

A Guide to

The Papers of Eleanor Roosevelt, 1933-1945

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BIOGRAPHICAL ESSAY

ROOSEVELT, Anna Eleanor, Oct. 11, 1884-Nov. 7, 1962,
social reformer.

Anna Eleanor Roosevelt was born in New York City, the first child of Elliott and Anna (Hall) Roosevelt. Descended on both sides from distinguished colonial families active in commerce, banking, and politics, Eleanor seemed destined to enjoy all the benefits of class and privilege. By the time she was ten, both her parents had died, as had a younger brother, leaving Eleanor and her second brother, Hall, as the only survivors.

From that point forward, Eleanor Roosevelt's life was characterized by paradox. A woman of remarkable self-control, yet she reached out to touch the world in profoundly emotional ways. Although committed to the traditional idea of women as primarily responsible to husband and family, she personified the strength of the independent woman. Both by fate and by will, she became the most important public woman of the twentieth century.

Eleanor Roosevelt remembered herself as "a solemn child, without beauty. I seemed like a little old woman entirely lacking in the spontaneous joy and mirth of youth." She experienced emotional rejection early: her mother called her "granny" and, at least in Eleanor's memory, warmly embraced her son while being only "kindly and indifferent" to her little girl. From most of her family young Eleanor received the message that she was "very plain," almost ugly, and certainly "old-fashioned." When her parents died, she went to live with her maternal grandmother, who was equally without warmth. As a cousin later remarked: "It was the grimmest childhood I had ever known. Who did she have? Nobody."

In fact, she had one person--her father. "He was the one great love of my life as a child," she later wrote, "and . . . like many children, I have lived a dream life with him." Described by his friends as "charming, impetuous . . . generous, [and] friendly," Elliott Roosevelt developed with Eleanor an intimacy that seemed almost magical. "As soon as I could talk," she recalled, "I went into his dressing room every morning and chattered to him . . . I even danced with him." She dreamed of the time when she and her father "would have a life of our own together."

But Elliott Roosevelt's capacity for ebullient play and love also contained the seeds of self-destruction. He was never able to provide stability for himself and his family, and his emotional imbalance caused his banishment from the household. He nourished the relationship with Eleanor through letters to "father's own little Nell," writing of "the wonderful long rides" that he wanted them to enjoy together. But when his long-awaited visits occurred, they often ended in disaster, as when he left Eleanor with the doorman at his club, promising to return but going off on a drunken spree. The pain of betrayal was exceeded only by a depth of love for the man who she believed to be "the only person who really cared."

The emotional void caused by her father's death persisted until, at the age of fifteen, she enrolled at Allenswood, a girls' school outside of London presided over by Marie Souvestre. The daughter of the French philosopher and radical Emil Souvestre, she passionately embraced unpopular causes, staunchly defending Dreyfus in France and the cause of the Boers in South Africa. Souvestre provided for Eleanor a deeply needed emotional bond, confiding in her as they toured the continent together, and expressing the affection that made it possible for the younger woman to flower. Roosevelt remembered the years at Allenswood as "the happiest years" of her life: "Whatever I have become since had its seeds in those three years of contact with a liberal mind and strong personality."

Souvestre's imprint was not lost when Eleanor Roosevelt returned to New York City at seventeen to come out in society. In the rush of parties and dances, she kept her eye on the more serious world of ideas and social service. She plunged into settlement house work and at eighteen joined the National Consumers' League, headed by Florence Kelley. The League was committed to securing health and safety for workers, especially women, and as Roosevelt visited factories and sweatshops, she developed a lifelong commitment to helping the poor. She also joined the Junior League and taught calisthenics and dancing at the Rivington Street Settlement House. Much of Eleanor Roosevelt's subsequent political activism can be traced to this early involvement in social reform.

At the same time, Eleanor Roosevelt was secretly planning to marry her cousin Franklin Roosevelt. Like Elliott Roosevelt, his godfather, Franklin was spontaneous, warm, and gregarious. But Franklin Roosevelt also possessed good sense and singleness of purpose. Eleanor Roosevelt saw in him the spark of life that she remembered from her father; he, in turn, saw in her the discipline that would curb his own instincts toward excess.

After their marriage on March 17, 1905, the young Roosevelts settled in New York City while Franklin finished his law studies at Columbia University. For the next fifteen years, Eleanor Roosevelt's public activities gave way to other concerns. Sara Roosevelt, Franklin's mother, objected to her work at the settlement house because she might bring home diseases. The Roosevelts' first child, Anna, was born within a year (1906), James the next year, and Franklin, two years later. Eleanor Roosevelt cherished her children, but it was not a happy time. Her mother-in-law dominated the household, and she came to feel that "Franklin's children were more my mother-in-law's children than they were mine." But she did not rebel. She feared

hurting her husband and losing his affection, and she experienced a profound sense of inadequacy about her abilities as a wife and mother that continued throughout her life. The death of her third child, seven months after his birth, only reinforced her pain and unhappiness. Three additional children were born in the next six years--Elliott in 1910, Franklin Jr. in 1914, and John in 1916. But motherhood could not be fulfilling in a household ruled by a mother-in-law who told the children they were hers: "Your mother only bore you."

Between 1910 and the beginning of World War I, Eleanor Roosevelt's activities revolved increasingly around her husband's growing political career. Elected as the Democratic assemblyman from Dutchess County, N.Y., in 1910, Franklin Roosevelt rapidly became a leader of insurgent anti-Tammany forces in Albany, and Eleanor Roosevelt found herself organizing frequent social-political gatherings. In 1913, he was appointed assistant secretary of the navy and she became expert at hosting multiple social events while managing a large household and moving everyone to Campobello in New Brunswick during the summer, then to Hyde Park, and back to Washington.

The entry of the United States into World War I in 1917 provided Eleanor Roosevelt, as her biographer Joseph Lash has noted, with "a reason acceptable to her conscience to free herself of the social duties that she hated, to concentrate less on her household, and plunge into work that fitted her aptitude." She rose at 5:00 a.m to coordinate activities at Washington's Union Station canteen for soldiers on their way to training camps, took charge of Red Cross activities, supervised the knitting rooms at the navy department, and spoke at patriotic rallies. Her interest in social welfare led to her drive to improve conditions at St. Elizabeth's Hospital for the mentally ill, while her sensitivity to suffering came forth in the visits she paid to wounded soldiers. "[My son] always loved to see you come in," one mother wrote. "You always brought a ray of sunshine."

After Franklin Roosevelt's unsuccessful campaign for the vice presidency in 1920, the Roosevelts returned to New York where Eleanor became active in the League of Women Voters. At the time of her marriage, she had opposed suffrage, thinking it inconsistent with women's proper role; now she coordinated the League's legislative program, drafted laws providing equal representation for men and women, and worked with Esther Lape and Elizabeth Read on the League's lobbying activities. In 1922, she joined the Women's Trade Union League (WTUL)--then viewed as "left leaning"--and found there friends as well as political allies. In addition to working for maximum hour and minimum wage laws for women, she helped raise funds for WTUL headquarters in New York City and developed warm ties to its leaders, including Rose Schneiderman and Maud Swartz, both immigrants.

When her husband was paralyzed by polio in 1921, Eleanor Roosevelt's public life expanded still further as she became his personal representative in the political arena. With the aid of Louis Howe, Franklin Roosevelt's political mentor who had become her own close friend, she first mobilized Dutchess County women, then moved on to the state Democratic party, organizing all but five counties by 1924. "Organization," she noted, "is something to which [the men] are always ready to take off their hats." No

one did the job better. Leading a delegation to the Democratic National Convention in 1924, she fought for equal pay legislation, the child labor amendment, and other planks endorsed by women reformers.

By 1928, Eleanor Roosevelt had become a political leader in her own right. Once just a political wife, she gradually extended that role into a vehicle for asserting her own personality and goals. She headed up the national women's campaign for the Democratic party in 1928, making sure that the party appealed to independent voters, to minorities, and to women. After Franklin Roosevelt's election as governor of New York, she was instrumental in securing Frances Perkin's appointment as the state's industrial commissioner. She dictated as many as a hundred letters a day, spoke to countless groups, and acted as an advocate of social reform and women's issues.

Eleanor Roosevelt's talent for combining partisan political activity with devotion to social welfare causes made her the center of an ever-growing female reforms network. Her associates included Marion Dickerman and Nancy Cook, former suffragists and Democratic party loyalists; Mary Dewson, who was president of the New York Consumers' League from 1925 to 1931; and Mary Dreier of the WTUL. She walked on picket lines with Rose Schneiderman, edited the *Women's Democratic News*, and advised the League of Women Voters on political tactics. Not only did her political sophistication grow, but she also learned to uphold her beliefs even if she caused "disagreement or unpleasant feelings." By standing up for women in politics, she provided a model for others to follow.

During the 1932 campaign which led to her husband's election to the presidency, Eleanor Roosevelt coordinated the activities of the Women's Division of the Democratic National Committee, working with Mary Dewson to mobilize thousands of women precinct workers. After the election, Dewson took over direction of the Women's Division. She corresponded daily with Eleanor Roosevelt both about appointing women to office and about securing action on issues that would appeal to minorities, women, and such professional groups as educators and social workers. Together they brought to Washington an unprecedented number of dynamic women activists, including Ellen Woodward, Hilda Worthington Smith, and Florence Kerr. Mary Anderson, director of the Women's Bureau, recalled that women government officials had formerly dined together in a small university club. "Now", she said, "there are so many of them that we need a hall."

Eleanor Roosevelt also provided a national forum for transmitting the views and concerns of these women. At regular press conferences for women reporters, she introduced Mary McLeod Bethune and other women leaders to talk about their work with the administration. These sessions provided new status and prestige for the female press corps; they also underlined the importance to Eleanor Roosevelt of women's issues and created a community of women reporters and government workers.

Eleanor Roosevelt's own political role was best seen in the 1936 re-election drive when she used the educational approach developed by the Women's Division in 1932 as a primary campaign weapon. More than 60,000 women precinct workers canvassed the electorate, and for the first time women received equal representation on the

Democratic platform committee, an event described by the *New York Times* as "the biggest coup for women in years."

Eleanor Roosevelt's fear that there would be no active role available to her as First Lady had been unfounded. She toured the country repeatedly, surveying conditions in the coal mines, visiting relief projects, and speaking out for the human rights of the disadvantaged. Through her syndicated newspaper column "My Day," which first appeared in January 1936, and through radio programs and lectures, she reached millions and communicated to the country her deep compassion for those who suffered. At the White House, in turn, she acted as advocate of the poor and disenfranchised. "No one who ever saw Eleanor Roosevelt sit down facing her husband, and holding his eyes firmly, say to him 'Franklin, I think you should . . . or, Franklin, surely you will not'. . . will ever forget the experience," Rexford Tugwell wrote. She had become, as columnist Raymond Clapper noted, a "Cabinet Minister without portfolio--the most influential woman of our times."

But if Eleanor Roosevelt had achieved an unparalleled measure of political influence, it was in place of, rather than because of, an intimate personal relationship with her husband. Probably at no time after their first few years together did Franklin and Eleanor Roosevelt achieve the degree of intimacy that she once described as caring so much that a look and the sound of a voice would tell all. Not only did Sara Roosevelt remain a dominant presence, but Franklin had embarked on his own interests and enthusiasms, often different from those of his wife. The dissimilarities in their temperaments became a permanent barrier. While he loved to party, she held back, telling her daughter Anna in a letter from Warm Springs, Ga., in 1934, that she "always felt like a spoil-sport and policeman here."

During his years as assistant secretary of the navy, Franklin Roosevelt had often indulged his fun-loving instinct, causing a lasting breach in the marriage. When his wife was away, his frequent companion had been Lucy Mercer, Eleanor's social secretary. Over time, their relationship became intimate. Eleanor Roosevelt learned of the affair in 1918 and offered to divorce him. Although Franklin refused her offer, and Sara Roosevelt engineered an agreement for them to stay together if her son stopped seeing Lucy Mercer, Eleanor Roosevelt's marriage would never again achieve the magical possibility of being "for life, for death."

Some observers have connected Eleanor Roosevelt's re-emergence as a public figure with her profound anger at her husband's betrayal. Yet her activism predated her discovery of the Mercer affair, going back to World War I and ultimately to the settlement house years. The Lucy Mercer affair, like Franklin's polio, reinforced her move toward public self-assertion, but did not in itself cause a transformation. What it did cause was a gradual reallocation of emotional energy away from her husband. Throughout the 1920s, a warmth of tone and feeling continued in her letters to and about him. Yet gradually their lives became more separate. She might be jealous of his secretary, Missy LeHand, or even of her daughter Anna, for the ease with which they supplied Franklin Roosevelt with fun and enjoyment. But part of her also accepted the idea that others must provide what she could not give. In a poignant piece entitled "On Being Forty-five," written for *Vogue* in 1930, Eleanor Roosevelt wrote that by middle

age a woman must recognize that the romantic dreams of youth are over. The forty-five-year-old woman "must keep an open and speculative mind . . . [to] be ready to go out and try new adventures, create new work for others as well as herself, and strike deep roots in some community where her presence will make a difference to the lives of others."

Taking her own advice, Eleanor Roosevelt transferred her emotional attachments to others. In 1926, she had moved with Nancy Cook and Marion Dickerman into Val-Kill, a newly constructed cottage at Hyde Park. The event accurately symbolized her growing detachment from Franklin and his mother. Although she returned to "the big house" at Hyde Park when her husband was present, it was always with a sense of resentment and regret. She and Dickerman purchased Todhunter, a private school in New York City where Eleanor Roosevelt taught three days a week even after Franklin was elected governor of New York. The three women also jointly managed a furniture crafts factory at Val-Kill. After 1920, she and Louis Howe developed profound bonds of affection and support, each carrying the other loyally through crises with Franklin and the vicissitudes of party politics. Harry Hopkins, director of the WPA, also became an intimate. But her most carefree relationship was probably that with Earl Miller, a former state trooper and subsequently a bodyguard for the Roosevelt family, who became a close companion. Miller encouraged her to drive her own car, take up horseback riding again, and develop confidence in her personality.

With these and others, Eleanor Roosevelt developed a rich emotional life. Although she frequently appeared cold and distant, she passionately cared for her children and friends. Writing to her daughter Anna on Christmas Eve in 1935, she noted: "It was hard to decorate the tree or get things distributed without you . . . and if anyone says much I shall weep." She expressed similar affection in daily letters to Lorena Hickok, the former journalist and assistant to Harry Hopkins, who moved to Hyde Park after a falling-out occurred between Eleanor Roosevelt and Marion Dickerman and Nancy Cook in the late 1930s. Most surprising of all, perhaps, she poured out her feelings to distant correspondents, answering the many pleas for help that came to her with either a sensitive letter, an admonition to a federal agency to take action, or even a personal check. The poor wrote to her because they knew she cared, and in caring, she found an outlet for her powerful emotional needs.

The same compassion was manifested in Eleanor Roosevelt's advocacy of the oppressed. Hearing about the struggle of Appalachian farmers to reclaim their land, she became a champion of the Arthurdale (W.Va.) Resettlement Administration project and devoted her lecture fees as well as her influence to help the community. She invited to the White House representatives of poor southern textile workers and northern garment workers, seating them next to the president at dinner so that he might hear of their plight. She and Franklin Roosevelt had worked out a tacit understanding which permitted her to bring the cause of the oppressed to his attention, and allowed him, in turn, to use her activism as a means of building alliances with groups to his left. Although the president frequently refused to act as she wished, the dispossessed at least had an advocate.

Largely because of Eleanor Roosevelt, the issue of civil rights for black Americans received a hearing at the White House. Although like most white Americans she had grown up in an environment suffused with racism and nativism, she was one of the few voices in the administration insisting that racial discrimination had no place in American life. As always, she led by example. At a 1939 Birmingham meeting inaugurating the Southern Conference on Human Welfare, she placed her chair so that it straddled the black and white sides of the aisle, thereby confounding local authorities who insisted on segregation. She resigned in the same year from the Daughters of the American Revolution after they denied the black artist Marian Anderson permission to perform at Constitution Hall. Instead, and in part through Eleanor Roosevelt's intervention, Anderson sang to 75,000 people from the Lincoln Memorial.

Eleanor Roosevelt also acted as behind-the-scenes lobbyist for civil rights legislation. With alacrity she accepted the suggestion of Walter White, executive secretary of the NAACP, that she act as an intermediary with the president in the association's attempt to secure legislation defining lynching as a federal crime. She also agreed to be a patron of an NAACP-sponsored exhibit in New York City of paintings and drawings dealing with lynching and attended the showing. Although she lost out in her campaign for the president's strong endorsement of an anti-lynching bill, she had communicated to him her anger that "one could get nothing done." Continuing to speak forthrightly for the cause of civil rights, she addressed the NAACP's annual meeting in June 1939 and joined the biracial protest organization a few weeks later. As the threat of war increased, Eleanor Roosevelt joined her Negro friends in arguing vigorously for administration action to eliminate discrimination in the armed services and in defense employment. Although civil rights forces were not satisfied with the administration's response, the positive changes that did occur were due in large part to their alliance with Eleanor Roosevelt.

She brought the same fervor to her identification with young people. Fearing that a whole generation might be lost to democracy because of the Depression, she reached out to make contact with them. Despite warnings from White House aides, between 1936 and 1940 Eleanor Roosevelt became deeply involved in the activities of the American Student Union and the American Youth Congress, groups committed to a democratic socialist program of massively expanded social welfare programs. She advanced their point of view in White House circles, and invited them to meet the president. Although she was later betrayed by some of her young allies who followed the Communist party line and denounced the European war as imperialistic after the Nazi-Soviet Non-Aggression Pact of 1939, she continued to believe in the importance of remaining open to dissent. "I have never said anywhere that I would rather see young people sympathetic with communism," Eleanor Roosevelt wrote. "But I have said I would rather see the young people actively at work, even if I considered they were doing things that were a mistake."

