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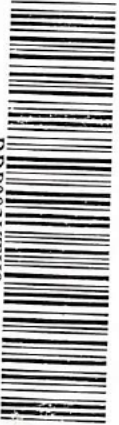
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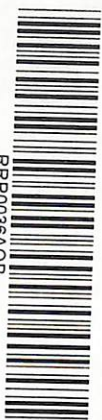
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# ATTENTION

**FILE SCANNED BY**  
**DOCLAB ON** 9/16/2021  
**FILE #** 62-HQ-102602-A  
**SECTION** 001

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**PLEASE PLACE ALL NEW MAIL AND/OR  
EXISTING CHARGED OUT SERIALS ON TOP OF  
THIS FORM**

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**SEQUENTIAL ORDER**



# Testifies Against Ex-Boss

## Secretary Quizzed In Fraud Case

BY RONALD CHIZEVER

Mrs. Barbara Twigg, 28, former secretary to a South Side doctor, testified against him Friday in a fraud trial.

She testified that she prepared medical bills and reports for Dr. Theodore R. M. Howard in his offices at 55 E. 63d St., on Dec. 10, 1959.

She also said that a week or so later Dr. Howard gave her a check for \$700 from Kenneth J. Brundage, an attorney, which she cashed, giving the money to Howard. Mrs. Twigg was questioned by Albert C. Peters, assistant state's attorney.

Dr. Howard, Brundage and attorney Leo H. Holt are charged with conspiring to defraud the U.S. Fidelity & Guarantee Co., an insurance firm, through injury claims from a staged auto crash.

ASSISTANT State's Atty. Arthur Dunne said he expected a state's attorney's investigation would begin soon into charges made in Criminal Court Thursday by Willie Radford, 45, the state's major witness.

Radford testified before a jury of eight women and four men that he was recently offered a \$500 bribe not to tell his story.

Radford, 45, of 6020 S. Bishop, an ex-convict, blurted out the charge during cross examination by defense attorney Charles A. Bellows.

Judge Alexander J. Napoli ordered the jury to ignore Radford's accusation because it was not made in response to a question by Bellows.

Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Callahan \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Conrad \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. DeLoach \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Evans \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Malone \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Sullivan \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Tavel \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Trotter \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

## CHICAGO DAILY NEWS

RED STREAK

Edition

Date FEB 9 - 1962

Chicago, Illinois

Page 11 Col. 1

Part -

Editor JOHN STANTON

CHICAGO OFFICE

T. R. M. HOWARD  
IS-C  
CG 100-32915

62-102602-A

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46 MAR 13 1962

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# Tells State Immunity Promise

*Witness Tells  
Fraud Case Deal*

BY RON CHIZEVER

The state's star witness in the trial of a doctor and two lawyers accused of rigging an accident to collect insurance testifield Thursday he was told he would not go to jail if he co-operated with the state.

Walter (Willie) Radford, 45, an ex-convict, testified in Criminal Court that Asst. State's Atty. Robert Cronin told him he "would not have to go to jail" if he testified for the state.

Radford told of the promise when he was questioned by Charles A. Bellows, a defense attorney in the case.

**RADFORD** testified earlier that a South Side three-car accident involving him and five others in 1959 was prearranged and some injuries were only pretended in order to collect insurance.

**Bellows** was attempting to downgrade this testimony.

Dr. Theodore R. M. Howard, a physician and Negro civil rights supporter, and attorneys Kenneth J. Brundage and Leo E. Holt are charged with conspiring to defraud the United States Fidelity & Guaranty Co. through its \$7,600 settlement of the insurance claim.

**RADFORD** said Brundage, then a claims adjuster for the firm as well as a lawyer, planned the crash and later distributed \$4,000 of the settlement funds in a law office he formerly shared with Holt.

Mr. Tolson	_____
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Mr. Holloman	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

*SVB* ✓

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## CHICAGO DAILY NEWS

RED STREAK Edition

Date FEB 8 1962

Chicago, Illinois

Page 5 Col. 4

Part 1

Editor JOHN STANTON

CHICAGO OFFICE

T.R.M. HOWARD  
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46 MAR 13 1962

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Miss Gandy	_____

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# Quiz Fraud Trial Key Witness

**Defense to Attack  
'Accident' Story**

**BY RON CHIZEVER**

Defense lawyers attempted Thursday to shake an ex-convict's Criminal Court testimony against Dr. Theodore R. M. Howard, and two attorneys.

It was the defense's turn to question Walter (Willie) Radford, 45, who testified Wednesday that a South Side three-car accident involving him and five others in 1959 was prearranged and some injuries were only pretended to collect insurance.

Howard, a physician and Negro civil rights supporter, and attorneys Kenneth J. Brundage and Leo E. Holt are charged with conspiring to defraud the United States Fidelity & Guaranty Co. through its \$7,600 settlement of the insurance claim.

**RADFORD** said Brundage, then a claims adjuster for the firm as well as a lawyer, planned the crash and later distributed \$4,000 of the settlement funds in a law office he formerly shared with Holt.

The plan, Radford said, was for Howard to be paid for medical reports backing up the insurance claim.

Radford said that when he later visited Howard's office the physician told him:

"I have the money from those lawyers. Come into the back and have some cake and drinks."

**RADFORD** admitted he had served prison terms for manslaughter and forgery and was a mental patient in the 1930s. The trial is being held before Judge Alexander J. Napoli and a jury.

## CHICAGO DAILY NEWS

RED DART Edition

Date FEB 8 1962

Chicago, Illinois

Page 20 Col. 8

Part -

Editor JOHN STANTON

CHICAGO OFFICE

T.R. M. HOWARD  
IS-C  
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NOT RECORDED  
46 MAR 13 1962

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# Dr. Howard Speaks June 19 At Free Winston Rally

CHICAGO. — Dr. T. R. M. Howard, civil rights champion and a former Republican Congressional candidate, will address the Free Winston Rally scheduled for Washington Park at 2 p.m. June 19.

A veteran of the bitterly fought Mississippi battles for civil rights, Dr. Howard led the struggle for justice in the Emmett Till murder. He is now a resident of Chicago. The four sponsoring organizations announced that Dr. Howard will replace Claude Lightfoot, Illinois chairman of the Communist Party, as a speaker.

Lightfoot has a previously arranged speaking engagement out of the city.

Other speakers will be the Rev. William T. Baird, Ishmael P. Flory, Otis Hyde and Richard Criley.

## SPONSORS

The Afro-American Heritage Foundation, the Chicago Committee for Democratic Rights, the Washington Park Forum and the Smith Act Families Committee are jointly sponsoring the rally,

due to start at 2 p.m., near the 53rd St. and South Parkway entrance to the Park.

Rev. Baird, pastor of the Essex Community Church, who will represent the Smith Act Families Committee in addressing the rally, urged "all Chicagoans who are on the side of justice" to "come to this rally."

CHICAGO. — Sponsors of the annual All-Nations July 4 Picnic announced last week that the main themes of this year's big outing will be twofold — Abolish the House Un-American Activities Committee and Free Henry Winston.

The Midwest Committee for the Protection of the Foreign Born and the Chicago Committee for Democratic Rights, sponsors of the picnic, scheduled the outing for Monday, July 4, at Santa Fe Park, 95th Street and Wolf Road.

Dinner prepared by chefs skilled in the cooking of lamb and other delicacies will be featured at the picnic, as well as a program of entertainment.

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Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Ingram \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

The Washington Post and Times Herald \_\_\_\_\_  
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The Evening Star \_\_\_\_\_  
New York Herald Tribune \_\_\_\_\_  
New York Journal-American \_\_\_\_\_  
New York Mirror \_\_\_\_\_  
New York Daily News \_\_\_\_\_  
New York Post \_\_\_\_\_  
The New York Times \_\_\_\_\_  
The Worker *Midwest Sec. P. 2* \_\_\_\_\_  
The New Leader \_\_\_\_\_  
The Wall Street Journal \_\_\_\_\_  
Date *6-12-60* \_\_\_\_\_

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 Mr. Nease \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Winterrowd \_\_\_\_\_  
 Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Holloman \_\_\_\_\_  
 Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

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(NEGROES)

BUFFALO--THE HOPES OF AMERICAN NEGROES REST WITH THE REPUBLICAN PARTY, ACCORDING TO DR. THEODORE R. M. HOWARD OF CHICAGO, A LEADER IN THE NATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF COLORED PEOPLE.

HOWARD, WHO DECLARED THREATS AGAINST HIS LIFE AND ECONOMIC AND LEGAL PRESSURE AGAINST HIM AND HIS 100-BED NEGRO HOSPITAL IN MT. BAYOU, MISS., FORCED HIM TO LEAVE MISSISSIPPI, SAID YESTERDAY HE HAD BACKED THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY FOR YEARS.

"BUT I HAVE WATCHED THE BREAD ROOSZVELT GAVE US TURN TO BLOOD AND CORRUPTION AS THE SOUTH TOOK CONTROL OF THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY," HE SAID.

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 Mr. Winterrowd \_\_\_\_\_  
 Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Holloman \_\_\_\_\_  
 Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

# He Rode Highways With Hidden

# Gun . . . Always Cocked!

## Has Dr. Howard Given Up Ghost?

Now . . . ONE YEAR LATER  
 . . . it can be told!

Dr. T. R. M. Howard, has  
 given up the ghost . . . for the  
 present, at least!

THE MAN who lived in the  
 shadow of "Mississippi Terror"  
 . . . who heads the National  
 Medical Association . . . who  
 ran a plantation and a clinic  
 in Mound Bayou . . . who was  
 the "voice" of Negro protest in  
 the state . . . and who used his  
 personal fortune to "bring civ-  
 ilization" to the state, has gone  
 North!

SEVERAL MONTHS ago Dr.  
 Howard disposed of about  
 \$200,000 worth of property, in-  
 cluding his plantation and home  
 to a Negro group.

He still admits he has prop-  
 erty and other investments  
 worth \$100,000 in the state.

HE SOLD his home and prop-  
 erty because he felt his life

Pittsburgh, Pa.

PRESS

SUN-TELEGRAPH

POST-GAZETTE

COURIER

Date 9-1-56

Edition New York

Page 6 of Magazine Section

Column

Author of Article

Editor (on editorials)

Title of Case

Character

New Case

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126 OCT 5 1956

60 OCT 8 1956

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was no longer "safe" in Mississippi.

For himself, he did not care.

But with a wife and two children, he admitted that the strain was too great "on my family."

"Threats poured into my home after the Rev. Mr. Lee was assassinated, and they increased after the Emmett Till lynching. I could take it, but my family couldn't," he concluded.

THE HOWARDS are now in California, but plan to settle in Chicago shortly.

Dr. Howard, a native of the Golden State, a former professor at Meharry, and head of Mississippi's Regional Council of Negro leadership, has carried the "Mississippi Story" across the nation.

The courage of the balding physician, whose home was a "haven" for Negro trial witnesses and "observers" during the Till trial, is unquestioned.

People have often wondered how he roamed the highways of Mississippi . . . day and night . . . without threat to his life.

HE DIDN'T!

On more than one occasion, Dr. Howard was stopped, and his car thoroughly searched. State highwaymen watched for him during those days and nights of tension.

They never found any weapons.

If they had, swift and effective prosecution would have followed.

Because you can only carry a gun or a revolver in your car in that state . . . if you have a "special permit."

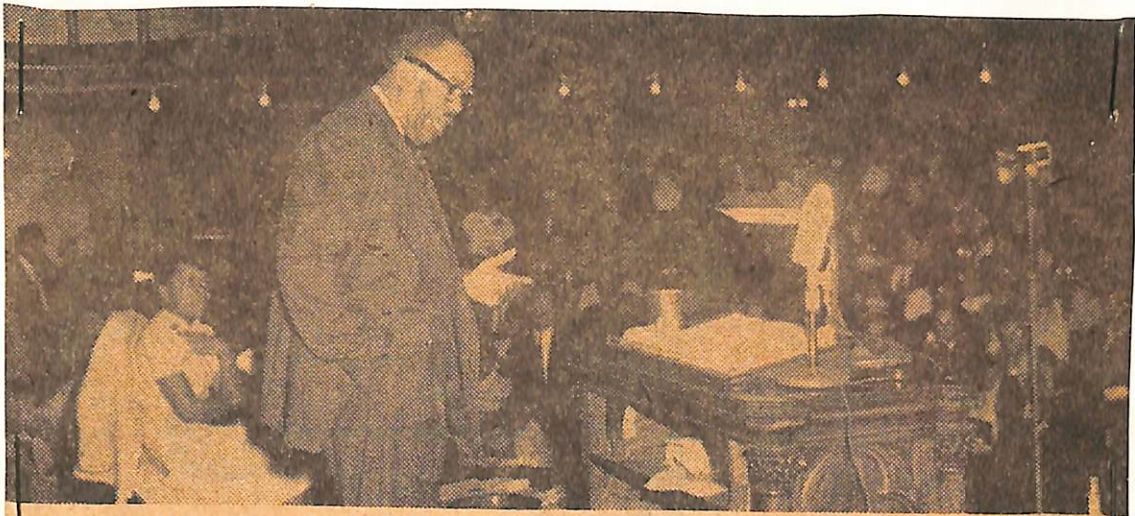
And they don't give Negroes "special permits" in Mississippi!

BUT DR. HOWARD had his weapon . . . and often, as he rode the highways, he would take the gun from its secret hiding place and put it in his lap . . . always cocked!

Where did he hide the gun so that it couldn't be found?

That's Dr. Howard's secret . . . and he ain't talkin'!





Dr. Howard told "The Mississippi Story" to thousands throughout America.



Tolson  
Nichols  
Boardman  
Belmont  
Mason  
Mohr  
Parsons  
Rosen  
Tamm  
Nease  
Winterrowd  
Tele. Room  
Holloman  
Gandy

Go Underground

# Negroes Urged to Act If NAACP Is Outlawed

JACKSON, Miss., April 27 (AP) — A wealthy Negro leader told a wildly cheering audience today that if the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People is outlawed in Mississippi "Let's go underground."

Dr. T. R. M. Howard of Mound Bayou, Miss., and Washington, D. C., shouted, "If Gov. J. P. Coleman wants tranquil race relations in Mississippi, let him:

"Give the Negro the right to vote.  
"Give him equal job opportunity.  
"Stop violating the 14th and 15th Amendments.  
"Accept the United States Supreme Court decision on inte-

gration and stop talking about Mississippi will never integrate."

The audience roared then when he said, "If Mississippi stays in the Union it is going to do like every other state." Howard addressed the afternoon session of the Regional Council of Negro Leadership, of which he is the president. About 600 Negroes attended. Howard said the hall was not filled because of fear.

"Since the first boatload of Negroes landed at Jamestown the white South has conquered the Negro by fear," he said.

Earlier, the Rev. B. T. Lamberth, a leader in the Montgomery, Ala., bus boycott, urged Mississippi Negroes also to organize boycotts.

Wash. Post and Times Herald  
Wash. News  
Wash. Star  
N. Y. Herald Tribune  
N. Y. Mirror  
N. Y. Daily News  
Daily Worker  
The Worker  
New Leader

Date APR 28 1956

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## Dr. Howard Sees Need for Troops

Dr. T. R. M. Howard, president of the Mississippi Council of Negro Leadership, declared yesterday that "the only real solution" to the problem of school integration and equal rights for Negroes in the South "is going to be the sending in of Federal troops."

The Negro surgeon, who operates a clinic at Mound Bayou, Miss., told a press conference at the Hotel Teresa, Seventh Ave. and 125th St., the Department of Justice should deliver an "ultimatum" ordering Southern states to abide by the Supreme Court decision banning school segregation.

Dr. Howard said he had moved his wife and two children to Los Angeles because of threats they had received. Now on a nationwide speaking tour for the Council, which he founded in 1951, the physician condemned "gradual methods" in dealing with segregation. He said:

"We've been most gradual in waiting ninety-three years, since the signing of the Emancipation Proclamation. We can't wait another minute. We have waited too long already."

*rice*

*factoring*

BAUNGARDNER

62-102602

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# Heroic Miss. Physician To Address Sun. Rally

DETROIT—A mass rally here to bring the story of what's happening in the South Today, will feature Dr. T. R. M. Howard, from Mound Bayou, Mississippi. The rally will be at Rev. Charles A. Hill's church, Hartford Ave. Baptist, Hartford at Milford Ave., Sunday, March 4, at 3 P.M. Dr. Howard heroically helped gather and bring together many of the witnesses and much of the evidence in the Till murder case.

Clothing and money to aid the struggling people of the South against the Dixiecrat terror will be collected. Anyone having clothing or canned foodstuffs is urged to bring it along.

Rev. Hill is a candidate for Congress in the 15th District.

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138 MAR 15 1956

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New Leader \_\_\_\_\_

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Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

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# Negro Leader Tells Crowd Now Is 'Hour of Decision'

By Art Johnson

A battler against the South's violent reaction to integration declared here yesterday the "hour of decision" has arrived for America's Negroes.

The proclamation was a verbal fuse that ignited enthusiastic and at times tumultuous acclaim of an audience of some 2000 persons.

The crowd, jamming every corner of the Scottish Rite Auditorium, roared approval of a call to battle sounded by Dr. Theodore R. Mason Howard, president and founder of the Mississippi Regional Council of Negro Leadership.

"For 92 years God has been building the Negro for this very hour," he said.

He described the white citizens of Mississippi as "1,200,000 people mentally ill," and said he was going back "to fight and to die" for the rights of Negroes "in my State of Mississippi."

Doctor Howard denounced the newly formed white Citizens' Councils. "Somewhere along the line," he said, "the American people will have to decide which is more dangerous, Communism or James O. Eastland and the Citizens' Councils."

Eastland, senior United States Senator from Mississippi, on July 11, 1954, organized the first Citizen's Council in the South, Dr. Howard said.

The surgeon also attacked the vote registration system in Mississippi. It is "appalling," he declared, that only 19,000 of his State's 986,000 Negroes are qualified voters.

He said the whites are putting the "economic squeeze," on those few Negroes eligible to vote.

Last May, he said, two of his friends were shot and killed because they refused to take their names off the lists.

"I can't buy the theory of gradualism in integration," he said. "How gradual do you want it to be when it takes one woman (Autherine Lucy) almost a century to enter the University of Alabama?"

Just before he made his address, he said, he talked with Negro leaders by phone in Montgomery, Ala.

"They told me they have enlisted for the duration," he said, implying possibly more strife in the city where Negroes have boycotted public transportation.

Dr. Howard fled Mississippi some four months ago, but told his audience yesterday "I'm going back Thursday. If death comes to me, it doesn't matter because I know the cause for which I fight."

His appearance was sponsored by the San Francisco Interdenominational Ministerial Alliance as the belated conclusion to National Negro History Week which ended February 19.

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SAN FRANCISCO CHRONICLE  
San Francisco, California  
February 27, 1956  
Page 5, Column 1

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INDEXED-74

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6-HFE

# 'Gradualism' Assailed Here by Negro Leader

## 2000 Hear Civil Rights Fighter Call for Meeting the Issue 'Now'

"The hour of decision" for the American Negro is here, Dr. Theodore R. Mason Howard, Negro civil rights crusader, told an audience of 2000 yesterday at the Scottish Rite Auditorium.

He was applauded repeatedly by the audience, mostly Negroes, as he declared the issue of segregation must be fought now, not later.

The Mississippi surgeon, founder and president of the Mississippi Regional Council of Negro Leadership, said, "I can't buy the theory of gradualism in integration. How gradual do you want it to be when it takes one woman almost a century to enter the University of Alabama?"

"For 92 years God has been building the Negro for this very hour."

Dr. Howard, who left Mississippi four months ago, said he is going back Thursday. He branded as "appalling" the

situation in Mississippi where only 19,000 of the state's 986,000 Negroes are registered to vote.

He bitterly attacked the Citizens' Councils which have sprung up in the South to combat integration of the Negroes and their founder, U. S. Senator James O. Eastland of Mississippi.

"Somewhere along the line," he said, "the American people will have to decide which is more dangerous, Communism or James Eastland and the Citizens Councils."

Dr. Howard's talk was sponsored by the San Francisco Interdenominational Ministerial Alliance.

①  
T. R. M. HOWARD

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126 MAR 30 1956

SAN FRANCISCO NEWS  
San Francisco, California  
February 27, 1956  
Page 5, Column 6

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Mr. Nease  
Mr. Winterrowd  
Tele. Room  
Mr. Holloman  
Miss Gandy

# Rights Leader Is Meeting Speaker

Dr. Theodore R. M. Howard, famed civil rights fighter of Mississippi, will address a public meeting at the Greater Bethesda Baptist church, 53rd and Michigan, Wednesday night, February 29.

Contralto Lois Raye Bush and the choir of Greater Bethesda Baptist church will provide music for the meeting.

The meeting will be held under auspices of the United Packinghouse Workers of America, District One, AFL-CIO. There will be no admission charge.

Charles Hayes, who will conduct the meeting, calls it "a practical step in our union's determined effort to give every possible aid to the brave Negroes of the deep South, who are today conducting one of the greatest fights for democracy America has ever known."

Ralph Helstein, international president of the UPWA and a member of the AFL-CIO Civil Rights committee, and Willoughby Abner, president of the Chicago branch of the NAACP, will also address the meeting.

Abner will emphasize support for the Powell amendment to withhold federal aid from school districts which have failed to follow the integration order of the U. S. Supreme Court.

The Packinghouse union, which has been very active in civil rights, has lent its support to the current "bundles for the south" campaign, with contributions of money and clothing.

*My name  
file*

*6-HR*

CHICAGO DEFENDER  
FEB. 25, 1956  
Page 7, Col. 1

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76 MAR 30 1956

66 MAR 30 1956

58 MAR 1956



Mr. Tolson ☒  
 Mr. Nichols ☒  
 Mr. Boardman ☒  
 Mr. Belmont ☒  
 Mr. Mason ☒  
 Mr. Mohr ☒  
 Mr. Parsons ☒  
 Mr. Rosen ☒  
 Mr. Tamm ☒  
 Mr. Nease ☒  
 Mr. Winterrowd ☒  
 Tele. Room ☒  
 Mr. Holloman ☒  
 Miss Gandy ☒

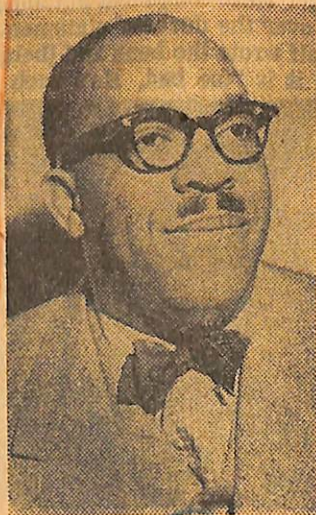
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## Surgeon's S. F. Visit

# Negro Leader Urges Troops in Mississippi

By George Draper

A Negro surgeon who claims he comes from "the No. 1 hell hole of the Nation" declared yesterday that Federal troops should be sent to Mississippi to enforce the laws of the United States.



DR. T. R. M. HOWARD  
 He fled "hell hole"

He is Dr. Theodore R. Mason Howard, president and founder of the Mississippi Regional Council of Negro Leadership and president-elect of the National Medical Association.

The situation between Negroes and whites in Mississippi is now so strained, he said, that it is heading for a bloody showdown.

For this reason, he expressed the hope that troops would be sent to maintain order and enforce such basic laws as the right of Negro citizens to vote.

"I'm sure that if there is a race clash there it will be the bloodiest this Nation has ever seen," the surgeon said.

### FIRST IN ILLITERACY

In referring to his State as the Nation's "No. 1 hell hole," Dr. Howard said Mississippi is the 48th State so far as economy is concerned and the first State when it comes to illiteracy.

Negroes can vote in but 22 of the State's 82 counties, Dr. Howard said.

Until recently, when he fled with his family to Los Angeles, Dr. Howard has lived in the all-Negro community of Mound Bayou.

This is located in Mississippi's Third Congressional District, a district covering 11 counties with a population of 412,547.

The total vote cast in the Third Congressional District for a representative in Congress in 1952 amounted to only 27,429.

### ECONOMIC BOYCOTTS

Dr. Howard, who last year received the American Veterans Committee "citizens award," said Negroes in Mississippi are now resorting to economic boycotts to counteract white terrorism.

"It's interesting to see the white automobile dealers filling up their lots and waiting for the Negro's money. It's interesting to see that the cars are still there," he said.

The surgeon, who worked closely with the prosecution in the celebrated Emmett Till murder case last year, offered a three-point program.

First, he said, the Government should issue an ultimatum to the States of Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia and South Carolina demanding that Federal laws be upheld.

### TROOPS NEXT

If this failed, he continued, troops should be moved in for the purpose of enforcing such laws as voting rights and non-segregation.

Finally, he said, the Government could bring tremendous pressure on these States by withholding all forms of Federal aid until the laws are upheld.

"We haven't failed to send troops to Korea or any other place where we felt they were needed to protect someone's rights," he observed.

Dr. Howard will speak at a mass meeting at 3 p.m. tomorrow at the Scottish Rite Auditorium.

*Alb...*  
*H...*  
 BAUGER  
*W...*

SAN FRANCISCO, CHRONICLE  
 San Francisco, California  
 February 25, 1956  
 Page 5, Col. 1,2

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FBI - SAN FRANCISCO	

52 MAR 22 1956

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## DR. HOWARD'S ACTIVITIES

Here's a perfect case of the pot calling the kettle black.

One of the columnists of the New York Evening Post, a radical left-wing newspaper, NAACP supporter, and social equality advocate, is Barry Gray. In the January 19th issue of that paper this paragraph appeared in Barry Gray's column:

"Reputable civil rights groups will shun the February 8th rally on Mississippi at Manhattan Center because of its extreme left wing origin."

And that is a perfect case of the pot calling the kettle black. It is hard to conjure up a vision of any publication being more left wingish than the New York Evening Post.

On an advertising page of the same paper, dated February 7th, appears an advertisement captioned "Rally for Justice in Mississippi," and heralding Dr. T. R. M. Howard, radical racial agitator, formerly of Mound Bayou, this state, as the principal speaker at the Manhattan Center rally. Also revealed is Dr. Howard's present racket. At the bottom of the advertisement appears these words:

"Admission 49 cents, plus a gift of food or clothing for economic victims in the South."

You can write your own comment on that. Dr. Howard is engaged in a grand old game of shake-down among members of his own race in the North. He accounts only to himself for the collection.

The advertisement also sets forth the names of Dr. Howard's sponsors and among them are some of the worst leftists, racial agitators and social equality champions in the nation. Lyman Beecher Stowe is listed as chairman and other names mentioned are Dr. W. E. B. DuBois, Dr. Catherine D. Lealtad, Prof. Pitrim A. Sorokin, Rev. David N. Licorish, Rev. Pablo Rodriguez, Frank Lasker, and others well known as radicals among those who keep track of that dingy group.

Incidentally Manhattan Center is located at 34th Street and Eighth Avenue, where Communists are as thick as fleas on Fido in the good old summertime.

Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Nichols \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Boardman \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Mason \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Parsons \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
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Mr. Nease \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Winterrowd \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Holloman \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

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FBI - NEW ORLEANS	

FREDERICH SULLENS, EDITOR  
JACKSON DAILY NEWS  
JACKSON, MISS.  
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Page 6 Col. 1

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60 MAR 22 1956



## Blind to Real Criminals

# Sherlock Hoover Gets His Man — A Negro Leader

By ABNER W. BERRY

J. EDGAR HOOVER, the FBI chief, last week finally got around to doing something about the racist terror in Mississippi—he attacked a victim of the terror. Hoover's target was Dr. T. R. M. Howard, the

Mississippi Negro leader, who has been forced to move his family to California to escape the terror. In fact, the Jackson (Miss.) Daily News, gloating over Hoover's letter to Dr. Howard (which, significantly, was released by the Memphis FBI office) bragged that the militant Negro surgeon had been told "his space was wanted more than his company."

Dr. Howard, by stating the simple fact that "the FBI cannot seem to solve a crime where a Negro is murdered by a white man," aroused FBI Hoover's dander. The unpunished crimes against Negroes drew only apologetic statements from Herbert Brownell's Justice Department, but Dr. Howard was denounced as "irresponsible" and his statement of fact called "falsely accusing."

But if Hoover's FBI did not seek to apprehend those guilty of murder or to gather evidence and witnesses against those who were arrested and charged, neither did Attorney General Herbert Brownell seek to prevent them. For it is well known that the murders have been inspired by the racist campaign against enforcement of the Constitution.

★  
SO FAR, Brownell's Justice



J. W. MILAM. Look Magazine says he admits murder of Emmett Till

ED BLAIR, union organizer, shot on Mississippi picket line

Department has failed to—

- Support efforts of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People to have the Supreme Court's desegregation rulings enforced. (Such support would be a signal to the country as a whole that the nation's chief attorney was on the side of the Constitution.)
- Issue a legal opinion on the state laws specifically introduced and passed for the purpose of

circumventing federal law. (Such an opinion would take much of the wind out of the racist's sails and encourage the majority of southerners who still support the Constitution and the Union.)

- Utilize present civil rights laws to prosecute southern officials, including U. S. Senators and Congressmen who have formed a conspiracy to deprive Negro Americans of their Constitutional rights, including the right to vote.

The silence and inactivity of the Justice Department on the entire racist issue, which now is being debated in legislatures of the Deep South States, was taken as "consent" by the racists

Tolson ✓  
Nichols ✓  
Boardman ✓  
Belmont ✓  
Mason ✓  
Mohr ✓  
Parsons ✓  
Rosen ✓  
Tamm ✓  
Nease ✓  
Winterrowd ✓  
Tele. Room ✓  
Holloman ✓  
Gandy ✓

BAUMGARDNER  
T. H. GARDNER

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Wash. Post and Times Herald \_\_\_\_\_  
Wash. News \_\_\_\_\_  
Wash. Star \_\_\_\_\_  
N. Y. Herald Tribune \_\_\_\_\_  
N. Y. Mirror \_\_\_\_\_  
N. Y. Daily News \_\_\_\_\_  
Daily Worker \_\_\_\_\_  
The Worker 1  
New Leader \_\_\_\_\_

Date 1-29-56

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 Holloman \_\_\_\_\_



**J. EDGAR HOOVER**, who ignore real criminals and persecute Negro leader

and "complicity" by their Negro victims and intended victims. Negro leaders, such as Dr. Howard and officials of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, have protested and demanded action. The racists have broadened their terror campaign.

SINCE Dr. Howard made in Baltimore the factual statement which irked J. Edgar Hoover, the racists have struck down a number of Negroes.

Gus Courts, Negro grocer of Belzoni, Miss., was seriously wounded by gunfire by an unknown white assailant.

Clinton Melton, Glendora, Miss., gas station attendant was shot down in cold blood and now awaits trial.

The Rev. Joseph A. Delaine's church in Lake City, S. C., was burned down and shots were fired into his parsonage.

Unknown whites fired into

the undertaking establishment of William Flemming in Sumter, S. C.

Last week gunfire pierced the home of James Hinton, president of the South Carolina State NAACP.

Ed Blair, Amalgamated Clothing Worker organizer, was shot and seriously wounded on a Columbus, Miss., picket line before the Bosch Arma Corp. Blair's assailant is free on \$2,500 bail.

THEN there has been the preparations for terror. There was the secret meeting in Memphis of all the white supremacy terrorist groups under the banner of the Federation for Constitutional Government. A leader and participant of this movement was Mississippi's Senator James O. Eastland.

Here was the formation of a movement whose openly avowed aim was organized defiance of the U. S. Constitution. But if the Memphis FBI office filed a report on the meeting, the nation has not heard of it, and there has been no indication of any action by the Justice Department or the FBI against it.

A Justice Department spokesman did issue an anonymous opinion on the Virginia plan to circumvent the Supreme Court decision. He did not think the

plan to spend state funds for segregated private schools and permit local school districts to abolish public schools would "stand up" in court. But the department has not gone a step beyond that.

THERE are proposed laws in South Carolina, Georgia and Mississippi which would make membership in the NAACP a bar to employment as a school teacher.

No comment from the Justice Department.

There is a law on the way to passage in Mississippi which would make it impossible for an attorney to be admitted to practice in that state if his client was suing to enforce a Supreme Court desegregation decision.

Silence in the Justice Department.

On Jan. 10, 1956, segregation of interstate passengers on buses, trains and in waiting rooms was ordered ended by the Interstate Commerce Commission. Mississippi city policemen were ordered to prevent the enforcement of this federal agency, operating under constitutional law.

The Justice Department has shown no interest in this type of lawlessness where its jurisdiction is clear.

Governors of Virginia, South Carolina, Georgia, North Carolina and Mississippi met last

week to consider joint action of federal states to "nullify" the high court's desegregation ruling. This is a thrust at all federal authority. But the Justice Department has remained mum on the subject, despite the long legal history of the issue and clear position taken by previous administrations on the subject.

SOME might say that the Justice Department is afraid of taking a stand which might lead to the mass violence threatened by the die-hard racists.

But the fact is that from among the 17 states with segregation laws only five are interested enough in keeping them to send representatives to Richmond.

Gov. Frank C. Clements, when he rebuffed a racist delegation asking him to lead a "state's rights" movement and to call a special session to shore up segregation, exposed the Democrat fraud. Gov. Clement and his Attorney General George McCanless showed concern and more respect for federal law than has been shown thus far by Herbert Brownell and J. Edgar Hoover.

McCanless told the racist mob:

"I'm for segregation (But), we have in this country a government by law, not by men."

Dr. Howard, who, unlike McCanless, opposes segregation, would agree with the Tennessee's reference to the law. The criticisms of the Justice Department and the FBI have been based upon this concept. And, by implication, the action of Gov. Clements and McCanless represents a sharper criticism of the Justice Departments indifference than the words of Dr. Howard. The Tennessee governor has chosen sides in the present civil rights crisis. How much longer will Brownell and Hoover equivocate the lawless the inciters to murder and the murderers themselves?



# DR. HOWARD FBI CHIEF IN ROW

Mr. Tolson ☒  
Mr. Nichols ☒  
Mr. Boardman ☒  
Mr. Belmont ☒  
Mr. Mason ☒  
Mr. Mohr ☒  
Mr. Parsons ☒  
Mr. Rosen ☒  
Mr. Tamm ☒  
Mr. Nease ☒  
Mr. Winterrowd ☒  
Tele. Room ☒  
Mr. Holloman ☒  
Miss Gandy ☒

- ( ) Glos Ludowy  
( ) Michigan Editor-The Worker  
( ) The Daily Worker  
( ) Narodna Volya  
( ) Romanul American  
( ) Pittsburgh Courier  
( ) Michigan Chronicle  
( ) Detroit Free Press  
( ) Detroit News  
( ) Detroit Times  
( ) Michigan Daily  
( ) Wayne Collegian  
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Date 1-28-56 Edition       

Page 1 Column Headlines

# OVER MURDERS IN SOUTH

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126 FEB 10 1956

J. R. M. HOWARD

66 FEB 13 1956



# Charges FBI Laxity In Pushing Probes

## J. Edgar Hoover Defends Office, Brands Charges as 'Irresponsible'

J. Edgar Hoover was raging mad this week over charges made by Dr. T. R. M. Howard that the FBI hadn't done an effective job in probing the Mississippi reign of terror against Negroes.

Howard, who has been the most outspoken Negro leader against Mississippi racial injustice, reiterated his charges after Hoover last week challenged him to "put up or shut up."

In a letter to Dr. Howard that was released to the press even before Dr. Howard received it, the FBI boss called the charges "irresponsible and false."

Dr. Howard thundered back over the weekend, however, when he released to the press a reply to Hoover in which he reiterated his charges and offered for the second time to "provide specific information" bearing on his charges.

The FBI chief quoted Howard as declaring that confidential information is "leaked" from FBI offices, resulting in "pressures" on witnesses in Negro slaying cases.

Another statement attributed to Dr. Howard was that "we must find out why southern investigators can't seem to solve a crime where a Negro is involved."

Hoover denied both charges and declared that the FBI has held preliminary inquiries into

two recent Negro deaths and conducted a full investigation into a third.

Hoover said an inquiry into the alleged kidnap-murder of 14-year-old Emmett Till of Chicago near Money, Miss., last August, showed that "the facts did not indicate a violation of any federal statute."

In the shooting of Lamar Smith at Brookhaven, Miss., Aug. 13, Hoover stated the Justice Department, acting on facts developed at a preliminary inquiry, advised no investigation should be conducted.

The FBI head said a full investigation was conducted into the ambush slaying of Rev. George Lee at Belzoni, Miss., May 7, 1955, and facts as developed were submitted to the Justice Department.

(Continued on Page 4)

(Continued from Page 1)

Contacted in Los Angeles, Thursday, Dr. Howard said in a telephone interview that he had not received the FBI's letter. However, he said he refused to recant any of the charges he had made against the FBI and added:

"It is strange that Mr. Hoover instead of assuring the terrorized Negroes in Dixie that they can receive protection and can get justice, prefers to make a personal attack upon me, which seems to be politically inspired."

Hoover has denied that any of the killings in Mississippi which Dr. Howard accused the FBI of failing to probe, were federal cases and said that they had been investigated to ascertain that fact.

However, Dr. Howard said he can give Hoover specific examples of cases where Negroes were intimidated at the polls which is certainly a federal violation.

He said that to clear itself in the state, the FBI had an agent in Mississippi try to get a Negro to sign an affidavit

that the FBI in Mississippi was fair in its dealings in cases where Negroes and whites were involved.

Dr. Howard has charged that FBI agents in Mississippi are from that state and naturally are partial to whites. He declared:

"I will stand on the national capitol and tell Hoover that we don't feel that to take a man who has been brought up in an environment such as we have in Mississippi and give him a few weeks or years of training is going to change the individual into a fair and impartial investigator where the two races are involved.

"In each of my references to the FBI, I have praised the organization as being the greatest crime detecting force on earth. But I have not felt that all that the government can do has been done in the recent mass killings and intimidation of Negro voters at the polls in Mississippi.

"It might be of interest to Hoover to know that millions of Americans join me in this feeling."



## Hoover Demands Retraction

# 'I Exercised My Right As U. S. Citizen to Criticize FBI' - Howard

By CHESTER L. WASHINGTON  
(California Bureau)

LOS ANGELES—"I have exercised my right as an American citizen to criticize governmental functions.

"I shall continue to exercise this right..."

The speaker was Dr. T. R. M. Howard, president of the National Medical Association, militant civic leader of Mississippi, and central figure in a controversy with J. Edgar Hoover, head of the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

HE WAS answering the FBI chief's blast, leveled at him last week, in which Mr. Hoover had accused him of "false and irresponsible charges," following three 1955 murders in Mississippi.

Dr. Howard, who sold his Mississippi plantation last month for a sum reputed to be in the neighborhood of \$150,000, has been spending much of his time here recently.



Dr. Howard

MRS. HOWARD and the Howard boy are living here "because," as Dr. Howard explained to The Courier, "I couldn't afford to risk their safety in my Mississippi home, when the law would offer them no protection."

Dr. Howard's answer to Mr. Hoover, contained in a letter mailed from here last Friday, said in part:

"The crux of your complaint is that I have made false and irresponsible charges against the FBI in connection with the murders of George W. Lee, LaMar Smith and Emmett Till, all of whom were killed in Mississippi during 1955. I am sure you will understand that these murders, all of which have gone unpunished, have excited genuine concern on the part of millions of Americans.

"That concern has been heightened by the fact that J. W. Milam and Roy Bryant explained in Look magazine that they did kill Emmett Till. Since that confession, there has been no move to take any further proceedings against them, either by state or Federal authorities, so far as I know.

"As a resident of Mississippi, I know and I am sure that FBI agents know, that the facts in the George LEE and LaMar SMITH murders, are widely known in the communities in which they were murdered.

"As I understand your concept of the law in these matters, your bureau is required only to make investigations at the request of the Department of Justice. It seems reasonable to suppose that the Department of Justice must defend, for a final judgment, as to whether or not prosecution will be undertaken on the facts AS REPORTED BY YOUR BUREAU. (Caps ours)

"YOU SAY that such investigations were made in the George Lee case.

"What I know, is that a Negro citizen, who sought to vote, was murdered . . . and that both state and Federal Governments have declined to take any action.

"I do not know upon what

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N. Y. Daily News \_\_\_\_\_  
Daily Worker \_\_\_\_\_  
The Worker \_\_\_\_\_  
New Leader \_\_\_\_\_  
The Pittsburgh Courier \_\_\_\_\_  
Date 1-29-56

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grounds the Department of Justice declined jurisdiction.

"I do know that I sent a telegram to the Department of Justice, asking for a conference on these matters, and received an answer some four weeks later, stating that such a conference would be arranged.

"No date was set for the proposed meeting.

\* \* \*

"THE QUOTATION attributed to me by the Baltimore Morning Sun is not entirely accurate.

"In substance, I said on that occasion: 'We must find out why the FBI cannot seem to solve a crime where a Negro is murdered by a white man in Mississippi. I do not know the extent or character of the bureau's investigation in the Till case. It is plain now . . . in the light of the J. W. Milam confession in the Till case . . . that the fact lay close to the surface. I have the impression that in many instances, the FBI has conducted investigations and found facts which were then given to state authorities for prosecution of wrong-doers.'

"You say that I have conveniently forgotten that the work of the bureau was largely responsible for the virtual elimination of lynching in the South . . . and the KKK in the Carolinas and Georgia.

\* \* \*

"FRANKLY, THERE is a wide difference of opinion between us on that score. I think lynching was eliminated and the KKK broken up by persistent action of the NAACP and by an aroused public opinion.

"I cannot recall a prosecution of lynching, as such, by the Federal Government.

"I also understand that there is no Federal anti-lynching statute and that prosecution of lynching is a matter for the states.

\* \* \*

"IN VIEW of that fact, I do not understand how the FBI was able to take effective action to virtually eliminate lynching, in view of your statement that the Department of Justice can only act when Federal statutes have been violated.

"In conclusion, I reject the charge that I have made false and irresponsible charges. I have exercised my right as an American citizen to criticize Governmental functions.

"I shall continue to exercise that right.

\* \* \*

"I REGRET this controversy has arisen, since it tends to obscure the fact that the real issue is NOT OUR DIFFERENCES as to FBI actions or inaction . . . but the fact that American citizens are being wantonly murdered in MISSISSIPPI, and that their murders ARE GOING UNPUNISHED.

"YOUR CONDEMNATION MIGHT DO MUCH TO HALT THIS WAVE OF VIOLENCE."



By LEVI JOLLEY  
(Washington Bureau)

WASHINGTON—In a rare "letter of defense," J. Edgar Hoover, famed head of the FBI, has expressed bitter resentment to public accusations that his organization failed to make thorough investigations into recent slayings and civil violation in Mississippi.

The criticism was levelled at Dr. T. R. M. Howard, noted civic leader of Mound Bayou, Miss., militant desegregationist and president of the National Medical Association, for "intemperate and baseless charges."

In defending activities of the FBI, Mr. Hoover revealed that reports on slayings in Mississippi . . . over the right to vote . . . had been submitted to the Justice Department.

Reference was also made to the slayings of:

The REV.  
GEORGE W.  
LEE, ambushed at Belzoni, Miss.—May 7, 1955.



Mr. Hoover

LAMAR SMITH shot to death at Brookhaven, Miss.—Aug. 13, 1955.

EMMETT TILL, kidnap-murder victim near Money, Miss.—Aug. 31, 1955.

Preliminary inquiries were made by the FBI into the Smith and Till slayings, the letter reveals, and an "investigation" made into the Lee death. In each instance, the FBI was complying with specific instructions of the Justice Department's Criminal Division.

IN THE Till case, the department, according to Mr. Hoover "advised the facts DID NOT indicate a violation of any Federal statute.

In the LaMar Smith case, his letter points out, the department, acting on facts developed in preliminary inquiry, "advised no investigation should be conducted" by the FBI.

"The Criminal Division . . . requested full investigation into the death of the Rev. Mr. Lee. Such an investigation was immediately conducted . . . and the facts as developed were submitted to the Department of Justice."

The Attorney General's office has not yet announced what it intends to do about findings in the Lee case.

USING TWO speeches (one in Baltimore; the other in Chicago) as the basis for his public denunciations, the FBI head requested the noted physician produce proof of his charges of negligence, or retract the accusations.

The two and one-half page letter was packed with FBI statements, newspaper quotations and charges said to have been attributed to Dr. Howard.

In addition to revealing the Justice Department's action in studying reports on Mississippi slayings, Mr. Hoover called attention to FBI investigations which had paved the way for KKK and other groups to be prosecuted some years ago.

Although nationally publicized that Dr. Howard had sold most of his holdings in Mississippi and was moving to California, the Hoover letter was addressed to Mound Bayou, Miss.

CIVIC LEADERS and legal au-



thorities here pointed out that failure of the Justice Department to act on two of the Mississippi cases was due (1) to failure to obtain information that would stand up in Federal court or (2) lack of interest to pursue the investigation to the end.

One observer pointed out that the bitter criticism of Dr. Howard was made public from Memphis, Tenn. . . . instead of the usual procedure of making all FBI matters public first here . . . as a device to "keep him quiet."

According to Mr. Hoover, Dr. Howard erred in stating at the Baltimore meeting of the NAACP that "we must find out why Southern investigators of the FBI can't seem to solve crimes where Negroes are involved."

\* \* \*

**IN ATTACKING** the Chicago statements, Mr. Hoover pointed out that Dr. Howard had been quoted as saying: "Confidential information usually leaks from the local FBI offices and witnesses in Negro slayings are subjected to pressures as a result."

At this point, the internationally famous sleuth added:

"As you undoubtedly know, information contained in the files of this bureau is confidential in nature, and I am deeply concerned as your statement contains a very serious charge.

"If you have the evidence of such grave dereliction of duty, it is your duty to call it to the attention of the responsible officials of either the FBI or the Justice Department.

"From the information available to me, I know of no such incident, and therefore I feel compelled to request that you submit such evidence as you have to sustain your irresponsible charges or that you issue a public retraction," Mr. Hoover said.

\* \* \*

**IN CLOSING** his blast against Dr. Howard, an FBI official said: "Irresponsible and false charges

can serve no useful purpose in this critical period.

"In fact, they are a disservice to common decency and I do not propose to permit false charges made against the Bureau to go unchallenged."

He suggested that inquiry be made through responsible channels to every citizen before any one makes intemperate and baseless charges.



Mr. Tolson ☒  
 Mr. Nichols ☒  
 Mr. Boardman ☒  
 Mr. Belmont ☒  
 Mr. Mason ☒  
 Mr. Mohr ☒  
 Mr. Parsons ☒  
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 Mr. Winterrowd ☒  
 Tele. Room ☒  
 Mr. Holloman ☒  
 Miss Gandy ☒

# HOWARD STICKS TO CHARGES IN TIFF WITH FBI'S HOOVER

## Nothing Being Done To Protect Negro—Howard

Los Angeles (ANP).—Despite a protest from FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover, Dr. T. R. M. Howard said he is sticking to his charges that the FBI has been lax in solving Mississippi racial killings.

"It is strange that Mr. Hoover, instead of assuring the terrorized Negroes in Dixie that they can receive protection and can get justice, he prefers to make personal attacks at me which seems to be politically inspired," Dr. Howard said during an interview.

Hoover, in a letter released Wednesday by the FBI office at Memphis, accused the Mound Bayou, Miss., physician of "false and irresponsible" statements against the FBI and demanded that he prove or retract them.

The FBI director particularly resented Dr. Howard's public statement, in regard to the recent slaying of three Negroes in Mississippi, that:

"We must find out why southern investigators of the FBI can't seem to solve a crime where a Negro is involved."

Hoover denied the charge and said that his agents hold "full and

impartial investigations" in every case, at the direction of the Department of Justice, and found that no civil rights violations were involved.

Dr. Howard, president of the Mississippi Regional Council of Negro Leadership, insisted that FBI agents in Mississippi are from that state and naturally are partial to whites. He declared:

"I will stand on the national capitol and tell Hoover that we don't feel that to take a man who has been brought up in an environment such as we have in Mississippi and give him a few weeks or years of training is going to change the individual into a fair and impartial investigator where the two races are involved."

Dr. Howard said he has often praised the FBI as the "greatest crime detecting force on earth."

"But I have not felt that all that the government can do has been done in the recent mass killings and intimidations of Negro voters at the polls in Mississippi," he added.

The Negro civil rights leader, after Hoover's letter was read to him by phone, said:

"If the charge is false, then it is my belief that the murderers of Rev. Lee and the individuals

(Continued on Page 8)

## Dr. Howard

(Continued from Page 1)

who seriously wounded Gus Courts on Nov. 25 should be brought to justice.

The "intemperate and baseless charges" which Hoover's letter cited were in connection with the slayings of Emmett Till, Rev. George Wesley Lee and Lamar Smith.

Till, a 14-year-old Chicago youth, was kidnapped at Money, Miss., and killed last August after he allegedly wolf-whistled and made "insulting remarks" to a white woman. The woman's husband, Roy Bryant, and half-brother, J. W. Milam, were acquitted of a charge that they murdered Till. An all-white jury also refused to indict the pair on the kidnap charge.

Smith, who had been active in getting Negroes to register and vote in Mississippi, was shot to death Aug. 13 in the town square at Brookhaven. A white man was arrested but the grand jury complained it could not indict him because no witnesses could be found.

Lee, head of the Belzoni, Miss., NAACP chapter, was found dead in his wrecked car May 7 with gunshot wounds allegedly made by white men.

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# Dr. Howard Blasts FBI Failure to Act In Miss. Violence

LOS ANGELES (NNPA)—Despite the claim of FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover that the Mississippi physician's charges were 'false, irresponsible and intemperate', Dr. T. R. M. Howard repeated here this week that "The FBI just can't seem to solve a crime where a Negro is murdered by a white man in Mississippi."

"I presume you released your letter....(because).... you wanted this whole matter to become an issue of public controversy," the doctor told Hoover.

The Mound Bayou former N. A. A. C. P. State president and admitted leader of the opposition fight to the white Citizens' Councils of Mississippi, charged in his letter to Hoover that the famed FBI had failed to secure convictions of any of the killers in the slayings of Emmett Till, Rev. George W. Lee and Lamar Smith in Mississippi.

Dr. Howard charged that the FBI chief's letter reached the Mound Bayou home of the medic "12 hours after newspapers had called me regarding its contents."

## Cites Magazine

"J. W. Milam and Roy Bryant explained in a magazine article that they did kill Emmett Till," Dr. Howard wrote to Hoover.

"Since that confession there has been no move to take any further proceedings against them.....I know, and I am sure that FBI agents know, that the facts in the George Lee and Lamar Smith murders are widely known in the communities in which they were murdered."

"You say that I have conveniently forgotten the work of the



DR. HOWARD

Bureau....was largely responsible for the virtual elimination of lynchings in the South.' Frankly, there is a wide difference of opinion between us on that score," Dr. Howard said.

"I cannot recall a prosecution of lynching, as such, by the Federal Government and I suppose such prosecution would have been undertaken only after investigation by your Bureau."

## Lynching Real Issue

"I regret that this controversy has arisen since it tends to obscure the fact that the real issue in the South, and in the Nation and the world for that matter, is not our differences as to FBI action, or inaction, but the fact that American citizens are being wantonly murdered in Mississippi and that their murderers are going unpunished."

"Since your letter to me was in the nature of an open statement to the newspapers I regret very much that you did not see fit to include in it a condemnation of these murders. Your condemnation might do much to halt this wave of violence."

"In any event, I shall continue to join with the millions of other Americans and cry out against injustice and against that kind of administration of justice which per-

mits murderers to go free to boast their crimes.

Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Nichols \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Boardman \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Mason \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Parsons \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Nease \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Winterrowd \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Holloman \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

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## Hoover Demands Retraction

# 'I Exercised My Right As U. S. Citizen to Criticize FBI' - Howard

By CHESTER L. WASHINGTON  
(California Bureau)

LOS ANGELES—"I have exercised my right as an American citizen to criticize governmental functions.

"I shall continue to exercise this right..."

The speaker was Dr. T. R. M. Howard, president of the National Medical Association, militant civic leader of Mississippi, and central figure in a controversy with J. Edgar Hoover, head of the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

HE WAS answering the FBI chief's blast, leveled at him last week, in which Mr. Hoover had accused him of "false and irresponsible charges," following three 1955 murders in Mississippi.

Dr. Howard, who sold his Mississippi plantation last month for a sum reputed to be in the neighborhood of \$150,000, has been spending much of his time here recently.



Dr. Howard

MRS. HOWARD and the Howard boy are living here "because," as Dr. Howard explained to The Courier, "I couldn't afford to risk their safety in my Mississippi home, when the law would offer them no protection."

Dr. Howard's answer to Mr. Hoover, contained in a letter mailed from here last Friday, said in part:

"The crux of your complaint is that I have made false and irresponsible charges against the FBI in connection with the murders of George W. Lee, LaMar Smith and Emmett Till, all of whom were killed in Mississippi during 1955. I am sure you will understand that these murders, all of which have gone unpunished, have excited genuine concern on the part of millions of Americans.

"That concern has been heightened by the fact that J. W. Milam and Roy Bryant explained in Look magazine that they did kill Emmett Till. Since that confession, there has been no move to take any further proceedings against them, either by state or Federal authorities, so far as I know.

"As a resident of Mississippi, I know and I am sure that FBI agents know, that the facts in the George LEE and LaMar SMITH murders, are widely known in the communities in which they were murdered.

"As I understand your concept of the law in these matters, your bureau is required only to make investigations at the request of the Department of Justice. It seems reasonable to suppose that the Department of Justice must defend, for a final judgment, as to whether or not prosecution will be undertaken on the facts AS REPORTED BY YOUR BUREAU. (Caps ours)

"YOU state that such investigations were made in the George Lee case.

"What I know, is that a Negro citizen, who sought to vote, was murdered... and that both state and Federal Governments have declined to take any action, in retaliation. I do not know upon what

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Wash. News \_\_\_\_\_  
Wash. Star \_\_\_\_\_  
N. Y. Herald Tribune \_\_\_\_\_  
N. Y. Mirror \_\_\_\_\_  
N. Y. Daily News \_\_\_\_\_  
Daily Worker \_\_\_\_\_  
The Worker \_\_\_\_\_  
New Leader \_\_\_\_\_  
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grounds the Department of Justice declined jurisdiction.

