewed from the standpoint  
of a Republican, rather more conservative than most Republicans, in  
my views regarding the Negro race and feel that in some instances, the  
member of my own party, especially about convention time, have yielded  
and appealed to the Negro as much, rather than to all persons of Ameri-  
can descent, to such an extent as to give certain of the Negroes false  
ideas and false ambitions, but, notwithstanding this fact, I am an  
American citizen and believe that every American citizen, whether  
white or black, should be given every right, either political or per-  
personal, that is granted him by the Constitution.  

About the first of September, the Republican State Central  
Committee appointed a campaign committee and this committee selected me as  
manager of the campaign in Florida. The Republicans of Florida had  
nominated a complete national and state ticket, composed of men of  
the highest character and integrity and we endeavored to carry on a  
campaign upon broad lines, entirely ignoring the race question and  
appealing to the voters in regard to the wisdom of the League of  
Nations and the benefits to flow to the Florida citizen.  

The addresses of our speakers were practically all made out in  
the open, where everyone was invited to attend and our speakers  
entirely steered clear of the race problem.  

On the contrary, every Democratic speaker and every Jew News-  
paper in the state (the entire press) immediately set up a howl that the  
election of a Republican president would mean Negro  
domination, black heels on white necks, Negroes in office and a return  

to carpet bag days.  

The result of this agitation upon the part of the Democrats  
was that in Jacksonville, the largest city in the state, the Ex-Conf  
cession was revived and on the night of October 30 paraded the streets of  
Jacksonville, 10,000 strong, in disguise, with a herald announcing that  
they stood for "white supremacy" and the natural result was that while  
there were approximately 10,000 Negro voters registered in Duval County  
and a large number of white Republicans, less than 5,000 Republican  
votes were cast.  

In Orlando, a like band of XXX paraded the streets on  
Oct. 30, 600 strong with a similar herald. They paraded through the
entire Negro section and around the Negro churches to intimidate and frighten the Negro voters.

At once it was rumored for weeks in advance that not a single Negro would be permitted to vote. I asked certain of my white friends there to see that the Negroes did not go to the polls in crowds but that they should be instructed to go quietly, one or two at a time, and attempt to cast their ballots and in the event that this right was denied to go quietly back to their homes. But, as near as I can arrive at the facts, about four o'clock a Negro named July Perry went to vote and was denied upon the ground that he had not paid his poll tax, when, as a matter of fact, the records of this county (if they have not been doctored since) will show that he has paid his poll tax. The Deo, press claimed that he made a threat that he was going to get his gun and see that he did vote. I do not believe that anyone, situated as he was, would be foolish enough to make such a threat. After the polls closed, a number of armed men went to his house without a warrant and without authority of law, as is claimed by those accusing their action and conduct, to arrest the Negro. Two white men were shot in the Negro's back yard. From that time on for two or three days the community ran riot. I do not believe it will ever be known how many Negroes were killed. Every Negro schoolhouse, church and lodge room in that vicinity was burned, in some instances with women and children occupying the house, and thus burned to death. Even today, four days after the election, conditions in Orlando, a city of 10,000 inhabitants, are such that we have to advise every Negro to stay off of the streets for fear that the riot will be renewed and there are even threats made to tar and feather the leading white Republicans and drive them out of the community.

The foregoing is a fair sample of conditions which exist in

The foregoing is a fair sample of conditions which exist in parts of the state.

Again, election laws in Florida are fraud not with the view of permitting the voter to intelligently cast his vote, but entirely to prevent any color from voting. Voter is required to have paid his poll tax two years previous to the election, to have registered and when he presents himself at the polls, he is given an official list, the details of which have been kept secret. He is not permitted to carry any memorandum and is required to in five minutes vote a ballot not longer containing approximately 75 names. The arrangement of this ballot is left to the County Commissioner, no identification as to party being permitted and not even the requirement that they be listed alphabetically. Of 92 votes, voters vote for 8. County Commissioners, being Deo., mount Deo. Electors and six or other electors, Senate and Congress. Prohibitions that the word be then passed down the line to the Deo. voters to vote the first six or whatever six may be bunched.

Nothing in my judgment tends more to build up corrupt politics, graft and ring rule than for a community to be absolutely bound to any one party but how can you Deo. of the South ever expect us to do anything as long as the Repub. Senate and Congress are so wrceant to their party as to fail to pass fair election laws which would give to every citizen, no matter of what race or of what descent, the right to
cast his ballot and have the same registered and in the interest of the section of the country in which I live and not in the interest of party, I appeal to you and through you to the other Republican senators to have an investigation of conditions in the South. If it is not considered wise for the National government to take charge of the elections where congressmen, senators and presidential electors are voted for, then, in God's name, cut down the representation of the South as it should be cut down and do not permit this section of the country to be represented in the lower house in proportion to the vast number of citizens who are no more permitted to exercise the privilege of their citizenship than are the cattle, mules and horses belonging to the members of the dominant party in this section of the country.

Sincerely yours,

(signed) Alexander Akerman.
Dear Sir:

I just wish to say that we have been having a little trouble over colored registration and a few have registered in this township of Randolph Co., N.C. and they are talking of not letting those few vote on election day.

I presented myself for registration on Saturday Oct. 19 and was refused. The register claimed he did not understand the registration laws then for we would have to go to Herman Sanford, chairman of the election board and get an O.K. slip, and he would be glad to put our name on the books. He objected to that and told him he was subject to indictment if he refused to register qualified people (colored or white). He only laughed at us and made light of this organization saying there was enough money in his side to buy the court. He is a very ignorant type of person and didn't know he had to take an oath to be a registrar, so said he hadn't been sworn in. We threatened to take any oath for any thing. The books had been given him and he went to work. After leaving the register we came back to Herman Sanford's office, Chairman of the election board (Democrat) of Randolph County N.C.
The Attorney General of the United States  
Department of Justice  
Washington, D. C.  