With the onset of World War II, Eleanor Roosevelt persisted in her efforts for the disadvantaged. She insisted that administration officials consult women activists and incorporate roles for women as a major part of their planning for wartime operations,

and she intervened repeatedly with war production agencies as well as the military to advocate fairer treatment for black Americans. When it seemed that many New Deal social welfare programs would be threatened by war, Eleanor Roosevelt became their defender. Increasingly she devoted herself to the dream of international cooperation, aware more than most of the revolution rising in Africa and Asia, and of the dangers posed by the threat of postwar conflict.

But her energies in the war were directed primarily to human needs. When Jewish refugees seeking a haven from Nazi persecution received less than enthusiastic response from the State Department, Eleanor Roosevelt served as their advocate. Families separated by war always found an ally when they sought her help, and wounded veterans in army hospitals far from home received from her visits the cherished message that someone cared.

As the war proceeded, the worlds of Franklin and Eleanor Roosevelt became still more separate. They were frequently adversaries, and the president was less able to tolerate her advocacy of unpopular causes. In search of release from the unbearable pressures of the war, he had come to rely on the gaiety and laughter of his daughter Anna, and other women companions, including Lucy Mercer Rutherford, who, unknown to Eleanor, was with Franklin Roosevelt in Warm Springs when he died of a cerebral hemorrhage in April 1945.

With great discipline and dignity, Eleanor Roosevelt bore both the pain of Franklin's death and the circumstances surrounding it. Her first concern was with carrying forward the policies in which they had both believed despite their disagreements. Writing later about their relationship, she commented: "He might have been happier with a wife who had been completely uncritical. That I was never able to be and he had to find it in some other people. Nevertheless, I think that I sometimes acted as a spur . . . I was one of those who served his purposes." What she did not say was that Franklin Roosevelt had served her purposes as well. Though they never retrieved their early intimacy, they had created an unparalleled partnership to respond to the needs of a nation in crisis.

Not long after her husband's death, Eleanor Roosevelt told a reporter: "The story is over." But no one who cared so much for so many causes, and was so effective a leader, could long remain on the sidelines. Over the next decade and a half, she continued to be the most effective woman in American politics. In long letters to President Harry S. Truman, she implored the administration to push forward with civil rights, maintain the Fair Employment Practices Commission, develop a foreign policy able to cope with the needs of other nations, and work toward a world system where atom bombs would cease to be a negotiating chip in international relations.

Appropriately, President Truman nominated Eleanor Roosevelt as a United States delegate to the United Nations. There she argued, debated, and lobbied for the creation of a document on human rights that would embody standards that civilized humankind would accept as sacred and inalienable. Finally on Dec. 10, 1948, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, fundamentally shaped by her, passed the General Assembly. Delegates rose in a standing ovation to the woman who more than anyone else had come to symbolize the cause of human rights. Even those in the

United States who had most opposed her applauded: "I want to say that I take back everything I ever said about her," Michigan Senator Arthur Vandenberg commented, "and believe me, it's been plenty." At times during the New Deal a figure of scorn among some conservatives, Eleanor Roosevelt was fast becoming a national heroine.

The cause of world peace and the desire to help the victims of war quickly became central to Roosevelt's efforts. In moving speeches that vividly portrayed the suffering wrought by war, she sought to educate the United States to its postwar responsibilities. She had traveled through England noting the names of all the young men who had died during the war, and she told an audience: "There is a feeling that spreads over the land," she said, "the feel of civilization that of itself might have a hard time coming back." If the United States wished to avoid such a world, it must help those who had suffered and avoid isolationism.

Although Eleanor Roosevelt disagreed profoundly with some of the military aspects of United States foreign policy, she supported the broad outlines of its response to the Soviet Union in the developing Cold War. In debates at the UN she learned quickly that Soviet delegates could be hypocritical, and on more than one occasion she responded to their charges of injustice in America by proposing that each country submit to investigation of its social conditions--a suggestion the Soviets refused. She refused in 1947 to support the newly formed Progressive party with its platform of accommodation toward the Soviet Union, and instead spearheaded the drive to build Americans for Democratic Action, a group which espoused social reforms at home and support of Truman's foreign policy.

Throughout the 1950s, Eleanor Roosevelt remained a singular public figure, able to galvanize the attention of millions by her statements. She became one of the staunchest advocates of Israel, argued vigorously for civil rights, and spoke forcefully against the witch hunts of McCarthyism. When Dwight D. Eisenhower became president in 1953, she resigned her UN post, but she continued to work tirelessly through the American Association for the United Nations to mobilize public support for international cooperation. She also gave unstintingly of her time to the election campaigns in 1952 and 1956 of her dear friend Adlai Stevenson, who brought to politics a wit and sophistication that she admired.

The private sphere, however, remained most precious. "The people I love," Eleanor Roosevelt wrote her friend and physician David Gurewitsch, "mean more to me than all the public things. I only do the public things because there are a few close people whom I love dearly and who matter to me above everything else." The Roosevelt children remained as much a trial as a comfort. After Franklin Roosevelt's death, she lived at Val-Kill with her secretary, Malvina Thompson (1893-1953), and her son Elliott and his family. More often than not, family gatherings degenerated into bitter arguments. But her grandchildren brought joy as did friends, old and new.

As she entered her seventies, Eleanor Roosevelt had become the first lady of the world. Traveling to India, Japan, and the Soviet Union, she spoke for the best that was in America. Although she did not initially approve of John F. Kennedy and would have much preferred to see Adlai Stevenson nominated again in 1960, she lived to see the spirit of impatience and reform return to Washington. In 1962, she sponsored hearings

in Washington, D.C., where young civil rights workers testified about the judicial and police harassment of black protesters in the South.

It was fitting that Eleanor Roosevelt's last major official position was to chair President Kennedy's Commission on the Status of Women, to which she was appointed in December 1961. More than anyone else of her generation, she had exemplified the political independence and personal autonomy that were abiding themes of the women's movement. Eleanor Roosevelt had not been a militant feminist and, like most social reformers, she had opposed the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA) until the mid 1940s, believing that it would jeopardize protective labor legislation for women. During the Depression, she accepted the popular view that, at least temporarily, some married women should leave the labor force to improve the chances of the unemployed. On occasion, she also adopted male-oriented definitions of fulfillment. "You are successful," she wrote in a 1931 article, "when your husband feels that he has been a success and that life has been worthwhile."

But on the issue of women's equality, as in so many other areas, Roosevelt most often affirmed the inalienable right of the human spirit to grow and seek fulfillment. Brought up amidst anti-Semitic and anti-Negro attitudes, she had transcended her past to become one of the strongest champions of minority rights. Once opposed to suffrage, she had grown to exemplify women's aspirations for a full life in politics.

Eleanor Roosevelt participated in the activities of the Women's Commission until August 1962, testifying on behalf of equal pay laws at a congressional hearing in April of that year. She died at her home in New York City in November from a rare form of tuberculosis. Twenty years earlier she had written: "You can never really live anyone else's life, not even your child's. The influence you exert is through your own life and what you've become yourself."

Despite disappointment and tragedy, Eleanor Roosevelt had followed her own advice. "What other single human being," Adlai Stevenson asked at her memorial service, "has touched and transformed the existence of so many? . . . She walked in the slums . . . of the world, not on a tour of inspection. . . but as one who could not feel contentment when others were hungry." Because of her life, millions of others may have experienced a new sense of possibility. She would have wished for nothing more.

[The Eleanor Roosevelt Papers at the Franklin Delano Roosevelt Library, Hyde Park, N.Y., represent the most comprehensive collection of source materials by and about Eleanor Roosevelt. Of particular interest are her correspondence with Walter White of the NAACP, material about her family, especially her father, and drafts of articles and lectures. Other relevant collections at Hyde Park are the papers of Mary Dewson, Hilda Worthington Smith, and Lorena Hickok; the papers of the Women's Division of the Democratic National Committee; and those of Anna Roosevelt Halsted. Several manuscript collections at the Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe College, bear directly on Eleanor Roosevelt's life: see especially the papers of Mary Anderson, Mary Dewson, Mary Dreier, and Ellen Woodward. Of Eleanor Roosevelt's own writings the most valuable are *This I Remember* (1949); *This Is My Story* (1937); *Autobiography* (1961); and *It's Up To the Women* (1933). She also wrote a monthly column, "If You Ask Me,"

for the *Ladies' Home Journal* from June 1941 to spring 1949 and in *McCall's* after 1949. The best place to begin reading about her is Joseph Lash's excellent two-volume biography, *Eleanor and Franklin* (1971) and *Eleanor: The Years Alone* (1972). Other books that cast light upon the Roosevelt family include James Roosevelt, *My Parents: A Differing View* (1976), and Elliott Roosevelt, *An Untold Story* (1973), both of which offer personal views by the Roosevelt children. Another useful biography is Tamara Hareven's, *Eleanor Roosevelt: An American Conscience* (1968).]

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SOURCE AND EDITORIAL NOTE

The correspondence and enclosures microfilmed for this publication have been selected from the more than 3,000 manuscript boxes that make up the Eleanor Roosevelt papers at the Franklin Delano Roosevelt Library at Hyde Park, New York. The original collection spans 1,095 linear shelf feet and is divided into 72 manuscript series, beginning with early personal papers and extending to postmortem materials in 1964. This edition of the "Papers of Eleanor Roosevelt" focuses exclusively on correspondence during the White House years, 1933-1945. No material from the family papers is included. Instead, this edition focuses on ER's relations with leading political and governmental figures of the 1930s and 1940s as well as with ER's circle of personal friends during the same period. Ninety-three correspondent's files were selected by Susan Ware and William H. Chafe as the most illustrative of the public life of ER during the 1933-1945 period. The correspondents were selected with the objective of detailing ER's thought and activities in four major subject areas: social welfare and depression relief; race relations; women in American politics; and youth activities. These are by no means exhaustive of the many personal and political themes on which the Eleanor Roosevelt papers shed light. No effort was made, for example, to comprehensively retrieve correspondent files pertaining to foreign affairs, or to reproduce letters from all personal friends or notable individuals. Such correspondence can be traced at the Roosevelt Presidential Library, especially via the card catalogue of individual correspondents. The correspondence files selected for this publication, however, provide an indispensable introduction to the collection at large as well as a near-exhaustive edition of correspondence on the four major subject themes of this publication. A complete list of the manuscript series of which the Eleanor Roosevelt collection is comprised follows this Source and Editorial Note.

This edition is drawn exclusively from the "70" and the "100" series of Part I of the collection. The 100 series is the core of Eleanor Roosevelt's personal correspondence during the White House years, and more than 90 percent of the materials reproduced on the microfilm derive from that series. These materials are supplemented with selections from the 70 series, which is ER's correspondence with government officials.

At the Roosevelt Library, both the 100 and the 70 series are arranged by year and thereunder alphabetically by correspondent. Thus, in the original collection, researchers working with material on Mary Dewson, for example, need to consult the "D" boxes for each year. This requires a search of thirteen or more boxes per individual to retrieve materials from 1933 through 1945. For convenience of users of this microfilm edition, the correspondence for each individual represented has been collated from the many boxes over which it is dispersed, with each exchange put in chronological order by penultimate date. This edition has endeavored to provide the complete correspondence from the 100 series for each individual.

Selections from the 70 series have been made by William H. Chafe and Susan Ware. The object of the selections is to illustrate ER's use of the federal bureaucracy to afford depression relief to needy correspondents. In no case should a researcher assume that a series 70 file has been reproduced in its entirety. Insubstantial bureaucratic communications forwarded to the First Lady are systematically omitted, and only a sampling of hundreds of depression-related relief cases has been included. The opening letter of each correspondence exchange typically bears the series indication--100 or 70--in crayon in the upper right hand corner.

Because Eleanor Roosevelt apparently destroyed much of her 1933 correspondence, the files for that year are incomplete. Furthermore, the files in the 100 series do not contain replies to letters of condolence that Eleanor Roosevelt received after the death of her husband in 1945. Condolence letters--mainly unanswered letters from the general public--constitute a separate file series of the papers at the FDR Library. None are included in this publication. A very few documents in this collection are closed either because of donor restriction or security classification. In each file where there is closed material, a document control card is placed listing all security-classified or donor-restricted documents. Readers may write the FDR Library for information on closed documents.

A typical exchange in the collection *begins* with the penultimate letter from Eleanor Roosevelt with correspondence leading up to that letter following. Thus for each exchange, the documents run in reverse chronological order following the penultimate response. Often the letters from Eleanor Roosevelt or her social secretary, Malvina Thompson, will bear cross-reference notices in the form of a last name underlined with pencil or crayon. These names refer to the alphabetical files of series 100 where the letters referred to may be found. This edition did not attempt to retrieve all letters cross-referenced within the correspondence. Only those which belong to the principal correspondents selected for this edition can be found on the microfilm. Researchers should consult other series when necessary in the manuscript originals at the FDR Library.

The correspondence shows the wide range of Eleanor Roosevelt's interests and concerns (see index), and contains important clues concerning her political ideology and tactics. The contrast between the content of her letters in the 1930s and 1940s clearly shows the shift in the Roosevelt administration from concerns of depression to war. More than anything else, these letters show the depth and range of her friendships and confirm how many people depended on her for advice and support.

The richness of the collection amply confirms Eleanor Roosevelt's position as one of the twentieth century's most influential public figures.

Manuscript Series of the Eleanor Roosevelt Collection at the Franklin Delano Roosevelt Library:

Part I: 1860-1963

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| Unnumbered | Early Family Papers. 1860-1910. 1 container. |
| Unnumbered | Family and Personal Correspondence. 1894-1957. 2 containers. |
| Unnumbered | School Exercise Books. ca. 1892-1902. 1 container. |
| Unnumbered | Diaries, Addresses, and Dinner Books. 1902-1932 and undated. 1 container |
| Unnumbered | Special Correspondence. 1920, 1928. 1 container. |
| Unnumbered | Todhunter School Notebooks. 1928-1932. 1 container. |
| Unnumbered | General Correspondence. 1928-1932. 9 containers. |
| Unnumbered | Engagement Books. 1925, 1928-1932. 1 container. |
| Unnumbered | Trip File: Europe. 1929. 1 container. |
| Unnumbered | Invitations. 1929-1932. 3 containers. |
| Unnumbered | Prohibition Correspondence. January-February 1933. 3 containers. |
| Unnumbered | Miscellaneous Clippings. 1929-1932. 1 container. |
| Series 10 | Membership. 1934-1945. 16 containers. |
| Series 20 | Patroness Materials 1934-1945. 25 containers. |
| Series 30 | Invitations. 1933-1945. 238 containers. |
| Series 40 | Messages Requested. 1934-1945. 57 containers. |
| Series 50 | Gifts. 1934-1945. 211 containers. |
| Series 60 | Business and Commercial Matters. 1934-1945. 27 containers. |
| Series 70 | Correspondence with Government Departments. 1934-1945. 350 containers. |
| Series 71 | Office of Civil Defense. 1942. 13 containers. |
| Series 75 | Old Age Pensions. 1935-1945. 11 containers. |
| Series 80 | Social Events at the White House. 1933-1945. 21 containers. |
| Series 90 | Congratulations and Greetings. 1933-1945. 202 containers. |
| Series 91 | Gifts to the Red Cross, etc. 1942-1945. 2 containers. |
| Series 95 | "My Day" Comments. 1936-1945. 54 containers. |
| Series 100 | Personal Letters. 1933-1945. 547 containers. |
| Series 100.1 | Children Named for Eleanor Roosevelt. 1934. 1 container. Letters from Servicemen. 1942-1945. 32 containers. |
| Series 101 | Comments on Books by Eleanor Roosevelt. 1937-1943. 6 containers. |
| Series 102 | Refugee Letters. 1940-1945. 4 containers. |
| Series 105 | Contributions. 1933-1945. 20 containers. |
| Series 110 | Autographs. 1934-1945. 43 containers. |

- Series 120 Photographs. 1934-1945. 33 containers.
- Series 130 News Items. 1934-1945. 230 containers.
- Series 140 Merchandise for Sale. 1934-1945. 51 containers.
- Series 150 Material Assistance Requested. 1934-1945. 354 containers.
- Series 160 Geneology and Biography. 1934-1945. 6 containers.
- Series 170 Appointments. 1934-1945. 74 containers.
- Series 180 Manuscripts to Review. 1934-1945. 54 containers.
- Series 190 Miscellaneous. 1934-1945. 309 containers. [includes,
 Criticisms regarding Negro Question. 1942.
 Trip File, England. 1942.
 Trip File, Pacific Theater. 1943.
 Trip File, Carribean Area. 1944.]
- Series 200 Girl Scouts of America. 1934-1945. 2 containers.
- Series 210 Receipts for Articles Mailed from the White House. 1933-1945.
 1 container.
- Series 220 Prohibition. 1934-1944. 2 containers.
- Unnumbered White House Telegrams. 1933-1939. 6 containers.
- Unnumbered Topical File. 1933-1945. 2 containers.
- Unnumbered Address Books and Index Cards. 1933-1945. 2 containers.
- Unnumbered Engagement books. 1933-1945. 2 containers.
- Unnumbered Miscellaneous Newspaper Clippings regarding Eleanor Roosevelt.
 1933-1945. 2 containers.
- Unnumbered Honorary Degrees. 1933-1945. 1 container.
- Unnumbered Nonacademic Awards, Citations, and Memberships. 1943-1945.
 1 container.
- Unnumbered Miscellaneous Reports. 1932-1945. 13 containers.
- Unnumbered "Benedict Research Reports." 1933-1935. 1 container.
- Unnumbered Scrapbooks Presented to Eleanor Roosevelt. 1933-1945.
 1 container.
- Unnumbered "Amidst Crowded Days." 1942. 2 volumes.
- Unnumbered Speech and Article File. 1917-1962. 155 containers.
- Unnumbered Books and Manuscript File. 1942-1963. 36 containers.