"I do know that I sent a telegram to the Department of Justice, asking for a conference on these matters, and received an answer some four weeks later, stating that such a conference would be arranged.

"No date was set for the proposed meeting.

"THE QUOTATION attributed to me by the Baltimore Morning Sun is not entirely accurate.

"In substance, I said on that occasion: 'We must find out why the FBI cannot seem to solve a crime where a Negro is murdered by a white man in Mississippi. I do not know the extent or character of the bureau's investigation in the Till case. It is plain now . . . in the light of the J. W. Milam confession in the Till case . . . that the fact lay close to the surface. I have the impression that in many instances, the FBI has conducted investigations and found facts which were then given to state authorities for prosecution of wrong-doers.'

"You say that I have conveniently forgotten that the work of the bureau was largely responsible for the virtual elimination of lynching in the South . . . and the KKK in the Carolinas and Georgia.

"FRANKLY, THERE is a wide difference of opinion between us on that score. I think lynching was eliminated and the KKK broken up by persistent action of the NAACP and by an aroused public opinion.

"I cannot recall a prosecution of lynching, as such, by the Federal Government.

"I also understand that there is no Federal anti-lynching statute and that prosecution of lynching is a matter for the states.

"IN VIEW of that fact, I do not understand how the FBI was able to take effective action to virtually eliminate lynching, in view of your statement that the Department of Justice can only act when Federal statutes have been violated.

"In conclusion, I reject the charge that I have made false and irresponsible charges. I have exercised my right as an American citizen to criticize Governmental functions.

"I shall continue to exercise that right.

"I REGRET this controversy has arisen, since it tends to obscure the fact that the real issue is NOT OUR DIFFERENCES as to FBI actions or inaction . . . but the fact that American citizens are being wantonly murdered in MISSISSIPPI, and that their murders ARE GOING UNPUNISHED.

"YOUR CONDEMNATION MIGHT DO MUCH TO HALT THIS WAVE OF VIOLENCE."



By LEVI JOLLEY  
(Washington Bureau)

WASHINGTON—In a rare "letter of defense," J. Edgar Hoover, famed head of the FBI, has expressed bitter resentment to public accusations that his organization failed to make thorough investigations into recent slayings and civil violation in Mississippi.

The criticism was levelled at Dr. T. R. M. Howard, noted civic leader of Mound Bayou, Miss., militant desegregationist and president of the National Medical Association, for "intemperate and baseless charges."

In defending activities of the FBI, Mr. Hoover revealed that reports on slayings in Mississippi . . . over the right to vote . . . had been submitted to the Justice Department.

Reference was also made to the slayings of:

The REV. GEORGE W. LEE, ambushed at Belzoni, Miss.—May 7, 1955.

LaMAR SMITH shot to death at Brookhaven, Miss.—Aug. 13, 1955.

EMMETT TILL, kidnap-murder victim near Money, Miss.—Aug. 31, 1955.

Preliminary inquiries were made by the FBI into the Smith and Till slayings, the letter reveals, and in "investigation" made into the Lee death. In each instance, the FBI was complying with specific instructions of the Justice Department's Criminal Division.

\* \* \*

IN THE Till case, the department, according to Mr. Hoover "advised the facts DID NOT indicate a violation of any Federal statute.

In the LaMar Smith case, his letter points out, the department, acting on facts developed in preliminary inquiry, "advised no investigation should be conducted" by the FBI.

"The Criminal Division . . . requested full investigation into the death of the Rev. Mr. Lee. Such an investigation was im-

mediately conducted . . . and the facts as developed were submitted to the Department of Justice."

The Attorney General's office has not yet announced what it intends to do about findings in the Lee case.

\* \* \*

USING TWO speeches (one in Baltimore; the other in Chicago) as the basis for his public denunciations, the FBI head requested the noted physician produce proof of his charges of negligence, or retract the accusations.

The two and one-half page letter was packed with FBI statements, newspaper quotations and charges said to have been attributed to Dr. Howard.

In addition to revealing the Justice Department's action in studying reports on Mississippi slayings, Mr. Hoover called attention to FBI investigations which had paved the way for KKK and other groups to be prosecuted some years ago.

Although nationally publicized that Dr. Howard had sold most of his holdings in Mississippi and was moving to California, the Hoover letter was addressed to Mound Bayou, Miss.

CIVIC LEADERS and legal au-

thorities here pointed out that failure of the Justice Department to act on two of the Mississippi cases was due (1) to failure to obtain information that would stand up in Federal court or (2) lack of interest to pursue the investigation to the end.

One observer pointed out that the bitter criticism of Dr. Howard was made public from Memphis, Tenn. . . . instead of the usual procedure of making all FBI matters public first here . . . as a device to "keep him quiet."

According to Mr. Hoover, Dr. Howard erred in stating at the Baltimore meeting of the NAACP that "we must find out why Southern investigators of the FBI can't seem to solve crimes where Negroes are involved."

\* \* \*

IN ATTACKING the Chicago statements, Mr. Hoover pointed out that Dr. Howard had been quoted as saying: "Confidential information usually leaks from the local FBI offices and witnesses in Negro slayings are subjected to pressures as a result."

At this point, the internationally famous sleuth added:

"As you undoubtedly know, information contained in the

Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Nichols \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Boardman \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Mason \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Parsons \_\_\_\_\_  
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Mr. Winterrowd \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Holloman \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

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files of this bureau is confidential in nature, and I am deeply concerned as your statement contains a very serious charge.

"If you have the evidence of such grave dereliction of duty, it is your duty to call it to the attention of the responsible officials of either the FBI or the Justice Department.

"From the information available to me, I know of no such incident, and therefore I feel compelled to request that you submit such evidence as you have to sustain your irresponsible charges or that you issue a public retraction," Mr. Hoover said.

\* \* \*

IN CLOSING his blast against Dr. Howard, the FBI official said: "Irresponsible and false charges

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can serve no useful purpose in this critical period.

"In fact, they are a disservice to common decency and I do not propose to permit false charges made against the Bureau to go unchallenged."

He suggested that inquiry be made through responsible channels to every citizen before any one makes intemperate and baseless charges.



Mr. Tolson ✓  
 Mr. Nichols ✓  
 Mr. Boardman ✓  
 Mr. Belmont ✓  
 Mr. Mason ✓  
 Mr. Mohr ✓  
 Mr. Parsons ✓  
 Mr. Rosen ✓  
 Mr. Tamm ✓  
 Mr. Nease ✓  
 Mr. Winterrowd ✓  
 Tele. Room ✓  
 Mr. Holloman ✓  
 Miss Gandy ✓

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# Our Opinions

## Conscience Hurting?

The FBI has suddenly become super-sensitive to criticism. Stung by charges of laxity over crimes involving Negroes in the South, J. Edgar Hoover, the director, has demanded that Dr. T. R. M. Howard of Mississippi either support or retract his specific accusation that the bureau leaked information about Negro slayings in Mississippi.

We believe there is ample evidence to support allegations of terrorism and violence against Negroes all throughout the South. Nobody needs to consult any law books to prove this. In Mississippi, helpless Negro citizens are existing under a state of anarchy and fear, such as has never been seen in the darkest dungeons behind the Iron Curtain.

The FBI has said time after time that it had no authority to go in and investigate

cases like that of the brutal lynching of 14-year old Emmett Louis Till. This leaves Negro citizens in the position of being without protection either from local and state authorities nor from the Federal government itself. Where, then, are they to turn to?

If consciences are being stung, these are hopeful signs that instead of indifference to brutality, maybe at long last some laws can be passed and the machinery provided so the FBI can have no excuse for not moving into Mississippi, and any place else where they are needed.

Mr. Hoover is riding the wrong horse when he castigates Dr. Howard for saying what are the thoughts of decent people all over the country. "Where is the FBI? Can't they do something about this?"

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Mr. Tolson	
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Mr. Winterrowd	
Tele. Room	
Mr. Holloman	

# DID THE FBI INVESTIGATE MISSISSIPPI MURDERS?

## Hoover? ..

Dr. T. R. M. Howard  
Mound Bayou, Mississippi.  
Dear Sir:

During the recent months, a number of newspaper articles have come to my attention which attribute to you statements concerning the function of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. Your statement as reported by the press pertaining to the FBI reflects a complete disregard of the facts on your part. You, as an American citizen, have every right to express yourself as you see fit, however, I do not feel that you have any right, whatsoever, to be wrong on your facts, particularly when they are used in public statements concerning serious matters. Let me cite a few specific incidents:

The Baltimore Morning Sun newspaper issued September 26, 1955, carries a newspaper story headline, Probe of Southern FBI Asked. This story contains certain erroneous statements which you made before a membership meeting of the NAACP at the Sharpe Street Methodist Church at Baltimore.

You are quoted as saying, "We must find out why Southern investigators of the FBI can't seem to solve a crime where a Negro is involved." You made these statements in connection with the slaying of Emmitt Till, George W. Lee and La Mar Smith.

Hold Preliminary Inquiries

For your information this Bureau upon instruction of the

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*T.R.M. Howard*

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Civil Rights Section of the Central Division of the Department of Justice, conducted a preliminary inquiry immediately upon the receipt of information alleging a Civil Rights violation and the facts are submitted to the Department of Justice for its determination as to prosecution or further investigative action. Further investigation of Civil Rights cases are conducted at the direction of the Department of Justice.

The FBI is not a policy making organization and we merely conduct fair and impartial investigations and submit the results of such investigation to the Department of Justice.

This Bureau is doing everything within the scope of existing legislation in Civil Rights matters, and our fair and prompt investigations have done much to increase public respect for and consciousness of Civil Rights.

You seem to have conveniently forgotten the work of this Bureau which was largely responsible for the virtual elimination of lynchings in the South and, also, was mainly responsible for the breaking up of the KKK in the Carolinas and Georgia.

#### State FBI Position

In regard to the specific cases which you mention in your talk in Baltimore, I would like you to be aware of the Bureau's position in each instance. As you recall when the body of Emmitt Till was found in the Tallehatchie River in Mississippi, August 31st, 1955 the available facts concerning this was presented to the Civil Rights Commission of the Department of Justice by this Bureau.

This Department advised that the facts would not indicate a violation of any Federal statute. Accordingly this Bureau did not conduct any further investigation in this case.

In the Rev. Lee case you will recall that the Rev. Lee was killed on May 7th, 1955. The Criminal Division of the Department of Justice requested an investigation into the death of Rev. Lee. Such an investigation was immediately conducted by agents of this Bureau and the facts as developed were submitted to the Department of Justice. In connection with the LaMar Smith case the facts surrounding this matter were submitted to the Criminal Division of the Department of Justice and we were advised that an investigation was not to be carried out by this Bureau.

#### Demands Evidence

The Chicago American on December 28, 1955, carried a news story entitled "FBI Leaks Hit at Till Acquittal." According to the news story you stated confidential information usually leaks from the local FBI office, and witnesses to Negro slaying are subjected to pressures, as results. You, undoubtedly, know that information contained in the files of this Bureau is confidential in nature and I am deeply concerned as your statement contains a very serious charge. If you have evidence of such a grave dereliction of duty, then it is your duty to call it to the attention of the responsible officials of the FBI or Department of Justice.

From the information available to me, I know of no such instance. I feel compelled to request that you submit evidence as you have to sustain your irresponsible charge or that you ~~issue a~~ public retraction.



~~Irresponsible~~ and false charges ~~can~~ serve no useful purpose in this critical period. In fact they are a disservice to common decency and I do not propose to permit false charges made against this Bureau to go unchallenged. If you were interested in the truth as to how this Bureau has discharged its responsibility in any area, you would have made inquiry through responsible channels which are open to every citizen before making your intemperate and baseless charges.

Very sincerely yours,  
John Edgar Hoover

# Howard?

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover, Director  
Federal Bureau of Investigation  
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir:

On January 18, 1956, I was called by the Memphis Commercial Appeal, and asked if I had any comment on a letter from you to me which you had released to them. Subsequently, and on the same day, I received similar calls from other newspapers and press associations. Your letter to me reached my Mound Bayou, Mississippi, home at 9 a. m. on January 19, 1956, a full twelve hours after my first call from the newspapers. Since I had not received your letter when I was queried by these newspapers, I was unable to make a complete reply. I can only presume that you released the letter prior to the time it could possibly have reached me and that you wanted the whole matter to become an issue in the area of public controversy. I shall, therefore, follow your example and release this letter to the newspapers.

The crux of your complaint, as I gather it, is that I have 'made false and irresponsible charges' against the FBI in connection with the murders of George W. Lee, LaMar Smith and Emmett Till, all of whom were killed in Mississippi during 1955. I am sure that you will understand that these murders, all of which have gone unpunished, have excited genuine concern on the part of millions of Americans. That concern has been heightened by the fact that J. W. Milam and Roy Bryant explained in last week's Look magazine that they did kill Emmett Till. Since that confession there has been on move to take any further proceedings against them, either by state or federal authorities, so far as I know. As a resident of Mississippi, I know, and I am sure that FBI agents know, that the facts in the George Lee and LaMar Smith murders are widely known in the communities in which they were murdered.

I am a layman, not a lawyer. I do not pretend to know the intricacies of the law. I do know that my own criticism of the failure of justice in these cases is a reflection of the feelings of the many thousands of persons to whom I have spoken and with whom I have talked in the past few months.

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~~They~~ are as dismayed as I am ~~that~~ murders can be committed in the United States and that murderers can escape indictment, as in the George Lee and LaMar Smith cases, or win acquittal as in the Emmett Till case, when, as in all of these cases, the facts about the cases are so well known to law enforcement authorities, federal as well as state.

As I understand your concept of the law in these matters, your Bureau is required only to make investigations at the request of the Department of Justice. After you have made these investigations, upon request, you lay the facts before the Department of Justice which then determines whether or not prosecution will be undertaken or further investigations will be made. It seems reasonable to suppose that the Department of Justice must depend, for a final judgment as to whether or not prosecution will be undertaken, on the facts as reported by your Bureau. You say that such investigations were made in the George Lee case. I do not know, of course, the extent of your investigation. I do not know whether or not you determined that this was merely a murder case, falling within the province of the State of Mississippi, or whether you determined it was part of a wide-spread conspiracy reaching across state lines that might have brought them within the purview of federal-civil-rights statutes. What I do know is that a Negro citizen who sought to vote was murdered and that both State and Federal Governments have declined to take any action. I do not know upon what grounds the Department of Justice declined jurisdiction. I do know that I sent a telegram to the Department of Justice asking for a conference on these matters and received an answer some four weeks later stating that such a conference would be arranged. No date was set for that proposed meeting.

It was against that background that I voiced my criticism of federal inaction in my Baltimore speech. The quotation attributed to me by the Baltimore Morning Sun is not entirely accurate.

In substance I said on that occasion that "We must find out why the FBI cannot seem to solve a crime where a Negro is murdered by a white man in Mississippi." Whether the reason for that failure lies in inadequacy of federal statutes, or restrictive interpretation of such statutes by the Department of Justice or the failure of FBI investigative machinery, the fact remains that "the FBI cannot seem to solve a crime where a Negro is murdered by a white man in Mississippi." Of course, I do not know the extent or character of the Bureau's investigation in the Emmett Till case. I do not know whether your investigation was made available to Mississippi law enforcement authorities. It is plain now in the light of the J. W. Milam confession in the Till case that the facts in that case lay close to the surface. I have the impression that in many instances the FBI has conducted investigations and found facts which were then given to state authorities for prosecution of the wrong doers.

You say I have "conveniently forgotten the work of this Bureau . . . was largely responsible for the virtual elimination of lynching in the South and, also, was mainly responsible for the breaking up of the KKK in the Carolina and Georgia." Frankly, there is a wide difference of opinion between us on that score. ~~You are as entitled to your opinion~~

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that the FBI deserves credit on both these scores as I am to mine that lynching was eliminated and the KKK broken up by persistent action by the NAACP and by an aroused public opinion. I cannot recall a prosecution of lynching, as such, by the Federal Government and I suppose that such prosecution would be undertaken only after investigation by the Bureau. I also understand that there is no federal anti-lynching statute and that prosecution of lynching, as such, is a matter for the States. In view of that fact, I do not understand how the FBI was able to take effective action to "virtually eliminate" lynching in light of your statement that the Department of Justice can act only when Federal statutes have been violated. If the Federal Government was able to act in the area of lynching, in the absence of a federal anti-lynching statute, is it possible to undertake similar action in cases such as the George Lee, LaMar Smith and Emmett Till cases in light of a similar claimed lack of applicable Federal statutes?

I did charge in my Chicago Press Conference speech that there had apparently been a "leak" of FBI investigations in Mississippi. The complainants live in Mississippi and I believe that you will agree with me that any complainant in that state risks his personal safety when he makes charges that run counter to current public opinion in that state. Therefore, I will not recite the specific case in this letter which will be released to the press. Under separate cover I am sending you a statement of the facts in that case. I know that you will guarantee the safety of that individual. One of the things which I wanted to discuss, and tried to discuss, with the Department of Justice was that very matter. Since I was never given a definite appointment I was unable to present it through those channels.

In conclusion, I reject the charge that I have made "false and irresponsible charges." I have exercised my right as an American citizen to criticize governmental functions. I shall continue to exercise that right, even when it leads to a difference of opinion between me and the public servants. I regret that this controversy has arisen since it tends to obscure the fact that the real issue in the South, and in the Nation and the world for that matter, is not our differences as to FBI action, or inaction, but the fact that American citizens are being wantonly murdered in Mississippi and that their murderers are going unpunished. Since your letter to me was in the nature of an open statement to the newspapers I regret very much that you did not see fit to include in it a condemnation of these murders. Your condemnation might do much to halt this wave of violence. In any event, I shall continue to join with the millions of other Americans and cry out against injustices and against that kind of administration of justice which permits murderers to go free to boast their crimes.

Dr. T. R. M. Howard.

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## FBI chief 'floored for count' by Dr. T. R. Howard

J. Edgar Hoover, the much publicized and glamorized director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, displayed a sinister and pugnacious attitude toward criticism, which would be ominous had it not been so efficiently and eloquently, also so courageously, dealt with, in the answer of Dr. Theodore R. M. Howard, whom the G-man wrote, taking to task for public criticism of the almighty FBI. (See story elsewhere this issue)

We might remind the G-man that for a policeman to challenge the right of public expression of a citizen, whether that citizen is right or not — (and if Dr. Howard was in error in questioning why "southern investigators of the FBI can't seem to solve a crime where a Negro is involved", he has an awful lot of company) — borders on the police state and denial of the right of free speech, onuses which, of course, we have borne in this country to a certain extent, and for a long time, but never before upon so tacit and public an admission as the FBI chief's letter to the Mississippi Negro leader.

In substance, we would say that Mr. Hoover hadn't a leg to stand on his subtle demand on Dr. Howard to 'cease and desist' public criticisms of the FBI for ineffectiveness in the Mississippi situation.

Unless the federal policeman is saying that it is the FBI's custom not to divulge information as to the identity of criminals and the solution of crimes when it has determined that the crime is not of its jurisdiction, then we must assume that the FBI knows no more than we do about the killings of the Rev. George W. Lee, LaMar Smith, and Emmett Till, which have gone 'unsolved' by local authorities of Mississippi for many months now.

As for other assertions made by the government official, of the FBI's 'record' with respect to the "elimination of lynching and the Ku Klux Klan", we think Dr. Howard dealt admirably with these rather pompous boasts, and have nothing to add except the suggestion that if the FBI did indeed end lynching and the Ku Klux Klan in the South, we would suggest that it go after those evils again, for they obviously have sprung up to plague the nation anew, even if they have the 'new look' of 'local murder', instead of mob killing, and what was the KKK goes by such names as White Citizens' Councils, States Rights Councils, Committee of Individual Rights, Southern Gentlemen, etc.

Mr. Tolson	✓
Mr. Nichols	✓
Mr. Boardman	✓
Mr. Belmont	✓
Mr. Mason	✓
Mr. Mohr	✓
Mr. Parsons	✓
Mr. Rosen	✓
Mr. Tamm	✓
Mr. Nease	✓
Mr. Winterrowd	✓
Tele. Room	✓
Mr. Holloman	✓
Miss Gandy	✓

T. R. M. HOWARD

62-102602-A

NOT RECORDED  
120 FEB 21 1956

"Los Angeles Tribune"  
January 27, 1956

Almena Lomax, Editor

ATTACKS ON THE FBI  
(L.A. 100-32495)

50 FEB 24 1956

FEB 24 1956



Mr. Tolson ✓  
Mr. Nichols ✓  
Mr. Boardman ✓  
Mr. Belmont ✓  
Mr. Mason ✓  
Mr. Mohr ✓  
Mr. Parsons ✓  
Mr. Rosen ✓  
Mr. Tamm ✓  
Mr. Nease ✓  
Mr. Winterrowd ✓  
Tele. Room ✓  
Mr. Holloman ✓  
Miss Gandy ✓

# J. Edgar Hoover in letter-writing joust with Dr. Howard over leader's criticisms of FBI

By Tribune Staff Writer

Chief of the G-men J. Edgar Hoover, came off second best in an exchange of correspondence this week with Dr. T. R. M. Howard, militant and eloquent physician, president of the Mississippi Regional Council of Negro Leadership.

Here in Los Angeles Sunday, reporting on the Christmas 'Giftlift' generous Angelenos sent to embattled Mississippians, Dr. Howard made public a letter, written him by Hoover, director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, warning him to 'cease and desist' criticisms of the FBI for failure to "solve a crime where a Negro is involved."

Making the reproof of him public according to Dr. Howard, fully 12 hours before the letter "reached my Meand Bayou, Miss. home at 9 a.m. on Jan. 12," Hoover brusquely told the Mississippian that over "recent months . . . newspaper articles have come to my attention which attribute to you statements concerning the function of the . . . FBI.

"You, as an American citizen, have every right to express yourself as you see fit, however, I do not feel that you have any right, whatsoever, to be wrong on your facts, particularly when they are used in public statements concerning serious matters."

Hoover defended the FBI against a statement by Dr. Howard, made in Baltimore, that, "We must find out why southern investigators of the FBI can't seem to solve a crime where a Negro is involved," said Hoover:

"Four your information, this Bureau upon instruction of the Civil Rights Section of . . . the Department of Justice, conducted a preliminary inquiry . . . and the facts are submitted to the Department of Justice for determination as to prosecution or further investigative action. Further investigation of civil rights cases are conducted at the direction of the Department of Justice.

"The FBI is not a policy making organization and we merely conduct fair and impartial investigations and submit the results of such investigation . . .

"This bureau is doing everything within the scope of existing legislation in civil rights matters, and our fair and prompt investigations have done much to increase public respect for, and consciousness of civil rights."

Continuing, Hoover told Dr. Howard: "You seem to have conveniently forgotten the work of this Bureau which was largely responsible for the virtual elimination of lynchings in the South and, also, was mainly responsible for the breaking up of the KKK in the Carolinas and Georgia.

## STATES FBI POSITION

"As you will recall, when the body of Emmitt Till was found in the Tallahatchie River in Mississippi, Aug. 31 . . . the available facts concerning this were presented to the Department of Justice by this Bureau . . .

"The Department advised that the facts would not indicate a violation of any federal statute. Accordingly this Bureau did not conduct any further investigation in this case.

"In the Rev. Lee case . . . the Department of Justice requested an investigation . . . Such an investigation was immediately conducted by agents of this Bureau and the facts as developed were submitted to the Department of Justice. In connection with the La Mar Smith case the facts surrounding this matter were submitted to the Criminal Division of the Department of Justice and we were advised that an investigation was not to be carried out by this Bureau."

Hoover also hit at "FBI Leaks Hint at Till Acquittal," in which Dr. Howard assertedly said "con-

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126 FEB 21 1958

"Los Angeles Tribune"  
January 27, 1956

ATTACKS ON THE FBI  
(L.A. 100-32495)

TOP CLIPPING

DATED 1-22-56

FROM LOS ANGELES TRIBUNE

MARKED FILE AND INITIALED

50 FEB 24 1958

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Confidential information usually leaks from the local FBI office, and witnesses to Negro slaying are subjected to pressures, as results."

The FBI chief demanded of Dr. Howard: "If you have evidence of such a grave dereliction of duty, then it is your duty to call it to the attention of responsible officials . . ."

He went on: "I feel compelled to request that you submit such evidence as you have to sustain your irresponsible charge or that you issue a public retraction."

"I do not propose to permit false charges made against this Bureau to go unchallenged."

#### HOWARD'S REPLY

In his reply, Dr. Howard said that "As a resident of Mississippi, I know, and I am sure FBI agents know, that the facts in the George Lee and LaMar Smith murders are widely known in the communities in which they were murdered."

"I do know that my own criticism of the failure of justice in these cases is a reflection of the feelings of the many thousands of persons to whom I have spoken and with whom I have talked in the past few months. They are as dismayed as I am that murders can be committed in the United States and that murderers can escape indictment, as in the George Lee and LaMar Smith case, or win acquittal as in the Emmett Till case, when, as in all of these cases, the facts about the cases are so well known to law enforcement authorities, federal as well as state."

"As I understand . . . your Bureau is required only to make investigations at the request of the Department of Justice. After you have made these investigations . . . you lay the facts before the Department of Justice. After you have done so, whether or not prosecution will be undertaken or further investigations will be made. It seems

reasonable to suppose that the Department of Justice must depend, for a final judgement as to whether or not prosecution will be undertaken, on the facts as reported by your Bureau. You say that such investigations were made in the George Lee case. I do not know, of course, the extent of your investigation . . . What I do know is that a Negro citizen who sought to vote and murdered and that both State and Federal Governments have declined to take any action. I do not know upon what grounds the Department of Justice declined jurisdiction. I do know that I sent a telegram to the Department of Justice asking for a conference on these matters and received an answer some four weeks later stating that such a conference would be arranged. No date was set for that proposed meeting."

"The fact remains that the FBI cannot seem to solve a crime where a Negro is murdered by a white man in Mississippi. Of course, I do not know the extent or character of the Bureau's investigation in the Till case. I do not know whether your investigation was made available to Mississippi law enforcement authorities. It is plain now in the light of the J. W. Milam confession in the Till case that the facts in that case lay close to the surface."

"You say that I have conveniently forgotten the work of this Bureau . . . was largely responsible for the virtual elimination of lynching in the South and, also, was mainly responsible for the breaking up of the K. K. K. in the Carolinas and Georgia. Frankly, there is a wide difference of opinion between us on that score. You are as entitled to your opinion . . . as I am to mine that lynching

(Continued on page 12)

was eliminated and the KKK broken up by persistent action by the Naacp and by an aroused public opinion. . . . I also understand that there is no federal anti-lynching statute and that prosecution of lynching, as such, is a matter for the state. . . . I do not understand how the FBI was able to take effective action to virtually eliminate lynching in light of your statement that the Department of Justice can act only when federal statutes have been violated. If the federal government was able to act in the area of lynching, in the absence of a federal anti-lynching statute, is it possible to undertake similar action in cases such as the George Lee, LaMar Smith and Emmett Till cases in light of a similar claimed lack of applicable Federal statutes?