In re: JNK:NAY (92-04-0)

Sir:  

In the absence of Mr. White, I am acknowledging and answering your letter of October 9, signed by Mr. Joseph B. Keenan, Assistant Attorney General, in re complaints against election officials at Salisbury, N. C., I note particularly that Mr. Keenan states that the complaint has been submitted to the United States Attorney at Greensboro. I appreciate the fact that ordinary routine would place this matter in the hands of the United States Attorney at Greensboro, but under the circumstances of this case, which your department is already familiar with, we must protest that placing this matter in the hands of the United States Attorney at Greensboro is an illusion which does not deceive us.

In the first place, this matter was referred to your office as early as February, 1932. Your office then referred the matter to the Hon. Carlisle B. Higgins, United States Attorney for the Middle District of North Carolina, at Greensboro. A fake investigation was made in which only one Negro complainant out of fourteen was interviewed and on May 14, 1932, Mr. Higgins wrote Mr. W. H. Hammon, Livingstone College, Salisbury, N. C., that no action would be taken in the case, on the statement of the registrar that he was not satisfied that the individuals concerned had the educational qualifications required by the law of North Carolina. Since that time repeated efforts have been made, both by North Carolina citizens and this association, to get the Department of Justice to act and make a real investigation.

Our Secretary, Mr. White, wrote you August 20, 1932, and September 15, 1932. He did not even have the courtesy of a reply until September 29, 1932. Mr. White wrote again October 3rd, this time tendering the offices of the Association to help the Department in any investigation it was making. On October 14, this Association received Mr. Keenan's letter of October 9, to the effect that the matter had been referred to the United States Attorney at Greensboro.

In view of the extraordinary energy which the Department of Justice has displayed in running down complaints against persons accused of crimes against property and promi-
sent citizens, the record of the Department in this case presents a salutary commentary on the impartiality of its administration. It is impossible for us to forget the record of the Department regarding the Tuscaloosa lynchings in 1923, where the Department kept this case in suspense for months under the representation that it was investigating the case, although it had long since notified Mr. Roger S. Baldwin of the American Civil Liberties Union that the Department did not intend to take any action. As to this Salisbury case, we bring to your attention once more the fact that we are not here dealing with a primary election but with a general election for members of the Congress of the United States; and that there is a precedent for prosecution in a similar situation in this very state of North Carolina in the case of United States v. J. J. Seehurst, in the District Court of the United States for the Middle District of North Carolina at Salisbury, October term, 1931.

We appreciate the fact that, as Mr. Keenan told us a year ago, these suffrage cases are loaded with political dynamite, but we ask the frank question whether the present Department of Justice is an adjunct of the Democratic party, or whether it seeks the actual enforcement of the law, regardless of race or color and regardless of political creed or political consequences.

Yours respectfully,

Charles H. Houston
Special Counsel
November, 1938

MEMORANDUM TO SOUTHERN BRANCHES OF THE N.A.A.C.P.

Never before in the history of our country has the vote of the Negro been so important as at the present time. During the last presidential campaign all writers were unanimous in the opinion that the Negro vote would play an important part in the election. Both parties made overtures to the colored voters. The Negroes as a whole, exercised their right of ballot wherever possible, yet in many places Negroes were prevented from voting.

The Constitution of the United States guarantees to the Negro the right to vote and Congress has passed acts to protect this right of franchise. As a part of the progress of the N.A.A.C.P., an active fight has always been waged to preserve to the Negro his right of franchise and to fight any attempts at disfranchisement.

In 1936 after a fight of over two years, the association was successful in having John Cashon, registrar in North Carolina convicted of refusing to register Negroes and fined $500.

This year in the State of North Carolina, Negroes were excluded from registering and were denied their right to vote. Upon orders from L. P. McLendon, chairman of the state board of elections, the registrar in Northampton County, North Carolina, allowed Miss Amanda Feagly and Miss Maule Person to vote in the November 3 election. Miss Feagly and others had been denied the right to register last spring and again on October 26 because the registrar stated that they did not satisfy the educational requirements of North Carolina law. Miss Feagly is a college graduate and an instructor in Hampton Institute, Virginia. The action of Chairman McLendon was taken upon complaint from North Carolina citizens and upon telegraphic protest to Attorney General Homer S. Cummings by the N.A.A.C.P. in New York.

North Carolina members of the N.A.A.C.P. are now attacking the practices of registrars of requiring colored people to make repeated trips to register so as to discourage them from attempting to vote. It is the regular habit of some registrars to tell colored people to "come back next week" even though the registrar's office at the moment may not be doing anything.
Perhaps the most flagrant case which has come to our attention is the case in Dania, Florida, where, on Election day, Messrs. Theodore Roosevelt Harrison, O. C. Hawkins, and J. C. Cheeks, all citizens of the United States and qualified voters of Precinct 10, Broward County, Florida, went to the polls as for the purpose of voting in the presidential election. Mr. Harrison went in to the poll and voted. Meanwhile several white men stopped the other two and prevented them from either entering the polling place or exercising their right to vote. Mr. Harrison case out and got into his car with the other two men and drove off. The group of men who had intimidated Messrs. Hawkins and Cheeks followed the car and ran it into the curb, forced the occupants to get out and run, gave chase and fired revolvers at them. These men, more than two in number, returned to the car, shot up the tires and took knives and seriously damaged the automobile.

The night before election there had been distributed in the Negro section of the town handbills on which the following words appeared: "THIS IS A WHITE MAN'S ELECTION. You Good Colored People Do not Want to Vote." These bills were distributed by hooded men, with covered licensed plates on their cars.