Part II: April 15, 1945-1964

- Unnumbered Condolence Correspondence. 1945. 29 containers.
- Unnumbered Material regarding "Franklin D. Roosevelt and Hyde Park." 1946.
 1 container.
- Unnumbered Miscellaneous Correspondence. 1945-1951. 41 containers.
- Unnumbered Correspondence regarding Wiltwyck School. 1947-1951.
 1 container.
- Unnumbered General Correspondence. 1945-1962. 816 containers.
- Unnumbered United Nations Correspondence and Publications. 1945-1955.
 35 containers.

Unnumbered American Association for the United Nations, Correspondence. 1953-1962. 33 containers.

Unnumbered Speaking and Other Engagements: Correspondence. 1945-1952. 15 containers.

Unnumbered Topical Files. 1945-1962. 8 containers.

Unnumbered Trip Files. 1946-1962. 23 containers.

Unnumbered Public Reaction Mail: Spellman Controversy. 1949. 44 containers.

Unnumbered Honorary Degrees and Non-Academic Awards. 1945-1962. 2 containers.

Unnumbered Engagement Books. 1945-1962. 4 containers.

Unnumbered Miscellaneous Printed Materials. 1945-1962. 13 containers.

Unnumbered Greetings, Condolences, and Tributes. 1950-1964. 15 containers.

Unnumbered Nobel Peace Prize, Correspondence Concerning. 1 container.

Unnumbered Business and Financial Matters. 1917-1962. 73 containers.

More detailed information on the contents of any of the foregoing series can be obtained by writing:

Franklin Delano Roosevelt Library
259 Albany Post Road
Hyde Park, New York 12538

REEL INDEX

Reel 1

- 0001 ALEXANDER, WILL W., assistant administrator of the Resettlement Administration from 1935 to 1936, became administrator of the Farm Security Administration in 1937. Before joining the government, he had been the executive director of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation from 1919 to 1930; he was also a vice-president of the Julius Rosenwald Fund. In 1942, he served as a consultant to the War Production Board on minority groups.

During the 1930s, much of Alexander's contact with Eleanor Roosevelt concerned Arthurdale, the Resettlement Administration project in Reedsville, West Virginia, in which ER had taken a personal interest. The correspondence contains material on fundraising, wages, labor, and ER's generosity toward individual Arthurdale families. During the war years, Alexander and ER conferred more on issues of civil rights and racial discrimination, including roles of blacks in defense work and the place in war mobilization for such black leaders as Mary McLeod Bethune. 34pp.

- 0035 ALSOP, JOSEPH; ALSOP, CORINNE; AND ALSOP, JOSEPH, JR. Joseph Alsop was a Connecticut insurance executive whose wife, Corinne Douglas Robinson Alsop, prominent in Connecticut state politics, was a cousin of Eleanor Roosevelt. Their son Joseph Alsop, Jr., was a reporter for the *New York Herald Tribune* from 1932 to 1937, wrote a syndicated column with Robert Kintner from 1937 to 1940, and starting in 1946, would collaborate with his brother Stewart Alsop on a syndicated column for the *Herald Tribune*.

The correspondence is primarily of a personal nature, concerning members of their families, or invitations to the White House for holiday gatherings such as Christmas. ER also enlisted Joseph Alsop's help in responding to some especially virulent press attacks against her in Connecticut. Joseph, Jr.'s contact with his "cousin Eleanor" (as he called her) concerned his journalistic interests and concerns. 120pp.

0155 ANDERSON, MARY, headed the Women's Bureau of the Department of Labor from 1920 to 1944. A Swedish immigrant and former trade union organizer, she had first met Eleanor Roosevelt through the Women's Trade Union League. In 1933, Franklin Roosevelt appointed Anderson as chief of the U.S. delegation to the International Labor Organization.

This sparse correspondence concerns issues such as improving conditions in domestic service and household employment, the different wages paid to women workers under NRA codes, the garden parties that ER held for women in government, and references to ER's "My Day" column. There is also material concerning the industrial use of women workers in defense mobilization, as well as correspondence on Anderson's retirement from government service in 1944. 51pp.

0206 BARUCH, BERNARD M., a self-made millionaire and financial speculator who had headed the War Industries Board during World War I, served as an unofficial economic adviser to many twentieth-century presidents. He gave considerable financial support to the Democratic party, as well as to reform causes and charities. During the 1930s and 1940s, he established a closer rapport to Eleanor Roosevelt than to her husband, perhaps because both liked to work outside official channels. In the 1940s, Baruch turned aside offers of high-ranking jobs in war mobilization such as he had held in World War I.

Although these two figures formally addressed each other as "My dear Mrs. Roosevelt" and "Dear Mr. Baruch," their correspondence documents a rich and productive collaboration on various issues. During the first term of the New Deal, much of their attention was directed toward Arthurdale, the Resettlement Administration project community in Reedsville, West Virginia, for which Baruch was providing major financial contributions, especially for the school run by Elsie Clapp. ER contributed financially as well to the project. Their letters document their field trips to Arthurdale, their involvement in issues of employment, schooling, and community life, as well as correspondence with the Resettlement Administration about the problems that beset this project, including the attempt to supply homesteaders with prefabricated bathroom facilities. On several occasions, ER brought to Baruch's attention individual cases of need for which he supplied financial assistance.

Eleanor Roosevelt also sought Baruch's support for such causes as the *Democratic Digest* (the magazine published by the Women's Division of the Democratic National Committee), the Todhunter School which ER owned with Marion Dickerman, and the American Youth Congress. During the war years, the topics of their correspondence shifted to the refugee question, war mobilization (including a long memorandum on German war production), women's defense roles, and employment practices. 550pp.

0756 BERLE, ADOLF A., JR., a member of FDR's original "Brain Trust" and assistant secretary of state from 1938 to 1944, also served as FDR's ambassador to

Brazil in 1945. In 1932 he had co-authored with Gardiner Means *The Modern Corporation and Private Property*; during the New Deal, he remained an advocate of national planning. In the early 1930s, Berle worked with the administration of Mayor Fiorello La Guardia in New York City while informally advising President Roosevelt.

Berle's correspondence with Eleanor Roosevelt began with referrals of New York City relief cases which she asked his help in investigating. Then it jumped to the late 1930s, when Berle had joined the State Department and often reported to ER on European conditions and especially refugee problems. Berle called the refugee work "the most heartbreaking job I ever touched." There is also some correspondence concerning the deportation of West Coast union leader Harry Bridges in 1942 because of his suspected communism. 31pp.

0787 BERNSTEIN, CAROLA SCHAEFFER-, a German schoolgirl friend of Eleanor Roosevelt from the Allenswood School in England, continued to write letters to her "Dearest Totty" through the late 1930s. Carola Schaeffer-Bernstein's long letters describe her life in Berlin; Eleanor's replies focus on family news, plus reflections on the worsening European situation. Carola's statements on current conditions in Germany prompted this reply from Eleanor on September 5, 1939: "I realize quite well that there may be a need for curtailing the ascendancy of the Jewish people, but it seems to me it might have been done in a more humane way by a ruler who had intelligence and decency." The correspondence stopped abruptly after that letter in 1939. 76pp.

0863 BETHUNE, MARY McLEOD, president of Bethune-Cookman College in Florida and founder of the National Council of Negro Women in 1935, was one of the highest ranking black officials in the New Deal. First serving on the advisory committee to the National Youth Administration, in 1936 she took charge of Negro affairs at the NYA. In 1939, she became director of the Division of Negro Affairs for the NYA, where she served as the leader of the "Black Cabinet" that monitored treatment of blacks by New Deal agencies. She left the government in 1944 after the National Youth Administration had been dismantled.

Bethune first sought Eleanor Roosevelt's help on issues such as jobs, conferences, and the sorry financial state of Bethune-Cookman College. The correspondence picked up dramatically after 1939, when the two women often collaborated because of their shared concern about civil rights. Some of this correspondence, such as a 1941 Bethune warning about tense race relations in Detroit, was passed on to FDR. Bethune admired both of the Roosevelts for their actions on behalf of blacks, and involved Eleanor in Bethune-Cookman College as a trustee after 1941. When Bethune heard of the end of the NYA, she told ER that she felt "like a mother at the burial of her murdered child." ER in turn prodded FDR to find another government position for Bethune, who instead made the National Council of Negro Women her forum for public activism after 1944. 181pp.

Reel 2

0001 BETHUNE, MARY McLEOD cont. 232pp.

0233 BIDDLE, FRANCIS B., attorney general from 1941 to 1945, had previously served as chairman of the first National Labor Relations Board, chief counsel to a congressional panel investigating the Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA), and solicitor general in the Justice Department. One of his most difficult decisions concerned the internment of Japanese-Americans during World War II.

Francis Biddle's correspondence with Eleanor Roosevelt was fairly limited, including some material on naturalization and alien registration during World War II. In addition, there are letters between ER and Katherine Biddle, including an invitation in 1943 to a performance of "Plain Chant for America" with words by Katherine Biddle and music by black composer William Grant Still. 57pp.

0290 BIRD, REMSEN, educational consultant and president of Occidental College from 1921 to 1946, served in 1941 as president of the Association of American Colleges. His government service included chairing the California state advisory committee on the NYA from 1935 to 1938 and serving as president of the Los Angeles City Planning Commission in 1943.

Remsen Bird was part of a circle of Eleanor Roosevelt's friends and supporters in Southern California that also included Melvyn and Helen Gahagan Douglas. Bird's correspondence covers a number of issues, including migratory camps, consulting with Aubrey Williams about the NYA, social centers for soldiers near camps, and educational civil defense training on campus during wartime. There are many references to joint activities with Helen Gahagan and Melvyn Douglas, including Bird's letter supporting Melvyn's patriotism when it came under attack in the 1940s. Bird was a great fan of the First Lady, and he wrote her on a variety of issues beyond education. 429pp.

0719 BLACK, RUBY, a journalist for the United Press between 1933 and 1941, was one of a number of newspaperwomen who became close personal friends of Eleanor Roosevelt during the New Deal. In addition to her work for United Press, Black was president of the Women's National Press Club from 1939 to 1940, and the author of a 1940 biography of Eleanor Roosevelt. During the war years, she worked part time as an editor and writer in the Office of Inter-American Affairs in the State Department under Nelson Rockefeller while continuing her freelance journalism career.

The correspondence between Ruby Black and Eleanor Roosevelt demonstrates their warm personal relationship. It provides glimpses of the life of working journalists at that time, including clippings of Black's articles and material on the close-knit circle of women journalists in Washington, who were often guests at the White House or Val-Kill. There is a fair amount of information relating to Black's 1940 biography of the First Lady, including a long list of questions and answers covering background material. An ongoing topic is Puerto Rico, which ER, Black, and several other journalists visited in 1934. In the late 1940s, Black is still focusing on Puerto Rico's political and economic conditions in her work for Nelson Rockefeller, and she shares her insights with Eleanor Roosevelt. 320pp.

Reel 3

0001 BLACK, RUBY cont. 376pp.

0377 BRUCE, EDWARD, a lawyer and artist, became chief of the Section of Fine Arts of the Treasury Department in 1933, where he was responsible for the commissioning of artwork and murals for Treasury buildings across the country. In 1941, he became the public buildings administrator for the Federal Works Agency, where he served until his death in early 1943.

Edward Bruce considered Eleanor Roosevelt "the patron saint of our art movement" and he was grateful for her support for the New Deal goal of bringing art to the millions. They collaborated on issues concerning artists and government patronage of the arts: he appeared at her press conferences to plug his programs, she referred names to him of struggling artists and muralists she hoped he could help. After Marian Anderson had been denied permission to sing at the D.A.R. Constitution Hall in 1939, Bruce planned a mural to commemorate Anderson's successful outdoor concert at the Lincoln Memorial, for which he sought Eleanor Roosevelt's help. In general, this correspondence contains a great deal of information on the Treasury's art projects in the 1930s, including lists of artists and works accepted. 186pp.

0563 BUGBEE, EMMA, a journalist for the *New York Herald Tribune* and active in the New York Newspaper Women's Club, was another journalist who was a close friend of Eleanor Roosevelt's in the 1930s and 1940s. This friendly correspondence includes small requests, invitations to social gatherings such as the Gridiron Widows' party, and scripts and spoofs that the newspaper-women put on at their annual gatherings. Since Bugbee did an annual article compiling Eleanor Roosevelt's activities, the correspondence contains a summary of how many hands were shaken, miles traveled, and social gatherings hosted for most years. Like Ruby Black, Emma Bugbee considered

writing a biography of Eleanor Roosevelt, and the correspondence contains ER's explanation of her own arrangement with Ruby Black. 143pp.

0706 CADDEN, JOSEPH, was a student leader who served as executive secretary of the American Youth Congress in the late 1930s. Previously, he had been editor of the *National Student Mirror* of the National Student Federation, a nonpartisan organization dedicated to the promotion of collegiate interest in public affairs.

Cadden's correspondence with Eleanor Roosevelt shows the First Lady's attempt to keep channels of communication open with the nation's youth. ER helped the American Youth Congress raise money by interceding with the American Friends Service and Bernard M. Baruch, agreed to attend their 1939 congress, and set up meetings between youth leaders and FDR. The correspondence preserves press material and memoranda from the American Youth Congress, especially concerning its 1939 and 1940 conventions. By 1940, ER was eager to tell youth leaders such as Cadden, who had been critical of her husband, her views on the role of Communists in the organization and on the possibility of war. By 1941, the tone of the correspondence was more contentious, as Eleanor Roosevelt lost patience with the stand of youth leaders on foreign policy. 279pp.

Reel 4

0001 CADDEN, JOSEPH cont. 37pp.

0038 CATT, CARRIE CHAPMAN, suffragist, peace leader, and feminist, had devoted most of her attention in the 1920s and 1930s to peace and disarmament through the International Alliance of Women and the Committee on the Cause and Cure of War. Long a friend of Eleanor Roosevelt, she received a citation of honor from Franklin Roosevelt in 1936.

Catt used her long friendship with Eleanor Roosevelt to suggest women for government positions and to propose such ideas as a centennial stamp for Frances Willard. She enlisted ER's help for the Committee on the Cause and Cure of War, including getting the First Lady to contribute a chapter to a book on peace entitled *Why Wars Must Cease*. Eleanor Roosevelt actively supported the 1940 Woman's Centennial Congress, which Catt chaired. The correspondence demonstrates the affection and respect that these two women held for each other. 114pp.

0152 CLAPP, ELSIE, progressive educator and principal of the Arthurdale school in Reedsville, West Virginia, was a student of John Dewey who had previously worked in experimental rural education at the Ballard Memorial School in Ken-

tucky. When she resigned from Arthurdale in 1937, she joined the Progressive Education Association as an editor.

The Clapp-Roosevelt correspondence richly documents ER's involvement in the subsistence homestead project at Reedsville, especially her interest in education. It shows Eleanor Roosevelt actively raising funds for the school from Henry Morgenthau and Bernard M. Baruch, and acting as an intermediary to Rexford G. Tugwell on behalf of her favorite project. Clapp's letters contain extensive descriptions of activities in West Virginia, as well as memos, budgets, inventories, and lists of occupants of the subsistence housing and the rents they paid. 368pp.

- 0520 COOK, NANCY, educational executive, was part owner (along with Eleanor Roosevelt) of the Todhunter School for Girls in New York City and president and treasurer of the Val-Kill shop in Hyde Park, New York. She was active in the Women's Trade Union League, the Women's State Democratic Committee, and the Women's City Club.

This correspondence offers glimpses into the Val-Kill Industries, a factory producing furniture, pewter, and woven materials which Cook, Roosevelt, and Marion Dickerman had established to provide work for local craftspeople. However, much of it is fairly routine, since it consists of Eleanor Roosevelt requesting specific pieces of furniture for gifts, especially wedding gifts. There is some material on the Women's Division in New York state and women's politics in the 1930s. There is very little correspondence of a personal nature between these two old friends, certainly nothing to illuminate the falling out they had in the late 1930s. 464pp.

- 0984 CRAIG, ELIZABETH MAY, Washington journalist and political columnist, ran her own news bureau with an emphasis on Congress and had a by-line for the Gannett Papers. She helped organize the Eleanor Roosevelt Press Conference Association and was a member of the Women's National Press Club, of which she was president in 1943. In the 1940s, she also undertook radio broadcasts and was certified in 1944 as a war correspondent in Europe.

This friendly correspondence includes copies of Craig's columns, discussions of women's press activities, and invitations for press functions. Much of Craig's correspondence is with Malvina Thompson Scheider, "Tommy," ER's trusted secretary, who also maintained close personal friendships with many of the women who wrote to her boss. Two items of further interest are discussions about the extent of Communist influence in the Newspaper Guild in 1941 and a few of Craig's letters from Europe in 1944. 104pp.

- 1088 DANIELS, JONATHAN, assistant director of the Office of Civilian Defense in charge of civilian mobilization, was the son of Josephus Daniels, Roosevelt's ambassador to Mexico. Jonathan Daniels graduated from the University of North Carolina and Columbia Law School and then worked as an editor and a

journalist. He published the results of a fact-finding trip in the South as *A Southerner Discovers the South* (1938). In 1945, he became an administrative assistant to the president at the White House.