"I did charge . . . that there had apparently been a leak of FBI investigations in Mississippi. The complainants live in Mississippi and I believe that you will agree with me that any complainants in that state risks his personal safety when he makes charges that run counter to public opinion in that state . . . Under separate cover I am sending you a statement of the facts in that case."

"I reject the charge that I have made false and irresponsible charges. I have exercised my right as an American citizen to criticize governmental functions. I shall continue to exercise that right. . . . I regret that this controversy has arisen since it tends to obscure the fact that the real issue . . . is not our differences as to FBI action, or inaction, but the fact that American citizens are being wantonly murdered in Mississippi and that their murderers are going unpunished. Since your letter to me was in the nature of an open statement to the newspapers I regret very much that you did not see fit to include in it a condemnation of these murders. Your condemnation might do much to halt this wave of violence."



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Miss Gandy	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>

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## Good For Mr. Hoover

**J** EDGAR HOOVER blew the whistle last week on some of the most vehement anti-South diatribes that have been circulated yet. He did not only the South, but the cause of justice, a good turn by his criticism of Dr. T. R. M. Howard.

Dr. Howard made the error of blaming the hard-working FBI agents for lack of action on several crimes which had aspects of racial unrest; he even suggested that the FBI agents were betraying Negro informers. Mr.

Hoover demanded evidence that any of these charges were true and blasted Dr. Howard's looseness with the truth.

There have been terrible crimes and injustices within the past year which should make us all thoughtful, but wild attacks on the federal agents who do their very best within the limitations of law and authority is not going to bring about a solution to our tragic and delicate problem.

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126 FEB 20 1956

Editorial  
DELTA DEMOCRAT TIMES  
Greenville, Mississippi  
1-26-56

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Mr. Holloman	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

**FBI Action in Case Criticized by Negro**  
 Lincoln (P)—A Negro physician from Mississippi repeated here Wednesday night his criticism of the Federal Bureau of Investigation for not "bringing to justice" the killers of Emmett Till and of other Negroes in that state.

Dr. T. R. M. Howard charged that "although the FBI could piece together a crashed airplane and prosecute" the agency "seems unable to bring a killer to justice in Mississippi or the South when a Negro has been killed by a member of the other race."

Dr. Howard was featured speaker at the annual meeting of the Malone Community Center here Wednesday night.

Evening World-Herald  
 Omaha, Nebraska  
 January 26, 1956

*The Mail*  
*File 4 - Handwriting*

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 126 FEB 3 1956



# 'South's Negro Killings Part of Conspiracy'

## Colored Leader Says Organized Fight for Segregation to Blame

Three recent racial slayings in Mississippi, said Negro leader Dr. T. R. M. Howard, are part of a widespread conspiracy to keep racial segregation and discrimination in the South.

Dr. Howard, soft-spoken 47-year-old president of the Mississippi Regional Council of Negro Leadership, was in Lincoln Wednesday to address the annual dinner of the Malone Community Center.



Dr. Howard

"The Southern conspiracy," he said, "is an organized effort backed by the White Citizen's Council, a group of 75,000 white males dedicated to maintain segregation at any and all costs."

"Because of intimidation by this wealthy, determined organization, less than 19,000 of the more than 986,000 Negroes in the state are qualified voters, and of 82 counties in Mississippi, Negroes are allowed to vote only in 22," said Howard—surgeon-in-chief and medical director of the Friendship Clinic and Hospital at Mound Bayou, Miss.

### 'Intimidation by Terrorism'

America, he said, is "a chain of 36 steel links and 12 cotton links, and the weakest of these is Mississippi. She has reacted most violently to the May 17 order of the Supreme Court to end segregation."

Dr. Howard said Mississippi has stated she will never comply with the order "but unless she secedes a second time, segregation will eventually end although the state plans to circumvent the Supreme Court decision as long as possible."

Dr. Howard terms three 1955 Negro slayings in Mississippi — those of 14-year-old Emmett Till, the Rev. George W. Lee and LaMar Smith — "methods of intimidation by terrorism to counter the Supreme Court decision but which have aroused the nation."

"The Rev. Lee was shot simply because he wanted to vote," he said. "He hadn't been able to vote for 51 years but lost two sons on the battlefield. We can't spill our blood for something we can't even vote for in Mississippi."

He says he is particularly

aroused at the Mississippi situation because, "although segregation follows the same pattern wherever you find it, the reaction has been more violent in Mississippi and the other 11 Southern states are standing by to watch that state's lead."

In reply to a recent accusation by FBI Chief J. Edgar Hoover that Howard made "false and irresponsible" charges against the FBI's handling of racial killings in Mississippi, he said it is a "fact that American citizens are being wantonly murdered in Mississippi and that their murderers are going unpunished."

### Life Threatened

He says he has received countless threats on his life and a cross was burned at his home in Mound Bayou, Miss.

Dr. Howard says, however, he will continue his campaign because "the things that give me the courage and faith to fight on in a state like Mississippi, is first, my fundamental belief in religion . . . and secondly, my undying faith in the American concept of democracy—something that we must make work in this generation."

"Improvement of Negro-white relations can't be solved entirely in legislative halls," he said, "It requires an educational program in which our churches have fallen far behind. The average churchgoer has no conception of the brotherhood of man."

LINCOLN JOURNAL Newspaper  
Lincoln, Nebraska 1-26-56

Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Boardman \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Parsons \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
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Mr. Holloman \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

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Mr. Tolson ✓  
 Mr. Nichols ✓  
 Mr. Boardman ✓  
 Mr. Belmont ✓  
 Mr. Mason ✓  
 Mr. Mohr ✓  
 Mr. Parsons ✓  
 Mr. Rosen ✓  
 Mr. Tamm ✓  
 Mr. Nease ✓  
 Mr. Winterrowd ✓  
 Tele. Room ✓  
 Mr. Holloman ✓  
 Miss Gandy ✓

# 'Adam Lapin: The FBI and lynchi

SAN FRANCISCO

In 1947 the President's Committee on Civil Rights explained why the Justice Department Civil Rights Section had been inadequate and ineffective.

This official committee said in its report to former President Truman that one of the reasons for the section's failure to protect the rights of the Negro people was its "dependence upon the FBI for its investigative work."

It then went on to explain that the FBI's record in the civil rights field was far from distinguished.



J. EDGAR HOOVER  
 ...nothing to boast about

## Wholesale terror

I mention this in connection with J. Edgar Hoover's angry retort to the statement by Dr. T. R. M. Howard of Mound Bayou, Miss., on the FBI record in three recent Mississippi murders.

"We must find out why Southern investigators of the FBI can't seem to solve a crime where a Negro is involved," Dr. Howard said.

Hoover branded Dr. Howard's statement as "false and irresponsible," and added:

"You seem to have conveniently forgotten the work of this bureau which was largely responsible for the virtual elimination of lynchings in the South."

Now, of course, lynchings have not been virtually eliminated in the South. There were three lynchings in Mississippi last year—and those who were guilty are still unpunished.

Moreover, there are innumerable instances of brutality and violence against the Negro people throughout the South both by police officials and private citizens.

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PEOPLE'S WORLD  
 JAN 24 1956  
 Forwarded by  
 San Francisco Division



## 48 years of failure

There is certainly no cause for any boasting about the state of civil rights in the South. Still less is there any cause for J. Edgar Hoover's boasting about the FBI record.

The FBI has not only failed in the case of Emmett Till and the other recent Mississippi lynchings. Its failure goes back a long way. In fact, the FBI has not in all the 48 years of its existence, won the conviction of a single lyncher.

The 1947 report by the President's committee, headed by Charles E. Wilson of General Electric, was extremely gentle with the FBI—but the fact of FBI failure emerged clearly from its comments.

It noted "the remarkably successful record of the FBI in the general field of law enforcement." It also said "there are many cases where a high caliber investigative work" has been done by the FBI in the civil rights field.

"However," the report added, "there are also indications that upon occasion investigations in this very difficult and highly specialized area haven't measured up to the bureau's high standard in the handling of other types of cases."

The President's committee pointed out that FBI "investigations have not always been as full as the needs of the situation would warrant."

Moreover, it declared, "The tendency of FBI agents to work in close cooperation with local police officers has sometimes been detrimental to the handling of civil rights investigations. At times, these officials are themselves under suspicion."

This point deserves emphasis — because of the evidence marshalled by the committee that police officials are themselves a principal source of anti-Negro violence and because of the record of local police officials in the Mississippi lynchings. A tie-up between the FBI and local police is hardly like-

ly to lead to arrests and convictions of lynchings.

A prime reason for FBI failure not cited in the report is the profound anti-Negro prejudice which permeates the bureau from the top down. This is documented in Max Lowenthal's authoritative book, "The Federal Bureau of Investigation." It is shown in the fact that innumerable FBI reports have condemned government employees as subversive because they associate with Negroes.

In any case, the record of the FBI in the civil rights field is one of almost unbroken failure.

If J. Edgar Hoover doesn't like Dr. Howard's sharp words, let him cite a single case in which a lyncher was convicted in FBI evidence.

Better still, let him answer Howard by bringing the Mississippi lynchings to justice.

In the absence of any action by the FBI, it is Hoover and not Dr. Howard who stands convicted of "false and irresponsible" statements.



## FBI Chief Hits Negro Charges

MEMPHIS, Jan. 19 (AP).—FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover yesterday accused a Negro leader of "false and irresponsible" charges against the FBI's handling of several Mississippi racial killings.

In a letter to Dr. T. R. M. Howard of Mound Bayou, Miss., president of the Mississippi Regional Council of Negro Leadership, Mr. Hoover said:

"I do not propose to permit false charges made against this bureau to go unchallenged."

Reached in Los Angeles, Dr. Howard told the Memphis Commercial-Appeal he would have a full statement later on Mr. Hoover's demand that he submit evidence on his charges or publicly retract them.

Mr. Hoover particularly resented Dr. Howard's publicized statement, in regard to three recent slayings, that:

"We must find out why Southern investigators of the FBI can't seem to solve a crime where a Negro is involved."

Mr. Hoover said a full and impartial investigation was made in every case, at the direction of the Department of Justice, and the department decided civil rights were not involved.

"You seem to have conveniently forgotten the work of this bureau, which was largely responsible for the virtual elimination of lynchings in the South and also was mainly responsible for the breaking up of the Ku Klux Klan in the Carolinas and Georgia," Mr. Hoover said.

Dr. Howard is president of the National Medical Association. He heads Friendship Clinic in Mound Bayou, the Nation's only all-Negro town, located in the Mississippi Delta, about 70 miles south of Memphis.

Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Nichols \_\_\_\_\_  
Boardman \_\_\_\_\_  
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Wash. Post and Times Herald \_\_\_\_\_  
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N. Y. Herald Tribune \_\_\_\_\_  
N. Y. Mirror \_\_\_\_\_  
N. Y. Daily News \_\_\_\_\_  
Daily Worker \_\_\_\_\_  
The Worker \_\_\_\_\_  
New Leader \_\_\_\_\_

Date JAN 19 1956

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## Howard Lauds Ike's Statement

MOUND BAYOU, Miss.—“In view of America's leadership role in the world today, the commendation which President Eisenhower made in his State of the Union Message to Congress appears to be the only forthright method in which the castardly terror, murder, and economic reprisals which are being carried against Negroes in Mississippi could be met. His message is the brightest star that has appeared on the horizon during the past twelve months. It will bring welcome relief and hope to every true believer in our American concept of democracy.”—**DR. T. E. M. HOWARD.**



Dr. Howard

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"THE PITTSBURGH COURIER"

Page 3

Date 1-18-56

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Mr. Tolson ✓  
 Mr. Boardman ✓  
 Mr. Nichols ✓  
 Mr. Belmont ✓  
 Mr. Harbo ✓  
 Mr. Mohr ✓  
 Mr. Parsons ✓  
 Mr. Rosen ✓  
 Mr. Tamm ✓  
 Mr. Sizoo ✓  
 Mr. Winterrowd ✓  
 Tele. Room ✓  
 Mr. Holloman ✓  
 Miss Gandy ✓

T. R. M. HOWARD

see ✓

# On the Way

by Abner W. Berry



## This Is Your J. Edgar Hoover

PRESIDENTS come and Presidents go but J. Edgar Hoover seems as timeless as a river. And over the years there has become attached to the FBI, which Hoover heads, an aura of glamour suffused with an extra special brand of super-patriotism. Hoover's bright young men, intelligent, scientific and capable of modelling Arrow collars and other appurtenances requiring crew-cutness in a model, have just about turned into secular saints by radio and television. They have practiced the art of stool pigeonary to spy on the most private thoughts of citizens. They have exposed the "Communist danger," the subversive "razor blade" at the nation's throat, and braved the mental fantasies of Herbert Philbrick, John Lautner and Mat Cvetic on the silver screen. Kidnapers, Brinks' robbers and "public enemies" of all sorts of numbers—from Number One up—have been as sitting ducks to these masters of criminology.

AND then came Mississippi, which has all but proven itself to be the undoing of these federal watchdogs of our internal peace and security. Murderers who limited their practice to Negroes have not been found. Those who were found, as in the case of the killing of Lamar Smith of Brookhaven, Miss., have been freed because the prosecution could find no witnesses. And in the case of Emmett Louis Till, the 14-year-old Chicago boy, the killers were freed because the jury supported Gov. Hugh White's contention Till's body was not that of Till.

All of this happened while the federal guardians of our liberties stood by as leashed and muted spectators. The populace wanted to know why.

The people demanded answers from U. S. Attorney General Herbert Brownell and from FBI chief J. Edgar Hoover. These gentlemen, contrary to what radio, screen and television had told us, displayed a paucity of concern for liberty and justice and hid behind inadequacies of the law.

And then came Look magazine with a recitation of details of the Till kidnap and murder which raised other questions. If William Bradford Huie, a mere journalist, could come up with such answers leading to a solution of the Till murder, why could not the FBI have done so in time to uphold justice?

This was too much for Herbert Brownell and J. Edgar Hoover. The nasty insinuations and outright charges of negligence against the FBI's activity in Mississippi would have to cease. Brownell and Hoover couldn't lecture such collective entities who had criticized them as the AFL-CIO and its 30,000,000 members. Nor the NAACP, the college fraternities, the Americans for Democratic Action and the thousands of ordinary Americans who have written and wired for Department of Justice action. But they found what was considered a vulnerable target—the Mississippi Negro leader, Dr. T. R. M. Howard. But once the target was chosen there had to be chosen a time and a place for the attack—Memphis, the Delta Cotton Metropolis, one week

after the appearance of the Look article.

For a law enforcement officer who stomached three involved murders and mass threats to a million U. S. citizens, Hoover's language protesting Dr. Howard's charge of FBI indifference was a high mark of perversity. His name calling letter to Dr. Howard, made public through the FBI office in Memphis, sought not only to vindicate his southern agents, especially those who function in the Delta country, but to assure the white supremacists concerning their FBI.

★

THE Hoover letter has been roundly applauded in the racist press. The Jackson (Miss.) Daily News, which answered the accusation by a northern paper that it was racist with "We surely are" (Jan. 9, 1956), clapped its editorial hands for Hoover's attack as follows:

"FBI director J. Edgar Hoover surely put Mississippi's radical Negro agitator, Dr. T. R. M. Howard, in his proper place when he denounced him for making slanderous statements against the FBI."

We can expect that Mississippi's Sen. James O. Eastland, the man whose thirst for justice caused him to use his office to help justify the murder of Till, will show his approval for Hoover's action by inserting the FBI's chief's letter into the Congressional Record. And the racist Federation for Constitutional Government, which includes the terrorists in the White Citizens Councils may give Hoover an honorary membership for his action.

But what about the ability of the FBI to track down criminals involved in the murder of Negroes in Mississippi? Dr. Howard, because the facts and the people are with him, will no doubt have the last word on this. His simple answer to Hoover was: "The fact remains that the FBI cannot seem to solve a crime where a Negro is murdered by a white man in Mississippi."

And the question remains: Why?

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Wash. Post and Times Herald  
 Wash. News  
 Wash. Star  
 N. Y. Herald Tribune  
 N. Y. Mirror  
 Daily Worker  
 The Worker  
 New Leader

Date 1-24-56

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Mr. Tolson ☒  
 Mr. Nichols ☒  
 Mr. Boardman ☒  
 Mr. Belmont ☒  
 Mr. Mason ☒  
 Mr. Mohr ☒  
 Mr. Parsons ☒  
 Mr. Rosen ☒  
 Mr. Tamm ☒  
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 Mr. Winterrowd ☒  
 Tele. Room ☒  
 Mr. Holloman ☒  
 Miss Gandy ☒

## Dr. Howard Sticks To Charges In Tiff With FBI's Hoover

LOS ANGELES — (ANP) — Despite a protest from FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover, Dr. T. R. M. Howard said he is sticking to his charges that the FBI has been lax in solving Mississippi racial killings.

"It is strange that Mr. Hoover, instead of assuring the terrorized Negroes in Dixie that they can receive protection and can get justice, he prefers to make personal attack at me which seems to be politically inspired," Dr. Howard said during an interview.

Hoover in a letter released Wednesday by the FBI office at Memphis, accused the Mound Bayou, Miss., physician of "false and irresponsible" statements against the FBI and demanded that he prove or retract them.

The FBI director particularly resented Dr. Howard's public statement, in regard to the recent slaying of three Negroes in Mississippi, that:

"We must find out why southern investigators of the FBI can't seem to solve a crime where a Negro is involved."

Hoover denied the charge and said that his agents hold "full and impartial investigations" in every case, at the direction of the Department of Justice, and found that no civil

rights violations were involved.

Dr. Howard, president of the Mississippi Regional Council of Negro Leadership, insisted that FBI agents in Mississippi are from that state and naturally are partial to whites. He declared:

"I will stand on the national capitol and tell Hoover that we don't feel that to take a man who has been brought up in an environment such as we have in Mississippi and give him a few weeks or years of training is going to change the individual into a fair impartial investigator where the two races are involved."

Dr. Howard said he has often praised the FBI as the "greatest crime detecting force on earth."

"But I have not felt that all that the government can do has been done in the recent mass killings and intimidations of Negro voters at the polls in Mississippi," he added.

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FROM: THE MEMPHIS WORLD  
 MEMPHIS, TENNESSEE  
 JANUARY 24, 1956

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FBI - MEMPHIS	

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# Dr. Howard Hit By FBI Blast!

MEMPHIS, Tenn. — (INS) — J. Edgar Hoover demanded last night in a letter to a Negro leader that he prove or retract statements that the FBI has been lax in solving Negro slayings in the South.

In the letter released by the FBI office here, Hoover called the charges of Dr. T. R. Howard of Mound Bayou, Miss., "irresponsible and false."

The FBI chief named Howard as declaring that confidential information is "leaked" from FBI offices, resulting in "pressures" on witnesses in Negro slaying cases.

Another statement attributed to Dr. Howard was that "we must find out why southern investigators can't seem to solve a crime a crime where a Negro is involved."

## DENIES BOTH CHARGES

Hoover denied both charges and declared that the FBI has held preliminary inquiries into two recent Negro deaths and conducted a full investigation into a third.

Hoover said an inquiry into the alleged kidnap-murder of 14-year-old Emmett Till of Chicago near Money, Miss., last August, showed that "the facts did not indicate a violation of any federal statute."

In the shooting of Lamar Smith at Brookhaven, Miss., Aug. 13, Hoover stated the Justice Department, acting on facts developed at a preliminary inquiry, advised no investigation should be conducted.

The FBI head said a full investigation was conducted into the ambush slaying of Rev. George Lee at Belzoni, Miss., May 7, 1955, and facts as developed were submitted to the Justice Department.

Contacted in Los Angeles, Dr. Howard told the Defender in a telephone interview that he had not received the FBI's letter. However, he said he refused to recant any of the things he had said about the FBI and added:

"It is strange that Mr. Hoover instead of assuring the terrorized Negroes in Dixie that they can receive protection and can get justice, he prefers to make personal attack at me which seems to be politically inspired."

Hoover has denied that any of the killings in Mississippi which Dr. Howard accused the FBI of failing to probe, were federal cases and said that they had been investigated to ascertain that fact.

However, Dr. Howard said he gave Hoover specific examples of how Negroes were in-

timidated at the polls which certainly a federal violation.

He said that to clear itself in the state, one FBI agent in Mississippi tried to get a Negro to sign an affidavit that the FBI in Mississippi was fair in its dealings in cases where Negroes and whites were involved.

Dr. Howard has charged that FBI agents in Mississippi are from that state and naturally are partial to whites. He declared:

"I will stand on the national capitol and tell Hoover that we don't feel that to take a man who has been brought up in an environment such as we have in Mississippi and give him a few weeks of years of training is going to change the individual into a fair and impartial investigator where the two races are involved."

"In each of my references to the FBI, I have praised the organization as being the greatest crime detecting force on earth. But I have not felt that all that the government can do has been done in the recent mass killings and intimidates of Negro voters at the polls in Mississippi."

"It might be of interest to Hoover to know that millions of Americans join me in this feeling."

Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Boardman \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Mason \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Parsons \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Nease \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Winterrowd \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Holloman \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

CHICAGO DEFENDER

SAT. JANUARY 21, 1956 ISSUE

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Mr. Belmont	
Mr. Mason	
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Mr. Parsons	
Mr. Rosen	<i>nm</i>
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Mr. Nease	
Mr. Winterrowd	
Tele. Room	
Mr. Holloman	<i>nm</i>
Miss Gandy	<i>nm</i>

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# Dr. Howard replies to FBI chief

*Handwritten:* T.R.M. HOWARD  
THEODORE R. M. HOWARD

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PEOPLE'S WORLD  
JAN 23 1956  
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San Francisco Division



LOS ANGELES, Jan. 22 — Dr. Theodore R. M. Howard, Negro leader from Mississippi, today repeated his charge that "the FBI cannot seem to solve a crime where a Negro is murdered by a white man in Mississippi."

In an open letter to J. Edgar Hoover, Dr. Howard answered the FBI chief's allegations that the Negro physician had made "false and irresponsible" statements in pointing to FBI failure to solve recent lynchings in Mississippi.

Text of the letter:

Dear Sir:

On Jan. 18, 1956, I was called by The Memphis Commercial

Appeal, and asked if I had any comment on a letter from you to me which you had released to them. Subsequently, and on the same day, I received similar calls from other newspapers and press associations. Your letter to me reached my Nound Bayou, Miss., home at 9 a.m. on Jan. 19, 1956, a full 12 hours after my first call from the newspapers. Since I had not received your letter when I was queried by these newspapers, I was unable to make a complete reply.

I can only presume that you released the letter prior to the time it could possibly have reached me and that you wanted

ed the whole matter to become an issue in the area of public controversy. I shall, therefore, follow your example and release this letter to the newspapers.

The crux of your complaint, as I gather it, is that I have "made false and irresponsible charges" against the FBI in connection with the murders of George W. Lee, Lamar Smith and Emmett Till, all of whom were killed in Mississippi during 1955.

I am sure that you will understand that these murders, all of which have gone unpunished, have excited genuine concern on the part of millions

of Americans. That concern has been heightened by the fact that J. W. Milam and Roy Bryant explained in last week's Look magazine that they did kill Emmett Till. Since that confession there has been no move to take any further proceedings against them, either by state or federal authorities, so far as I know. As a resident of Mississippi, I know, and I am sure that FBI agents know that the facts in the George Lee and Lamar Smith murders are widely known in the community in which they were murdered.

I am a layman, not a lawyer. I don't pretend to know

the intricacies of the law. I do know that my own criticism of the failure of justice in these cases is a reflection of the feelings of the many thousands of persons to whom I have spoken and with whom I have talked in the past few months. They are as dismayed as I am that murders can be committed in the United States and that murderers can escape indictment, as in the George Lee and Lamar Smith cases, or win acquittal as in the Emmett Till case, when, as in all

(Continued on Page 6)



# Dr. Howard's reply to J. Edgar Hoover

(Continued from Page 1)  
of these cases, the facts about the cases are so well known to law enforcement authorities, federal as well as state.

As I understand your concept of the law in these matters, your bureau is required only to make investigations at the request of the Department of Justice. After you have made these investigations, upon request, you lay the facts before the Department of Justice which determines whether or not prosecution will be undertaken or further investigations will be made.

It seems reasonable to suppose that the Department of Justice must depend, for a final judgment as to whether or not prosecution will be undertaken, on the facts as reported by your bureau. You say that such investigations were made in the George Lee case. I do not know, of course, the extent of your investigation. I do not know whether or not you determined that this was merely a murder case, falling within the province of the state of Mississippi or whether you determined it was part of a widespread conspiracy reaching across state lines that might have brought them within the purview of federal-civil-rights statutes.

What I do know is that a Negro citizen who sought to vote was murdered and that both state and federal governments have declined to take any action. I do not know upon what grounds the Department of Justice declined jurisdiction. I do know that I sent a telegram to the Department of Justice asking for a conference on these matters and received an answer some four weeks later stating that such a conference would be arranged. No date was set for that proposed meeting.

It was against that background that I voiced my criticism of federal inaction in my Baltimore speech. The quotation attributed to me by The

Baltimore Morning Sun is not entirely accurate. In substance I said on that occasion that "we must find out why the FBI cannot seem to solve a crime where a Negro is murdered by a white man in Mississippi." Whether the reason for that failure lies in inadequacy of federal statutes, or restrictive interpretation of such statutes by the Department of Justice or the failure of FBI investigative machinery, the fact remains that "the FBI cannot seem to solve a crime where a Negro is murdered by a white man in Mississippi."

Of course, I do not know the extent or character of the Bureau's investigation in the Till case. I do not know whether your investigation was made available to Mississippi law enforcement authorities. It is plain now in the light of the J. W. Milam confession in the Till case that the facts in that case lay close to the surface. I have the impression that in many instances the FBI has conducted investigations and found facts which were then given to state authorities for prosecution of the wrongdoers.

You say that I have "conveniently forgotten the work of this bureau . . . was largely responsible for the virtual elimination of lynching in the South, and also, was mainly responsible for the breaking up of the K.K.K. in the Carolinas and Georgia." Frankly, there is a wide difference of opinion between us on that score. You are as entitled to your opinion that the FBI deserves credit on both these scores as I am to mine that lynching was eliminated and the K.K.K. broken up by persistent action by the NAACP and by an aroused public opinion.

I cannot recall a prosecution of lynching, as such, by the federal government and I suppose that such prosecution would be undertaken only after investigation by the Bureau. I also understand that there is no federal anti-lynching statute and

that prosecution of lynching, as such, is a matter for the states. In view of that fact, I do not understand how the FBI was able to take effective action to "virtually eliminate lynching" in light of your statement that the Department of Justice can act only when federal statutes have been violated. If the federal government was able to act in the area of lynching, in the absence of a federal anti-lynching statute, is it possible to undertake similar action in cases such as the George Lee, Lamar Smith and Emmett Till cases in light of a similar claimed lack of applicable federal statutes?