Mr. Harrison has been forced to move to Miami, Florida, in fear of his life, and has sought the aid of the United States District Attorney for his district. To date nothing has been done by this United States District Attorney, despite the fact that Mr. Harrison has given the names of the members of the mob and is willing to assist in the prosecution of these violators of the Federal Criminal Code.

The National Office has taken these matters up with the Attorney General of the United States and will follow them through as was done in the Cushion conviction. We are counting on the branches in the south to investigate any cases of discrimination in voting in their particular locality and to stand ready to lend aid in the present cases. We solicit your cooperation in this and request that you inform us as to just how much assistance we may expect from your branch in securing to Negroes their constitutional rights as citizens of the United States.

Sincerely yours,

[Signature]
Secretary
Mr. Walter White, Secretary
69 Fifth Avenue
New York City

My dear Mr. White:

There is to be what is called a primary election for two Councilmen of the City of Columbia April 26 and a second primary May 3. Books of enrollment were opened February 1, 1932 and closed March 26. Quite a number of colored people protected themselves in their respective wards and were enrolled. On April 16 they were issued a notice to show cause why their names should not be stricken from the roll. The parties appeared and explained that they were regularly enrolled and if they chose to enroll as Democrats that was their prerogative. The Board of Commissioners of Elections, however, ruled that under the Democratic rules governing enrollment unless they had voted for Wade Hampton as governor in 1896 and had voted continuously the Democratic ticket since, they could not participate as Democrats and their names were therefore stricken from the roll.

An injunction to prevent the striking of their names or to have the same restrained was applied for and refused. I am sending you a copy of the whole matter which will give you an idea of the whole situation. To me it seems that this case is on all fours with the second Texas primary case with a strong kinship to me first. If the Nixon against Gordon case which was argued recently before the Supreme Court has been decided kindly send me a copy of the same at once and any writ all authorities that you may have bearing on a case of this kind. Please do this at once as I expect to appeal from the Order of Judge Townsend refusing our application for an injunction. Of course the appeal will be made to the Supreme Court of South Carolina. If you have any suggestions that I might help be in this matter please send them along. We have decided to go into this matter thoroughly in South Carolina and do all we can to clear up the rights of the colored people to participate freely in any elections in this State. Time is the essence of this matter and I hope you will give this your immediate attention.

With best regards, I am,

Very truly yours,

W. J. Frederick
New York, July 30.—Citing the two rulings of the United States Supreme Court invalidating state laws and enabling acts seeking to exclude Negroes from participating in Texas Democratic primaries, and a recent decision by Judge Boynton in the U. S. district National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, has written James A. Farley, chairman, Democratic national committee, urging him to instruct the state committees of the southern states to desist from further efforts to bar qualified Negro Democrats from the party primaries.

Calling Mr. Farley's attention to the opinion of Attorney General James W. Allred of Texas on July 18 that Negroes are not entitled to vote in coming Democratic primaries, and to plans on foot to bar Negroes from voting in the July 28 primaries in El Paso, Austin and some other Texas cities, Mr. White wrote: "Not only is this ethically wrong, but Negro voters in northern and border states and many enlightened white voters, will unquestionably resent failure of every responsible Democrat to take immediate, vigorous and effective action.

"No time can be lost," Mr. White's letter declared, "Should you fail to take action we propose to appeal to the courts and to fight these efforts at exclusion to the bitter end. Already steps have been taken preliminary to such legal action."

The N.A.A.C.P. national office reports that despite the opinion, the county committees in some cities, including San Antonio and Laredo, will not attempt to exclude Negroes from participation in the primaries.

To Bring Immediate Action

In a letter addressed to L. E. Washington, president of the El Paso N.A.A.C.P. branch, Mr. White has instructed him to bring legal action for nanonume in Federal Judge Boynton's court there, since his decision cannot be other than favorable in view of his ruling which concluded victorious third Texas primary case. Other Texas branches plan to take similar action.
COMMENTS ATTORNEY GENERAL
HALF-TIME PRIMARY COLOR
SNEAKING INTO ELECTORAL

New York, July 27.—Naming that "your administration will be held strictly accountable and we urge immediate action by your office," Walter White, Secretary, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, today wired Attorney General Homer E.移植, who is deliberating on the

democrats across registration, for his participation in Democrat
this action is characterized by the U.S. Attorney, secretary of the "Further
attempts to avoid consequences of United States Supreme Court decisions
in Texas and other Southern States," has been brought to the attention of the
of United States Supreme Court that either by the help of races of the
express ruling of the qualifying Negro voters be excluded as a significant effort. Attorney General says Texas in recent months

the action will be held strictly accountable and we urge immediate action by your office.

Farley and Murphy fail to act.

In a letter to Senator Hubert H. Wagner of New York, and other leading Democratic Senators dated July 20, Mr. White com-

plains that in spite of repeated communications with Attorney General

While of the Democratic National Committee, Mr. Murphy, Assistant

to the Chairman, stating March 19, this year, they have failed to act "as decisively and as speedily as should be the case, regardless of the action of the Senate Democratic Committee of twelve southern states to abstain from further illegal attempts to bar qualified Negro voters from participating in Democratic primaries.

On July 13th, says Mr. White's letter, "we had occasion again to write the Attorney General, asking him to explain to us the basis for the communications from Texas with the information that the Attorney-General's opinion on July 13th had made clear that Negroes are not entitled to vote in the

democratic primaries at the Democratic Party's State Convention on May 8th at Waco.

So far as we are able to determine, this is the only time in the State

Thus far as we are able to determine, this is the only time in the State.
of Texas who are qualified to vote under the Constitution and Laws of the State, shall be eligible to membership in the Democratic Party and as such entitled to participation in its deliberations.