Daniels initiated their correspondence when he sent her a copy of his book, which she mentioned in her "My Day" column. Their next contact occurred in 1942, when she consulted him about defense matters relating to blacks and civilian mobilization. In 1944, Eleanor Roosevelt enlisted his help in finding a position for Mary McLeod Bethune. 37pp.

- 1125 DANIELS, JOSEPHUS, an editor and journalist of *The News and Observer* of Raleigh, North Carolina, had served in Woodrow Wilson's cabinet as secretary of the navy, where his undersecretary had been Franklin Delano Roosevelt. In 1934, President Roosevelt named the 70-year-old Daniels as ambassador to Mexico, where he served until resigning in 1941 because of his wife's health.

This friendly, general correspondence includes Eleanor Roosevelt's interest in paying a visit to Mexico and discussion of matters pertaining to Mexican affairs. One topic was ER commissioning Daniels to find a saddle as a gift for her son Elliott. The file also includes some correspondence to Jonathan Daniels (see above) concerning a proposed book on New England. 162pp.

Reel 5

- 0001 DANIELS, JOSEPHUS cont. 142pp.

- 0143 DAVIS, JEROME, professor of Practical Philanthropy at Yale University's Divinity School, was active in the Religion and Labor Foundation, an interfaith social action group, and the American Federation of Teachers, of which he was president. In 1940, he chaired Labor's Non-Partisan League for Connecticut.

The correspondence with ER concerned possible speaking trips to Yale, potential donations from her radio earnings to the Religion and Labor Foundation, and several invitations to the White House. Davis asked for FDR's help on federal aid to education, but the First Lady reported that the answer was no. Another theme was Davis's interest in the Soviet Union, and the letters include discussion of the 1938 Moscow trials and his 1944 visit to the Soviet Union. A final topic was Davis's service as the Canadian head of the YMCA's War Prisoners' Aid, which oversaw the treatment of German prisoners in Canadian camps. 223pp.

- 0366 DAVIS, NORMAN H., financier and diplomat in the Wilson, Coolidge, and Hoover administrations, was especially well-known for his disarmament work after World War I. An ambassador-at-large under Franklin Roosevelt, he became chairman of the American Red Cross in 1938.

The correspondence opens in 1937 over the question of relief funds for Spanish children; by 1939, it also concerns France and Poland. The files contain Red Cross reports and defense bulletins, as well as records of the \$100 monthly contributions ER gave to the Red Cross. As the war in Europe grew, Eleanor Roosevelt often queried the Red Cross about missing persons or soldiers' families, both abroad and at home. A subtheme was her concern with the treatment of blacks: she questions the practice of turning away black blood donors, suggests black administrators for the Red Cross, and raises issues about the use of black nurses and the lack of recreational facilities for hospitalized black soldiers. 622pp.

Reel 6

0001 DAVIS, NORMAN H. cont. 262pp.

0263 DEWSON, MARY (MOLLY), director of the Women's Division of the Democratic National Committee (DNC) from 1932 to 1937, and member of the Social Security Board from 1937 to 1938, she first met the Roosevelts in New York in the 1920s. She was active in the 1930 gubernatorial campaign and then the 1932 presidential race. Dewson was the most influential woman politician in the Democratic party hierarchy throughout the New Deal, and was active in social welfare causes as well. She retired from government in 1938.

This rich correspondence between two women who were close personal friends as well as political allies documents women's breakthroughs and setbacks in politics in the 1930s. Most of the early (1933-1934) letters deal with the issue of patronage, including lists of women for recognition, job seekers, and contact with male political leaders like Jim Farley. The files also document the functioning of the Women's Division of the DNC, including its organizational and educational plans, and its contact with the leading female figures of the New Deal. The correspondence also touches on the efforts of the National Consumers' League. Material from 1936 includes Dewson's reports of her nationwide campaign swing, speeches, letters to Farley, efforts to get women on the platform committee, Rainbow Fliers, and documentation of her disagreements with Pennsylvania's Emma Guffey Miller. Much of this material is marked "The President has seen." There is some discussion in 1937 of the Court Plan.

By the time Dewson joins the Social Security Board, she no longer collaborates so frequently with ER. There is some material on the 1940 campaign and the fate of the Women's Division. With Dewson in retirement, the letters take on more of a personal nature. The file contains Eleanor Roosevelt's letter to Dewson after Franklin's death, although it does not contain Dewson's letter of condolence to ER. 711pp.

Reel 7

0001 DEWSON, MARY (MOLLY) cont. 612pp.

0613 DICKERMAN, MARION, principal of the Todhunter School in New York City, had been a friend of Eleanor Roosevelt's since the 1920s. Dickerman, ER, and Nancy Cook had built the Val-Kill cottage in Hyde Park, New York; Dickerman and Roosevelt were co-owners of the Todhunter School.

The Roosevelt-Dickerman correspondence is a little more personal than Eleanor's with Nancy Cook, although it mainly contains routine material concerning the Todhunter School, such as dancing schools, parties, class syllabi, the yearly reception ER hosted for the senior class at the White House, and a long description of the school's goals and pupils in 1937. There is less material in the 1940s when Cook and ER were no longer partners at the Todhunter School. 535pp.

Reel 8

0001 DOUGLAS, HELEN GAHAGAN, elected to Congress in 1944 from California's 14th District, had been an actress and an opera singer before she entered politics. In 1939, she met Eleanor Roosevelt through their shared interest in conditions for migratory farm laborers in California. Douglas's selection as the Democratic national committeewoman from California in 1940 marked the beginning of her rapid rise in the Democratic party. In 1950, she was defeated by Richard Nixon when she ran for the Senate.

The correspondence between Douglas and ER contains rich material on the migratory labor situation, California politics, and blacks. It offers a glimpse of how Eleanor Roosevelt reached out to new people, generously inviting recent acquaintances like Douglas to stay at the White House and seeing her whenever she traveled to Los Angeles. It also suggests a shared social life, for both Eleanor and Franklin enjoyed the company of Helen and her husband, film star Melvyn Douglas (see below). The correspondence includes material about Helen's decision to run for Congress in 1944 and ER's encouragement. 189pp.

0189 DOUGLAS, MELVYN, actor in film and Broadway shows, was active both in the Screen Actors Guild and Democratic politics, where he was a strong supporter of the New Deal. Along with his wife, Helen Gahagan Douglas, he had worked extensively on the migratory labor problem in California. He served briefly as director of the Arts Council for the Office of Civilian Defense, but decided that he could better serve his country during wartime in the armed forces. In 1942, the film star became Private Melvyn Douglas.

Melvyn had much less contact with Eleanor Roosevelt than his wife did, although he did consult with her about whether to continue his defense work (she advised him not to resign). He then confided in her in a long letter concerning his dilemma about whether to enlist in the army. There is also some material on the Motion Picture Relief Fund. 15pp.

- 0204 DREIER, MARY, labor reformer and lifelong activist in the Women's Trade Union League (WTUL), had known Eleanor Roosevelt since the 1920s. In the 1930s, she was a strong advocate of friendship between the United States and the Soviet Union, and helped to mobilize public opinion against Nazism.

Their correspondence concerns several organizations or committees that both women had long been involved in: the New York Women's Trade Union League, the Women's City Club, the YWCA, and the New York Child Labor Committee. Their long and warm friendship is amply documented in the exchange of gifts, Christmas greetings, and other small gestures. Dreier also brought ideas and matters to Eleanor Roosevelt's attention. In 1941, the WTUL hosted a testimonial dinner in honor of ER. 264pp.

- 0468 DREISER, THEODORE, author and journalist, had worked with magazines such as *Harper's* and *McClure's* before becoming associate editor of the *American Spectator* until 1934. His two best-known novels were *Sister Carrie* (1900) and *An American Tragedy* (1925).

This limited file covering only 1941 and 1942 contains Dreiser's thoughts on the European war, specifically an attack on England as an undemocratic society and a critique of FDR's policy of aid, and Eleanor Roosevelt's response. In 1942, they collaborated on plans for a radio series on the problems of the child in America. 6pp.

- 0478 EARHART, AMELIA, aviator and feminist, had won fame as the first woman to fly solo across the Atlantic in 1932. She had been flying since the early 1920s, while also working at a settlement house in Boston. In 1937, she was lost when her plane went down in the Pacific on an attempted-round-the-world flight.

Eleanor Roosevelt had wanted to fly, and she struck up an instant friendship with Amelia Earhart. Like so many other people she wanted to see, ER offered Earhart the chance to stay at the White House, an offer which she accepted on several occasions. Earhart could not accept an invitation to speak to the Todhunter School in 1936, but ER was able to look into a situation in the Bureau of Air Commerce which Earhart brought to her attention. 17pp.

- 0495 EARLY, STEPHEN, President Roosevelt's press secretary from 1933 to 1945, was an experienced journalist and public relations person. His limited contact with Eleanor Roosevelt usually occurred regarding politically awkward situations, such as campaign and staff problems in the 1936 campaign or the stories circulating that she demanded hotel accommodations for four black

women in 1943 in the South. Malvina Scheider pronounced that last charge "plain bunk." 52pp.

0547 ELLIOTT, HARRIET, educator and political organizer, was dean of the Women's College of the University of North Carolina at Greensboro. She had been involved in suffrage, the League of Women Voters, and disarmament. In 1935, she took a six-month leave of absence to run study groups for the Women's Division of the DNC. In May 1940, she joined the Consumer Committee to the National Defense Advisory Council and in 1941, headed the Consumer Division for the Office of Price Administration. In 1942, Treasury Secretary Henry Morgenthau asked her to set up a women's division in the department to sell war bonds and stamps to the nation's women.

Elliott's limited correspondence with Eleanor Roosevelt covered issues of war work and women's mobilization. Like many other women in government, Elliott asked for Roosevelt's advice on policy and program matters. When Elliott resigned in frustration from the National Defense Advisory Council in 1941, she explained her reasoning to the First Lady. 42pp.

0589 ERNST, MORRIS, lawyer and champion of labor, civil rights, and free speech, was also an author and journalist. He often sent Eleanor Roosevelt copies of his books, and was active in the 1940 campaign. Their correspondence, mainly from the 1940s, touches on the controversial question of Communist influence in the Newspaper Guild, of which both were members. It also describes Ernst's trip to England during the war, several films he collaborated on for the government, and his anonymous contribution of war bonds to the butlers, doorkeepers, and maids at the White House. 212pp.

0801 EVANS, MAY THOMPSON, Democratic politician and consumer activist, had served in North Carolina's state employment service from 1933 to 1937. From 1937 to 1940, she was assistant director of the Women's Division of the Democratic National Committee. She became special assistant to the National Defense Committee, and was named chief of the consumer relations section of the Consumer Division of the Office of Price Administration in 1941.

This fairly routine correspondence includes material on the Women's Division in the late 1930s, 1940 campaign plank suggestions, and reports on election activities. It also includes some material on civilian defense work, especially concerning consumer affairs. 65pp.

0866 FARLEY, JAMES A., postmaster general and chair of the Democratic National Committee from 1933 to 1940, had first joined Franklin Roosevelt in the 1928 gubernatorial campaign. He is especially noted for his role in Roosevelt's 1936 landslide victory. He controlled much of the Democratic patronage, and also maintained close links to party leaders. He resigned in 1940 in disagreement over Roosevelt's third term and because of his own political ambitions.

This correspondence concentrates on patronage and politics. Sometimes Eleanor Roosevelt just passes on suggestions, other times (like when she seconds Molly Dewson's ideas) she forcefully pushes for what she wants. This interplay shows the persistence it took to win recognition for women in the Democratic party. It also documents ER's outgoing involvement in DNC affairs, such as her suggestions that the Women's Division could be used to combat Huey Long's growing influence and her ideas (and Farley's response) on the 1936 campaign. Eleanor Roosevelt also interceded with Farley on Walter White's behalf on the subject of anti-lynching. There is very little correspondence in the late 1930s or in the 1940s after Farley's resignation. 232pp.

Reel 9

0001 FARLEY, JAMES cont. 126pp.

0127 FAUSET, CRYSTAL BIRD, black politician and activist, was the first black woman elected to a state legislature (Pennsylvania, 1938). She had been field secretary for the national YWCA and also was active in interracial work; it was through the Swarthmore College Institute of Race Relations that she met Eleanor Roosevelt in 1933. In 1935, she became assistant to the director of the Philadelphia WPA, and in 1936 she headed "Colored Women's Activities" for the DNC. She served as special assistant in the Office of Civilian Defense from 1941 to 1944, but resigned over disagreements with Democratic policy during the 1944 election and ended up supporting Republican candidate Thomas Dewey.

Eleanor Roosevelt and Crystal Bird Fauset met and corresponded frequently, but they were hardly close friends. In fact, Fauset's letters to ER have a contentious tone not usually found in this collection. During the 1930s, ER aids Fauset in fundraising for the Institute of Race Relations and in return asks her to investigate cases of people who had written her. In the 1940 campaign, ER plays intermediary between Fauset and the men at the DNC, and agrees with Fauset that it is not wise to address a black woman's group right before the election. During the 1940s, there is quite a lot of material about the black community, war work, and perceptions of the administration. There is ample discussion of Fauset's decision to resign from the OCD in 1944 and her reasons for abandoning the Democratic party during the 1944 election. The file concludes with pointed telegrams that Fauset sent to Eleanor Roosevelt in late 1944 and 1945. 107pp.

0234 FISHER, DOROTHY CANFIELD, was a well-known fiction and nonfiction writer from Vermont. Eleanor Roosevelt admired her work and invited her to the White House, the beginning of their friendship. In 1939, Fisher wrote to ER about her plans for civilian relief of refugee children in Europe. This concern soon evolved

into Fisher's Children's Crusade for Children, a program in the early 1940s to educate American children about the benefits of their society and promote understanding (and raise money) for children in less fortunate countries. Eleanor Roosevelt enthusiastically supported the effort in "My Day," and won the support of Franklin Roosevelt and Stephen Early for it as well. Both Fisher and ER wanted to continue the Children's Crusade on a permanent basis, focusing its attention on the needs of poor children (such as black and white sharecroppers) in this country, but the idea was never realized. 179pp.

0413 FLANAGAN, HALLIE, director of the Federal Theater Project from 1935 to 1939, had taken over Vassar College's Experimental Theater in 1925. In 1935, her Grinnell College classmate Harry Hopkins had asked her to head the FTP. When the project was terminated under congressional pressure in 1939, Flanagan returned briefly to Vassar before joining the Smith College faculty in 1942. In 1940, she published *Arena*, the story of the Federal Theater Project.

This very limited correspondence covers Eleanor Roosevelt's referrals of people and ideas concerning acting and the theater to Flanagan. In turn, Flanagan sent ER material about current FTP projects. 10pp.

0423 FLEESON, DORIS, journalist and political columnist, had arrived in Washington in 1933, an ardent New Dealer as well as a militant feminist. She worked for *The News*, New York's picture newspaper, and was a founder of the American Newspaper Guild. From 1943 to 1944, she served as a war correspondent for *Woman's Home Companion*.

The correspondence between Fleeson and ER really begins in 1939, with lots of interchanges about press gatherings, especially for women reporters. The letters back and forth show how fond Eleanor Roosevelt was of her women journalist friends, and how close they felt to her. For example, ER was extremely solicitous of Fleeson when she went to Reno for a divorce in 1942 and in 1943-1944 offered to have her daughter to the White House for Christmas while Fleeson was covering the WACS in Britain. When Fleeson remarried a New Jersey judge in 1944, Eleanor Roosevelt intervened with FDR and the Attorney General on his behalf. 66pp.

0489 FURMAN, BESS (ARMSTRONG), journalist, worked for the Washington bureau of the Associated Press from 1929 to 1936, where she covered Congress, the White House, and especially the First Lady. She married a fellow journalist in 1932 and covered the 1936 campaign while pregnant with twins. From 1937 to 1941, she ran Furman Features on a freelance basis. She worked briefly for the Office of War Information before joining the Washington Bureau of the *New York Times* in 1943. She served as president of the National Women's Press Club in 1946.

Furman and ER were close friends from day one. Their correspondence has a light, friendly tone, filled with mutual admiration, although like all other correspondents in this collection, there are more letters from Bess Furman than to. The correspondence is full of information on the doings of women in journalism, a closely knit group of which Eleanor Roosevelt considered herself part, with attention to women's issues such as birth control as well. Since Furman did freelance work for the DNC, there is also some material on Democratic politics. Eleanor Roosevelt was closely involved in Furman's life: she loaned her money, knitted baby blankets for the twins, and visited her home. There is some material about defense work in the 1940s, although they met less frequently after 1942. 424pp.

0913 GELLHORN, MARTHA (HEMINGWAY), author and foreign correspondent, covered developments in Spain (1937-1938), Finland (1939), China (1940-1941), England, Italy, Germany, and France (1943-1945), and Java (1946). She was the author of *The Trouble I've Seen* (1936) and various novels after 1940. She was the third wife of Ernest Hemingway.

Gellhorn met Eleanor Roosevelt in 1935 through their mutual friend Lorena Hickok. Soon Gellhorn was writing long, full letters to the First Lady about her activities, and ER was offering advice and encouragement. They were very close friends. The correspondence contains Gellhorn's observations about the Spanish Civil War and Europe on the eve of war, ER's frustrations with the limits of the Neutrality Act and her observations on public opinion, Gellhorn's observations about Facism, and conditions in war-torn Europe and the Far East. The letters chronicle both the progress of Gellhorn's writing and her deepening relationship with Ernest Hemingway, whom she married in 1940. The correspondence ends in 1944. 117pp.