I did charge in my Chicago press conference speech that there had been a "leak" of FBI investigations in Mississippi. The complainants live in Mississippi and I believe that you will agree with me that any complainant in that state risks his personal safety when he makes charges that run counter to current public opinion in that state. Therefore, I will not recite the specific case in this letter, which will be released to the press. Under separate cover I am sending you a statement of the facts in that case.

I know that you will guarantee safety of that individual. One of the things which I wanted to discuss, and tried to discuss, with the Department of Justice was that very matter. Since I was never given a definite appointment I was unable to present it through those channels.

In conclusion, I reject the charge that I have made "false and impressionable charges."

I have exercised my right as an American citizen to criticize governmental functions. I shall continue to exercise that right, even when it leads to a difference of opinion between me and public servants. I regret that this controversy has arisen since it tends to obscure the fact that the real issue in the South, and in the nation and the world for that matter, is not our differences as to FBI action, or inaction, but the fact that American citizens are being wantonly murdered in Mississippi and that their murderers are going unpunished.

Since your letter to me was in the nature of an open statement to the newspapers I regret very much that you did not see fit to include in it a condemnation of these murders. Your condemnation might do much to halt this wave of violence. In any event, I shall continue to join with the millions of other Americans and cry out against injustice and against that kind of administration of justice which permits murderers to go free to boast their crimes.

—Dr. T.R.M. Howard



G. I. R. - J

Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Boardman \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Nichols \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Harbo \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Parsons \_\_\_\_\_  
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 Mr. Winterrowd \_\_\_\_\_  
 Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Holloman \_\_\_\_\_  
 Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

## DR. HOWARD INSISTS FBI IGNORES MURDERS IN SOUTH

Dr. T. R. M. Howard, the Mississippi Negro leader, stuck by his charges that the FBI was indifferent when Negroes were "wantonly murdered," in a letter to J. Edgar Hoover made public over the weekend. Hoover had accused Howard, Mound Bayou, Miss., surgeon and head of the Region Council of Negro Leadership, of "false and irresponsible" charges.

Highlights of Dr. Howard's letter to the FBI chief were:

• That the thousands of persons he had spoken with "are just as dismayed as I am that murders can be committed in the United States and that murderers can escape indictment, as in the (Rev.) George Lee and Lamar Smith cases, or win acquittal as in the Emmett Till case. . . . In all these cases, the facts are . . . well known

to law enforcement authorities, federal as well as state.

• Following the murder of Rev. Lee, Dr. Howard sought clarification of the FBI role in its solution: "I do know that I sent a telegram to the Department of Justice asking for a conference on these matters and received an answer some four weeks later stating that such a conference would be arranged. No date has been set for the proposed meeting."

• "We must find out why the FBI cannot seem to solve a crime where a Negro is murdered by a white man in Mississippi. . . . Whether the reason for that failure lies in inadequacy of federal statutes, or of restrictive interpretation of such statutes by the Department of Justice or the failure of the FBI investigative machinery, the fact remains that the FBI cannot seem to solve a crime where a Negro is murdered by a white man in Mississippi."

Mississippi and other southern papers have editorially applauded the action of J. Edgar Hoover in attacking the Negro leader. The Jackson Daily News, the most outspoken for the racist White Citizens Councils, last Friday gloated editorially over the fact that Dr. Howard was "told that his room was preferred to his company." Hoover was pictured by the Daily News as putting Dr. Howard in his proper place.

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 Mr. Holloman \_\_\_\_\_  
 Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

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## Howard Again Challenges FBI in Killing of Negroes

LOS ANGELES, Jan. 20 (AP) — his family here, wrote in his reply that Hoover's letter reached his Mound Bayou, Miss., home "a full 12 hours" after his first call from newspapers asking comment.

"I can only presume that you released the letter prior to the time it could possibly have reached me and that you wanted the whole matter to become an issue in the area of public controversy," Howard wrote.

Dr. Howard wrote that he has talked with "many thousands of persons" in the past few months and:

"They are as dismayed as I am that murders can be committed in the United States and that murderers can escape indictment, as in the George Lee and Lamar Smith cases, or win acquittal as in the Emmett Till Case.

Howard, who said he is visiting

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Date 1-21-56

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# Negro Writes Reply To Director Of FBI

LOS ANGELES, Jan. 20 (AP)—American citizens are being wantonly murdered in Mississippi and their murderers are going unpunished, Negro leader Dr. T. R. M.

Howard said yesterday in a letter to FBI Chief J. Edgar Hoover.

In reply to a letter from Hoover, Dr. Howard also said, "the fact remains that the FBI cannot seem to solve a crime where a Negro is murdered by a white man in Mississippi."

Hoover had accused Howard, president of the Mississippi Regional Council of Negro Leadership, of "false and irresponsible" charges against the FBI's handling of several racial killings in the Southern state.

Dr. Howard repeated in the letter statements which he said he made in a Baltimore speech. He also wrote that he has talked with "many thousands of persons" in the past month and:

"They are as dismayed as I am that murders can be committed in the United States and that murderers can escape indictment, as in the George Lee and Lemuel Smith cases, or win acquittal as in the Emmett Till case, when, as in all of these cases, the facts about the cases are so well known to law enforcement authorities, federal as well as state."

Dr. Howard wrote that Lee "who sought to vote, was murdered" and both state and federal governments have declined to take action. He said he did not know on what grounds the Department of Justice declined jurisdiction and added:

"I do know that I sent a telegram to the Department of Justice asking for a conference on these matters and received an answer some four weeks later stating that such a conference would be arranged. No date was set for the proposed meeting."

Dr. Howard wrote that in Baltimore he said, in substance:

"We must find out why the FBI cannot seem to solve a crime where a Negro is murdered by a white man in Mississippi.

"Whether the reason for that failure lies in inadequacy of federal statutes, or restrictive interpretation of such statutes by the Department of Justice or the failure of FBI investigative machinery, the fact remains that the FBI cannot seem to solve a crime where a Negro is murdered by a white man in Mississippi."

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. Nichols	_____
Mr. Boardman	_____
Mr. Belmont	_____
Mr. Mason	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
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Miss Gandy	_____

*Mr. Tolson*  
*4-Hawkins*

*T.R.M. Howard*

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THE NEWS AND COURIER  
Charleston, South Carolina  
January 21, 1956

50 FEB 1 1956



# HOWARD REPEATS CRITICISM OF FBI

## 'Murders Go Unpunished,' Says Letter to Hoover

LOS ANGELES, Jan. 20 (AP)—American citizens are being wantonly murdered in Mississippi and their murderers are going unpunished, Negro leader Dr. T. R. M. Howard said Thursday in a letter to FBI Chief J. Edgar Hoover.

In reply to a letter from Hoover, Dr. Howard also said, "the fact remains that the FBI cannot seem to solve a crime where a Negro is murdered by a white man in Mississippi."

Hoover had accused Howard, president of the Mississippi Regional Council of Negro Leadership, of "false and irresponsible" charges against the FBI's handling of several racial killings in the Southern state.

### Says 'Thousands Dismayed'

Dr. Howard repeated in the letter statements which he said he made in a Baltimore speech. He also wrote that he has talked with "many thousands of persons" in the past months and:

"They are as dismayed as I am that murders can be committed in the United States and that murderers can escape indictment, as in the George Lee and Lemar Smith cases, or win acquittal as in the Emmett Till case, when, as in all of these cases, the facts about the cases are so well known to law enforcement authorities, federal as well as state."

Till, 14, a Chicago Negro visiting an uncle near Money, Miss., was kidnaped last Aug. 28. Two white men were acquitted of murdering him. Smith was shot and killed last Aug. 13 at Brookhaven, Miss. Lee, a leader of the National Assn. for the Advancement of Colored People, was found dead last May 7 in his wrecked automobile in Belzoni, Miss. NAACP leaders say he was shot while driving.

### Says US Declined to Act

Dr. Howard wrote that Lee, "who sought to vote, was murdered" and both state and federal governments have declined to take action. He said he did not know on what grounds the Department of Justice declined jurisdiction and added:

"I do know that I sent a telegram to the Department of Justice asking for a conference on these matters and received an answer some four weeks later stating that such a conference would be arranged. No date was set for the proposed meeting."

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Mr. Tolson	✓
Mr. Nichols	✓
Mr. Boardman	✓
Mr. Belmont	✓
Mr. Mason	✓
Mr. Mohr	✓
Mr. Parsons	✓
Mr. Rosen	✓
Mr. Tamm	✓
Mr. Nease	✓
Mr. Winterrowd	✓
Tele. Room	✓
Mr. Holloman	✓
Miss Gandy	✓

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64 FEB 7 1956

T.R.M. HOWARD



# Howard Again Challenges FBI in Killing of Negroes

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The president of the National Medical Association repeated yesterday in a letter to the FBI Director the statement which he said he had made in a Baltimore speech.

Howard had accused Howard president of the Mississippi Regional Council of Negro Leadership, of "false and irresponsible" charges against the FBI's handling of several Mississippi racial killings.

Howard's letter was released by the Memphis FBI office. Howard, who said he is visiting

his family here, wrote in his reply that Hoover's letter reached his Mound Bayou, Miss., home "a full 12 hours" after his first call from newspapers asking comment.

"I can only presume that you released the letter prior to the time it could possibly have reached me and that you wanted the whole matter to become an issue in the area of public controversy," Howard wrote.

Dr. Howard wrote that he has talked with "many thousands of persons" in the past few months and:

"They are as dismayed as I am that murders can be committed in the United States and that murderers can escape indictment, as in the George Lee and Lamar Smith cases, or with acquittal as in the Emmett Till Case.

Tolson ☒  
Nichols ☒  
Boardman ☒  
Belmont ☒  
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#### Says 'Thousands Dismayed'

Dr. Howard repeated in the letter statements which he said he made in a Baltimore speech. He also wrote that he has talked with "many thousands of persons" in the past months and:

"They are as dismayed as I am that murders can be committed in the United States and that murderers can escape indictment, as in the George Lee and Lemar Smith cases, or win acquittal as in the Emmett Till case, when, as in all of these cases, the facts about the cases are so well known to law enforcement authorities, federal as well as state."

Till, 14, a Chicago Negro visiting an uncle near Money, Miss., was kidnaped last Aug. 28. Two white men were acquitted of murdering him. Smith was shot and killed last Aug. 13 at Brookhaven, Miss. Lee, a leader of the National Assn. for the Advancement of Colored People, was found dead last May 7 in his wrecked automobile in Belzoni, Miss. NAACP leaders say he was shot while driving.

#### Says US Declined to Act

Dr. Howard wrote that Lee, "who sought to vote, was murdered" and both state and federal governments have declined to take action. He said he did not know on what grounds the Department of Justice declined jurisdiction and added:

"I do know that I sent a telegram to the Department of Justice asking for a conference on these matters and received an answer some four weeks later stating that such a conference would be arranged. No date was set for the proposed meeting."

Dr. Howard wrote that in Baltimore he said, in substance:

"We must find out why the FBI cannot seem to solve a crime

where a Negro is murdered by a white man in Mississippi.

"Whether the reason for that failure lies in inadequacy of federal statutes, or restrictive interpretation of such statutes by the Department of Justice or the failure of FBI investigative machinery, the fact remains that the FBI cannot seem to solve a crime where a Negro is murdered by a white man in Mississippi."

Dr. Howard said he regretted "that this controversy has arisen since it tends to obscure the fact that the real issue in the South, and in the nation and the world for that matter, is not our differences as to FBI action or inaction but the fact that American citizens are being wantonly murdered in Mississippi and that their murderers are going unpunished."

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THE TIMES-PICTURE  
MINOR LEADS P. 35  
JAN 21 1956  
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## Hoover Defends FBI Against Unjust Charges

The Negro civil rights leader in Mississippi who censured the Federal Bureau of Investigation for its role in probing Negro slayings has been called to task by FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover, who declares the charges demonstrate gross misinformation or irresponsibility. Mr. Hoover's statement seems to us entirely proper.

Mr. Hoover pointed out that one duty of his organization is to investigate alleged civil rights violations and to report its findings to the criminal division of the Justice Department. He said, too, that the FBI "is doing everything within the scope of existing legislation in civil rights matters."

Criticized in Mississippi for alleged laxity and inefficiency, the same FBI has been severely condemned in Georgia for its investigation of alleged civil rights violations in the workings of the Cobb County jury selection system. In the latter case, reliable sources indicate that when the FBI report on the probe is made public, it will be that the investigators found no evidence to support the charges.

In each case, the FBI was acting on orders and within the framework of the law.

As Director Hoover said in his answer to the Mississippi Negro's allegations, fair and prompt investigations by the FBI have done much to increase public respect for and consciousness of civil rights.

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# Negro Leader Lashes Back At FBI Chief

LOS ANGELES (P)—Negro leader Dr. T. R. M. Howard reiterated Friday in reply to FBI Chief J. Edgar Hoover: "The fact remains that 'the FBI cannot seem to solve a crime where a Negro is murdered by a white man in Mississippi.'"

The president of the National Medical Association repeated in a letter to the FBI director the statement which he said he had made in a Baltimore speech.

## Letter Released

Hoover, in a letter Thursday to Dr. Howard accused Howard, president of the Mississippi Regional Council of Negro Leadership, of "false and irresponsible" charges against the FBI's handling of several Mississippi racial killings.

Hoover's letter was released by the Memphis FBI office. Howard, who said he is visiting his family here, wrote in his reply that Hoover's letter reached his Mound Bayou, Miss., home "a full 12 hours" after his first call from newspapers asking comment.

Dr. Howard wrote that he has talked with "many thousands of persons" in the past few months and:

## 'Murderers Escape'

"They are as dismayed as I am that murders can be committed in the United States and that murderers can escape indictment, as in the George Lee and Lamar Smith cases, or win acquittal as in the Emmett Till case, when, as in all of these cases, the facts about the cases are so well known to law enforcement authorities, federal as well as state."

Till, a 14-year-old Chicago Negro visiting an uncle near Money, Miss., was kidnaped August 28. Two white men were acquitted of murdering him. Smith was shot down last August 13 in the Brookhaven, Miss., town square.

Mr. Tolson  
Mr. Nichols  
Mr. Boardman  
Mr. Belmont  
Mr. Mason  
Mr. Mohr  
Mr. Parsons  
Mr. Rosen  
Mr. Tamm  
Mr. Nease  
Mr. Winterrowd  
Tele. Room  
Mr. Holloman  
Miss Gandy

OKLAHOMA CITY TIMES

DATED: 1-20-56  
BLUE STREAK EDITION  
CARL K. STUART, EDITOR

62-102602-A  
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126 FEB 10 1956

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Mr. Tolson	
Mr. Boardman	
Mr. Belmont	
Mr. Mason	
Mr. Mohr	
Mr. Parsons	
Mr. Rosen	
Mr. Tamm	
Mr. Nease	
Mr. Winterrowd	
Tele. Room	
Mr. Holloman	
Miss Gandy	

*W. J. [unclear]*

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*Hayden*

# Negro Leader Repeats Slap At FBI on Mississippi Slayings

LOS ANGELES, Jan. 20. (AP) — American citizens are being wantonly murdered in Mississippi and their murderers are going unpunished, a negro leader, Dr. T. R. M. Howard, said yesterday in a letter to FBI Chief J. Edgar Hoover.

In reply to a letter from Hoover, Howard also said: "The fact remains that the FBI cannot seem to solve a crime where a negro is murdered by a white man in Mississippi."

## CHARGED BY HOOVER

Hoover had accused Howard, president of the Mississippi regional Council of Negro Leadership, of "false and irresponsible" charges against the FBI's handling of several racial killings in the southern state.

Howard repeated in the letter statements which he said he made in a Baltimore speech. He also wrote he has talked with "many thousands of persons" in the past months and:

"They are as dismayed as I am that murders can be committed in the U. S. and that murderers can escape indictment, as in the George Lee and Lemar Smith cases, or win acquittal as in the Emmett Till case, when, as in all of these cases, the facts about the cases are so well known to law enforcement authorities, federal as well as state."

Till, 14, a Chicago negro visiting an uncle near Money, Miss., was kidnaped last Aug. 28. Two white men were acquitted of murdering him.

**TWO OTHERS SHOT**  
Smith was shot and killed last Aug. 13 at Brookhaven, Miss. Lee, a leader of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, was found dead last May 7 in his wrecked auto in Belzoni, Miss. NAACP leaders say he was shot while driving.

Howard wrote that Lee "who sought to vote was murdered" and both state and federal governments have declined to take action. He said he did not know on what grounds the department of justice declined jurisdiction and added:

"I do know that I sent a telegram to the department of justice asking for a conference on these matters and received an answer some four weeks later stating that such a conference would be arranged. No date was set for the proposed meeting."

The San Antonio Light  
San Antonio, Texas  
January 20, 1956

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### Qualifies As Reckless

Published statements attributed to Dr. T. R. M. HOWARD, Mound Bayou, Miss., Negro physician, criticizing Federal Bureau of Investigation handling of so-called "civil rights" cases has brought an unequivocal demand from FBI Director HOOVER that he produce proof or make public retraction.

Mr. HOOVER chose what for him is the rare method of making public an official letter in which he took up, point by point, the quoted criticisms attributed to Dr. HOWARD by the media in which published.

The FBI director labels the HOWARD statements as "irresponsible" and "intemperate and baseless."

In a telephonic conversation with this newspaper Wednesday night, Dr. HOWARD denied that he had said anything about FBI "leaks" in the EMMETT TILL case. "If the FBI even entered the TILL case I don't know about it," he said. The FBI will probably refresh his memory.

On Dec. 28 last The Chicago American published a news story about the Mound Bayou doctor being in Chicago and said:

"Dr. HOWARD, who is here to receive a civil rights award . . . criticized the Federal Bureau of Investigation in respect to its operations in Mississippi. Dr. HOWARD said: 'Confidential information usually leaks from the local FBI offices and witnesses in Negro slayings are subjected to pressures as a result.'" The rest of The American's story on Dr. HOWARD was devoted to his comments on the TILL case.

There is no qualification in Dr. HOWARD's quoted remark that "confidential information usually leaks from FBI offices," and Mr. HOOVER will not be blamed for interpreting the statement as a very serious reflection on the FBI's integrity. He is known to be willing to take on any and all comers and no holds barred when his integrity is challenged.

On the basis of the quotations, Dr. HOWARD qualifies as being completely reckless as well as "irresponsible." The FBI has proved its ability to take care of itself when integrity and efficiency have been challenged. The Mound Bayou physician has taken on a large order.

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THE COMMERCIAL APPEAL, MEMPHIS,

JANUARY 20, 1956



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Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Boardman \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Nichols \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Harbo \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Parsons \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Rosen ☒ \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Sizoo \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Winterrowd \_\_\_\_\_  
 Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Holloman \_\_\_\_\_  
 Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

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*Wink*

# Hoover Defends Race Case Work

MEMPHIS, Jan. 19 (AP)—J. Edgar Hoover, director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, has sharply criticized a Negro leader who says the FBI doesn't try very hard when probing a racial killing.

In a letter to Dr. T. R. M. Howard of Mound Bayou, Miss., Hoover said Howard should either give evidence or retract his "intemperate and baseless charges."



Hoover

"I do not propose to permit false charges made against this Bureau to go unchallenged," said the letter, made public last night by FBI regional headquarters here.

## Reply Promised

Reached in Los Angeles, Howard told the Memphis Commercial Appeal his statements were "based on reports brought to me by responsible Negroes in the various sections of Mississippi." He said he would make a more extensive statement after he received and studied the letter.

Howard is president of the Mississippi Regional Council of Negro Leadership and the National Medical Association.

The FBI Director's letter cited in particular Howard's publicized statement that:

"We must find out why Southern investigators of the FBI can't seem to solve a crime where a Negro is involved."

Hoover said a full and impar-

tial investigation, to see if civil rights were violated, was made in every Mississippi slaying mentioned by Howard.

It was decided no civil rights were involved in two of the cases, he added. The decision on the third, the death of the Rev. G. W. Lee, was not cited.

Hoover said Howard seems to "have conveniently forgotten the work of this Bureau which was largely responsible for the virtual elimination of lynching in the South and also was mainly responsible for the breaking up of the Ku Klux Klan in the Carolinas and Georgia."

## 3 Killings Cited

The killings that stirred Howard's criticism were those of Lee, the shooting of Lamar Smith and the kidnaping of Emmett Till.

Lee was found dying in his wrecked car in Belzoni last May 7. Leaders of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People said he was shot as he drove along the street.

Lamar Smith also was active in civil rights work. He was shot down in Brookhaven's downtown square last Aug. 13. A grand jury said it could find no witnesses.

Till, a 14-year-old Chicago Negro, was snatched from his uncle's home near Money after allegedly wolf-whistling at a white woman and making "insulting" remarks. The woman's husband and brother-in-law were acquitted of a charge they murdered Till. A grand jury refused to indict on a kidnap charge.

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Wash. Post and Times Herald *P. 25*  
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 The Worker \_\_\_\_\_  
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 Mr. Boardman ☒  
 Mr. Nichols ☒  
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 Mr. Holloman ☒  
 Miss Gandy ☒

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O. Howard, J. R. M.

**THE SENSITIVE FBI**

IT SEEMS that J. Edgar Hoover, the FBI chief, has a thin skin to match his still thinner memory on what his bureau has done about protecting the rights of Negroes. Hoover last Wednesday in Memphis, the cotton metropolis, berated Dr. T. R. W. Howard for having charged that the FBI had not "solved a crime where a Negro is involved." In effect, Hoover challenged the Mississippi Negro leader to "put up or shut up."

Hoover's attack on Dr. Howard is suspect and not honest on its face, for the public record stands as the most reliable accusation against the FBI. Hoover's men have not been able to find the man, or men, who placed the fatal bomb in the Mims, Fla., home of Mr. and Mrs. Harry T. Moore on Christmas night, 1951.

They have not produced even a clue to who shot and killed the Rev. George W. Lee in Belzoni, Miss., last May.

Nor have they any idea, after a perfunctory look into the matter, as to who seriously wounded with gunshot Gus Courts in Belzoni late last year.

Hoover's blast at Dr. Howard comes with worse than ill grace. For the only answer to the criticism made by Dr. Howard—and indeed by most persons interested in civil rights—is for the FBI to show some determination to clear up these unsolved murders.

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Mr. Boardman ✓  
Mr. Nichols ✓  
Mr. Belmont ✓  
Mr. Harbo ✓  
Mr. Mohr ✓  
Mr. Parsons ✓  
Mr. Rosen ✓  
Mr. Tamm ✓  
Mr. Sizoo ✓  
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Tele. Room ✓  
Mr. Holloman ✓  
Miss Gandy ✓

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# Dr. Howard Replies To J. Edgar Hoover

Dr. T. R. M. Howard, the Mississippi Negro leader challenged by FBI chief J. Edgar Hoover to prove charges of FBI laxity, counter-charged yesterday that the challenge had a political motive.

Hoover, in a letter released Wednesday by the Memphis (Tenn.) FBI office, had accused Dr. Howard of making "false and baseless" charges against the FBI for not having apprehended those guilty of major crimes against Negroes.

"It is a little hard to understand," Dr. Howard told a New York newspaper yesterday, "why he wished to . . . make a personal attack on me instead of rounding the killers in Mississippi."

Howard said a full statement by him would be made later.

The statement of Dr. Howard's which got under Hoover's skin, declared:

"We must find out why southern

investigators of the FBI can't seem to solve a crime where a Negro is involved."

Since making his complaints against the FBI, Dr. Howard has been forced to sell his 700-acre plantation because of the threats against him and his family.

Wash. Post and Times Herald \_\_\_\_\_  
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Wash. Star \_\_\_\_\_  
N. Y. Herald Tribune \_\_\_\_\_  
N. Y. Mirror \_\_\_\_\_  
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In reply to a critical letter from Mr. Hoover, Dr. Howard also said "the fact remains that the FBI cannot seem to solve a crime where a Negro is murdered by a white man in Mississippi."

Mr. Hoover had accused Dr. Howard, president of the Mississippi Regional Council of Negro Leadership, of "false and irresponsible" charges against the FBI's handling of several racial killings in the Southern State.

Dr. Howard repeated in the letter statements which he said he made in a Baltimore speech. He also wrote that he has talked with "many thousands of persons" in the last month and:

"They are as dismayed as I am that murders can be com-

mitted in the United States and that murderers can escape indictment, as in the George Lee and Lemar Smith cases, or win acquittal as in the Emmett Till case, when, as in all of these cases, the facts about the cases are so well known to law enforcement authorities, Federal as well as State."

## Says U. S. Declined to Act

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"I do know that I sent a telegram to the Department of Justice asking for a conference on these matters and received an answer some four weeks later stating that such a conference would be arranged. No date was set for the proposed meeting."

In a letter made public Wednesday night by FBI regional headquarters in Memphis, Tenn., Mr. Hoover sharply criticized Dr. Howard. He said Dr. Howard should either give evidence or retract his "intemperate and baseless charges."

"I do not propose to permit false charges made against this bureau to go unchallenged," said the letter.

## Reports Full Probes

Mr. Hoover said a full and impartial investigation, to see if civil rights were violated, was made in every Mississippi slaying mentioned by Dr. Howard.

It was decided no civil rights were involved in two of the cases, he added. The decision on the third, the death of Mr. Lee, was not cited.

Mr. Hoover said Dr. Howard seems to "have conveniently forgotten the work of this bureau which was largely responsible for the virtual elimination of lynching in the South and also was mainly responsible for the breaking up of the Ku-Klux Klan in the Carolinas and Georgia."

Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Boardman \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Nichols \_\_\_\_\_  
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Mr. Harbo \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Parsons \_\_\_\_\_  
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Mr. Winterrowd \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Holloman \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

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Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
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 Mr. Winterrowd \_\_\_\_\_  
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 Mr. Holloman \_\_\_\_\_  
 Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

*very widely syndicated*

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# THE TILL MURDER CASE

## FBI chief breaks silence —attacks Negro leader!

Daily People's World Political Department

FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover's first public reaction to the Emmett Till murder—coming five months after the crime—was to attack a Negro leader for daring to say the FBI "can't seem to solve a crime where a Negro is involved."

Hoover, who has been mum on the Mississippi murder of the Negro youth since it happened in August, broke his silence Wednesday in New York. He accused Dr. T. R. M. Howard of Mound Bayou, Miss., of "false

and irresponsible" charges against FBI handling of the case.

Associated Press reported from Memphis that Hoover wrote Howard declaring:

"I do not propose to permit false charges made against this bureau to go unchallenged."

Hoover demanded that Howard submit evidence on his charges or publicly retract them.

Dr. Howard had said: "We must find out why Southern investigators of the FBI can't seem to solve a crime where a Negro is involved."

Hoover contended no violation

of civil rights was involved in the Till killing or other recent slayings of Mississippi Negroes.

The FBI head, who apparently does not classify these deaths as lynchings, said:

"You seem to have conveniently forgotten the work of this bureau which was largely responsible for the virtual elimination of lynchings in the South."

In Los Angeles, Dr. Howard said, after Hoover's letter was read to him by The Memphis Commercial Appeal:

"It is my charge that the FBI has failed to find the killers in the recent Mississippi murders. If that charge is false then it is my belief that the

murderers of Rev. Lee and the individuals who seriously wounded Gus Courts on November 2 should be brought to justice."