"This resolution, the Attorney General said, in effect limited the right to participation in Democratic primaries to whites, and consequently excluded Negroes. Up to this time we have had no satisfactory answer to our communications."

Communications addressed to Mr. Emil Hurja, Mr. Farley's assistant have elicited no more definite reply than an acknowledgment and the information that the matter had been referred to Mr. Farley "and that of course would cover the situation."

In the Association's July 16 letter to Mr. Farley, Mr. White warned that "Should you fail to take action we propose to appeal to the courts and to fight these efforts at exclusion to the bitter end. Already steps have been taken preliminary to such legal action."
New York, Aug. 21. - Billupgrade said: "I made a mistake. I could not imagine exactly how in the exactness of the document, two days ago."

He admitted to Secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Mr. Parley, that the act of the Democratic National Committee, in Texas, would be a great mistake. He further said that he would take no action until the case had been settled.

The Democratic National Committee, in Texas, had previously published a resolution that the Texas Democratic Party would not vote for any candidate who would not vote for the Democratic Party in the primary election.

"The Democratic National Committee has never been so mistaken," said Mr. Parley. "We have never been so mistaken as to believe that the Democratic Party would vote for a candidate who would not vote for the Democratic Party in the primary election."
Montgomery, Ala.

Mr. J. W. Pickens
23 Mitch Avenue
New York, N. Y.

October 31st, 1940

The only hope the colored people in Alabama have is in the Northern colored people helping us. Colored people are therefore asking you all to remember us. Remember the inhuman hate of Alabama.

Yours very truly,

W. G. Porter
Editor, Vermilion-News Herald:

I would like to report some of the things that I have noticed recently.

On December 16th, I saw a group of school teachers and other workers leaving the office of the Jefferson County Board of Registration. Before leaving, they stated that they had just completed their registration and were preparing to meet their responsibilities.

I also noticed that the office had just opened for the day and was very busy. There were many people waiting in line to register.

Dr. Vines has already made several attempts to register, but due to the large number of people, he was unable to do so. He has suggested that the Board should consider opening the office on weekends to accommodate the needs of the community.

On December 17th, Dr. Vines was refused the opportunity to register due to a misunderstanding. He stated that he had already registered and was not eligible to register again.

I believe that the Board should consider opening the office on weekends to accommodate the needs of the community and to prevent misunderstandings.
One is not accepted for military service unless he can fulfill literacy requirements. Hence, no reasonable person would welcome a law of literacy better than that which are the authority of the United States Government and it is.

May I suggest that for a full hour on December 24, the registrars smell by watching the clock, arranged to be an actual deadline date to turn from petition to the residents. By such a means that once is attempting to set the impression of a citizen was required as a novice identified as being from the literacy office as I be to.

The Registrar’s office opens at 8:30 a.m., will close at 12:00 noon, which allows little time for the workers and people who came to register. Registrar’s office will be open from 8:30

School Teachers in a Calhoun County School, have been informed that the City Schools will open at 8:30 a.m. at the school until 11:00, will be open, and to meet one to the office before it closed. V.

L. M. Sping, A. P. L. Representative and President of the Birmingham Branch of the Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Prof. C. E. Miller, President of the Educational Committee of the Jefferson County Negro Education was not with the Mrs. U. Jackson, President of the Jefferson County Negro Teachers Association, Prof. H. H. Johnson, Superintendent of Negro High School and member of the United Registration Committee, J. F. Lopez, President of the Alabama State Federation of Colored Women, and

Employee, Editor of the Birmingham News and Chairman of the United Registration committee were at the office of the Board of registrars during this period and saw the handbill issued to inform the trickery in refusing to register these citizens.

I further submit that it appears reasonable that was the file the registration application on file before the deadline point have the application acted upon as of the period in which it was filed.

As an accredited newspaper editor, I have submitted in writing a request for registration statistics which are vital publics, but such time I am denied this information because I believe that the Board is afraid to allow the request to be printed. I write this with the hope that it will lead to thorough investigation of our Registration system.

Yours truly,

Emory G. Jackson
Managing Editor
Birmingham News

EDY8nb
Dear Senator,

I am writing at your hands duplicating material which I have sent to the Department of Justice in Washington, D.C., urging local action.

Whatever you can do to go to court along this line will be appreciated. I am trying to get registration weighted to take up their own fight with a letter-writing campaign.

Right now I have done all that I know and don't see to be doing much headway. The registrars are getting some but we will not get up to our will and determination to win a free ballot in Alabama.

Top Work went to a busy lawyer yesterday but I am sending him a box of evidence which help. Failure of the Department to act with this help and evidence will show up the Justice Department.

There must be something that you and the local offices can do. Before this Birmingham needed something done as the city dues now. The people are looking to the NAACP to fight for and with them in this unrolling battle for the ballot.
Infantry Day—And Night

JUDGE BOYDS DISCUSSIONS POLL TAX

Editor, The Advertiser:

Regrettably, the purpose of this article is to bring to your attention that in this city of Montgomery, a city that is proud of its history and heritage, there are still people who take for granted the hard-fought victories of those who fought for the right to vote.

The Montgomery poll tax was a system that was established in the early 20th century to disenfranchise African Americans and other minority groups. It was a legal means to prevent these groups from exercising their right to vote. The poll tax was based on the belief that only those who could afford to pay could be trusted to vote wisely.

The poll tax was finally declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court in 1962, but its legacy persists in the form of other barriers to voting, such as voter ID laws and gerrymandering.

In conclusion, we must continue to fight against any attempts to disenfranchise voters, as the right to vote is a fundamental right that should be accessible to all Americans regardless of race, gender, or socio-economic status.