Reel 10

0001 GELLHORN, MARTHA (HEMINGWAY) cont. 240pp.

0241 GRAHAM, FRANK PORTER, president of the University of North Carolina (UNC), represented the public on the National Defense Mediation Board in 1941. A strong liberal on issues of unions, race, and industrial problems, Graham had been president of North Carolina's Conference of Social Service and active in securing the state's first workers' compensation law. He also served as vice-chairman of the Consumers' Advisory Board for the NRA and as chair of the National Advisory Committee to the Committee on Economic Security which drafted the Social Security Act.

Eleanor Roosevelt and Graham corresponded briefly in 1935 when she received an honorary degree from UNC. The correspondence then jumps to the 1940s, where it is concerned mainly with issues pertaining to the South, such as

the Southern Conference on Human Welfare and the role of Communists in the organization. ER also seeks recommendations of students for the Southern Leadership Institute run each summer at Campobello. 33pp.

0274 GREENWAY, ISABELLA (KING), wealthy rancher and congresswoman-at-large from Arizona from 1933 to 1936, had been a bridesmaid at the Roosevelt wedding. She disagreed with Franklin Roosevelt over the bonus and Social Security, and did not seek reelection in 1936; in 1940, she supported Wendell Willkie. In 1940, she also remarried for the third time, to Harry O. King, a former NRA copper administrator.

The correspondence confirms a longstanding friendship between Eleanor Roosevelt and Greenway that dated back to the turn of the century, with gifts and cards on holidays and other major events. A shared topic was their children, especially since Greenway kept an eye on Elliott Roosevelt while he lived in Tucson. The correspondence contains some insight into Greenway's political views, including her observations on Congress and New Deal programs; it also includes an interesting interchange in 1940 over the third term issue. Although the two women disagreed politically, their friendship continued into the 1940s. 101pp.

0375 HICKOK, LORENA, journalist and confidante to Eleanor Roosevelt, had joined the Associated Press in 1928 and been assigned to cover ER full time in 1932. She left the AP in the spring of 1933 because her deep friendship with the First Lady compromised her journalistic objectivity. In 1933 and 1934, Hickok served as a traveling investigator for Harry Hopkins at the Federal Emergency Relief Administration (FERA); from 1940 to 1944, she was the executive secretary of the Women's Division of the Democratic National Committee.

This rather limited correspondence basically begins in 1936, well after the most intense period of the Hickok-Roosevelt relationship, and consists of telegrams regarding travel plans, short notes to keep in touch and coordinate schedules, and some political material from the 1936 campaign and the Women's Division in the 1940s. [Note: the bulk of the correspondence between the two women is found in the Lorena Hickok Papers at the Franklin D. Roosevelt Library.] 62pp.

0437 HILLMAN, SIDNEY, labor leader and president of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, was active in labor affairs during the New Deal. He served on the Labor Advisory Board of the NRA from 1933 to 1935, the National Industrial Recovery Board from 1934 to 1935, and the National Advisory Board to the National Youth Administration. He was a founder of the Congress of Industrial Organization (CIO), and was especially active in mobilizing labor for politics. In 1940, he served as the labor representative on the National Defense Advisory Commission; from 1940 to 1942, he was associate director-general of the Office of Production Management.

Eleanor Roosevelt's and Sidney Hillman's limited contact covers topics such as a strike situation in West Virginia in 1938, memoranda and letters regarding defense mobilization, the refugee situation, blacks and labor in wartime, and the 1944 campaign. 52pp.

- 0492 HONEYMAN, NAN WOOD, elected to the House of Representatives from Oregon in 1936 but defeated in 1938, had previously been elected to the state legislature in Oregon. She had known Franklin Roosevelt since his Manhattan student days, and she seconded his nomination at the Democratic National Convention in 1936. She was an ardent New Dealer. Honeyman was also a close friend of Eleanor's, whom she often saw when the First Lady visited her daughter Anna Boettinger in Seattle in the late 1930s. Eleanor Roosevelt supported Honeyman's bid for reelection in 1940, but it was unsuccessful. In 1944, FDR named her collector of customs for Portland.

Honeyman and Eleanor Roosevelt maintained a warm and regular correspondence, which touched on political issues (like Honeyman's reasons for not running in 1934, and ER's support for the 1936 race), referrals, invitations for visits, and Oregon politics. A long letter from Eleanor Roosevelt in 1940 sets forth her support for the idea of compulsory service for boys and girls. In addition, ER got Honeyman involved in the International Student Service, where she met Trude Pratt and Joe Lash. 182pp.

- 0674 HOOVER, J. EDGAR, director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation from 1924 to 1972, was especially concerned in the 1930s and 1940s with the possible infiltration of Fascists or Communists into American life.

In 1939, Eleanor Roosevelt asked Hoover for information on Communist influence in the American Youth Congress, although she quickly concluded that there was nothing very damaging in the report (which is not included). At other times, she interceded to give people a chance to clear themselves, including Viola Ilma (who was accused of being a Nazi) and an unidentified war worker. There are occasional "sanitized" documents where the name of the person ER requests information on has been blacked out. In 1942, the FBI investigated rumors about "Eleanor Clubs" among black domestic servants. Although Eleanor Roosevelt asked the FBI to check up on people occasionally, she more often defended the rights of those unjustly accused. And her correspondence with J. Edgar Hoover showed a definite open-mindedness and freedom from fear of Communist subversion. 192pp.

- 0866 HOPKINS, HARRY, the New Deal's most important relief administrator, headed the Federal Emergency Relief Administration, the Civil Works Administration, and the Works Progress Administration between 1933 and 1938, before serving as Secretary of Commerce from 1938 to 1939. In the 1940s, he moved into the White House as a personal adviser to President Roosevelt, working on Lend-Lease and the diplomatic meetings at Cairo, Teheran, Casablanca, and Yalta.

Eleanor Roosevelt had more contact with Harry Hopkins when he was a relief administrator than when he became her husband's foreign policy adviser. In 1933, she passed along to him at FERA suggestions regarding camps, relief for children, women's programs, and letters from ordinary Americans for his agency to investigate and help. On several occasions, she specifically raised the issue of civil rights and unequal treatment of blacks. She repeatedly pushed him to make sure that women were included in the program, both as administrators and as beneficiaries. In the 1940s, their contact was limited to short memos once Hopkins was on the White House staff. 127pp.

0993 ICKES, HAROLD, secretary of the interior from 1933 to 1946, was especially interested in conservation, natural resource policy planning, and the environment. In addition to his interior post, he administered the Public Works program set up by the National Industrial Recovery Act. He supported civil liberties and minority rights, and was concerned about Indian reform.

Beginning in 1933, Eleanor Roosevelt passed on to Ickes referrals, suggestions, and plans. She also acted as an intermediary for her husband, such as asking Ickes to see "Uncle Fred Delano" about slum clearance in Washington, D.C. Ickes and Eleanor Roosevelt had some contact on Arthurdale as well. Throughout the correspondence there is attention to "colored housing," Indian affairs, black recreational facilities, and more funding for hospitals in predominantly black areas. The correspondence ends in 1941. 125pp.

Reel 11

0001 ILMA, VIOLA, organization official and youth activist, was born in Germany in 1910. In 1933, she became the editor of *Modern Youth Magazine* and wrote a book called *And Now Youth*. In the late 1930s, she was chairman of the American Youth Congress. In 1939, she became the executive director of the Young Men's Vocational Foundation, which found places for teenagers when they came out of reformatories.

Ilma initiated the correspondence with Eleanor Roosevelt in 1933, and for the rest of the 1930s kept ER informed on youth movement activities. When she joined the Vocational Foundation, she turned to ER for help in fundraising, which the First Lady supplied. Topics of discussion in this extensive correspondence include: the FBI investigation into Ilma's background; Ilma's desire to offer placement to girls as well as boys; placing former reformatory inmates in defense jobs; black issues; Democratic politics; and background material on the Vocational Foundation.

In 1944, Eleanor Roosevelt explained that she was resigning from the board because she felt her presence was more detrimental than helpful. 685pp.

0686 KELLOGG, PAUL U., editor of *The Survey* from 1912 to 1952 and a leader in the field of social work, was a graduate of Columbia University and the New York School of Social Work. He was a director of the Pittsburgh Survey from 1907 to 1910 and a founder of Survey Associates in 1911. He was married to Helen Hall, a settlement leader at Henry Street in New York City. From 1934 to 1935, he served as vice-chairman of the Advisory Committee to the Committee on Economic Security. In 1939, he was elected president of the National Conference of Social Work.

This warm and cordial correspondence includes quite a lot of material relating to *The Survey*, including information on fundraising and articles which Kellogg sent to ER and which she then passed on to the president. In 1940, Kellogg advocated a national health program to Stephen Early. The files also contain material on Spanish refugees, accusations that Kellogg was a Communist, and ER's activities at the Office of Civilian Defense. 201pp.

0887 KERR, FLORENCE, the assistant administrator of the WPA in charge of the Women's and Professional Division after 1938, had previously served as regional director for Women's and Professional Projects from 1935 to 1938. Although there is a small amount of correspondence between Kerr and Eleanor Roosevelt on policy matters, the bulk of their file contains referrals of letters received at the White House and forwarded to the WPA for attention. A small sample of letters from ordinary Americans has been chosen from the Kerr files to show the kinds of appeals that Eleanor Roosevelt received and how the WPA followed up on them. The persistence of distress well into the 1940s shows that hard times did continue despite the war mobilization. Also of interest are the yearly summaries of the WPA's handling of Eleanor Roosevelt's mail. 190pp.

Reel 12

0001 LA GUARDIA, FIORELLO, mayor of New York from 1933 to 1945, was a Republican progressive who was quite attuned to New Deal reforms. He collaborated closely with the Roosevelt administration throughout the 1930s and 1940s, and served as director of the Office of Civilian Defense in the early 1940s, where he worked closely with Eleanor Roosevelt.

The correspondence in the 1930s consists primarily of referrals from Eleanor Roosevelt's mail to La Guardia for his attention, although there is contact of a more personal level, such as the invitation for the entire La Guardia family to visit Hyde Park in 1938. Eleanor Roosevelt also consulted with La Guardia about political matters and civil rights, such as finding space for the Harlem Art Center or wondering why there weren't more blacks on the city police force. In 1941 and 1942, the correspondence was almost entirely about the Office of Civilian Defense, including matters such as uniforms, work camps,

placements, and pamphlets. In 1942, Eleanor Roosevelt wrote to La Guardia when he resigned, thanking him for letting her organize a part of the civil defense program. 323pp.

0324 LAPE, ESTHER, a longtime friend of Eleanor Roosevelt's from New York in the 1920s, was especially interested in problems of government and the judicial settlement of disputes. She was the author of *The United States and the Soviet Union* (1933) and editor and author of *Ways to Peace* (1924). Affiliated with the American Foundation Studies in Government from 1924 on, Lape lived in New York City and Westport, Connecticut with her dear friend and companion, Elizabeth Read.

Much of Lape's correspondence with Eleanor Roosevelt in the 1930s concerned issues of Soviet-American relations; not only did she work closely with ER, but she had access to Franklin on foreign policy issues such as the World Court. In the late 1930s, Lape and the American Foundation turned their attention to promoting a stronger government role in health care services, for which there is fairly extensive documentation.

Just as interesting is the personal relationship which ER shared with Lape and Read: Eleanor kept an apartment with them in Greenwich Village, and later gave them space at her Hyde Park cottage. She met with them often and was especially concerned about Elizabeth's health. There is an interesting exchange of letters in 1937 regarding Read's and Lape's political affiliations. 705pp.

Reel 13

0001 LASH, JOSEPH P., student activist and close friend of Eleanor Roosevelt, got to know her when he was national secretary of the American Student Union in 1936. His correspondence chronicles the fortunes of the youth movement, especially its annual conventions and fundraising problems. In 1939, Eleanor Roosevelt agreed to attend the Dies Committee hearings with Joe Lash and other members of the American Student Union, even though she reminded him that his views were "not completely clarified." The files show how she reached out to these young people, but always made it clear when she disagreed with their views. There is not, however, very much information on the role of Communists in the youth congresses in 1939 and 1940. By 1940, the friendship had ripened to "My dear Joe," and in 1941, he became general secretary of the International Students Service, which ER supported financially and with the use of the Roosevelt home at Campobello each summer. In 1942, Lash was inducted into the army, but these files do not contain his correspondence with Eleanor Roosevelt during those years. 156pp.

0157 LASH, TRUDE PRATT, activist in the youth movement and later wife of Joseph P. Lash, first met Eleanor Roosevelt while working for the Women's Division of the New York State Democratic Committee in the 1940 campaign. By 1941, "Mrs. Pratt" had become "Trude," soon to take a position as vice-chairman of the International Student Service. Their correspondence contains material on ISS fundraising, White House meetings, general information on the youth movement, and goals. In 1944, Trude Pratt Lash became secretary to the Board of Directors for the Wiltwyck School for Boys, another ER pet project, and in 1945 she worked for the Democratic State Committee once again. The correspondence bears testimony to the strong friendship which bound Eleanor Roosevelt to both Trude and Joseph Lash. 186pp.

0343 LASKER, MARY (MRS. ALBERT D.), philanthropist and foundation executive, was active in the Birth Control Federation of America and established the Albert and Mary Lasker Foundation for contributions to medical research and public health in 1942. Her correspondence with Eleanor Roosevelt begins in 1941 with consultation over the controversial topic of providing birth control information through the Public Health Service. ER declined to receive a citation from the birth control advocates because it would have antagonized too many people, but she sent a general letter of support. Meanwhile, Eleanor had gotten the Laskers to give financial support to the International Student Service, the Wiltwyck School for Boys, and Mary McLeod Bethune. Such shared concerns offer a rich source on issues such as birth control, mental health, and philanthropy in wartime. 168pp.

0511 LEHMAN, HERBERT, four-time governor of New York starting in 1932, had served as lieutenant governor under Franklin Roosevelt from 1928 to 1932. Both Herbert Lehman and his wife Edith were close friends of the Roosevelts and frequent visitors at the White House. From 1943 to 1945, Governor Lehman was the director of the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration.

The correspondence includes letters to and from both Herbert and Edith Lehman. Much of the contact with Edith is on a personal level, such as the frequent invitations to the White House and other events. With the governor, ER often referred relief cases for his consideration in New York. Eleanor Roosevelt also prodded him to better integrate women into the state political organization and on several occasions raised issues concerning blacks. 153pp.

0664 LENROOT, KATHERINE, chief of the Children's Bureau from 1934 to 1949, was the daughter of Republican Senator Irving Lenroot of Wisconsin. She had joined the Children's Bureau in 1914 and been promoted to assistant chief in 1922. In 1935, Lenroot served as president of the National Council of Social Work.

The correspondence concerns topics such as getting President Roosevelt's support for passage of the Child Labor Amendment in the states; material on the 1939 Conference on Children in a Democracy; and war mobilization issues, such

as day care under the Lanham Act. The files contain good background on the general activities of the Children's Bureau in this period, including its appropriations and a proposed reorganization. 57pp.

- 0721 MASON, LUCY RANDOLPH, "roving ambassador" in the South for the CIO between 1937 and 1953, had previously been executive secretary of the National Consumers' League from 1932 to 1937. A liberal on issues such as labor and civil rights, Mason had also been active in the YWCA and the League of Women Voters.

The correspondence begins as Mason is leaving her Consumers' League job to work for the CIO, and ER wishes her well. ER often showed Mason's letters with their insights about the southern labor situation to FDR. Correspondence from 1941 and 1942 touches on allegations of Communist influence in the labor movement, as well as discrimination against union members. The admiration that Lucy Mason had for Eleanor Roosevelt is typical of how the First Lady was viewed by many of those she aided. 62pp.

- 0783 McCLOY, JOHN J., assistant secretary of war from 1940 to 1945 under Henry Stimson, held broad duties in his role as liaison to the State Department. He also acted as president of the International Monetary Fund set up at Bretton Woods in 1944, and attended the United Nations opening conference in San Francisco in 1945, before resigning from the government to resume his private law practice.

Eleanor Roosevelt acted as a strong advocate of civil rights in her dealings with John J. McCloy during World War II, arguing that blacks should be given a chance to prove their mettle because such contributions would promote long-term gains. She raised questions about black women in the WAACS, segregated camps and transportation, and inadequacies in a Negro division in Arizona, noting pointedly in 1943, "they do the job and they get killed just the same as the white boys." McCloy, in turn, investigated her complaints and reported back to her the War Department policy. 17pp.

- 0800 McNUTT, PAUL, administrator of the Federal Security Administration from 1939 to 1945, had been elected governor of Indiana in 1933. In 1940, he emerged as a potential Democratic presidential candidate. In their rather limited contact, Eleanor Roosevelt referred relief cases to him while he was governor of Indiana and continued that process once he took over the FSA. 52pp.

- 0852 MILLER, EMMA GUFFEY, Democratic politician from Pennsylvania, was especially concerned with mobilizing women in politics. She came from a political family: her brother was Senator Joseph Guffey, and her husband served on the Interstate Commerce Commission. Miller herself chaired the Pennsylvania Advisory Board to the National Youth Administration. She was a

strong advocate of the Equal Rights Amendment, winning its inclusion in the Democratic platform in 1944.