*4-7-56*



J. EDGAR HOOVER

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PEOPLE'S WORLD

*1/20/56, page 8, cols 1-4*  
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 San Francisco Division

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Tolson ✓  
Nichols ✓  
Boardman ✓  
Belmont ✓  
Mason ✓  
Mohr ✓  
Parsons ✓  
Rosen ✓  
Tamm ✓  
Nease ✓  
Winterrowd ✓  
Tele. Room ✓  
Holloman ✓  
Gandy ✓

BAUMGARDNER

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The Worker \_\_\_\_\_  
New Leader \_\_\_\_\_

Date JAN 20 1956

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## Reply Promised

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Hoover

tial investigation, to see if civil rights were violated, was made in every Mississippi slaying mentioned by Howard.

It was decided no civil rights were involved in two of the cases, he added. The decision on the third, the death of the Rev. G. W. Lee, was not cited.

Hoover said Howard seems to "have conveniently forgotten the work of this Bureau, which was largely responsible for the virtual elimination of lynching in the South and also was mainly responsible for the breaking up of the Ku Klux Klan in the Carolinas and Georgia."

## 3 Killings Cited

The killings that stirred Howard's criticism were those of Lee, the shooting of Lamar Smith and the kidnaping of Emmett Till.

Lee was found dying in his wrecked car in Belzoni last May 7. Leaders of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People said he was shot as he drove along the street.

Lamar Smith also was active in civil rights work. He was shot down in Brookhaven's downtown square last Aug. 13. A grand jury said it could find no witnesses.

Till, a 14-year-old Chicago Negro, was snatched from his uncle's home near Money after allegedly wolf-whistling at a white woman and making "insulting" remarks. The woman's husband and brother-in-law were acquitted of a charge they murdered Till. A grand jury refused to indict on a kidnap charge.

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N. Y. Daily News \_\_\_\_\_  
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The Worker \_\_\_\_\_  
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 Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Holloman \_\_\_\_\_  
 Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

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# Howard Replies To FBI Head On Work In State

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In reply to a letter from Hoover, Dr. Howard also said, "the fact remains that the FBI cannot seem to solve a crime where a Negro is murdered by a white man in Mississippi."

Hoover had accused Howard, president of the Mississippi Regional Council of Negro Leadership, of "false and irresponsible" charges against the FBI's handling of several racial killings in the Southern state.

(Continued on page three)

# Howard Replies

(Continued from page one)

Dr. Howard repeated in the letter statements which he said he made in a Baltimore speech. He also wrote that he has talked with "many thousands of persons" in the past month and:

"They are as dismayed as I am that murders can be committed in the United States and that murderers can escape indictment, as in the George Lee and Lemar Smith cases, or win acquittal as in the Emmett Till case, when, as in all of these cases, the facts about the cases are so well known to law enforcement authorities, federal as well as state."

Till, 14, a Chicago Negro visiting an uncle near Money, Miss., was kidnaped last Aug. 28. Two white men were acquitted of murdering him. Smith was shot and killed

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Dr. Howard wrote that Lee "who sought to vote, was murdered" and both state and federal governments have declined to take action. He said he did not know on what grounds the Department of Justice declined jurisdiction and added:

"I do know that I sent a telegram to the Department of Justice asking for a conference on these matters and received an answer some four weeks later stating that such a conference would be arranged. No date was set for the proposed meeting."

Dr. Howard wrote that in Baltimore he said, in substance:

"We must find out why the FBI cannot seem to solve a crime where a Negro is murdered by a white man in Mississippi."

"Whether the reason for that failure lies in inadequacy of federal statutes, or restrictive interpretation of such statutes by the Department of Justice or the failure of FBI investigative machinery, the fact remains that the FBI cannot seem to solve a crime where a Negro is murdered by a white man in Mississippi."

Dr. Howard said he regretted "that this controversy has arisen since it tends to obscure the fact that the real issue in the South, and in the nation and the world for that matter, is not our differences as to FBI action or inaction but the fact that American citizens are being wantonly murdered in Mississippi and that their murderers are going unpunished."

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LAUREL LEADER-CALL  
LAUREL, MISS.  
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Mr. Rosen	
Mr. Tamm	
Mr. Nease	
Mr. Winterrowd	
Tele. Room	
Mr. Holloman	
Miss Gandy	

# Replies To Hoover

## Howard Says FBI Winks At State 'Mass Murdering'

LOS ANGELES (AP) —American citizens are being wantonly murdered in Mississippi and their murderers are going unpunished, Negro leader Dr. T. R. M. Howard said yesterday in a letter to FBI Chief J. Edgar Hoover.

In reply to a letter from Hoover, Dr. Howard also said, "the fact remains that the FBI cannot seem to solve a crime where a Negro is murdered by a white man in Mississippi."

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JACKSON DAILY NEWS  
JACKSON, MISS.

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Mr. Tolson ✓  
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 Mr. Rosen ✓  
 Mr. Tamm ✓  
 Mr. Nease ✓  
 Mr. Winterrowd ✓  
 Tele. Room ✓  
 Mr. Holloman ✓  
 Miss Gandy ✓

## Hoover Hits Back After Criticism

MEMPHIS, Tenn.—(AP)—J. Edgar Hoover, director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, has sharply criticized a Negro leader who says the FBI doesn't try very hard when probing a racial killing.

In a letter to Dr. T. R. M. Howard of Mound Bayou, Miss., Hoover said Howard should either give evidence or retract his "intemperate and baseless charges."

"I do not propose to permit false charges made against this Bureau to go unchallenged," said the letter, made public by FBI Regional Headquarters here.

Reached in Los Angeles, Howard told the Memphis Commercial Appeal his statements were "based on reports brought to me by responsible Negroes in the various sections of Mississippi."

Howard said he would make a more extensive statement after he received and studied the letter.

He is president of the Mississippi Regional Council of Negro Leadership and the National Medical Association. He has been out of Mississippi several weeks attending to NMA duties.

THE SAGINAW NEWS  
Home Edition  
Saginaw, Mich.

1/20/56

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126 FEB 14 1956

TOP CLIPPING  
DATED 1-19-56  
FROM WASH. STATE  
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50 FEB 14 1956



The Flint Journal, Flint, Michigan

Friday, January 20, 1956

Mr. Tolson ✓  
Mr. Nichols ✓  
Mr. Boardman ✓  
Mr. Belmont ✓  
Mr. Mason ✓  
Mr. Mohr ✓  
Mr. Parsons ✓  
Mr. Rosen ✓  
Mr. Tamm ✓  
Mr. Nease ✓  
Mr. Winterrowd ✓  
Tele. Room ✓  
Mr. Holloman ✓  
Miss Gandy ✓

## Negro Leader Repeats Criticism of FBI In Letter Regarding Southern Murders

Los Angeles —AP— American citizens are being wantonly murdered in Mississippi and their murderers are going unpunished, Negro leader Dr. T. R. M. Howard said Thursday in a letter to FBI chief J. Edgar Hoover.

In reply to a letter from Hoover, Dr. Howard also said, "the fact remains that the FBI cannot seem to solve a crime where a Negro is murdered by a white man in Mississippi."

Hoover had accused Howard, president of the Mississippi Regional Council of Negro Leadership, of "false and irresponsible" charges against the FBI's handling of several racial killings in the Southern State.

Dr. Howard repeated in the letter statements which he said he made in a Baltimore speech. He also wrote that he has talked with "many thousands of persons" in the past month and:

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TOP CLIPPING

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FROM 11/15/56

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## Demands Proof Or Public Retraction Of Statements

# Hoover Denounces Negro Leader's

## Attack On FBI

MEMPHIS, Jan. 18 (AP)—FBI chief J. Edgar Hoover today accused a Negro leader of "false and irresponsible" charges against the FBI's handling of several Mississippi racial killings.

In a letter to Dr. T. R. M. Howard of Mound Bayou, Miss., president of the Mississippi Regional Council of Negro Leadership, Hoover said:

"I do not propose to permit false charges made against this bureau to go unchallenged."

Reached in Los Angeles, Dr. Howard told the (Memphis) Commercial Appeal he would have a full statement later on Hoover's demand that he submit evidence on his charges or publicly retract them.

The Federal Bureau of Investigation chief particularly resented Dr. Howard's publicized statement, in regard to three recent slayings, that:

"We must find out why southern investigators of the FBI can't seem to solve a crime where a Negro is involved."

Hoover said a full and impartial investigation was made in every case, at the direction of the Department of Justice, and the department decided civil rights were not involved.

"You seem to have conveniently forgotten the work of this bureau which was largely responsible for the virtual elimination of lynchings in the South and also was mainly responsible for the breaking up of the Ku Klux Klan in the Carolinas and Georgia," Hoover said.

The Negro civil rights leader, after Hoover's letter had been read to him, said:

"It is my charge that the FBI has failed to find the killers in the recent Mississippi murders. If that charge is false, then it is my belief that the murderers of Rev-

erend Lee and the individuals who seriously wounded Gus Courts on Nov. 25 should be brought to justice."

In his capacity as president of the National Medical Association, Dr. Howard has been out of Mississippi for some weeks and expects to be traveling most of the year.

The Negro physician heads Friendship Clinic in Mound Bayou, the nation's only all-Negro town, in the Mississippi Delta, about 70 miles south of Memphis.

Dr. Howard recently sold his 720-acre plantation, but still owns Friendship Clinic and other real estate in the area.

"The situation in Mississippi at the present time caused me to make the sale," he told newsmen.

"I don't want to have all my eggs in one basket."

Hoover's letter was released by rights."

the FBI regional headquarters in Memphis.

The "intemperate and baseless charges" it cited were in connection with the "slayings of Emmett Till, Reverend George Wesley Lee and Lamar Smith."

Hoover said Dr. Howard apparently had no knowledge of how the FBI works and pointed out "full investigations in civil rights cases are conducted only at the direction of the Department of Justice."

"The FBI is not a policy-making organization, and we merely conduct a fair and impartial investigation and submit the results of such investigation to the criminal division of the Department of Justice."

"This bureau is doing everything within the scope of existing legislation in civil rights matters and our fair and prompt investigations have done much to increase public respect for and consciousness of civil

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MONROE, LA.

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## FBI Critic Challenged To Prove Negro Charge

MEMPHIS, Tenn. (UP)—FBI director J. Edgar Hoover challenged a Negro civil rights leader last night to produce evidence to back up "false and baseless" charges on the FBI's handling of Negro killings in Mississippi.

In a letter released by the FBI office here, Hoover told Dr. T. R. M. Howard of Mound Bayou, Miss., he should either support or retract charges that the FBI "leaked" information about Negro slayings in Mississippi.

Hoover also took Howard to task for telling a Negro organization that "we must find out why Southern investigators for the FBI can't seem to solve a crime where a Negro is involved."

Howard, reached in Los Angeles, said he based his statements on "reports brought to me by responsible Negroes in various sections of Mississippi."

Howard told the Memphis Commercial Appeal by long distance he had not received the FBI letter, and would issue a further statement when he had read it.

Hoover said in his letter to Howard that if he had any evidence of a "leak" of "confidential" FBI information "it is your duty to call it to the attention of responsible officials of either the FBI or the Department of Justice."

"From the information available to me," Hoover said, "I know of no such incident."

PHILADELPHIA, PA.

INQUIRER \_\_\_\_\_  
BULLETIN \_\_\_\_\_  
DAILY NEWS \_\_\_\_\_

*"The Bethlehem Globe Times"*

*Bethlehem, Pa.*  
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 Mr. Nichols ☒  
 Mr. Boardman ☒  
 Mr. Belmont ☒  
 Mr. Mason ☒  
 Mr. Mohr ☒  
 Mr. Parsons ☒  
 Mr. Rosen ☒  
 Mr. Tamm ☒  
 Mr. Nease ☒  
 Mr. Winterrowd ☒  
 Tele. Room ☒  
 Mr. Holloman ☒  
 Miss Gandy ☒

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*T. R. M. HOWARD*

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 126 FEB 16 1956

**Put Up Or Shut Up**

# FBI Chief Challenges Dr. Howard's Charges

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**Responsible Reports**  
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Howard said he had not received the FBI letter, and would issue a further statement when he had read it.

Hoover said in his letter to Howard that if he had any evidence of a "leak" of "confidential" FBI information "it is your duty to call it to the attention of responsible officials of either the FBI or the Department of Justice."

"From the information available me," Hoover said, "I know of such incident."

Of the charge Southern FBI agents can't seem to solve a Negro slaying, Hoover pointed out that it is the FBI's duty merely to investigate reports of alleged civil rights violations and report their findings to the Justice Department.

Hoover referred specifically to three Negro slayings—the murders of Emmett Till, the Rev. George Lee and Lamar Smith.

## Three Slayings Probed

The FBI chief said his bureau made a preliminary study of all three cases, as it always does when it receives a complaint alleging a civil rights violation. He said the department later made a full "investigation of the Lee slaying.

He said there was "no indication" of a federal violation to press in the Till and Smith cases.

Hoover said statements in the press attributed to Howard on the FBI's investigative role in the murders of Emmett Till and two other Negroes "reflect a complete disregard for the facts on your part."

"You as an American citizen, have every right to express yourself as you see fit," Hoover's letter stated. "However, I do not feel you have any right whatsoever to be wrong in your facts, particularly when they are used in public statements concerning serious matters."

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# FBI Chief Accuses Howard Of Making False Charges

Mr. Nichols ☒  
Mr. Boardman ☒  
Mr. Belmont ☒  
Mr. Mason ☒  
Mr. Mohr ☒  
Mr. Parsons ☒  
Mr. Rosen ☒  
Mr. Tamm ☒  
Mr. Nease ☒  
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Mr. Holloman ☒  
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## Asks Evidence Or Retraction

### Hoover Resents Negro's Statement

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"You seem to have conveniently forgotten the work of this bureau which was largely responsible for the virtual elimination of lynchings in the South and also was mainly

(Continued On Page 16)

## Asks Evidence---

(Continued from Page One)

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 Miss Gandy ☒

G.I.R.

(HOOVER)

MEMPHIS, TENN.--FBI DIRECTOR J. EDGAR HOOVER CHALLENGED A NEGRO CIVIL RIGHTS LEADER TO PRODUCE EVIDENCE TO BACK UP "FALSE AND BASELESS" CHARGES ON THE FBI'S HANDLING OF NEGRO KILLINGS IN MISSISSIPPI.

IN A LETTER RELEASED BY THE FBI OFFICE HERE, HOOVER TOLD DR. T. R. M. HOWARD OF MOUND BAYOU, MISS., HE SHOULD EITHER SUPPORT OR RETRACT CHARGES THAT THE FBI "LEAKED" INFORMATION ABOUT NEGRO SLAYINGS IN MISSISSIPPI.

HOOVER ALSO TOOK HOWARD TO TASK FOR TELLING A NEGRO ORGANIZATION THAT "WE MUST FIND OUT WHY SOUTHERN INVESTIGATORS FOR THE FBI CAN'T SEEM TO SOLVE A CRIME WHERE A NEGRO IS INVOLVED."

HOWARD, REACHED IN LOS ANGELES, SAID HE BASED HIS STATEMENTS ON "REPORTS BROUGHT TO ME BY RESPONSIBLE NEGROES IN VARIOUS SECTIONS OF MISSISSIPPI."

HOWARD TOLD THE MEMPHIS COMMERCIAL APPEAL BY LONG DISTANCE HE HAD NOT RECEIVED THE FBI LETTER, AND WOULD ISSUE A FURTHER STATEMENT WHEN HE HAD READ IT.

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Belmont ✓  
Mason ✓  
Mohr ✓  
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Nease ✓  
Winterrowd ✓  
Tele. Room ✓  
Holloman ✓  
Gandy ✓

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Wash. Post and Times Herald \_\_\_\_\_  
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Daily Worker \_\_\_\_\_  
The Worker \_\_\_\_\_  
New Leader \_\_\_\_\_

Date **JAN 19 1956**

71 JAN 30 1956



## FBI Chief Hits Negro Charges

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In a letter to Dr. T. R. M. Howard of Mound Bayou, Miss., president of the Mississippi Regional Council of Negro Leadership, Mr. Hoover said:

"I do not propose to permit false charges made against this bureau to go unchallenged."

Reached in Los Angeles, Dr. Howard told the Memphis Commercial-Appeal he would have a full statement later on Mr. Hoover's demand that he submit evidence on his charges or publicly retract them.

Mr. Hoover particularly resented Dr. Howard's publicized statement, in regard to three recent slayings, that:

"We must find out why Southern investigators of the FBI can't seem to solve a crime where a Negro is involved."

Mr. Hoover said a full and impartial investigation was made in every case, at the direction of the Department of Justice, and the department decided civil rights were not involved.

"You seem to have conveniently forgotten the work of this bureau, which was largely responsible for the virtual elimination of lynchings in the South and also was mainly responsible for the breaking up of the Ku Klux Klan in the Carolinas and Georgia," Mr. Hoover said.

Dr. Howard is president of the National Medical Association. He heads Friendship Clinic in Mound Bayou, the Nation's only all-Negro town, located in the Mississippi Delta, about 70 miles south of Memphis.

Tolson ☒  
Nichols ☒  
Boardman ☒  
Belmont ☒  
Mason ☒  
Mohr ☒  
Parsons ☒  
Rosen ☒  
Tamm ☒  
Nease ☒  
Winterrowd ☒  
Tele. Room ☒  
Holloman ☒  
Gandy ☒

RECEIVED  
JAN 19 1956  
FBI  
MEMPHIS

Wash. Post and Times Herald ☒  
Wash. News ☒  
Wash. Star ☒  
N. Y. Herald Tribune ☒  
N. Y. Mirror ☒  
N. Y. Daily News ☒  
Daily Worker ☒  
The Worker ☒  
New Leader ☒

Date JAN 19 1956

NOT RECORDED

126 FEB 14 1956

50 FEB 14 1956



Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Nichols \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Boardman \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Mason \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Parsons \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Nease \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Winterrowd \_\_\_\_\_  
 Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Holloman \_\_\_\_\_  
 Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

*McGowan*  
*Wink*

**Hoover Says Support Or Retract Charges—**

# **FBI Head Says Negro Leader's Claim 'False'**

MEMPHIS (UP)—FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover challenged a Negro civil rights leader last night to produce evidence to back up "false and baseless" charges on the FBI's handling of Negro killings in Mississippi.

In a letter released by the FBI office here, Hoover told Dr. T. R. M. Howard of Mound Bayou, Miss., he should either support or retract charges the FBI "leaked" information about Negro slayings in Mississippi.

Hoover also took Howard to task for telling a Negro organization "we must find out why Southern investigators for the FBI can't seem to solve a crime where a Negro is involved."

Howard, reached in Los Angeles, said he based his statements on "reports brought to me by responsible Negroes in various sections of Mississippi."

Howard told the Memphis Commercial Appeal by long distance he had not received the FBI letter, and would issue a further statement when he had read it.

Hoover said in his letter to Howard that if he had any evidence of a "leak" of "confidential" FBI information "it is your duty to call it to the attention of responsible officials of either the FBI or the Department of Justice."

"From the information available

to me," Hoover said, "I know of no such incident."

Of the charge Southern FBI agents can't seem to solve a Negro slaying, Hoover pointed out that it is the FBI's duty merely to investigate reports of alleged civil rights violations and report their findings to the Justice Department. Hoover referred specifically to three Negro slayings—the murders of Emmett Till, the Rev. George Lee and Lamar Smith.

The FBI chief said his bureau made a preliminary study of all three cases, as it always does when it receives a complaint alleging a civil rights violation. He said the department later made a full "investigation of the Lee slaying. He said there was "no indication" of a federal violation to press in the Till and Smith cases.

Hoover said statements in the press attributed to Howard on the FBI's investigative role in the murders of Emmett Till and two other Negroes "reflect a complete disregard for the facts on your part."

"You as an American citizen, have every right to express yourself as you see fit," Hoover's letter stated. "However, I do not feel you have any right whatsoever to be wrong in your facts, particularly when they are used in public statements concerning serious matters."

Durham Sun  
 Durham, N.C.  
 1-19-56

62-102602-A  
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 126 FEB 14 1956

TOP CLIPPING  
 DATED 1-19-56  
 FROM WASH. STAR  
 MARKED FILE ADDITIONAL

50 FEB 14 1956



# HOOVER BLASTS NEGRO LEADER

MEMPHIS, Tenn. (P)—J. Edgar Hoover, director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, has sharply criticized a Negro leader who says the FBI doesn't try very hard when probing a racial killing.

In a letter to Dr. T. R. M. Howard of Mound Bayou, Miss., Hoover said Howard should either give evidence or retract his "intemperate and baseless charges."

"I do not propose to permit false charges made against this bureau to go unchallenged," said the letter, made public last night by FBI regional headquarters here.

Reached in Los Angeles, Howard told the Memphis Commercial Appeal his statements were "based on reports brought to me by responsible Negroes in the various sections of Mississippi."

## Statement Promised

Howard said he would make a more extensive statement after he received and studied the letter.

He is president of the Mississippi Regional Council of Negro Leadership and the National Medical Assn. He has been out of Mississippi several weeks attending to NMA duties.

Hoover in his letter cited in particular Howard's publicized statement that:

"We must find out why Southern investigators of the FBI can't seem to solve a crime where a Negro is involved."

Hoover said a full and impartial investigation, to see if civil rights were violated, was made in every Mississippi slaying mentioned by Howard.

Hoover also accused Howard of making a very serious charge when he said, as quoted in the Chicago American:

"Confidential information usually leaks from the local FBI offices and witnesses in Negro slayings are subjected to pressures as a result."

## Files Confidential

FBI files are confidential, said Hoover. "I feel compelled to request that you submit such evidence as you have to sustain your irresponsible charge or that you issue a public retraction."

Hoover said Howard seems to "have conveniently forgotten the work of this bureau which was largely responsible for the virtual elimination of lynching in the South and also was mainly responsible for the breaking up of the Ku Klux Klan in the Carolinas and Georgia."

The cases that stirred Howard's criticism were those of the Rev. G. W. Lee, Lamar Smith and Emmett Till.

## Found Dying In Car

Lee was found dying in his wrecked car in Belzoni last May 7. Leaders of the National Assn. for the Advancement of Colored People said he was shot as he drove along the street.

Lamar Smith was active in civil rights work. He was shot down in Brookhaven's downtown square last Aug. 13. A grand jury said it could find no witnesses.

Till, a 14-year-old Chicago Negro, was snatched from his uncle's home near Money after allegedly wolf-whistling at a white woman and making "insulting" remarks. The woman's husband and brother-in-law were acquitted of a charge they murdered Till. A grand jury refused to indict on the kidnap charge.

## Well-Known Citizen

Howard is one of the best-known citizens of Mound Bayou (Pop. 1,330), the nation's only all-Negro town, located about 70 miles south of Memphis.

He herds a clinic there and owns considerable real estate. However, he recently sold his 720-acre plantation for about \$150,000.

"The situation in Mississippi at the present time caused me to make the sale," he said. "I don't want to have all my eggs in one basket."

Mr. Tolson  
Mr. Nichols  
Mr. Boardman  
Mr. Belmont  
Mr. Mason  
Mr. Mohr  
Mr. Parsons  
Mr. Rosen  
Mr. Tamm  
Mr. Nease  
Mr. Winterrowd  
Tele. Room  
Mr. Holloman  
Miss Gandy

Hickory Daily Record  
Hickory, N.C.  
1-19-56

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NOT RECORDED  
126 FEB 14 1956

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DATE 1-19-56  
FROM 42824-2220  
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50 FEB 14 1956



Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Nichols \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Boardman \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Mason \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
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 Mr. Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
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 Mr. Nease \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Winterrowd \_\_\_\_\_  
 Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
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**Hoover In Sharp Letter**

# FBI Director Blasts Back At Negro Critic

MEMPHIS, Tenn. (AP)—J. Edgar Hoover, director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, has sharply criticized a Negro leader who says the FBI doesn't try very hard when probing a racial killing.

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"We must find out why Southern investigators of the FBI can't seem to solve a crime where a Negro is involved."

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Hoover also accused Howard of making a very serious charge when he said, as quoted in the Chicago American:

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**MORE ON PAGE 2-A**

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**FROM PAGE ONE-A**

G. W. Lee, Lamar Smith and Emmett Till.

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High Point Enterprise  
 High Point, N.C.  
 1-19-56

**TO SHOW COVERAGE**

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 126 FEB 14 1956

TOP CLIPPING  
 01-19-56  
 FROM WASH STAR  
 MARKED FILE AND INITIALED

50 FEB 14 1956

151



# Criticism Against FBI Challenged

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Hoover also took Howard to task for telling a Negro organization "we must find out why Southern investigators for the FBI can't seem to solve a crime where a Negro is involved."

## Responsible Reports

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Hoover said in his letter to Howard that if he had any evidence of a "leak" of "confidential" FBI information "it is your duty to call it to the attention of responsible officials of either the FBI or the Department of Justice."

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Hoover referred specifically to three Negro slayings—the murders of Emmett Till, the Rev. George Lee and Lamar Smith.

The FBI chief said his bureau made a preliminary study of all three cases, as it always does when it receives a complaint alleging a civil rights violation.

Mr. Tolson ✓  
Mr. Nichols ✓  
Mr. Boardman ✓  
Mr. Belmont ✓  
Mr. Mason ✓  
Mr. Mohr ✓  
Mr. Parsons ✓  
Mr. Rosen ✓  
Mr. Tamm ✓  
Mr. Nease ✓  
Mr. Winterrowd ✓  
Tele. Room ✓  
Mr. Holloman ✓  
Miss Gandy ✓

Twin City Sentinel  
Winston Salem, N.C.  
1-19-56

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NOT RECORDED  
126 FEB 14 1956

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DATED 1-19-56  
FROM WASH STATE  
MARKED FILE AND INITIALED

50 FEB 14 1956



# FBI CHIEF RAPS NEGRO ATTACK

## Hoover Demands Proof or Retraction

MEMPHIS (AP)—FBI Boss J. Edgar Hoover has sharply criticized a Negro leader who says the FBI doesn't try very hard when probing a racial killing.

In a letter to Dr. T. R. M. Howard of Mound Bayou, Miss., Hoover said Howard should either give evidence or retract his "intemperate and baseless charges."

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He is president of the Mississippi Regional Council of Negro Leadership and the National Medical Assn. He has been out of Mississippi several weeks attending to NMA duties.

The director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, in his letter, cited in particular Howard's publicized statement that:

"We must find out why southern investigators of the FBI can't seem to solve a crime where a Negro is involved."

Hoover also accused Howard of making a very serious charge when he said, as quoted in the Chicago American:

"Confidential information usually leaks from the local FBI offices and witnesses in Negro slayings are subjected to pressures as a result."

FBI files are confidential, said Hoover. "I feel compelled to request that you submit such evidence as you have to sustain your irresponsible charge or that you issue a public retraction."