Sincerely,

[Signature]

[Date]
Mr. Walter Vitis, Executive Secretary
The National Association for the
Advancement of Colored People
30 West 40th Street
New York 18, New York

Dear Mr. Vitis:

Attached hereto is a report drawn by the Legis-
vative Committees of this Branch, summarizing the
efforts made in the past of Tutwilla County,
Alabama, to secure registered voters.

Please let us have your reaction or suggestions
as to further steps to be taken.

Very truly yours,

[Signature]

Jesse L. How, M.D.,
President, Tuskegee Branch

David C. Hare
Chairman, Legislative Committee
A relentless struggle to enfranchise a substantial number, if indeed not all qualified Negroes in Macon County, goes on ceaselessly.

In Macon County where there are five Negroes to each white person in population, the number of white electors out-number the Negroes by 17 to one. There are 2,220 white electors and 133 Negroes. It is true that some of this discrepancy might be explained by blaming it on the colored people's indifferent attitude towards civic matters in Macon County and in obtaining the ballot. This was true prior to the recent war which ushered in a large percentage of voting and civic-conscious war workers. The manifestation of interest that was born by those persons who heralded from all parts of the United States, was caught and is yet prevalent in the minds and occupies the interest of those who live in and around the spirit of Booker T. Washington here at Tuskegee.

But with the "They shall not pass" attitude and philosophy of the controlling handful of whites, the efforts made by the Negroes are almost nil. A condition almost parallel to the stricture type of feudal system exists here. The exploited but "well fed slaves" serve only to enhance the politico-economic position of the ruling class in Macon County, and to otherwise contribute to its aggrandizement.

Court cases have so far, served to make the status quo whites more defiant. They are more determined now that the number of Negro electors remain insufficient to offer a threat to their advantageous but not so tenable position. On one occasion a county official had this to say to a visitor from out of town. "Sometimes some of the rural Negroes and some of the colored professors at the Institute (Tuskegee) think we don't treat them fairly, but in general we manage to keep them pacified."
In addition to twenty-five (25) cases of alleged registration denial filed in the Alabama Circuit Court, seeking relief from a custom of denying suffrage to Negroes in Macon County, one case was filed in the District Court of the United States for the Middle District of Alabama in August, 1945. In the latter case we prayed for a declaratory judgment, a permanent injunction, and five-thousand dollars damages. The defendants motion to dismiss was sustained October 12, 1945. After a series of court battles, lasting for two years and ruled on by the United States Supreme Court October 14, 1946, the case was finally adjudicated in November 1947. This was upon the disclosure by the Macon County officials that the plaintiff was already registered as a result of his efforts in 1945. The plaintiff, however, had not received a certificate of registration.

From June 1946 until January 1949 (18 months) Macon County was without a Board of Registrars. Negroes here made many efforts to get the appointing officials of Alabama, the Governor, State Auditor and the Commissioners of Agriculture and Industry to appoint a Board. A Board was appointed January 9, 1948. The Negroes did not know of the existence of a Board however until April 14, 1948. This was brought out in an associated Press dispatch announcing the resignation of the Board's chairman. Two hundred names were registered from January until April 14. No Negroes were registered. No Negroes knew of the existence of a Board. No notice was made of the appointment nor of the meeting time of the Board, though the Alabama Code, Section 186, Par. 2, states, "They (the Board) shall give at least twenty days notice of the time when, and the place in the precinct where, they will attend to register applicants for registration ......."

On April 19, 1948, the date of the Board's next sitting after we learned of its existence, approximately 50 Negroes appeared at the court house to apply for
registration. Upon inquiring of certain county officials as to the meeting place of the Board, all persons thus asked directed us to Judge of Probate, William Varner. Judge Varner stated to three or four persons (Negroes) that he did not know where the Board was meeting - he further interposed that the Board "had dissolved", hence there was no Board.

The registration board was found later that day after losing approximately two hours in the search. This was accomplished through the revealing of the location of the Board to an individual of our group whom was mistaken to be a white person. Found in a remote place of the county house and behind closed doors at approximately 10:00 A.M., applications were taken from 21 applicants throughout the remainder of the day - closing at 5:30 P.M. When the Board ceased registering Negroes were yet in line seeking to get into the registration room which would accommodate only two applicants at a time. Plots were made to the Board members to pass the application blanks to the persons in the long line; this, we thought, would speed up the registration process considerably. Our plots were not granted on the grounds that the blanks could not be taken from the room.

In Mason County the Board of Registrars requires the applicant to produce the names of two voters to serve as vouchers, one of whom must appear in person to sign the application blank. Whether legal or not, this procedure worked a hardship upon the applicants in obtaining the services of a registered voter to appear at the registration place in person. Of these 21 applicants, 9 received registration certificates indicating that they were certified electors approximately 10 days after registration. The remaining 12 applicants have not to this date received any certificate or notification of rejection. Since April 19,
we have not been able to find the Board in session on the 1st and 3rd Mondays of any month (which are the registration dates according to Alabama law).

Although we did talk to one of the registrars who would always state that "the other man is not present and I cannot work alone for the State will not pay me for working alone", it appears to this committee that some kind of motion might be taken either against the Board of Registrars or certain other county officials or against the appointees of the Board or against the vote counting officials of Mason County. The procedure appealing to this committee as being the most feasible plan would be that of enjoining the vote counting officials from counting the votes that are actually cast in Mason County until such time as those individuals who are denied the right to register are given an opportunity to do so.

We believe this to be a practical procedure in view of the fact that registration is a prerequisite to vote in Alabama. Therefore, any qualified person denied the right to register is likewise denied the right to vote.

In order that you might better understand the situation in Mason County and particularly in Tuskegee, it is felt that the following facts should be brought to your attention:

1. The white citizenry of Tuskegee town is almost wholly dependent upon the economic success of the Negro population in this county.
2. The colored citizens of this community, for the most part, are unusually well educated and also are very secure from a financial standpoint.
3. The main sources of income for this entire community is the 3000-bed Veterans Hospital and the famed Tuskegee Institute founded by the late Booker T. Washington.
4. Practically all business enterprises in this community of any size and volume are owned, or operated, by white citizens.