In 1936 and 1937, Emma Guffey Miller challenged Molly Dewson's control of the Women's Division, but lost out when the Roosevelts took Dewson's side. [See Dewson correspondence.] These files do not begin until 1939, with fairly routine Pennsylvania political matters and some material on the NYA. Most interesting is the correspondence in 1941 and 1944 concerning the Democratic party's stand on the Equal Rights Amendment, when Eleanor Roosevelt made no statement for or against the ERA "since I cannot decide what I think in peacetime, and in wartime all restrictions seem to be off." 77pp.

0929 MORGENTHAU, HENRY, JR., secretary of the treasury from 1934 to 1945, was a Dutchess County neighbor and loyal friend of the Roosevelts. He had served in Roosevelt's gubernatorial administration and as acting secretary of the treasury from 1933 to 1934. He spoke out against the internment of Japanese-Americans during the war, and in 1943 and 1944 publicized Hitler's extermination of the Jews.

MORGENTHAU, ELINOR, one of Eleanor Roosevelt's closest friends in official Washington, was the wife of the secretary of the treasury. A graduate of Vassar College in 1913, she had been active in the Women's Trade Union League and the Woodrow Wilson Foundation. She served as a member of Governor Roosevelt's Rural Homes Commission in 1931 and 1932.

Eleanor Roosevelt's contacts with Henry Morgenthau, Jr., included the usual referrals and invitations, such as to the president's annual birthday party, as well as some discussion of finding places for black workers and the federal policy on day care.

As in many of these files, there is much more material from Elinor Morgenthau than from Eleanor Roosevelt: even though theirs was a warm and ongoing friendship, ER reveals very little of a personal nature. Topics covered include women in politics, such as Caroline O'Day's 1934 candidacy, and plans for the Women's Division during wartime, both on the national level and in New York state. The correspondence is filled with personal invitations, such as to Christmas dinner at the White House.

These files also contain correspondence between Eleanor Roosevelt and Mr. and Mrs. Henry Morgenthau, Sr. For example, she asks "Uncle Henry" to meet with Crystal Bird Fauset on race relations. In addition, the Morgenthau, Srs., sent the Roosevelt family a steady stream of flowers, gifts, and checks for Eleanor to give to her favorite charities. 115pp.

Reel 14

0001 MORGENTHAU, HENRY, JR., and ELINOR cont. 244pp.

0245 MURRAY, PAULI, black activist and lawyer, graduated from Hunter College in 1933 and received her law degree from Howard University in 1944. She did further study at the University of California at Berkeley in 1945 as a Rosenwald Fellow. In 1933 and 1934, she was a field representative for the National Urban League before becoming a WPA schoolteacher in New York City from 1935 to 1939. She was special field secretary for the Workers' Defense League in New York from 1940 to 1942.

Pauli Murray initiated this correspondence in 1938 by writing the First Lady, "You do not remember me, but I was the girl who did not stand up" when she visited Camp Tera in 1934-1935. Murray wrote similarly outspoken letters to the president. Eleanor Roosevelt responded to the idealism and anger of her young correspondent by reminding her that great changes come slowly. The files contain material on the 1940 National Sharecroppers Week and the anti-poll tax campaign. A testy 1942 interchange has ER defending her husband's stand on the Fair Employment Practices Commission. There was a spirited friendship, and Murray's forthrightness provoked equally interesting responses from Eleanor Roosevelt on issues of social equality, segregation, and how best to effect political change. 131pp.

0376 MYER, DILLON S., director of the War Relocation Authority from 1942 to 1946, had previously worked as a soil conservation expert in the Department of Agriculture. In 1941 and 1942, he was acting administrator of all agricultural conservation work for the Department of Agriculture. In 1946, he was named to the Federal Public Housing Commission.

The bulk of this correspondence concerns War Relocation Authority policy, including background information, reports, and postwar plans. Eleanor Roosevelt referred to Myer letters from Japanese-Americans, as well as queries about problems in the camps, such as deteriorating morale. 60pp.

0436 O'DAY, CAROLINE, congresswoman-at-large from New York from 1934 to 1942, had long been associated with New York state Democratic politics. In the 1920s, she had worked with Eleanor Roosevelt, Nancy Cook, and Marion Dickerman in the Women's Division of the New York State Democratic Committee, as well as in the New York Consumers' League and the Women's Trade Union League. In 1934, Eleanor Roosevelt campaigned for her. O'Day supported the New Deal, but was also a pacifist.

Much of the correspondence concerns political matters arising in the Women's Division of the New York State Democratic Committee, such as political organizing, patronage, New York's relation to the Women's Division of the Democratic National Committee, and O'Day's re-election campaigns,

especially 1940. By the late 1930s, however, the files show that ER is much less involved in Democratic politics either on the national or state level. O'Day died in early 1943 after choosing not to seek re-election, and the correspondence ends with a touching note from ER on how hard it is to think of her out of the political picture and how much she treasures their long association in the political field. 221pp.

- 0657 PERKINS, FRANCES, secretary of labor from 1933 to 1945, had previously served on the New York State Industrial Board under Governor Al Smith and as industrial commissioner under Governor Roosevelt. In the New Deal, she was especially active on issues of economic security and working conditions, playing important roles in the passage of the Social Security Act in 1935 and the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938. In 1939, an impeachment attempt against her failed.

Much of this correspondence concerns referrals and suggestions back and forth between the two women. Topics covered include: NRA administrators, the Child Labor Amendment, appointing a black woman to the Women's Bureau, the Bridges case and the impeachment attempt, suggestions of women for prominent jobs, women's legal status, and protective legislation. The correspondence, while cordial, is hardly deep, although there are nice moments such as the exchange over the engagement of Frances Perkins's daughter Susannah. 161pp.

- 0818 PINCHOT, CORNELIA BRYCE, suffragist and activist on behalf of labor, women, and children, was the wife of Gifford Pinchot, the Republican governor of Pennsylvania from 1923 to 1927 and 1931 to 1935. Active in politics on both the state and national levels, she ran unsuccessfully for Congress several times.

Eleanor and "Leila" were on a first name basis, testimony to their long friendship. In the 1930s, they collaborated on matters pertaining to Pennsylvania politics and relief, as well as numerous social gatherings. Attempts to get Cornelia Pinchot nominated to the National Labor Relations Board or the Office of Civilian Defense with Eleanor Roosevelt's support failed. The files from the 1940s contain good material on war mobilization and civil defense. 197pp.

Reel 15

- 0001 RANDOLPH, A. PHILIP, president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters and a leader of the March on Washington movement in 1941, was an influential black leader. He was especially vocal in attacking discrimination in defense plants and war mobilization. He served as co-chair of the National Council for a Permanent Fair Employment Practices Commission (FEPC) and founded the League for Nonviolent Civil Disobedience Against Military Segregation.

A. Philip Randolph and Eleanor Roosevelt did not have extensive contact, but what they did have was rich and important for understanding civil rights in wartime. The correspondence details the political maneuvering that surrounded the March on Washington and the issuance of the executive order which established the FEPC. It also includes supporting material, such as the call for the march and a War Department memo on conditions for blacks in defense plants and the armed services. In 1943, Eleanor Roosevelt declined to serve on the national committee for a permanent FEPC, claiming (as she did in many other cases in the 1940s) that her participation would open them to criticism and brand the organization as political. 28pp.

- 0029 READ, ELIZABETH, a lawyer who lived with Esther Lape, was an old friend and associate of Eleanor Roosevelt who took care of her income taxes. These files contain only glimpses of ER's finances, however. The other main topic between 1934 and 1940 was Read's work as director of research for the American Foundation Studies in Government. 45pp.
- 0074 READING, LADY STELLA, the wife of the former British ambassador to the United States, was a leader in the wartime mobilization of British women. She first visited the White House in 1936 when she was in the midst of a 10,000-mile cross-country trip, and she hit it off with both the Roosevelts. The friendship was strengthened once war came to Europe in 1939. The correspondence richly describes both Reading's efforts to mobilize women volunteers in Britain and Eleanor Roosevelt's work at the Office of Civilian Defense and her general thoughts on war mobilization. It offers interesting insights on British-American relations before the United States formally entered the war in late 1941. Other topics covered include reactions to ER's 1942 trip to Great Britain, ER's thoughts on politics in wartime (such as her distress at the ending of the NYA), and her personal desire to escape from the public eye despite her husband's commitment to a fourth term. 116pp.
- 0190 REUTHER, WALTER, labor leader with the CIO, had been active in the sit-down strikes at General Motors that led to the recognition of the United Auto Workers in 1937. In 1942, he became the first vice-president of the UAW, and in 1946, was elected its president. From 1943 to 1944, he served as labor representative to the Office of Production Management and to the War Manpower Commission.
- This limited correspondence touches on labor relations during wartime, reconversion plans, and postwar planning. Eleanor Roosevelt showed Reuther's letters to the president, and also passed his ideas on to Bernard M. Baruch. She also had Reuther to Hyde Park for a weekend, one of her ways of reaching out to people whose ideas she found interesting or stimulating. 28pp.

0218 ROOSEVELT, ELEANOR. Files marked "Eleanor Roosevelt" contain a potpourri of interesting material. They consist mainly of memoranda, especially to and from the president, sometimes with supporting material and documentation, often without. There is some material from 1935 to 1937, very little from 1937 to 1942, and quite a lot from 1942 to 1945. The files cover Eleanor Roosevelt's mail, social calendar, and press conferences, including lists of reporters eligible to attend, rules for the conduct of the press conferences, and the membership of the Press Conference Association for the 1940s. Also of interest is a list of Eleanor Roosevelt's 1944 charitable contributions, which total \$7,556.50. The bulk of this section, however, consists of her daily engagements from 1942 through 1945, a rich source of information concerning her commitments, travels, meetings with individuals and groups, and lists of dinner and overnight guests at the White House. 811pp.

Reel 16

0001 ROOSEVELT, ELEANOR cont. 376pp.

0377 ROOSEVELT, FRANKLIN DELANO. These files, which cover 1942 to 1945 only, consist mainly of memos back and forth between the president and his wife, which allow glimpses into how their marriage was also a productive political partnership. They show how she regularly kept him up-to-date on matters that she considered important or interesting, forwarding letters and supporting material both from old friends and colleagues, as well as from ordinary Americans who had a point of view she thought he would consider. She also often requested that he find time to see certain people. Repeatedly she sought his political advice on how she should respond to a sensitive issue, such as civil rights, or how far she could go in endorsing controversial measures, with queries like "What do I do?", "What can be done?", or "What should I say?" The files end with a transcript of the press conference by Stephen Early and Marvin McIntyre announcing that President Roosevelt had just died at Warm Springs, Georgia. 444pp.

0821 ROSENBERG, ANNA, regional head of the U.S. War Manpower Commission from 1942 to 1945, served both in government positions and as a consultant to private industry. Previously she had been regional director in New York of the NRA, WPA, and Social Security Board.

Before Rosenberg left the WPA in 1935, she consulted with Eleanor Roosevelt and Ellen S. Woodward about women's work. Once with Social Security, she often received referrals from Eleanor Roosevelt, including one sensitive situation in 1940 that called for a private meeting. Eleanor Roosevelt suggested various people to Rosenberg for consideration for jobs, including

Trude Pratt and Crystal Bird Fauset. In turn, Rosenberg asked the First Lady for help and advice. 49pp.

0873 SCHNEIDERMAN, ROSE, labor activist and president of the New York Women's Trade Union League from 1918 to 1949, was a Russian immigrant and former labor organizer in the garment trades who first met Eleanor Roosevelt in 1922. During the New Deal, Schneiderman served on the Labor Advisory Board of the NRA. From 1937 to 1943, she was secretary of the New York State Department of Labor.

This rich collection contains material on Women's Trade Union League activities and general observations about labor in the New Deal. Schneiderman's letters are long and newsy, with much information of general interest; she writes to "Dearest Eleanor" and signs her letters with "heartful love" or "blessings on your head." Eleanor's letters are warm, but less effusive. Topics discussed include: the Labor Advisory Board, NRA codes, women in the labor movement, ER's ongoing support for the NYWTUL (including financial contributions and hosting an annual Christmas party), Schneiderman's support for the Court Plan and her observations on her new job as Labor Secretary, fundraising for Palestine, campaign activities by labor, Frances Perkins and the Women's Bureau, and protective legislation and the ERA. 189pp.

Reel 17

0001 SCHNEIDERMAN, ROSE cont. 475pp.

0476 SIMKHOVITCH, MARY KINGSBURY, founder of the Greenwich House settlement in New York City, was especially active in public housing issues. From 1931 to 1934, she was president of the Public Housing Conference, and in 1934 served as vice-chairman of New York City's Housing Authority in the administration of Mayor Fiorello La Guardia. She was also involved in NIRA public housing provisions, and helped draft the Wagner-Stegall Housing Act of 1937. She was married to Vladimir Simkhovitch, a professor of economic history at Columbia University.

Much of the correspondence revolves around issues of public housing and slum clearance. Eleanor Roosevelt supports this cause through actions like receiving the 1936 delegates to the National Public Housing Conference at the White House and mentioning housing concerns in "My Day." The Roosevelts and the Simkhovitches were old friends, and the files contain some letters from Vladimir as well. 237pp.

0713 SINCLAIR, UPTON, author of *The Jungle* (1906), ran for the governorship of California in 1934 on the platform to "End Poverty in California" (EPIC) but lost because of Republican and business attacks. In 1933, Sinclair sent Eleanor

Roosevelt a copy of his campaign manifesto, which she read and passed on to FDR. Eleanor Roosevelt told Sinclair that she agreed with some of its points, found others not practical, and in general was not sufficiently in accord with it to make a public statement. Similarly, she would not allow her name to be used in his 1934 campaign, following FDR's "hands-off" policy. From 1935, they continued to correspond, with Sinclair sending her books to read and occasional suggestions for fireside chats. 52pp.

0765 SMITH, HILDA WORTHINGTON, director of the Workers' Service Program for the Federal Emergency Relief Administration and WPA from 1933 to 1943, and a member of the Federal Public Housing Authority from 1943 to 1945, was well known for her work with the Bryn Mawr Summer School for Industrial Workers in the 1920s. Her detailed correspondence with Eleanor Roosevelt begins in 1933, while she was still director of the Affiliated Schools for Workers. Once she joined the FERA and WPA, Smith collaborated closely with ER on camps for unemployed women and workers' education, of which the files contain extensive documentation. ER helped in the usual ways: mentioning Smith's programs in "My Day," hosting White House teas and conferences, interceding with FDR, offering advice and counsel. Smith used the First Lady as a confidante for her frustrations on the job, such as the back seat that workers' education took to unemployment programs, and even sent her poetry on the WPA and public housing. 300pp.

Reel 18

0001 SMITH, HILDA WORTHINGTON cont. 42pp.

0043 STIMSON, HENRY, Herbert Hoover's secretary of state from 1929 to 1933, was brought into Roosevelt's cabinet in 1940 as secretary of war to give defense mobilization a bipartisan character. In Eleanor Roosevelt's limited correspondence with him, she raised issues such as female employees dismissed from the War Department, turning away Negro volunteers, attitudes of southern whites toward acceptance of black soldiers in England, and discrimination against blacks at various War Department facilities. There is only a small bit of information on internment of Japanese-Americans. 32pp.

0075 STRONG, ANNA LOUISE, radical journalist and writer, was an early supporter of the Bolshevik Revolution. From the 1920s through the 1940s, she alternated her time in the Soviet Union with lecture tours in the United States. She also covered the Spanish Civil War and developments in China in 1938 and 1939. In the late 1930s, Eleanor Roosevelt suggested that she write a book about the New Deal, which became *My Native Land* (1940).

Eleanor Roosevelt and Anna Louise Strong met frequently when she visited the United States, and Franklin Roosevelt was sometimes included as well. Strong was an avid admirer of the New Deal, especially its domestic programs, and many of her letters document her impressions gathered while traveling around the country. Her reports from the Soviet Union, Spain, and China were often passed on to FDR. An interesting exchange in August 1939 contains Strong's view of the Nazi-Soviet Pact and ER's attitudes about the differences between fascism, communism, and democracy. In general, Eleanor Roosevelt's letters to Strong contain a fairly full exposition of her feelings about the coming of war. They also document ER's commitment to free speech for members of the Communist party. By 1941, ER's criticism of Soviet actions was straining the friendship. The correspondence continues, but after 1942 there is no more discussion of foreign policy. 200pp.

0275 **TAUSSIG, CHARLES**, manufacturer and author, served the New Deal as a technical advisor to the World Economic Conference in 1933 and as a member of the President's Advisory Council for the Virgin Islands, but was best known for his work as chairman of the National Advisory Committee to the National Youth Administration. These files contain material on the NYA, including information on unemployed youth from a policy perspective, and Eleanor Roosevelt's support of the American Youth Congress. Also documented is her frequent intermediary role between Taussig and FDR; especially revealing is a 1939 exchange about the future of the NYA during war mobilization. The material from the 1940s covers the role of youth in defense and the demise of the NYA in 1943. 197pp.

0472 **TOBIAS, CHANNING**, social worker and religious and civic leader, was director of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation from 1935 to 1942, when he became senior secretary of the Colored Men's Division of the YMCA. A lifelong Republican, he was active in raising black issues during World War II and worked for FDR's election in 1944. He served on the Board of Directors for the Wiltwyck School for Boys, and in 1945 became director of the Phelps-Stokes Fund.

Channing Tobias did not have much contact with Eleanor Roosevelt. In 1942, he sent her some speeches and material, which she admired because she said it represented her views. The files contain copies of other Tobias speeches, as well as an appreciation of his work in the 1944 campaign. 23pp.