*Hoover*  
Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Nichols \_\_\_\_\_  
Boardman \_\_\_\_\_  
Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
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Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
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Nease \_\_\_\_\_  
Winterrowd \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Holloman \_\_\_\_\_  
Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

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126 FEB 14 1956

Wash. Post and Times Herald \_\_\_\_\_  
Wash. News \_\_\_\_\_  
Wash. Star \_\_\_\_\_  
N. Y. Herald Tribune \_\_\_\_\_  
N. Y. Mirror \_\_\_\_\_  
N. Y. Daily News \_\_\_\_\_  
Daily Worker \_\_\_\_\_  
The Worker \_\_\_\_\_  
New Leader \_\_\_\_\_  
Chattanooga News-Free Press \_\_\_\_\_  
Date 1-19-56

TCP CLIPPING  
DATED 1-19-56  
FROM WASH. STAR  
MARKED FILE AND INITIALED

50 FEB 14 1956



Mr. Tolson	✓
Mr. Nichols	✓
Mr. Boardman	✓
Mr. Belmont	✓
Mr. Mason	✓
Mr. Mohr	✓
Mr. Parsons	✓
Mr. Rosen	✓
Mr. Tamm	✓
Mr. Nease	✓
Mr. Winterrowd	✓
Tele. Room	✓
Mr. Holloman	✓
Miss Gandy	✓

# FBI Head Hits Back At Negro

## Hoover Defends His Bureau's Integrity

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"I do not propose to permit false charges made against this bureau to go unchallenged"

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The FBI chief particularly resented Dr. Howard's publicized statement, in regards to three recent slayings, that:

"We must find out why Southern investigators of the FBI can't seem to solve a crime where a Negro is involved."

Hoover said a full and impartial investigation was made in every case, at the direction of the Department of Justice, and the department decided civil rights were not involved.

"You seem to have conveniently forgotten the work of this bureau which was largely responsible for the virtual elimination of lynchings in the South and also was mainly responsible for the breaking up of the Ku Klux Klan in the Carolinas and Georgia," Hoover said.

Howard is president of the National Medical Assn. He heads Friendship Clinic in Mound Bayou, the nation's only all-Negro town, located in the Mississippi Delta, about 70 miles south of Memphis.

Hoover's letter was released by the FBI regional headquarters in Memphis.

The "intemperate and baseless charges" it cited were in connection with the "slayings of Emmett Till, the Rev. George Wesley Lee and Lamar Smith."

Hoover said Howard apparently had no knowledge of how the FBI works and pointed out "full investigations in civil rights cases are conducted only on the direction of the Department of Justice."

"The FBI is not a policy-making organization, and we merely conduct a fair and impartial investigation and submit the results of such investigation to the Criminal Division of the Department of Justice."

"This bureau is doing everything within the scope of existing legislation in civil rights matters and our fair and prompt investigations have done much to increase public respect for and consciousness of civil rights."

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126 FEB 14 1956

SEARCHED.....INDEXED.....  
SERIALIZED.....FILED.....  
JAN 20 1956  
FBI - SAVANNAH  
Bureau

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DATED 1-19-56  
FROM WASH. STAR  
MARKED FILE AND INITIALED  
50 FEB 14 1956

THE NEWS & COURIER  
Charleston, S. C.

Dated 1-19-56



Mr. Tolson	✓
Mr. Nichols	✓
Mr. Boardman	✓
Mr. Belmont	✓
Mr. Mason	✓
Mr. Mohr	✓
Mr. Parsons	✓
Mr. Rosen	✓
Mr. Tamm	✓
Mr. Nease	✓
Mr. Winterrowd	✓
Tele. Room	✓
Mr. Holloman	✓
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### PROMISES STATEMENT.

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He is president of the Mississippi regional council of Negro leadership and the National Medical Assn. He has been out of Mississippi several weeks attending to NMA duties.

The director of the federal bureau of investigation, in his letter, cited in particular Howard's publicized statement that:

"We must find out why southern investigators of the FBI can't seem to solve a crime where a Negro is involved."

JACKSON CITIZEN PATRIOT  
JACKSON, MICHIGAN  
HOME EDITION  
PAGE 2, Col. 5  
1-19-56

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NOT RECORDED  
26 FEB 14 1956

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DATED 1-19-56  
FROM WASH STAR  
MARKED FILE AND INITIALED

50 FEB 14 1956



Mr. Hoover said a full and  
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The department decided no  
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Hoover also accused Howard of  
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# Negro Critic Gets Flayed By FBI Boss

Mississippi Probe  
Defended By Hoover;  
Charges Called False

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The Federal Bureau of Investigation chief particularly resented Dr. Howard's publicized statement, in regards to three recent slayings, that:

"We must find out why southern investigators of the FBI can't seem to solve a crime where a Negro is involved."

## FULL INVESTIGATION

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The Negro civil rights leader, after Hoover's letter had been read to him, said:

"It is my charge that the FBI has failed to find the killers in the recent Mississippi murders. If that charge is false, then it is my belief that the murderers of Rev. Lee and the individuals who seriously wounded Gus Courts on Nov. 25 should be brought to justice."

## OUT OF STATE

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The Negro physician heads Friendship Clinic in Mound Bayou, the nation's only all-Negro town, located in the Mississippi Delta, about 70 miles south of Memphis.

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"The situation in Mississippi at the present time caused me to make the sale," he told newsmen. "I don't want to have all my eggs in one basket."

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## FAIR AND PROMPT

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Mr. Holloman	
Miss Gandy	

THE MONTGOMERY ADVERTISER  
MONTGOMERY, ALABAMA  
JANUARY 19, 1956

RECEIVED  
JAN 19 1956  
FBI  
MONTGOMERY

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126 FEB 14 1956

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MARKED FILE AND INITIALED

50 FEB 14 1956



## FBI HEAD REPLIES TO 'FALSE' CLAIMS

Mississippian Said Agency  
Not Able to Solve Crime  
If Negro Is Involved

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### Bureau's Work Cited

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Chattanooga Daily Times \_\_\_\_\_  
Date 1-19-56

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FROM WASH. STAR  
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50 FEB 14 1956



Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Nichols \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Boardman \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Mason \_\_\_\_\_  
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 Mr. Nease \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Winterrowd \_\_\_\_\_  
 Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Holloman \_\_\_\_\_  
 Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

**Tells critic: Give facts—  
 FBI chief disputes  
 race bias in probes**



**EDGAR HOOVER**  
 Critic challenged

MEMPHIS, Jan. 19—(P)—FBI Boss J. Edgar Hoover has sharply criticized a Negro leader who says the FBI doesn't try very hard when probing a racial killing.

In a letter to Dr. T. R. M. Howard of Mound Bayou, Miss., Hoover said Howard should either give evidence or retract his "intemperate and baseless charges."

"I do not propose to permit false charges made against this bureau to go unchallenged," said the letter, made public last night by FBI regional headquarters here.

REACHED IN Los Angeles, Howard said his statements were "based on reports brought to me by responsible Negroes in the various sections of Mississippi."

Howard said he would make a more extensive statement after he received and studied the letter.

He is president of the Mississippi Regional Council of Negro Leadership and the National Medical Assn. He has been out of Mississippi several weeks attending to NMA duties.

The director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, in his letter, cited in particular Howard's publicized statement that:

"We must find out why Sou-

thern investigators of the FBI can't seem to solve a crime where a Negro is involved."

Hoover said a full and impartial investigation, to see if civil rights were violated, was made in every Mississippi slaying mentioned by Howard.

The department decided no civil rights were involved in two of the cases, he added. The decision on the third, the death of the Rev. G. W. Lee, was not cited.

HOOVER ALSO accused Howard of making a very serious charge when he said, as quoted in the Chicago American:

"Confidential information usually leaks from the local FBI offices and witnesses in Negro slayings are subjected to pressures as a result."

FBI files are confidential, said Hoover. "I feel compelled to request that you submit such evidence as you have to sustain your irresponsible charge or

THE BIRMINGHAM NEWS  
 Birmingham, Alabama  
 January 19, 1956  
 Red Star Final

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 FROM BETHLEHEM GLOBE TIMES  
 MARKED FILE AND INITIALED  
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that you issue a public retraction.

Hoover said Howard seems to "have conveniently forgotten the work of this bureau which was largely responsible for the virtual elimination of lynching in the South and also was mainly responsible for the breaking up of the Ku Klux Klan in the Carolinas and Georgia."

THE KILLINGS that stirred Howard's criticism were those of the Rev. Lee, the shooting of Lamar Smith and the kidnaping of Emmett Till.

The Rev. Lee was found dying in his wrecked car in Belzoni last May 7. Leaders of the National Assn. for the Advancement of Colored People said he was shot as he drove along the street.

Lamar Smith also was active in civil rights work. He was shot down in Brookhaven's downtown square last Aug. 13. A grand jury said it could find no witnesses.

Till, a 14-year-old Chicago Negro, was snatched from his uncle's home near Money after allegedly wolf-whistling at a white woman and making "insulting" remarks. The woman's husband and brother-in-law were acquitted of a charge they

murdered Till. A grand jury refused to indict on the kidnap charge.

Dr Howard is one of the best-known citizens of Mound Bayou (pop.: 1330), the nation's only all-Negro town, located about 70 miles south of Memphis in the Mississippi Delta.

He heads a clinic there and owns considerable real estate. However, he recently sold his 720-acre plantation for about \$150,000.



Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Nichols \_\_\_\_\_  
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 Mr. Winterrowd \_\_\_\_\_  
 Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Holloman \_\_\_\_\_  
 Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

## Colored Leader Accused Of Falsities By Hoover

MEMPHIS — (AP) — FBI Chief J. Edgar Hoover Wednesday accused a fiery colored leader of "false and irresponsible" charges against the FBI's handling of several Mississippi racial killings.

In a letter to Dr. T. R. M. Howard of Mound Bayou, Miss., president of the Mississippi Regional Council of Negro Leadership, Hoover said:

"I do not propose to permit false charges made against this bureau to go unchallenged."

Reached in Los Angeles, Dr. Howard told the (Memphis) Commercial Appeal he would have a full statement later on Hoover's demand that he submit evidence on his charges or publicly retract them.

The Federal Bureau of Investigation chief particularly resented Dr. Howard's publicized state-

ment, in regards to three recent slayings, that:

"We must find out why Southern investigators of the FBI can't seem to solve a crime where a Negro is involved."

### No Violations

Hoover said a full and impartial investigation was made in every case, at the direction of the Department of Justice, and the department decided civil rights were not involved.

"You seem to have conveniently forgotten the work of this bureau which was largely responsible for the virtual elimination of lynchings in the South and also was mainly responsible for the breaking up of the Ku Klux Klan in the Carolinas and Georgia," Hoover said.

The colored civil rights leader, after Hoover's letter had been read to him, said:

"It is my charge that the FBI has failed to find the killers in the recent Mississippi murders. If that charge is false, then it is my belief that the murderers of Reverend Lee and the individuals who seriously wounded Gus Courts on Nov. 25 should be brought to justice."

### Year's Travels

In his capacity as president of the National Medical Association, Dr. Howard has been out of Mississippi for some weeks and expects to be traveling most of the year.

The colored physician heads Friendship Clinic in Mound Bayou, the nation's only all colored town, located in the Mississippi delta, about 70 miles south of Memphis.

Dr. Howard recently sold his 720-acre plantation near Mound Bayou for about \$150,000, but still owns other real estate in the area.

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 Page 2

RE: RACIAL PROBLEM

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 DATED 1-19-56  
 FROM BETHLEHEM GLOBE TIMES  
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"The situation in Mississippi at the present time caused me to make the sale," he told newsmen. "I don't want to have all my eggs in one basket."

Hoover's letter was released by the FBI regional headquarters in Memphis.

The "intemperate and baseless charges" it cited were in connection with the "slayings of Emmett Till, Reverend George Wesley Lee and Lamar Smith."

#### Lack of Knowledge

Hoover said Dr. Howard W. Callahan's husband and brother-in-law apparently had no knowledge of how the FBI works and pointed out "full investigations in civil rights cases are conducted only at the direction of the Department of Justice."

"The FBI is not a policy-making organization, and we merely conduct a fair and impartial investigation and submit the results of such investigation to the criminal division of the Department of Justice."

"This bureau is doing everything within the scope of existing legislation in civil rights matters and our fair and prompt investigations have done much to increase public respect for and consciousness of civil rights."

Of the cases referred to by Hoover, the kidnaping of Emmett Till, a 14-year-old Chicago boy, is by far the best known.

Till, visiting an uncle near Money, was kidnaped last Aug. 28—four days after he allegedly wolf-whistled and made "insulting" remarks to a white woman.

#### Two Acquitted

In a trial that attracted international attention, the woman's husband and brother-in-law were acquitted of a charge they murdered Till. A grand jury refused to indict on the kidnapping charge.

Lamar Smith, active in trying to get colored to vote, was shot

in the town square at Brookhaven last Aug. 13. A white man was arrested but the grand jury complained it could not indict because not a witness could be found.

The Rev. Lee, a leader of the National Assn. for the Advancement of Colored People, was found dead May 7 in his wrecked car in Belzoni. NAACP leaders charged he was shot while driving along the street.

Gus Courts, president of the NAACP in Belzoni, was seriously wounded last Nov. 25 by a shot blast fired through the window of his grocery store.

Former Gov. Hugh White urged extensive investigation of the Courts shooting lest the federal government "take action against Mississippi. However, there were few clues.



# HOOVER OF FBI CALLS NEGRO'S CHARGES FALSE

Memphis, Jan. 18 (P) — J. Edgar Hoover, head of the federal bureau of investigation, today accused a Negro leader of "false and irresponsible" charges against the FBI's handling of Mississippi racial killings.

In a letter to Dr. T. R. M. Howard of Mound Bayou, Miss., president of the Mississippi Regional Council of Negro Leadership, Hoover said:

"I do not propose to permit false charges made against this bureau to go unchallenged."

Reached in Los Angeles, Dr. Howard told the [Memphis] Commercial Appeal he would have a full statement later on Hoover's demand that he submit evidence on his charges or publicly retract them.

## Reports Full Probes Made

The FBI chief particularly resented Dr. Howard's publicized statement, in regards to three recent slayings, that:

"We must find out why southern investigators of the FBI can't seem to solve a crime where a Negro is involved."

Hoover said a full and impartial investigation was made in every case, at the direction of the department of justice, and the department decided civil rights were not involved.

"You seem to have conveniently forgotten the work of this bureau which was largely responsible for the virtual elimination of lynchings in the south and also was mainly responsible for the breaking up of the Ku Klux Klan in the Carolinas and Georgia," Hoover said.

Howard is president of the National Medical association. He heads Friendship clinic in Mound Bayou, the nation's only all-Negro town, located in the Mississippi delta, about 70 miles south of Memphis.

The Negro civil rights leader, after Hoover's letter was read to him by phone, said:

"It is my charge that the FBI has failed to find the killers in the recent Mississippi murders. If that charge is false, then it is my belief that the murderers of Rev. Lee and the individuals who seriously wounded Gus Courts on Nov. 25 should be brought to justice."

## Sells \$150,000 Plantation

Howard recently sold his 720 acre plantation near Mound Bayou for about \$150,000, but still owns other real estate in the area.

Hoover's letter was released by the FBI regional headquarters in Memphis.

The "intemperate and baseless charges" it cited were in connection with the "slayings of Emmett Till, Rev. George Wesley Lee and Lamar Smith."

Hoover said Howard apparently had no knowledge of how the FBI works and pointed out that "we merely conduct a fair and impartial investigation and submit the results of such investigation to the criminal division of the department of justice."

Till, a 14 year old Chicago

Negro visiting an uncle near Money, Miss., was kidnaped last Aug. 28—four days after he allegedly wolf-whistled and made "insulting" remarks to a white woman. The woman's husband and brother-in-law were acquitted of a charge that they murdered Till. A grand jury refused to indict on the kidnap charge.

Smith, active in trying to get Negroes to vote, was shot down in the town square at Brookhaven, Miss., last Aug. 13. A white man was arrested but the grand jury complained it could not indict because no witness could be found.

Lee, a NAACP leader, was found dead May 7 in his wrecked car in Belzoni, Miss. NAACP leaders charged he was shot while driving along the street.

Mr. Tolson	✓
Mr. Nichols	✓
Mr. Boardman	✓
Mr. Belmont	✓
Mr. Mason	✓
Mr. Mohr	✓
Mr. Parsons	✓
Mr. Rosen	✓
Mr. Tamm	✓
Mr. Nease	✓
Mr. Winterrowd	✓
Tele. Room	✓
Mr. Holloman	✓
Miss Gandy	✓

## CHICAGO TRIBUNE

3 Star Sports Edition

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Part 1

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Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Nichols \_\_\_\_\_  
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 Mr. Holloman \_\_\_\_\_  
 Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

## Hoover Lashes Criticism of FBI in South

MEMPHIS, Tenn., Jan. 19 (AP) — J. Edgar Hoover, director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, has sharply criticized a Negro leader who says the FBI doesn't try very hard when probing a racial killing.

In a letter to Dr. T. R. M. Howard of Mound Bayou, Miss., Hoover said Howard should either give evidence or retract his "intemperate and baseless charges."

"I do not propose to permit false charges made against this Bureau to go unchallenged," said the letter, made public last night by FBI regional headquarters here.

Reached in Los Angeles, Howard told the (Memphis) Commercial Appeal his statements were "based on reports brought to me by responsible Negroes in the various sections of Mississippi."

Howard said he would make a more extensive statement after he received and studied the letter.

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 FROM NEW ORLEANS ITEM  
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Mr. Tolson ✓  
 Mr. Boardman ✓  
 Mr. Belmont ✓  
 Mr. Mohr ✓  
 Mr. Parsons ✓  
 Mr. Rosen ✓  
 Mr. Tamm ✓  
 Mr. Nease ✓  
 Mr. Winterrowd ✓  
 Tele. Room ✓  
 Mr. Holloman ✓  
 Miss Gandy ✓

# Statements Attacked By FBI Chief

Director J. Edgar Hoover, of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, has taken Dr. T. R. M. Howard, Mound Bayou, Miss., to task for statements attributed to Dr. Howard "in connection with the slayings of Emmett Till, the Rev. George Wesley Lee and Lamar Smith." Dr. Howard is a Negro leader in Mississippi. Hoover referred to a news

story carried in "The Baltimore Morning Sun," of Sept. 26, 1955, headlined "Probe of South's FBI Agents Asked."

"You were quoted as saying," the Hoover letter said, "We must find out why Southern investigators of the FBI can't seem to solve a crime where a Negro is involved."

**HOOVER'S LETTER** recited the FBI's method of investigating complaints and said:

"This bureau is doing everything within the scope of existing legislation in civil rights matters, and our fair and prompt investigations have done much to increase public respect and consciousness of civil rights."

"You seem to have conveniently forgotten the work of this bureau which was largely responsible for the virtual elimination of lynchings in the South and also was mainly responsible for the breaking up of the Ku-Klux-Klan in the Carolinas and Georgia."

**CONCERNING** the Till case, Hoover said:

"As you will recall, when the body of Emmett Till was found in the Tallahatchie River in Mississippi on Aug. 31, 1955, the available facts concerning this case were presented to the Civil

Rights Section of the Department of Justice by this bureau.

"The department advised that the facts did not indicate a violation of any federal statute, and accordingly this bureau did not conduct any investigation in this case."

"Irresponsible and false charges can serve no useful purpose in this critical period," Dr. Howard was told.

"In fact, they are a disservice to common decency, and I do not propose to permit false charges made against this bureau to go unchallenged."

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Per memorandum Nichols to Tolson  
1-19-56 reflecting telephone call from  
Memphis Office 1-19-56, publication of  
Dr. T. R. M. Howard's letter received by  
public very favorably.

JJC:

Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Boardman \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Nichols \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Harbo \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Parsons \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
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Mr. Winterrowd \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Holloman \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

Mr. McGowan

## FBI Chief Hits Negro Charges

MEMPHIS, Jan. 19 (AP).—FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover yesterday accused a Negro leader of "false and irresponsible" charges against the FBI's handling of several Mississippi racial killings.

① In a letter to Dr. T. R. M. Howard of Mound Bayou, Miss., president of the Mississippi Regional Council of Negro Leadership, Mr. Hoover said:

"I do not propose to permit false charges made against this bureau to go unchallenged."

Reached in Los Angeles, Dr. Howard told the Memphis Commercial-Appeal he would have a full statement later on Mr. Hoover's demand that he submit evidence on his charges or publicly retract them.

Mr. Hoover particularly resented Dr. Howard's publicized statement, in regard to three recent slayings, that:

"We must find out why Southern investigators of the FBI can't seem to solve a crime where a Negro is involved."

Mr. Hoover said a full and impartial investigation was made in every case, at the direction of the Department of Justice, and the department decided civil rights were not involved.

"You seem to have conveniently forgotten the work of this bureau, which was largely responsible for the virtual elimination of lynchings in the South and also was mainly responsible for the breaking up of the Ku Klux Klan in the Carolinas and Georgia," Mr. Hoover said.

Dr. Howard is president of the National Medical Association. He heads Friendship Clinic in Mound Bayou, the Nation's only all-Negro town, located in the Mississippi Delta, about 70 miles south of Memphis.

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## HOOVER SEES F. B. I. FALSELY ACCUSED

MEMPHIS, Jan. 18 (AP)—J. Edgar Hoover, Federal Bureau of Investigation chief, today accused a Negro leader of "false and irresponsible" charges against the F. B. I.'s handling of several Mississippi racial killings.

In a letter to Dr. T. R. M. Howard of Mound Bayou, Miss., president of the Mississippi Regional Council of Negro Leadership, Mr. Hoover laid:

"I do not propose to permit false charges made against this bureau to go unchallenged."

Dr. Howard, reached in Los Angeles, told The Memphis Commercial Appeal he would have a full statement later on Mr. Hoover's demand that he submit evidence on his charges or publicly retract them.

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"We must find out why Southern investigators of the F. B. I. can't seem to solve a crime where a Negro is involved."

Mr. Hoover said a full and impartial investigation had been made in every case, at the direction of the Department of Justice, and the department decided civil rights were not involved.

Mr. Tolson  
Mr. Nichols  
Mr. Boardman  
Mr. Belmont  
Mr. Mason  
Mr. Mohr  
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# Hoover Sharply Criticized Of Negro Leader's Attack On FBI Probes In South

MEMPHIS, Tenn. (AP)—FBI boss J. Edgar Hoover has sharply criticized a Negro leader who says the FBI doesn't try very hard when probing a racial killing.

In a letter to Dr. T. R. M. Howard of Mound Bayou, Miss., Hoover said Howard should either give evidence or retract his "intemperate and baseless charges."

"I do not propose to permit false charges made against this bureau to go unchallenged," said the letter, made public last night by FBI regional headquarters here.

Reached in Los Angeles, Howard told the (Memphis) Commercial Appeal his statements were "based on reports brought to me by responsible Negroes in the various sections of Mississippi."

Howard said he would make a more extensive statement after he received and studied the letter.

He is president of the Mississippi Regional Council of Negro Leadership and the National Medical Assn. He has been out of Mississippi several weeks attending the NMA duties.

The director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, in his letter, cited in particular Howard's publicized statement that:

"We must find out why Southern investigators of the FBI can't seem to solve a crime where a Negro is involved."

Hoover said a full and impartial investigation, to see if civil rights were violated, was made in every Mississippi slaying mentioned by Howard.

The department decided no civil rights were involved in two of the cases, he added. The decision on the third, the death of the Rev.

G. W. Lee, was not cited.

Hoover also accused Howard of making a very serious charge when he said, as quoted in the Chicago American:

"Confidential information usually leaks from the local FBI offices and witnesses in Negro slayings are subjected to pressures as a result."

FBI files are confidential, said Hoover.

"I feel compelled to request that you submit such evidence as you have to sustain your irresponsible charge or that you issue a public retraction," he added.

Hoover said Howard seems to "have conveniently forgotten the work of this bureau which was largely responsible for the virtual elimination of lynching in the South and also was mainly responsible for the breaking up of the Ku Klux Klan in the Carolinas and Georgia."

The killings that stirred Howard's criticism were those of the Rev. Lee, the shooting of Lamar Smith and the kidnaping of Emmett Till.

The Rev. Lee was found lying in wrecked car in Belzoni last May 7. Leaders of the National Assn. for the Advancement of Colored People said he was shot as he drove along the street.

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Till, a 14-year-old Chicago Negro, was snatched from his uncle's home near Money after allegedly wolf-whistling at a white woman and making "insulting" remarks. The woman's husband and brother-in-law were acquitted of a charge they murdered Till. A grand jury refused to indict on the kidnap charge.

Dr. Howard is one of the best-known citizens of Mound Bayou (pop. 1,330), the nation's only all-Negro town, located about 70 miles south of Memphis in the Mississippi Delta.

He heads a clinic there and owns considerable real estate. However, he recently sold his 270-acre plantation for about \$150,000.

"The situation in Mississippi at the present time caused me to make the sale," he said. "I don't want to have all my eggs in one basket."

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Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
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 Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

# Negro Leader Challenged On Slurs at FBI

MEMPHIS (UP)—FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover challenged a Negro civil rights leader last night to produce evidence to back up "false and baseless" charges on the FBI's handling of Negro killings in Mississippi.

In a letter released by the FBI office here, Hoover told Dr. T. R. M. Howard of Mound Bayou, Miss., he should either support or retract charges the FBI "leaked" information about Negro slayings in Mississippi.

Hoover also took Howard to task for telling a Negro organization "we must find out why Southern investigators for the FBI can't seem to solve a crime where a Negro is involved."

## Responsible Reports

Howard, reached in Los Angeles, said he based his statements on "reports brought to me by responsible Negroes in various sections of Mississippi."

Howard told the Memphis Commercial Appeal by long distance he had not received the FBI letter, and would issue a further statement when he had read it.

Hoover said in his letter to Howard that if he had any evidence of a "leak" of "confidential" FBI information "it is your duty to call it to the attention of responsible officials of either the FBI or the Department of Justice."

"From the information available to me," Hoover said, "I know of no such incident."

Of the charge Southern FBI agents can't seem to solve a Negro slaying, Hoover pointed out that it is the FBI's duty merely to investigate reports of alleged civil rights violations and report their findings to the Justice Department.

Hoover referred specifically to three Negro slayings—the murders

(See HOOVER on Page 12A)

## Hoover . . .

of Emmett Till, the Rev. George Lee and Lamar Smith.

### Three Slayings Probed

The FBI chief said his bureau made a preliminary study of all three cases, as it always does when it receives a complaint alleging a civil rights violation. He said the department later made a full "investigation of the Lee slaying. He said there was "no indication" of a federal violation to press in the Till and Smith cases.

Hoover said statements in the press attributed to Howard on the FBI's investigative role in the murders of Emmett Till and two other Negroes "reflect a complete disregard for the facts on your part."

"You as an American citizen, have every right to express yourself as you see fit," Hoover's letter stated. "However, I do not feel you have any right whatsoever to be wrong in your facts, particularly when they are used in public statements concerning serious matters."

*TM R Howard*

*file 4/CMC*

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# FBI CHIEF HITS 'FALSE' CHARGE OF PROBE

## Count Is Made By Mississippi 'Civil' Leader

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In a letter released by the FBI office here, Hoover told Dr. T. R. M. Howard of Mound Bayou, Miss., he should either support or retract charges the FBI "leaked" information about Negro slayings in Mississippi.