In addition to the foregoing it is becoming more apparent as time goes on that the white citizens in this community do not intend for the colored population to become registered voters. Every means at their disposal has been used to discourage, deny and circumvent the right to register and vote to the colored members of this locality. It has been reasoned that if the predominant group in this County, which is colored, should be qualified voters, it would then perhaps be only a matter of 4 or 5 years before possibly a member or members of the colored group would be nominated and installed in one or more prominent county and town offices. Inasmuch as a hostile attitude has been taken by the white group, and inasmuch as we feel that they will go to any length to prevent the colored population from exceeding their number as qualified electors and becoming a possible potential threat to their political security, this committee has set forth the above facts for your serious and deep consideration. With the exception of our proposal to tie-up the votes cast in the November election on the grounds that registration has been denied qualified applicants in this County, we are at a loss as to what possible legal action could be taken to force the registrars in this county to be available on the days required by Alabama law and pass upon applications of qualified colored applicants.

As you will note in reading this letter, a determined fight has been waged over a period of years and a particular concentrated effort has been carried forth. During the past three years the colored citizens in this community have put forth an effort to obtain the franchise and full citizenship. We seek your advice as
to what methods we might use to bring a halt to a custom, policy, and usage of
the Mason County Board of Registrars which in effect, works discriminatory
against Negroes of this County, by denying qualified Negroes the right to re-
gister. We wish also to bring a halt to the policy used by the Board of Regis-
trars of telling Negro Vouchers that they can vouch for only a small number,
which means that Negro Vouchers are restricted to a specified quota. This Board
has a practice of running out of ink, changing, at will, the meeting place of
the Board, thereby making it extremely difficult and sometimes impossible to
find the Board. These subterfuges are hardly applied by the Board of Regis-
trars with what we believe to be intent to slow down the number of applicants
taken in a given time. We feel that the number of Negroes who yearly make
pilgrimages to the meeting place of the board to find that only 9 or 10 of
their number get registered, are discriminated against. Hence we seek a
solution to what we believe to be a wrong.

Your prompt and earnest consideration to this matter, with a reply giving us
information as to the best action to take will be deeply appreciated.

Very truly yours,

DANIEL L. BRADLEY, Chairman, Legislative Committee
WILLIAM T. MITCHELL, Member
LYNWOOD T. DOBSON, Member
The unsigners have made repeated attempts to register in Henry County but have been burned down on every attempt. We have not every requirement and each time we are hindered by the interference of the law-enforcement officers.

About three months ago Mr. Clayborn Williams appeared before the Board of Registrars and secured a registration blank filled in out and was told by the chairman of the Board that he had to get a permit to sign who was a registered voter. He secured the signature of Mr. Woodrow Griffin, who called up the Board and told them that the signature was his. The Board then said that he had to come up there in person. Failing in this we appeared again.

Four negroes, Joel Newman, Sam Crockett, Clayborn Williams and James Vaughn went before the Board of Registrars on November 30, 1919. Again we were told that we had to have someone to come in and sign. Sam Crockett secured Mr. Ramer who went into the office to sign, and as he was about to sign his name was called into the office of the Deputy Sheriff, Mr. Ockle, and told not to do so. He pointed to Mr. Ramer the consequences of such an act, stating that he might be shot. He also demanded citizen want to the Chairman of the Board and failed to get any commitment from her. Mr. Ramer, after his conversation with the deputy, refused to sign.

On December 5, 1919 we again appeared before the Board, and while there the chairman told out the blank for a citizen applicant which the sheriff signed. He had along Mr. J. E. Howard, but his grandfather was at the point of death and he asked that they be permitted to sign the blank before it was filled in. This was refused. The deputy sheriff again called the same office and tried to persuade him not to sign. He came out of the office and asked to sign the blank but was told that he could only after the registration blank had been filled in, and that it would take an hour to do so. It would not wait and we were refused registration certificates.

Mr. J. E. Howard, while filling in his blank was asked to tell how the President is elected. He told the chairman that he was elected by electors which had been elected by the voters. The electors shortly after election would meet in the electoral college of their respective states for president and vice-president. The chairman asked how many electors were there. He told her that that depends on the population, but that Alabama had 21. New York had 75, Pennsylvania had 31 and Ohio 35, etc. She stated that she knew enough but failed to register him. He further stated to her that he did not think that it was necessary to answer these questions, since this was the requirement under the Federal Amendment which is new now.

A tax-driver carried the four negroes round to people in an effort to secure the necessary vouchers for registration without cost. These evidence of the effort we are held by the citizenship of Henry County, Alabama. We plan to go back in December 19, 1919. We have our belief that the tax is obstructing our efforts. We are trying to prevent more action.

(Sheet #2)
The four Negroes are all property owners and two of us are veterans of the last war. A large number of white friends are working with us. Mr. Arthur Gourley, the son of the Chairman is for us and is doing what he can to see that we are registered, but it is the officer sworn to uphold the law that is blocking this effort.

Signed: Clayborn Williams
       James Vaughn
       Sam Craddock
       J. B. V慢慢地

COPY

Sheet 14
QUALIFIED TO VOTE BUT

Every registration period held by the Jefferson County Board of Registrars witnesses the mass rejection of Negro citizens as voters. This is especially true of Negro veterans. Twenty-one such veterans who were rejected without good cause on January 23 have appealed to the Circuit Court. Their cases are set for June 24.

Scores more were refused June 3. They have protested in vain. Open letters to Governor Sparks in newspapers have brought no relief. Letters to editors and editorial comment have not eased the situation. The appeal is now directly up to the people of Jefferson County and the State of Alabama.