0495 **TUGWELL, REXFORD G.**, a member of the "BrainTrust" and former professor of economics at Columbia University, served as the assistant secretary of agriculture in 1933, was promoted to undersecretary in 1934, and then was named to head the Resettlement Administration in 1935. He left the federal government in 1936, but later served as governor of Puerto Rico from 1941 to 1946.

Most of this correspondence covers matters pertaining to the Department of Agriculture, including referrals of letters that ordinary citizens wrote to Eleanor Roosevelt and she then passed on to Tugwell for action. Much of their contact occurred over subsistence homesteads, including Arthurdale, West Virginia, and Beltsville, Maryland. The correspondence, which is much sparser once Tugwell leaves the government, also contains copies of some of his speeches, including one entitled "Wine, Women, and the New Deal." 100pp.

0595 WALD, LILLIAN, public health nurse and settlement leader at Henry Street in New York City, had close ties to the New Deal through her friendships with Eleanor Roosevelt and Frances Perkins, as well as through Adolf Berle, Henry Morgenthau, Jr., and Sidney Hillman, who had lived at Henry Street. In 1936, she served as co-chair of the Good Neighbor League, a group of independents for Roosevelt.

This war correspondence between two old friends (Wald addresses her as "Beloved First Lady") covers their mutual friends (such as Alice Hamilton, Jane Addams, and Anna Louise Strong), Wald's publication of *Windows on Henry Street* in 1934, her crusade for a nursing stamp in 1935, and Wald's strong support for the New Deal. In increasingly ill health in the late 1930s, Wald supports Florence Allen for the Supreme Court and enjoys the letters that she receives from Eleanor Roosevelt. Wald died in 1940. 146pp.

0741 WALLACE, HENRY, secretary of agriculture from 1933 to 1940, vice president from 1941 to 1944, and then secretary of commerce in 1945, was a liberal on issues of labor and civil rights and an internationalist in the field of foreign policy.

During the 1930s, Eleanor Roosevelt's contact with Wallace occurred mainly over farm issues, such as programs for rural women, conditions of sharecroppers in Mississippi, suggestions of people to appoint or see, and referrals of letters to the White House on farm issues. Both in the 1930s and while Wallace was vice-president, Eleanor Roosevelt would occasionally act as an intermediary, passing on messages from her husband. An interesting 1944 letter from ER tells Wallace how distressed she is that he lost out at the convention, but adds that she never thought that being vice-president seemed like a very happy job. 189pp.

0930 WHITE, WALTER, secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People since 1931, was an educator and writer best known for his investigations of lynchings in the South.

Walter White was Eleanor Roosevelt's most prolific correspondent, and this collection is a rich source on civil rights issues in the 1930s and 1940s. The documentation is especially full on attempts to pass the Costigan-Wagner Anti-Lynching Bill, including supporting material and case studies of lynchings and legislative prospects (including quotes from members of Congress, pro and

con). White's letters to the president, included in the files, constantly push for Roosevelt to take a strong stand against lynching, and Roosevelt's repeated dodges that he would hurt the bill's chance for success by being too public. Eleanor Roosevelt consults with her husband and his advisors much more on this issue than any other, such as where to speak or lend her name, suggesting how controversial civil rights was. She in turn tries to explain and justify her husband's stand to White. (What she actually thought is harder to determine.) Also contained are staff memos trying to insulate the president from this delicate issue, as well as complaints from Roosevelt's staff that Walter White was bombarding the president with messages.

By 1939, White's focus shifts away from lynching towards advocacy of larger roles for blacks in defense mobilization and preparations for war, and the files contain fairly extensive supporting material and case studies of conditions for black workers and soldiers. White met with the president as part of a delegation of black leaders in 1940, and continued to send letters suggesting more action to both Eleanor and Franklin Roosevelt. Often Franklin would say he was too busy to see White, although Eleanor kept the channels open. The files also contain White's reports of his trips to England and the Pacific in 1944 to survey the race relations situation. Although Eleanor Roosevelt writes much less fully to White than he does to her, her letters still demonstrate her support for civil rights and her attitudes about how best to effect political change. 126pp.

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0001 WHITE, WALTER cont. 1,081pp.

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0001 WILKINS, ROY, assistant secretary of the NAACP from 1931 to 1949, and editor of its magazine *The Crisis* since 1934, had only very limited contact with Eleanor Roosevelt, who dealt almost exclusively with Walter White. A few letters concern invitations to speak at the NAACP convention, a plan to set up a national training school for girls, and an NAACP center named for Wendell Willkie in 1945. 20pp.

0021 WILLIAMS, AUBREY, deputy administrator for the FERA and WPA under Harry Hopkins, served as administrator of the National Youth Administration from 1938 to 1943. He worked closely with Eleanor Roosevelt on NYA matters, and the files contain NYA background such as reports on treatment of blacks in the agency. Also of interest are the case histories and life stories scattered throughout, both in NYA supporting material and in the letters which Eleanor

Roosevelt forwarded to Williams for action. The files contain quite a lot of material on civil rights, confirming Williams's reputation as an advocate of black issues. They also show how Eleanor Roosevelt went to bat for the NYA in 1942 to try to prevent its demise. 171pp.

- 0191 WILLIAMS, CHARL O., director of field services for the National Education Association and president of the National Association of Business and Professional Women from 1935 to 1937, served as an advocate for both educational and feminist causes in the New Deal. Eleanor Roosevelt promoted the interests of educators in "My Day," and made radio broadcasts for the Business and Professional Women. There is also material concerning the 1936 Democratic convention, especially planks submitted by women, and the 1937 endorsement by the Business and Professional Women of the ERA, which Williams considered hasty and ill-advised. Eleanor Roosevelt also acted as an intermediary to her husband, who took education issues (and the political power of the National Education Association) seriously. Of special interest is extensive material concerning two 1944 White House conferences, on rural education and on how women can share in postwar planning, which produced a 26-page roster (included) of qualified women available for federal service. 544pp.
- 0735 WISE, STEPHEN, rabbi and Zionist leader, organized the American Jewish Congress in 1917 and served as its president for seven terms. He campaigned for a homeland for Jews in Palestine and spoke out against Nazism. Eleanor Roosevelt had contact with both Rabbi and Mrs. Wise over matters relating to the American Jewish Congress. In 1942, Rabbi Wise sent ER a copy of the *Congress Weekly* (included), which documented Hitler's extermination of the Jews. Eleanor Roosevelt replied that she was horrified, but since she had already written and spoken on the subject, she did not know what more she could say. 63pp.
- 0798 WOLFE, CAROLYN, director of the Women's Division for the Democratic National Committee from 1934 to 1936, had been active in Utah Democratic politics, the League of Women Voters, the PTA, and the Red Cross before coming to Washington. Since Molly Dewson handled most of the Women's Division matters in the mid-1930s, Wolfe had little contact with Eleanor Roosevelt. These few letters contain material about the campaign plans of the Women's Division in 1936, and Wolfe's letter of resignation when she returned to Utah. 15pp.
- 0813 WOODWARD, ELLEN SULLIVAN, head of women's programs for the FERA and WPA from 1933 to 1938, and a member of the Social Security Board from 1938 to 1946, came to the New Deal by way of Mississippi Democratic politics and public welfare activities. Like many of the women in the New Deal, Woodward

looked to Eleanor Roosevelt for inspiration and advice, and such contact is documented in their correspondence. Especially striking is their joint commitment to making sure that women got their share of New Deal programs. The bulk of the files included here, however, were selected to show the kinds of letters that Eleanor Roosevelt forwarded to the FERA and WPA for action, and what action the government agencies took. They document the extent of suffering caused by the Great Depression, and suggest what measure the New Deal could take to address this privation. Of interest are the occasions when Eleanor Roosevelt personally offers to assist the needy family. 223pp.

- 1036 YARD, MOLLY, student activist, served as executive secretary of the Washington Youth Council in 1940, and as secretary of the Washington Student Service Bureau of the International Student Service after 1941. In 1944, she was affiliated with Independent Voters for Roosevelt. Much of Molly Yard's friendly and warm correspondence with Eleanor Roosevelt concerned the affairs of the International Student Service, which was an organization that Eleanor Roosevelt was closely connected with in the early 1940s. The files show how ER set up confidential meetings between the president and youth leaders, and also befriended the young people, such as asking Molly Yard and her husband to Hyde Park for the weekend. Other topics covered include an NYA conference on unemployed girls run by Hilda Worthington Smith, material on the Washington Youth Council, and background on the opening and activities of the Student Service Bureau in Washington, which was designed to provide opportunities for faculty and students to study firsthand the workings of the federal government. 91pp.

SUBJECT INDEX

The following index is a guide to the major subjects of this collection. The first Arabic number refers to the reel, and the Arabic number after the colon refers to the frame number where a correspondent's file begins in which the subject is treated prominently. Hence 3: 0934 directs the researcher to the subject that begins at Frame 0934 of Reel 3. By referring to the Reel Index that comprises the initial section of this guide, the researcher can find the main entry for this subject.

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- Civil Works Administration**
 Hopkins, Harry 10: 0866
- Commission on Interracial
 Cooperation**
 Tobias, Channing 18: 0472
- Committee on the Cause and Cure
 of War**
 Catt, Carrie Chapman 4: 0038

Communist activities

Berle, Adolf A., Jr. 1: 0756
Cadden, Joseph 3: 0706; 4: 0001
Craig, Elizabeth May 4: 0984
Ernst, Morris 8: 0589
Graham, Frank Porter 10: 0241
Hoover, J. Edgar 10: 0674
Kellogg, Paul 11: 0686
Lash, Joseph P. 13: 0001
Mason, Lucy Randolph 13: 0721
Strong, Anna Louise 18: 0075

Compulsory National Youth Service

Honeyman, Nan Wood 10: 0492

Conference on Children in a Democracy

Lenroot, Katherine 13: 0664

Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO)

Hillman, Sidney 10: 0437
Mason, Lucy Randolph 13: 0721
Reuther, Walter 15: 0190

Costigan-Wagner (Anti-Lynching) Bill

White, Walter 18: 0930; 19: 0001

Court Plan (of FDR)

Dewson, Mary (Molly) 6: 0263;
7: 0001
Schneiderman, Rose 16: 0873;
17: 0001

Defense mobilization

Anderson, Mary 1: 0155
Baruch, Bernard M. 1: 0206
Hillman, Sidney 10: 0437
Stimson, Henry 18: 0043
Taussig, Charles 18: 0275
White, Walter 18: 0930; 19: 0001

Democratic Digest

Baruch, Bernard M. 1: 0206

Democratic National Committee (DNC)

Dewson, Mary (Molly) 6: 0263;
7: 0001
Douglas, Helen Gahagan 8: 0001
Evans, May Thompson 8: 0801
Farley, James A. 8: 0866; 9: 0001
Fauset, Crystal Bird 9: 0127

Furman, Bess (Armstrong) 9: 0489
Hickok, Lorena 10: 0375
Honeyman, Nan Wood 10: 0492
Williams, Charl O. 20: 0191

Department of Agriculture

Tugwell, Rexford G. 18: 0495
Wallace, Henry 18: 0741

Department of Labor

Anderson, Mary 1: 0155
Perkins, Frances 14: 0657
Schneiderman, Rose 16: 0873;
17: 0001

Department of State

Berle, Adolf A., Jr. 1: 0756
Daniels, Josephus 4: 1125
McCloy, John J. 13: 078

Department of State-Inter-American Affairs

Black, Ruby 2: 0719; 3: 0001

Department of the Treasury

Bruce, Edward 3: 0377
Elliott, Harriet 8: 0547

Dies Committee

Lash, Joseph P. 13: 0001

Disarmament

Catt, Carrie Chapman 4: 0038
Davis, Norman H. 5: 0366; 6: 0001
Elliott, Harriet 8: 0547

Discrimination (racial and sexual)

Fauset, Crystal Bird 9: 0127
Hopkins, Harry 10: 0866
La Guardia, Fiorello 12: 0001
Lehman, Herbert 13: 0511
McCloy, John J. 13: 0783
Murray, Pauli 14: 0245
Randolph, A. Philip 15: 0001
Stimson, Henry 18: 0043
White, Walter 18: 0930; 19: 0001
Williams, Aubrey 20: 0021
Woodward, Ellen Sullivan 20: 0813

Domestic service

Anderson, Mary 1: 0155

Education

Bird, Remsen 2: 0290
Clapp, Elsie 4: 0152

- Davis, Jerome 5: 0143
 Dickerman, Marion 7: 0613
 Elliott, Harriet 8: 0547
 Smith, Hilda Worthington 17: 0765;
 18: 0001
 Williams, Charl O. 20: 0191
- Eleanor Clubs**
 Hoover, J. Edgar 10: 0674
- Eleanor Roosevelt Press
 Conference Association**
 Craig, Elizabeth May 4: 0984
- "End Poverty in California"**
 Sinclair, Upton 17: 0713
- Equal Rights Amendment**
 Miller, Emma Guffey 13: 0852
 Schneiderman, Rose 16: 0873;
 17: 0001
 Williams, Charl O. 20: 0191
- European situation**
 Bernstein, Carola Schaeffer-1: 0787
 Craig, Elizabeth May 4: 0984
 Davis, Norman H. 5: 0366; 6: 0001
 Dreier, Mary 8: 0204
 Dreiser, Theodore 8: 0468
 Ernst, Morris 8: 0589
 Fisher, Dorothy Canfield 9: 0234
 Gellhorn, Martha (Hemingway)
 9: 0913; 10: 0001
 Strong, Anna Louise 18: 0075
 Wise, Stephen 20: 0735
- Fair Employment Practices
 Commission**
 Murray, Pauli 14: 0245
 Randolph, A. Philip 15: 0001
 White, Walter 18: 0930; 19: 0001
- Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938**
 Perkins, Frances 14: 0657
- Farm issues**
 Wallace, Henry 18: 0741
- Farm Security Administration**
 Alexander, Will W. 1: 0001
- Fascism**
 Bernstein, Carola Schaeffer-1: 0787
 Dreier, Mary 8: 0204
- Gellhorn, Martha (Hemingway)
 9: 0913; 10: 0001
 Strong, Anna Louise 18: 0075
 Wise, Stephen 20: 0735
- Federal Bureau of Investigation**
 Hoover, J. Edgar 10: 0674
 Ilma, Viola 11: 0001
- Federal Emergency Relief
 Administration**
 Hickok, Lorena 10: 0375
 Hopkins, Harry 10: 0866
 Smith, Hilda Worthington 17: 0765;
 18: 0001
 Williams, Aubrey 20: 0021
 Woodward, Ellen Sullivan 20: 0813
- Federal Public Housing Authority**
 Smith, Hilda Worthington 17: 0765;
 18: 0001
- Federal Security Administration**
 McNutt, Paul 13: 0800
- Federal Theater Project**
 Flanagan, Hallie 9: 0413
- Federal Works Agency**
 Bruce, Edward 3: 0377
- Feminism**
 Catt, Carrie Chapman 4: 0038
 Earhart, Amelia 8: 0474
 Feeson, Doris 9: 0423
 Williams, Charl O. 20: 0191
- Fisher's Children's Crusade
 for Children**
 Fisher, Dorothy Canfield 9: 0234
- Foreign policy**
 Cadden, Joseph 3: 0706; 4: 0001
 Gellhorn, Martha (Hemingway)
 9: 0913; 10: 0001
 Hopkins, Harry 10: 0866
 Lape, Esther 12: 0324
 Strong, Anna Louise 18: 0075
 Wallace, Henry 18: 0741
- Free speech**
 Ernst, Morris 8: 0589
 Strong, Anna Louise 18: 0075
- Germany**
 Bernstein, Carola Schaeffer-1: 0787

Good Neighbor League

Wald, Lillian 18: 0595

Great Britain

Dreiser, Theodore 8: 0468

Ernst, Morris 8: 0589

Reading, Lady Stella 15: 0074

Greenwich House

Simkhovitch, Mary Kingsbury
17: 0476

Hamilton, Alice

Wald, Lillian 18: 0595

Hemingway, Ernest

Gellhorn, Martha (Hemingway)
9: 0913; 10: 0001

Henry Street Settlement

Wald, Lillian 18: 0595

Hopkins, Harry

Hickok, Lorena 10: 0375

Williams Aubrey 20: 0021

Housing

Ickes, Harold 10: 0993

Simkhovitch, Mary Kingsbury
17: 0476

Smith, Hilda Worthington 17: 0765;
18: 0001

Indian reform

Ickes, Harold 10: 0993

**Institute of Race Relations
(Swarthmore College)**

Fauset, Crystal Bird 9: 0127

International Alliance of Women

Catt, Carrie Chapman 4: 0038

International Labor Organization

Anderson, Mary 1: 0155

International Student Service

Honeyman, Nan Wood 10: 0492

Lash, Joseph P. 13: 0001

Lash, Trude Pratt 13: 0157

Lasker, Mary (Mrs. Albert D.)
13: 0343

Yard, Molly 20: 1036

**Internment of Japanese-
Americans**

Biddle, Francis B. 2: 0233

Bird, Remsen 2: 0290

Morgenthau, Henry, Jr., and Elinor
13: 0929; 14: 0001

Myer, Dillon S. 14: 0376

Stimson, Henry 18: 0043

Journalists

Alsop, Joseph, Jr. 1: 0035

Black, Ruby 2: 0719; 3: 0001

Bugbee, Emma 3: 0563

Craig, Elizabeth May 4: 0984

Daniels, Josephus 4: 1125; 5: 0001

Dreiser, Theodore 8: 0468

Early, Stephen 8: 0496

Fleeson, Doris 9: 0423

Furman, Bess (Armstrong) 9: 0489

Gellhorn, Martha (Hemingway)
9: 0913; 10: 0001

Hickok, Lorena 10: 0375

Strong, Anna Louise 18: 0075

Juvenile delinquency

Ilma, Viola 11: 0001

Labor

Dreier, Mary 8: 0204

Ernst, Morris 8: 0589

Hillman, Sidney 10: 0437

Mason, Lucy Randolph 13: 0721

Murray, Pauli 14: 0245

Perkins, Frances 14: 0657

Randolph, A. Philip 15: 0001

Reuther, Walter 15: 0190

Schneiderman, Rose 16: 0873;
17: 0001

Smith, Hilda Worthington 17: 0765;
18: 0001

Wallace, Henry 18: 0741

White, Walter 18: 0930; 19: 0001

Labor Advisory Board (NRA)