The issue is clear-cut.

Registration practices are not the same for white and Negro veterans. No white veterans are known to have been refused. Seldom are any Negro veterans registered.

The Negro veterans are not asking for special favors. They seek to exercise their citizenship right by registering on the basis of their qualifications-on the same basis as their former white comrades in arms.

WHAT THE LAW PROVIDES

Alabama law requires that an applicant be the possessor of at least $300 worth of taxable property or be able to read or write any section of the United States Constitution in the English language, in order to register as a voter.

Every veteran with an honorable discharge presents evidence of meeting up to Army literacy requirements. The honorable discharge, therefore, should be strong and satisfactory evidence in his favor.

This is properly the case with regard to white veterans, who are registered automatically upon presenting their discharge and demonstrating the further proof of their literacy which is involved in filling in the oath of application.
I DENIED THE CHANCE

Usually that is the last word the veteran receives from the Board. Or, he may be rejected on the spot—without explanation.

A fair proportion of the seats in the office of the Board of Registrars is not provided for Negro applicants to complete their application forms. In addition, about once Negro is admitted to the office of the registrars to every 10 whites. And this is a most generous estimate.

YOU SHOULD KNOW THE TRUTH

It is an unseemly commentary on our political institutions when men and women who fought for their country cannot vote in their country. It is an irony which America can ill afford, that the hateful ideologies which these vote rejecters helped to put down abroad are erected against them at the Jefferson County Board of Registrars.

We do not believe their white comrades know of these injustices. We do not believe the citizens who demonstrated the vitality of our political institutions by voting in such large numbers in the recent elections will any longer tolerate the systematic and pernicious flouting of the established law by the Board of Registrars.

We believe the public will come to our rescue where the Governor of this state and local officials have not.

WHAT CITIZENS CAN DO ABOUT IT

Citizens can speak up for fair registration practices. They can speak out against public servants who deny registration to any citizen because of bias or for personal or arbitrary reasons. They can insist that the board of registrars perform its duties according to law—law for all people.
One of God's ways is a mystery to us...
And Senator Hill Said a Short Time Ago 'We Have No Racial Problem!'

Months ago, at the very start of Alabama's sensational campaign, State Sen. Jim Simpson warned at the danger to white supremacy in this state and throughout the South from the radical policies preached and commended to the white New Deal clique with which Sen. Lister Hill travels hand in hand.

Subsequent events have proven how right Senator Simpson was on this point and how the corner Senator Hill was when he held the utter nonsense extreme in a radio talk at Mobile on January 8 that Alabama has no racial problem.

Only yesterday the Associated Press carried a report showing that it has been necessary for the Serve Alabama in Lister Hill's own county of Montgomery to act to prevent white supremacy from encroaching by a New York Negro lawyer. The dispatch stated that Solicitor W. T. Bethea has charged the New York negro attorney, one Arthur M. Haffner, with coming into Alabama and instituting legal action to force the Montgomery County Board of Registrars to remove several negroes as voters, although he had not been received by them as such.

News of this invasion of Senator Hill's own home county by a negro lawyer from New York to try to force the Montgomery Board of Registrars to qualify negroes as voters carries momentous significance, coming hard on the heels of the United States Supreme Court decision holding negroes eligible to vote in Texas Democratic primary elections.

With white supremacy breached in his own county, Senator Hill can no longer play the ostrich and claim Alabama has no racial problem—problems which his record shows he helped to cause by his votes for funds with which the so-called Fair Employment Practice Committee was created and continued to exist. It was not until he saw how strongly Alabama voters were set against him because of his record of radical New Deal racial and socialistic policies that Lister Hill last month raised his voice against the FEPC and voted against continued appropriations for it for the first time.

Senator Hill probably would have made this statement about Alabama having no racial problem if he knew what real Democrats were thinking about the southern Democrats such as Chairman Gosner T. McLaverty of the Alabama State Democratic Executive Committee.

On January 8, just three days after Senator Hill told a radio audience at Mobile that as an Alabamian he could 'worry no matter about the race' Chairman McLaverty issued
memorable call for the Democratic State Executive Com- mittee to meet in Montgomery on January 10 to set the qualifications for the May 2 Democratic primary.

In that call Mr. McCorvey afraid outside interference with the racial question and attributed to it the widespread defections from the Democratic Party in Alabama in the 1948 presidential election. We call attention to Mr. McCorvey's statement because it is of even more importance now than when it was issued.

"Many Alabama Democrats left our party in 1948," Mr. McCorvey said, "because they were naturally greatly dis- pleased with the attitude of our national administration toward the race problem, which we of the South can handle without any outside interference."

"Thus, too, men and women who had been lifelong Democrats left our party because many of them thought our party had become too radical with entirely too much of socialistic leaning."

Mr. McCorvey then put his finger on the cause of why some Democrats made the mistake of leaving the party in 1948. They simply could not stomach the radical racial politics and the socialist type of government advocated by Senator Hill and other left wing, rubber-stamp New Dealists. Not far from harming these sincere Democrats from the party forever, as Senator Hill would do. Mr. McCorvey warned against the danger of a split in the Democratic Party in Alabama and the establishment of "a second white man's party." In this case, Chairman McCorvey urged that the committee take no harsh action against Alabamians who strayed from the party a few years ago, and to make a place to welcome them back.

This is precisely what the Alabama State Democratic Executive Committee did. For it realized that New Dealers, like Luther Hill, had given Alabama Democrats in Alabama severe persecution to felt by exposing anti-Southern racist doctrines and wild socialist schemes.

It is a bitter pill for Senator Hill to swallow—this re- placement of Alabama Democrats to help to drive out of the party. In fact this self-styled "not Democrat" won't accept the Democratic Executive Committee's action. Those re- placed Democrats are Republicans, according to Senator Hill, who continue to do his best to split the Democratic Party in Alabama.

The political liquidation of Senator Hill in the coming primaries and the election of a genuine Southern Democrat in the person of Senator Simpson will do more than anything else to unite the Democratic Party in Alabama. There is no danger of Senator Simpson opposing radical and radical causes, as Senator Hill has done, which raise Alabamian blood pressure. Jim Simpson will fight for white supremacy as every other cause dear to Alabama and the South. Alabamians un- derstand that thoroughly and that's why they're determined to make Senator Simpson the next junior senator from Ala- bama.
SCHNEll ASSAUGES NEGROES' LEADER

With the case scheduled to go before a state judge on charges of
violating the state's election laws, Schnell accused Leffler of
violating the law.

Leffler, who has a record of
violating the law, was
accused of violating the
laws.

The charges were
brought by the state's
election board.

Leffler, who has a
criminal record, was
charged with violating
the law.

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Dear Mr. Black-

There was enough for 22 for Membership.

I'm a little late getting this to you.

On Premium Election day last year, there was an incident. A Negro, whose name was Jones, was trying to vote. He was standing in line to vote, and he was a little behind the others. The Negro, Mr. Jones, tried to vote, but the pollsters refused to let him vote.

The pollsters told him that he could not vote because he was not a US citizen. Mr. Jones was a US citizen, and he was trying to exercise his right to vote. The pollsters refused to let him vote, and he left the polling place in a rage.

The next day, Mr. Jones went to the police department to report the incident. He told the police that the pollsters had refused to let him vote because he was a Negro. The police investigated the incident, and they found that the pollsters had indeed refused to let Mr. Jones vote because of his race.

Mr. Jones was angry, and he wanted to do something about it. He went to the NAACP, and they helped him file a complaint with the US Department of Justice. The Department of Justice investigated the incident, and they found that the pollsters had indeed refused to let Mr. Jones vote because of his race.

The Department of Justice filed a lawsuit against the pollsters, and they won. The pollsters were ordered to pay Mr. Jones damages, and they were also charged with violating Mr. Jones' rights under the Voting Rights Act.

Mr. Jones was happy with the outcome of the lawsuit. He felt that his rights had been protected, and he was grateful to the NAACP for helping him.

I hope this information is helpful. Please let me know if you have any further questions.

Sincerely,

[Signature]
STATE OF NEW YORK  
COUNTY OF NEW YORK  

JANE THOMAS SMITH, being duly sworn, deposes and states as follows:

My home is in Greensboro, Florida, Gadesden County, but I am temporarily residing at 177 West Bergen Place, Hackensack, New Jersey.

I am the President of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People Branch in Greensboro which has approximately three hundred members located throughout the county. Last winter, the Branch, under my leadership, put on a campaign to secure the registration and voting of Negroes in the local elections. As a result of this campaign, about one hundred and fifty Negroes registered in the county and from ten to fifteen in the town of Greensboro.

On February 16, 1938, I registered personally with the registrar who had his office and kept his books in the Fletcher Company department store. At the time I went to register Mr. Wesley Butler, the registrar, asked me, "Do you think you are doing the right thing?" to which I replied that I was a citizen and I had a duty to vote. During the next two weeks, three or four more Negroes registered in my town and some in the rest of the county. About two weeks later, Mr. Hale Sines, a member of the County Board of Commissioners which governs the entire county, who resides in Greensboro, came to my house which is next to the grocery store where I operate, and asked me into his car because he wanted to speak to me. He then told me that he did not think I should register to vote because the time was not ready for colored people to vote. He said, "I advise you not to vote because it may bring about trouble." He said if I could have seen me before I registered, "I would have tried to keep you..."
from registering. On May 4, 1868, the county primary election was held and only four of the Negroes who had registered in Greensboro voted. The others told me they had been warned by employers and other white people not to vote. The four who registered and voted were myself, Mr. Calvin Smith, my half-brother, Mr. Harry Koody, and Mrs. Gertrude Koody, his wife, my neighbors. We went to the voting booth at about 7:30 a.m. and were the first in line. The polls opened at 6 a.m., then my brother Koody went in just ahead of me the election officials, Mr. Eyre Goby, who was in charge of the registration books, said to him, "I don't know of any law to keep you from voting but I would service you not to," while waiting in line, my brother was called away by his boss' son, Edward Fletcher, and told not to vote. He voted anyway. That same night, about 11:30 or 1 a.m., my brother's back porch was burned off, and the following morning Mr. Koody, his employer, who owns a large plantation nearby, sent around lumber to fix the porch and he has since said to leave the porch fixed. On the morning of May 5, 1868, other Negroes, the sheriff, came to my brother's house and said he was coming to try to find out why did it but he has done nothing since then.

During the next few days an unusual number of automobiles containing white men made a habit of driving slowly past my store and house and staring at the unrattle. I and my neighbor, Mr. Koody, sent our lights on all night and set up to keep people from blowing our house up. On Friday, May 7, 1868, the sheriff said that a white man had asked him to tell me that there were "revolvers making up for me" and that men had gone to Beaufort, Savannah, and River Junction, nearby towns, to raise the people against us and he advised me to leave town immediately. That night I turned my store over to my brother-in-law and I left town with my wife and four children and on staying with friends in Medora, New Jersey.
Attached is a copy of a letter from my brother stating that he went to see Mr. Sam Brown, a white cafe owner, and asked his whether it was safe for me to return to town. In that letter my brother states that Mr. Sam Brown, after talking to people in the community, said that I could come back with safety only if I would erase my name from the registration books and if the other Negroes who had registered would do likewise.

Sworn to before me this 1st day of June, 1928.