Hillman, Sidney 10: 0437

Schneiderman, Rose 16: 0873;
17: 0001

**Labor's Non-Partisan League for
Connecticut**

Davis, Jerome 5: 0143

League of Women Voters

Elliott, Harriet 8: 0547

Wolfe, Carolyn 20: 0798

Lynching

Farley, James A. 8: 0866; 9: 0001

White, Walter 18: 0930; 19: 0001

March on Washington movement

Randolph, A. Philip 15: 0001

Mexican affairs

Daniels, Josephus 4: 1125; 5: 0001

Migratory labor

Bird, Remsen 2: 0290

Douglas, Helen Gahagan 8: 0001

Douglas, Melvyn 8: 0189

Motion Picture Relief Fund

Douglas, Melvyn 8: 0189

National Advisory Committee to the Committee on Economic Security

Graham, Frank Porter 10: 0241

Kellogg, Paul Y. 11: 0686

National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP)

White, Walter 18: 0930; 19: 0001

Wilkins, Roy 20: 0001

National Association of Business and Professional Women

Williams, Charl O. 20: 0191

National Consumers' League

Dewson, Mary (Molly) 6: 0263;

7: 0001

Mason, Lucy Randolph 13: 0721

National Council of Negro Women

Bethune, Mary McLeod 1: 0863;

2: 0001

National Council of Social Work

Lenroot, Katherine 13: 0664

National Defense Advisory Council

Elliott, Harriet 8: 0547

Hillman, Sidney 10: 0437

National Defense Committee

Evans, May Thompson 8: 0801

National Defense Mediation Board

Graham, Frank Porter 10: 0241

National Education Association

Williams, Charl O. 20: 0191

National Health Program

Kellogg, Paul U. 11: 0686

Lape, Esther 12: 0324

National Industrial Recovery Act (NIRA)

Ickes, Harold 10: 0993

Simkhovitch, Mary Kingsbury

17: 0476

National Industrial Recovery Board

Hillman, Sidney 10: 0437

National Labor Relations Board (NLRB)

Biddle, Francis B. 2: 0233

National planning

Berle, Adolf A., Jr. 1: 0756

National Public Housing Conference

Simkhovitch, Mary Kingsbury

17: 0476

National Recovery Administration (NRA)

Schneiderman, Rose 16: 0873;

17: 0001

National Sharecroppers Week (1940)

Murray, Pauli 14: 0245

National Student Federation

Cadden, Joseph 3: 0706; 4: 0001

National Urban League

Murray, Pauli 14: 0245

National Youth Administration (NYA)

Bethune, Mary McLeod 1: 0863;
2: 0001

Bird, Remsen 2: 0290

Hillman, Sidney 10: 0437

Miller, Emma Guffey 13: 0852

Taussig, Charles 18: 0275

Tobias, Channing 18: 0472

Williams, Aubrey 20: 0021

Yard, Molly 20: 1036

Negro affairs

Alexander, Will W. 1: 0001

Bethune, Mary McLeod 1: 0863;
2: 0001

Daniels, Jonathan 4: 1088

Davis, Norman H. 5: 0366; 6: 0001
Douglas, Helen Gahagan 8: 0001
Fauset, Crystal Bird 9: 0127
Hillman, Sidney 10: 0437
Hopkins, Harry 10: 0866
Ickes, Harold 10: 0993
Ilma, Viola 11: 0001
La Guardia, Fiorello 12: 0001
Lehman, Herbert 13: 0511
Murray, Pauli 14: 0245
Randolph, A. Philip 15: 0001
Tobias, Channing 18: 0472
White, Walter 18: 0930; 19: 0001
Wilkins, Roy 20: 0001
Williams, Aubrey 20: 0021

Neutrality Act
Gellhorn, Martha (Hemingway)
9: 0913; 10: 0001

Newspaper Guild
Craig, Elizabeth May 4: 0984
Ernst, Morris 8: 0589
Fleeson, Doris 9: 0423

New York Child Labor Committee
Dreier, Mary 8: 0204

New York City
Berle, Adolf A. Jr. 1: 0756
Dickerman, Marion 7: 0613
La Guardia, Fiorello 12: 0001
O'Day, Caroline 14: 0436
Schneiderman, Rose 16: 0873;
17: 0001
Simkhovitch, Mary Kingsbury
17: 0476
Wald, Lillian 18: 0595

New York Consumers' League
O'Day, Caroline 14: 0436

New York Herald Tribune
Alsop, Joseph, Jr. 1: 0035
Bugbee, Emma 3: 0563

New York Newspaper Women's Club
Bugbee, Emma 3: 0536

New York State Democratic Committee
Lash, Trude Pratt 13: 0157
Morgenthau, Henry, Jr., and Elinor
13: 0929; 14: 0001
O'Day, Caroline 14: 0436

North Carolina Conference of Social Service
Graham, Frank Porter 10: 0241

Nursing
Wald, Lillian 18: 0595

Office of Civilian Defense
Daniels, Jonathan 4: 1088
Douglas, Melvyn 8: 0189
Fauset, Crystal Bird 9: 0127
Kellogg, Paul U. 11: 0686
La Guardia, Fiorello 12: 0001
Pinchot, Cornelia Bryce 14: 0818
Reading, Lady Stella 15: 0074

Office of Price Administration
Elliott, Harriet 8: 0547
Evans, May Thompson 8: 0801

Office of Production Management
Hillman, Sidney 10: 0437
Reuther, Walter 15: 0190

Office of War Information
Furman, Bess (Armstrong) 9: 0489

Oregon politics
Honeyman, Nan Wood 10: 0492

Pacifism
Catt, Carrie Chapman 4: 0038

Palestine
Schneiderman, Rose 16: 0873;
17: 0001
Wise, Stephen 20: 0735

Patronage
Farley, James A. 8: 0866; 9: 0001
Hopkins, Harry 10: 0866
Kerr, Florence 11: 0887
La Guardia, Fiorello 12: 0001
McNutt, Paul 13: 0800
O'Day, Caroline 14: 0436
Perkins, Frances 14: 0657

- Pinchot, Cornelia Bryce 14: 0818
 Rosenberg, Anna 16: 0821
 Williams, Aubrey 20: 0021
 Woodward, Ellen Sullivan 20: 0813
- Pennsylvania**
 Fauset, Crystal Bird 9: 0127
 Miller, Emma Guffey 13: 0852
 Pinchot, Cornelia Bryce 14: 0818
- Phelps-Stokes Fund**
 Tobias, Channing 18: 0472
- Poll tax**
 Murray, Pauli 14: 0245
- Postwar planning**
 Williams, Charl O. 20: 0191
- Prisoners of war**
 Davis, Jerome 5: 0143
- Progressive Education Association**
 Clapp, Elsie 4: 0152
- Public health**
 Lasker, Mary (Mrs. Albert D.)
 13: 0343
 Wald, Lillian 18: 0595
- Public housing**
 Simkhovitch, Mary Kingsbury
 17: 0476
- Public relations**
 Black, Ruby 2: 0719; 3: 0001
 Bugbee, Emma 3: 0563
 Early, Stephen 8: 0496
 Hickok, Lorena 10: 0375
 Hobby, Oveta Culp 9: 0489
- Puerto Rico**
 Black, Ruby 2: 0719; 3: 0001
 Tugwell, Rexford G. 18: 0495
- Race relations**
 Alexander, Will W. 1: 0001
 Bernstein, Carola Schaeffer-1: 0787
 Bethune, Mary McLeod 1: 0863;
 2: 0001
 Bird, Remsen 2: 0290
 Davis, Norman H. 5: 0366; 6: 0001
 Early, Stephen 8: 0495
- Fauset, Crystal Bird 9: 0127
 Hopkins, Harry 10: 0866
 Ickes, Harold 10: 0993
 Morgenthau, Henry J., and Elinor
 13: 0929; 14: 0001
 Murray, Pauli 14: 0245
 Myer, Dillon S. 14: 0376
 Randolph, A. Philip 15: 0001
 Stimson, Henry 18: 0043
 Tobias, Channing 18: 0472
 White, Walter 18: 0930; 19: 0001
 Wilkins, Roy 20: 0001
 Williams, Aubrey 20: 0021
 Wise, Stephen 20: 0735
see also Costigan-Wagner (Anti-
 Lynching) Bill; Internment of
 Japanese-Americans; NAACP
- Reedsville, West Virginia**
 Alexander, Will W. 1: 0001
 Baruch, Bernard M. 1: 0206
 Clapp, Elsie 4: 0152
 Ickes, Harold 10: 0993
 Tugwell, Rexford G. 18: 0495
see also Arthurdale (West Virginia)
- Refugee situation (European)**
 Baruch, Bernard M. 1: 0206
 Berle, Adolf A., Jr. 1: 0756
 Davis, Norman H. 5: 0366; 6: 0001
 Fisher, Dorothy Canfield 9: 0234
 Hillman, Sidney 10: 0437
 Kellogg, Paul U. 11: 0686
- Relief and income assistance**
 Clapp, Elsie 4: 0152
 Tugwell, Rexford G. 18: 0495
 Williams, Aubrey 20: 0021
 Woodward, Ellen Sullivan 20: 0813
see also Patronage
- Religion and Labor Foundation**
 Davis, Jerome 5: 0143
- Resettlement Administration**
 Alexander, Will W. 1: 0001
 Baruch, Bernard M. 1: 0206

- Clapp, Elsie 4: 0152
 Ickes, Harold 10: 0993
 Tugwell, Rexford G. 18: 0495
- Rockefeller, Nelson**
 Black, Ruby 2: 0719; 3: 0001
- Roosevelt, Eleanor**
 biography of 2: 0719; 3: 0001, 0563
 charitable contributions 15: 0218;
 16: 0001
 finances 15: 0029
 memos to FDR 15: 0218; 16: 0001,
 0377
 meetings 15: 0218; 16: 0001
 press conferences 4: 0984;
 15: 0218; 16: 0001
 social calendar 15: 0218;
 16: 0001
- Screen Actors Guild**
 Douglas, Melvyn 8: 0189
- Settlement work**
 Simkhovitch, Mary Kingsbury
 17: 0476
 Wald, Lillian 18: 0595
- Sharecroppers**
 Murray, Pauli 14: 0245
 Wallace, Henry 18: 0741
- Slum clearance**
 Simkhovitch, Mary Kingsbury
 17: 0476
- Social Security Act (1935)**
 Perkins, Frances 14: 0657
- Social Security Board**
 Dewson, Mary (Molly) 6: 0263;
 7: 0001
 Rosenberg, Anna 16: 0821
 Woodward, Ellen Sullivan 20: 0813
- Southern Conference on Human Welfare**
 Graham, Frank Porter 10: 0241
- Southern Leadership Institute**
 Graham, Frank Porter 10: 0241
- Soviet Union**
 Davis, Jerome 5: 0143
 Dreier, Mary 8: 0204
 Lape, Esther 12: 0324
 Strong, Anna Louise 18: 0075
- Spanish Civil War**
 Davis, Norman H. 5: 0366; 6: 0001
 Gellhorn, Martha (Hemingway)
 9: 0913; 10: 0001
 Kellogg, Paul U. 11: 0686
 Strong, Anna Louise 18: 0075
- State political organizations**
 Honeyman, Nan Wood 10: 0492
 Lehman, Herbert 13: 0511
 Miller, Emma Guffey 13: 0852
 O'Day, Caroline 14: 0436
 Pinchot, Cornelia Bryce 14: 0818
 Wolfe, Carolyn 20: 0798
 Woodward, Ellen Sullivan 20: 0813
- Strikes**
 Hillman, Sidney 10: 0437
- Student activities**
 Cadden, Joseph 3: 0706; 4: 0001
 Ilma, Viola 11: 0001
 Lash, Joseph P. 13: 0001
 Lash, Trude Pratt 13: 0157
 Yard, Molly 20: 1036
- Student Service Bureau**
 Yard, Molly 20: 1036
- Subsistence homesteads**
 Tugwell, Rexford G. 18: 0495
see also Arthurdale (West Virginia)
- The Survey**
 Kellogg, Paul U. 11: 0686
- Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA)**
 Biddle, Francis B. 2: 0233
- Texas**
 Hobby, Oveta Culp 9: 0489
- Todhunter School for Girls**
 Baruch, Bernard M. 1: 0206
 Cook, Nancy 4: 0520
 Dickerman, Marion 7: 0613

Treasury Department-Section of Fine Arts

Bruce, Edward 3: 0377

United Auto Workers of America

Reuther, Walter 15: 0190

United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration (UNRRA)

Lehman, Herbert 13: 0511

U.S. War Manpower Commission

Rosenberg, Anna 16: 0821

Val-Kill Industries

Cook, Nancy 4: 0520

Dickerman, Marion 7: 0613

Vice presidency

Wallace, Henry 18: 0741

War correspondents

Craig, Elizabeth May 4: 0984

Fleeson, Doris 9: 0423

Gellhorn, Martha (Hemingway)
9: 0913; 10: 0001

War Department

Stimson, Henry 18: 0043

War mobilization

Alexander, Will 1: 0001

Baruch, Bernard M. 1: 0206

Kerr, Florence 11: 0887

Lenroot, Katherine 13: 0664

McCloy, John J. 13: 0783

Pinchot, Cornelia Bryce 14: 0818

Reading, Lady Stella 15: 0074

Stimson, Henry 18: 0043

Taussig, Charles 18: 0275

White, Walter 18: 0930; 19: 0001

War Relocation Authority

Myer, Dillon S. 14: 0376

Stimson, Henry 18: 0043

Washington Youth Council

Yard, Molly 20: 1036

White House Conferences on Rural Education

Williams, Charl O. 20: 0191

Wiltwyck School for Boys

Lash, Trude Pratt 13: 0157

Lasker, Mary (Mrs. Albert D.)
13: 0343

Tobias, Channing 18: 0472

Woman's Centennial Congress

Catt, Carrie Chapman 4: 0038

Women in Politics

Douglas, Helen Gahagan 8: 0001

Fauset, Crystal Bird 9: 0127

Greenway, Isabella (King) 10: 0274

Honeyman, Nan Wood 10: 0492

O'Day, Caroline 14: 0436

Pinchot, Cornelia Bryce 14: 0818

Roosevelt, Eleanor 15: 0218;
16: 0001

Roosevelt, Franklin Delano 16: 0377

Women's Army Auxiliary Corps

Hobby, Oveta Culp 9: 0489

McCloy, John J. 13: 0783

Women's Bureau, Department of Labor

Anderson, Mary 1: 0155

Perkins, Frances 14: 0657

Schneiderman, Rose 16: 0873;
17: 0001

Women's City Club

Cook, Nancy 4: 0520

Dreier, Mary 8: 0204

Women's Division of the Democratic National Committee

Baruch, Bernard M. 1: 0206

Dewson, Mary (Molly) 6: 0263;
7: 0001

Elliott, Harriet 8: 0547

Evans, May Thompson 8: 0801

Farley, James A. 8: 0866; 9: 0001

Hickok, Lorena 10: 0375

Miller, Emma Guffey 13: 0852

Morgenthau, Henry, Jr., and Elinor
13: 0929; 14: 0001

O'Day, Caroline 14: 0436

Wolfe, Carolyn 20: 0798

Women's National Press Club

Black, Ruby 2: 0719; 3: 0001
Craig, Elizabeth May 4: 0984
Furman, Bess (Armstrong) 9: 0489

Women's Trade Union League

Cook, Nancy 4: 0520
Dreier, Mary 8: 0204
O'Day, Caroline 14: 0436
Schneiderman, Rose 16: 0873;
17: 0001

Working conditions

Perkins, Frances 14: 0657
Randolph, A. Philip 15: 0001
Smith, Hilda Worthington 17: 0765;
18: 0001
White, Walter 18: 0930; 19: 0001
Woodward, Ellen Sullivan 20: 0813

**Works Progress Administration
(WPA)**

Fauset, Crystal Bird 9: 0127
Hopkins, Harry 10: 0866
Kerr, Florence 10: 0887
Rosenberg, Anna 16: 0821
Smith, Hilda Worthington 17: 0765;
18: 0001
Williams, Aubrey 20: 0021
Woodward, Ellen Sullivan 20: 0813

World Economic Conference

Taussig, Charles 18: 0275

**Young Men's Christian
Association (YMCA)**

Tobias, Channing 18: 0472

**YMCA's War Prisoners' Aid
(Canada)**

Davis, Jerome 5: 0143

**Young Men's Vocational
Foundation**

Ilma, Viola 11: 0001

**Young Women's Christian
Association (YWCA)**

Dreier, Mary 8: 0204

Youth

Bird, Remsen 2: 0290
Cadden, Joseph 3: 0706
Ilma, Viola 11: 0001
Lash, Joseph P. 13: 0001
Lash, Trude Pratt 13: 0157
Taussig, Charles 18: 0275
Yard, Molly 20: 1036
see also Child welfare; National
Youth Administration; Student
activities