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Howard, reached in Los Angeles, said he based his statements on "reports brought to me by responsible Negroes in various sections of Mississippi."

Howard told the Memphis Commercial Appeal by long distance he had not received the FBI letter, and would issue a further statement when he had read it.

Hoover said in his letter to Howard that if he had any evidence of a "leak" of "confidential" FBI information "it is your duty to call it to the attention of responsible officials of either the FBI or the Department of Justice."

"From the information available to me," Hoover said, "I know of no such incident."

Of the charge Southern FBI agents can't seem to solve a Negro slaying, Hoover pointed out that it is the FBI's duty merely to investigate reports of alleged civil rights violations and report their findings to the Justice Department. Hoover referred specifically to three Negro slayings—the murders of Emmett Till, the Rev. George Lee and Lamar Smith.

Three Slayings Probed  
The FBI chief said his bureau made a preliminary study of all three cases, as it always does when it receives a complaint alleging a civil rights violation. He said the department later made a full "investigation of the Lee slaying. He said there was "no indication" of a federal violation to press in the Till and Smith cases.

Hoover said statements in the press attributed to Howard on the FBI's investigative role in the murders of Emmett Till and two other Negroes "reflect a complete disregard for the facts on your part."

"You as an American citizen, have every right to express your self as you see fit," Hoover's letter stated. "However, I do not feel you have any right whatsoever to be wrong in your facts, particularly when they are used in public statements concerning serious matters."

Mr. Tolson	/
Mr. Nichols	/
Mr. Boardman	/
Mr. Belmont	/
Mr. Mason	/
Mr. Mohr	/
Mr. Parsons	/
Mr. Rosen	/
Mr. Tamm	/
Mr. Nease	/
Mr. Winterrowd	/
Tele. Room	/
Mr. Holloman	/
Miss Gandy	/

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THE MERIDIAN STAR  
MERIDIAN, MISS.  
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Page 1 Cols. 3 - 8

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FBI - NEW ORLEANS	
Bureau	

32 FEB 14 1956



Mr. Tolson	✓
Mr. Nichols	✓
Mr. Boardman	✓
Mr. Belmont	✓
Mr. Mason	✓
Mr. Mohr	✓
Mr. Parsons	✓
Mr. Rosen	✓
Mr. Tamm	✓
Mr. Nease	✓
Mr. Winterrowd	✓
Tele. Room	✓
Mr. Holloman	✓
Miss Gandy	✓

# ROLE OF FBI DEFENDED

NEGRO LEADER ACCUSED OF FALSE CHARGES BY HOOVER.

In Letter to Dr. T. R. M. Howard, Bureau Chief Says Mississippi Racial Deaths Properly Probed.

Memphis, Jan. 18.(AP)—J. Edgar Hoover, FBI chief, today accused a Negro leader of "false and irresponsible" charges against the FBI's handling of several Mississippi racial killings.

In a letter to Dr. T. R. M. Howard of Mound Bayou, Miss., president of the Mississippi regional council of Negro leadership, Hoover said:

"I do not propose to permit false charges made against this bureau to go unchallenged."

The Federal Bureau of Investigation chief particularly resented Dr. Howard's publicized statement, in regards to three recent slayings, that:

"We must find out why southern investigators of the FBI can't seem to solve a crime where a Negro is involved."

Hoover said a full and impartial investigation was made in every case, at the direction of the Department of Justice, and the department decided civil rights were not involved.

"You seem to have conveniently forgotten," Hoover said, "the work of this bureau which was largely responsible for the virtual elimination of lynchings in the South and also was mainly responsible for the breaking up of the Ku Klux Klan in the Carolinas and Georgia."

Kansas City Times  
Kansas City, Missouri  
January 19, 1956

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DATED 1-19-56  
FROM NEW ORLEANS ITEM  
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## FBI Chief Raps Charge by Negro

WASHINGTON, Jan. 19.—(AP)—FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover today accused a Negro leader of "false and irresponsible" charges against the FBI's handling of several Mississippi racial killings.

In a letter to Dr. T. R. M. Howard, of Mound Bayou, Miss., president of the Mississippi Regional Council of Negro Leadership, Hoover said:

"I do not propose to permit false charges made against this bureau to go unchallenged."

### RESENTS STATEMENT

Reached in Los Angeles, Dr. Howard said he would have a full statement later on Hoover's demand that he submit evidence on his charges or publicly retract them.

The FBI chief particularly resented Dr. Howard's publicized statement, in regard to three recent slayings, that:

"We must find out why southern investigators of the FBI can't seem to solve a crime where a Negro is involved."

Hoover said a full and impartial investigation was made in every case, at the direction of the Department of Justice, and the department decided civil rights were not involved.

### HEADS CLINIC

"You seem to have conveniently forgotten the work of this bureau which was largely responsible for the virtual elimination of lynchings in the South and also was mainly responsible for the breaking up of the Ku Klux Klan in the Carolinas and Georgia," Hoover said.

Howard is president of the National Medical Association. He heads Friendship Clinic in Mound Bayou, the nation's only all-Negro town, located in the Mississippi delta, about 70 miles south of Memphis.

Mr. Tolson ✓  
Mr. Boardman ✓  
Mr. Belmont ✓  
Mr. Mohr ✓  
Mr. Parsons ✓  
Mr. Rosen ✓  
Mr. Tamm ✓  
Mr. Nease ✓  
Mr. Winterrowd ✓  
Tele. Room ✓  
Mr. Holloman ✓  
Miss Gandy ✓

*W. H. Harkness*

- ( ) Glos Ludowy
- ( ) Michigan Editor-The Worker
- ( ) The Daily Worker
- ( ) Narodna Volya
- ( ) Romanul American
- ( ) Pittsburgh Courier
- ( ) Michigan Chronicle
- ( ) Detroit Free Press
- ( ) Detroit News
- ( ) Detroit Times
- ( ) Michigan Daily
- ( ) Wayne Collegian
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DATED 1-19-56

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Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Nichols \_\_\_\_\_  
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 Mr. Winterrowd \_\_\_\_\_  
 Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Holloman \_\_\_\_\_  
 Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

BAUMGARDNER  
*BA*

*H. H. H. H. H.*

# HOOVER SEES F. B. I. FALSELY ACCUSED

MEMPHIS, Jan. 18 (AP)—J. Edgar Hoover, Federal Bureau of Investigation chief, today accused a Negro leader of "false and irresponsible" charges against the F. B. I.'s handling of several Mississippi racial killings.

In a letter to Dr. T. R. M. Howard of Mound Bayou, Miss., president of the Mississippi Regional Council of Negro Leadership, Mr. Hoover said:

"I do not propose to permit false charges made against this bureau to go unchallenged."

Dr. Howard, reached in Los Angeles, told The Memphis Commercial Appeal he would have a full statement later on Mr. Hoover's demand that he submit evidence on his charges or publicly retract them.

Mr. Hoover particularly resented Dr. Howard's publicized statement, in regard to three recent slayings, that:

"We must find out why Southern investigators of the F. B. I. can't seem to solve a crime where a Negro is involved."

Mr. Hoover said a full and impartial investigation had been made in every case, at the direction of the Department of Justice, and the department decided civil rights were not involved.

CLIPPING FROM THE

N. Y. N.Y. TIMES

DATED JAN 19 1956

FORWARDED BY N. Y. DIVISION

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*Mr. J. E. Hoover  
Public Relations Matter*

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DATE 1-19-56

FROM NEW ORLEANS ITEM

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NOT RECORDED

126 FEB 1 1956

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Mr. Tolson ✓  
 Mr. Nichols ✓  
 Mr. Boardman ✓  
 Mr. Belmont ✓  
 Mr. Mason ✓  
 Mr. Mohr ✓  
 Mr. Parsons ✓  
 Mr. Rosen ✓  
 Mr. Tamm ✓  
 Mr. Nease ✓  
 Mr. Winterrowd ✓  
 Tele. Room ✓  
 Mr. Holloman ✓  
 Miss Gandy ✓

*McGowan*  
*4-Happening*

# MISSISSIPPI SLAYINGS

## Hoover Challenges Negro's FBI Attack

MEMPHIS, Tenn.—(UP)—FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover has challenged a Negro civil rights leader to produce evidence to back up "false and baseless" charges on the FBI's handling of Negro killings in Mississippi.

In a letter released Wednesday night by the FBI office here, Hoover told Dr. T. R. M. Howard of Mound Bayou, Miss., he should either support or retract charges that the FBI "leaked" information about Negro slayings in Mississippi.

**HOOVER ALSO** took Howard to task for telling a Negro organization, "We must find out why Southern investigators for the FBI can't seem to solve a crime where a Negro is involved."

Howard, reached in Los Angeles, said he based his statements on "reports brought to me by responsible Negroes in various sections of Mississippi."

Hoover pointed out that it is the FBI's duty merely to investigate reports of alleged civil

rights violations and report their findings to the Justice Department.

**HOOVER** referred specifically to three Negro slayings — the murders of Emmett Till, 14, of Chicago; the Rev. George Lee and Lamar Smith.

The FBI chief said his bureau made a preliminary study of all three cases. He said the department later made a full investigation of the Lee slaying.

He said there was "no indication" of a federal violation to press in the Till and Smith cases.

Hoover said statements in the press attributed to Howard on the FBI's investigative role in the murders of Emmett Till and two other Negroes "reflect a complete disregard for the facts on your part."

## CHICAGO DAILY NEWS

CITY \_\_\_\_\_ Edition \_\_\_\_\_

Date January 19, 1956

Page 10 Col. 2

TOP CLIPPING  
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 126 FEB 1 1956

FBI - CHICAGO  
 JAN 19 1956

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Mr. Tolson ✓  
 Mr. Nichols ✓  
 Mr. Boardman ✓  
 Mr. Belmont ✓  
 Mr. Mason ✓  
 Mr. Mohr ✓  
 Mr. Parsons ✓  
 Mr. Rosen ✓  
 Mr. Tamm ✓  
 Mr. Nease ✓  
 Mr. Winterrowd ✓  
 Tele. Room ✓  
 Mr. Holloman ✓  
 Miss Gandy ✓

# FBI Chief Raps Negro's Till Charges

MEMPHIS, Jan. 19 (AP)—  
 FBI chief J. Edgar Hoover has  
 accused a Negro leader of  
 "false and irresponsible"  
 charges against the FBI's  
 handling of several Mississippi  
 racial killings.

In a letter to Dr. T. R. M.  
 Howard of Mound Bayou,  
 Miss., president of the Missis-  
 sippi Regional Council of  
 Negro Leadership, Hoover  
 said:

"I do not propose to per-  
 mit false charges made  
 against this bureau to go  
 unchallenged."

Reached in Los Angeles, Dr.  
 Howard told the Memphis  
 Commercial Appeal he would  
 have a full statement later on  
 Hoover's demand that he sub-  
 mit evidence on his charges  
 or publicly retract them.

## RESENTS SLUR

The FBI chief particularly  
 resented Dr. Howard's public-

ized statement, in regards to  
 three recent slayings, that:

"We must find out why  
 Southern investigators of  
 the FBI can't seem to solve  
 a crime where a Negro is  
 involved."

Hoover's letter noted that  
 Howard, as quoted by THE  
 CHICAGO AMERICAN, once said:

"Confidential information  
 usually leaks from the local  
 FBI offices and witnesses in  
 Negro slayings are subjected  
 to pressures as a result."

This is a serious charge,  
 Hoover said, as FBI informa-  
 tion is confidential.

## FULL PROBE MADE

Hoover said a full investiga-  
 tion was made in every case,  
 at the direction of the Depart-  
 ment of Justice, and the de-  
 partment decided civil rights  
 were not involved. He said:

"You seem to have con-  
 veniently forgotten the work  
 of this bureau which was  
 largely responsible for the  
 virtual elimination of lynch-  
 ings in the South and also  
 was mainly responsible for  
 the breaking up of the Ku  
 Klux Klan in the Carolinas  
 and Georgia."

The "intemperate and base-  
 less charges" Hoover cited  
 were in connection with the  
 slayings of Chicagoan Emmett  
 Till, the Rev. George Wesley  
 Lee and Lamar Smith.

CHICAGO AMERICAN

3 STAR Edition

Date January 19, 1956

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TOP CLIPPING

DATED 1-19-56

FROM NEW ORLEANS ITEM

MARKED FILE AND INITIALED

NOT RECORDED

126 FEB 1 1956

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FBI - CHICAGO  
 JAN 19 1956



Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Nichols \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Boardman \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Mason \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Parsons \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Nease \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Winterrowd \_\_\_\_\_  
 Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Holloman \_\_\_\_\_  
 Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

## HOOVER ASSAILS NEGRO'S CHARGE

### FBI Chief Replies to Remarks of NAACP Leader

Charges made against the federal bureau of investigation by a Negro leader of Mound Bayou, Miss., were branded "intemperate and baseless" Wednesday by John Edgar Hoover, FBI director.

Hoover made his comments in a letter to Dr. T. R. M. Howard, founder of Friendship hospital in Mound Bayou and an active worker in the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

The FBI director cited newspaper reports of statements made by Dr. Howard criticizing the bureau's handling of investigations into slayings of Negroes Emmett Till, Rev. George Wesley Lee and Lamar Smith.

"Your statements as reported by the press pertaining to the FBI reflect a complete disregard of the facts on your part," Hoover wrote. "You, as an American citizen, have every right to express your self as you see fit; however, I do not feel that you have any right whatsoever to be wrong in your facts, particularly when they are used in public statements concerning serious matters."

In connection with the three slayings, Dr. Howard reportedly said in Baltimore that "we must find out why Southern investigators of the FBI can't seem to solve a crime where a Negro is involved," according to Hoover.

TOP CLIPPING

DATED 1-19-56

FROM BETHLEHEM GLOBE TIMES

MARKED FILE AND INITIALED

THE TIMES-PICAYUNE

NEW ORLEANS, LA.

1/19/56

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FBI - NEW ORLEANS	
BUREAU	



In each case, Hoover said, the FBI conducted investigations and turned the information over to the Justice department. No further probes were ordered by the department he said.

Hoover quoted Dr. Howard as saying in Chicago that "confidential information usually leaks from the local FBI offices and witnesses in Negro slayings are subjected to pressures as a result."

"From the information available to me," Hoover wrote, "I know of no such incident, and therefore feel compelled to request that you submit such evidence as you have to sustain your irresponsible charge or that you issue a public retraction."

He said that if Dr. Howard were interested "in the truth as to the manner in which this bureau has discharged its responsibilities in any area, you would have made inquiry through responsible channels which are open to every citizen before making your intemperate and baseless charges."

Reached in Los Angeles, Dr. Howard, after Hoover's letter had been read to him, said, according to the Associated Press:

"It is my charge that the FBI has failed to find the killers in the recent Mississippi murders. If that charge is false, then it is my belief that the murderers of Reverend Lee and the individuals who seriously wounded Gus Courts on Nov. 25 should be brought to justice."

In his capacity as president of the National Medical Association, Dr. Howard has been out of Mississippi for some weeks and expects to be traveling most of the year.



# FBI Chief Hits Back At Negro Critic

Southern Leader  
Accused of False  
Charges by Hoover

MEMPHIS, Jan. 18 (AP)—FBI Chief J. Edgar Hoover today accused a Negro leader of "false and irresponsible" charges against the FBI's handling of several Mississippi racial killings.

In a letter to Dr. T. R. M. Howard of Mound Bayou, Miss., president of the Mississippi Regional Council of Negro Leadership, Hoover said: "I do not propose to permit false charges made against his bureau to go unchallenged."

Reached in Los Angeles, Dr. Howard told the (Memphis) Commercial Appeal he would have a full statement later on Hoover's demand that he submit evidence on his charges or publicly retract them.

The Federal Bureau of Investigation chief particularly resented Dr. Howard's publicized statement, in regards to three recent slayings, that: "We must find out why Southern investigators of the FBI can't seem to solve a crime where a Negro is involved."

Hoover said a full and impartial investigation was made in every case, at the direction of the Department of Justice, and the department decided civil rights were not involved. "You seem to have conveniently forgotten the work of this bureau which was largely responsible for the virtual elimination of lynchings in the South and also was mainly responsible for the breaking up of the Ku Klux Klan in the Carolinas and Georgia," Hoover said.

Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Nichols \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Boardman \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Mason \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Parsons \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Nease \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Winterrowd \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Holloman \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

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126 JAN 31 1956

Pittsburgh, Pa.

PRESS

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POST-GAZETTE

COURIER

Date 1/19/56

Edition

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Column 2

Author of Article

Editor (on editorials)

Title of Case

Character

New Case

TOP CLIPPING

DATED 1-19-56

FROM BETHLEHEM GLOBE TIMES

MARKED FILE AND INITIALED

FEB 1 - 1956



***Denies Charges  
Of Racial Laxity***



**J. EDGAR HOOVER**  
*He resents criticism.*



Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Boardman \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Nichols \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Harbo \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Parsons \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
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 Mr. Winterrowd \_\_\_\_\_  
 Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Holloman \_\_\_\_\_  
 Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

*Run*

*Hoffman*

*P. M. K.*

*McL...*

(HOOVER)

MEMPHIS, TENN.--FBI DIRECTOR J. EDGAR HOOVER CHALLENGED A NEGRO CIVIL RIGHTS LEADER TO PRODUCE EVIDENCE TO BACK UP "FALSE AND BASELESS" CHARGES ON THE FBI'S HANDLING OF NEGRO KILLINGS IN MISSISSIPPI.

IN A LETTER RELEASED BY THE FBI OFFICE HERE, HOOVER TOLD DR. T. R. M. HOWARD OF MOUND BAYOU, MISS., HE SHOULD EITHER SUPPORT OR RETRACT CHARGES THAT THE FBI "LEAKED" INFORMATION ABOUT NEGRO SLAYINGS IN MISSISSIPPI.

HOOVER ALSO TOOK HOWARD TO TASK FOR TELLING A NEGRO ORGANIZATION THAT "WE MUST FIND OUT WHY SOUTHERN INVESTIGATORS FOR THE FBI CAN'T SEEM TO SOLVE A CRIME WHERE A NEGRO IS INVOLVED."

HOWARD, REACHED IN LOS ANGELES, SAID HE BASED HIS STATEMENTS ON "REPORTS BROUGHT TO ME BY RESPONSIBLE NEGROES IN VARIOUS SECTIONS OF MISSISSIPPI."

HOWARD TOLD THE MEMPHIS COMMERCIAL APPEAL BY LONG DISTANCE HE HAD NOT RECEIVED THE FBI LETTER, AND WOULD ISSUE A FURTHER STATEMENT WHEN HE HAD READ IT.

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26 JAN 31 1956

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DATED 1-19-56

FROM BETHLEHEM GLOBE TIMES

MARKED FILE AND INITIALED

FEB 1 - 1956



# Hoover raps Negro leader's attack on FBI

MEMPHIS, Jan. 18 (AP) — FBI Chief J. Edgar Hoover today accused a Negro leader of "false and irresponsible" charges against the FBI's handling of several Mississippi racial killings.

In a letter to Dr. T. R. M. Howard of Mound Bayou, Miss., president of the Mississippi Regional Council of Negro Leadership, Hoover said:

"I do not propose to permit false

(Continued on Page Four)

# Hoover hits Negro FBI attack

(Continued from Page One)  
charges made against this bureau to go unchallenged."

Reached in Los Angeles, Dr. Howard told the Memphis Commercial Appeal he would have a full statement later on Hoover's demand that he submit evidence on his charges or publicly retract them.

The FBI chief particularly resented Dr. Howard's publicized statement, in regards to three recent slayings, that:

"We must find out why Southern investigators of the FBI can't seem to solve a crime where a Negro is involved."

## FULL INVESTIGATION

Hoover said a full and impartial investigation was made in every case, at the direction of the Department of Justice, and the department decided civil rights were not involved.

"You seem to have conveniently forgotten the work of this bureau which was largely responsible for the virtual elimination of lynchings in the South and also was mainly responsible for the breaking up of the Ku Klux Klan in the Carolinas and Georgia," Hoover said.

Howard is president of the National Medical Assn. He heads Friendship Clinic in Mound Bayou, an all-Negro town, located in the Mississippi Delta, about 70 miles south of Memphis.

## LETTER READ

The Negro civil rights leader, after Hoover's letter was read to him by the Commercial Appeal, said:

"It is my charge that the FBI has failed to find the killers in the recent Mississippi murders. If that charge is false, then it is my belief that the murders of Rev. Lee and the individuals who seriously wounded Gus Courts on Nov. 25 should be brought to justice."

Mr. Tolson ☒  
Mr. Nichols ☒  
Mr. Boardman ☒  
Mr. Belmont ☒  
Mr. Mason ☒  
Mr. Mohr ☒  
Mr. Parsons ☒  
Mr. Rosen ☒  
Mr. Tamm ☒  
Mr. Nease ☒  
Mr. Winterrowd ☒  
Tele. Room ☒  
Mr. Holloman ☒  
Miss Gandy ☒

NEWARK STAR LEDGER  
Newark, New Jersey

Date 1-19-56 Page 1

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SUBMITTED BY THE  
NEWARK FIELD DIVISION

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126 FEB 1 1956

TOP CLIPPING

DATED 1-19-56

FROM NEW ORLEANS ITEM

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Mr. Tolson	✓
Mr. Nichols	✓
Mr. Boardman	✓
Mr. Belmont	✓
Mr. Mason	✓
Mr. Mohr	✓
Mr. Parsons	✓
Mr. Rosen	✓
Mr. Tamm	✓
Mr. Nease	✓
Mr. Winterrowd	✓
Tele. Room	✓
Mr. Holloman	✓
Miss Gandy	✓

*m. J. Brown*

*H. Hoffmann*

### Hoover Critical

MEMPHIS, Tenn. (AP)—J. Edgar Hoover, director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, has sharply criticized a Negro leader who says the FBI doesn't try very hard when probing a racial killing.

In a letter to Dr. T. R. M. Howard of Mound Bayou, Miss., Hoover said Howard should either give evidence or retract his "intemperate and baseless charges."

"I do not propose to permit false charges made against this bureau to go unchallenged," said the letter, made public last night by FBI regional headquarters here.

Reached in Los Angeles, Howard told the Memphis Commercial Appeal his statements were "based on reports brought to me by responsible Negroes in the various sections of Mississippi."

Howard said he would make a more extensive statement after he received and studied the letter.

Charlotte News  
Charlotte, N.C.  
1-19-56

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DATED 1-19-56  
FROM NEW ORLEANS ITEM  
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Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
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 Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Holloman \_\_\_\_\_  
 Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

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*BAUMGARDNER*  
*H. Haffman*  
*4-3-1*

CLIPPING FROM THE

N. Y. WORLD TELEGRAM & SUN

DATED JAN 19 1956

FORWARDED BY N. Y. DIVISION

*P. 4 Bklyn Edition*  
*Mr. John Edgar Hoover*  
*Profile 80 -*  
*Public Relations*

# FBI Chief Raps Negro Leader's Criticism of Mississippi Probes

By the United Press.

MEMPHIS, Jan. 19.—FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover challenged a Negro civil rights leader to produce evidence to back up "false and baseless" charges on the FBI's handling of Negro killings in Mississippi. In a letter released last night by the FBI office here, Mr. Hoover told Dr. T. R. M. Howard of Mound Bayou, Miss., he should either support or retract charges that the FBI "leaked" information about Negro slayings in Mississippi.

## Defends Statement.

Mr. Hoover also took Dr. Howard to task for telling a Negro organization that "we

must find out why Southern investigators for the FBI can't seem to solve a crime where a Negro is involved."

Dr. Howard, reached in Los Angeles, said he based his statements on "reports brought to me by responsible Negroes in various sections of Mississippi."

Dr. Howard told the Memphis Commercial Appeal by phone he had not received the FBI letter, and would issue a further statement when he had read it.

Mr. Hoover said in his letter to Dr. Howard that if he had any evidence of a "leak" of "confidential" FBI information "it is your duty to call it to the

attention of responsible officials of either the FBI or the Department of Justice.

"From the information available to me," Mr. Hoover said, "I know of no such incident."

## Hoover Cites Role.

Of the charge that Southern FBI agents can't seem to solve a Negro slaying, Mr. Hoover pointed out that it is the FBI's duty merely to investigate reports of alleged civil rights violations and report their findings to the Justice Department.

Mr. Hoover referred specifically to three Negro slayings—the murders of Emmett Till, the Rev. George Lee and Lamar Smith.

The FBI chief said his bureau made a preliminary study of all three cases, as it always does when it receives a complaint alleging a civil rights violation. He said the department later made a full investigation of the Lee slaying. He said there was "no indication" of a federal violation to press in the Till and Smith cases.

Mr. Hoover said statements in the press attributed to Mr. Howard on the FBI's investigative role in the murders of Emmett Till and two other Negroes "reflect a complete disregard for the facts on your part."

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Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Nichols \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Boardman \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
 Mr. Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
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## Statements Attacked By FBI Chief

Director J. Edgar Hoover, of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, has taken Dr. T. R. M. Howard, Mound Bayou, Miss., to task for statements attributed to Dr. Howard "in connection with the slayings of Emmett Till, the Rev. George Wesley Lee and Lamar Smith." Dr. Howard is a Negro leader in Mississippi.

Hoover, referred to a news

story carried in "The Baltimore Morning Sun," of Sept. 26, 1955, headlined "Probe of South's FBI Agents Asked."

"You were quoted as saying," the Hoover letter said, "We must find out why Southern investigators of the FBI can't seem to solve a crime where a Negro is involved."

**HOOVER'S LETTER** recited the FBI's method of investigating complaints and said:

"This bureau is doing everything within the scope of existing legislation in civil rights matters, and our fair and prompt investigations have done much to increase public respect and consciousness of civil rights."

"You seem to have conveniently forgotten the work of this bureau which was largely responsible for the virtual elimination of lynchings in the South and also was mainly responsible for the breaking up of the Ku-Klux-Klan in the Carolinas and Georgia."

**CONCERNING** the Till case, Hoover said:

"As you will recall, when the body of Emmett Till was found in the Tallahatchie River in Mississippi on Aug. 31, 1955, the available facts concerning this case were presented to the Civil

Rights Section of the Department of Justice by this bureau.

"The department advised that the facts did not indicate a violation of any federal statute, and accordingly this bureau did not conduct any investigation in this case."

"Irresponsible and false charges can serve no useful purpose in this critical period," Dr. Howard was told.

"In fact, they are a disservice to common decency, and I do not propose to permit false charges made against this bureau to go unchallenged."

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THE NEW ORLEANS ITEM  
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# Civil Rights Study Should Fix U. S. Line of Action, Ike Says

By **TED POSTON**

President Eisenhower said today that his proposed federal commission to study civil rights violations in the South should determine when and where the Attorney General should act in such cases.

The President had been asked by a Post reporter at his Washington press conference:

"You have recommended that a commission study acts of violence against Negroes in certain states. Have you discussed this with Attorney General Brownell and the FBI? Isn't this really one of their functions?"

The President said he didn't believe that he had specifically mentioned Negroes in his message to Congress. But he said he wanted the commission to find out the lines of responsibility for the federal government where violations of civil rights occur.

The President was mistaken in recalling that he did not mention

See Editorial on Page 25.

Negroes, for his message to Congress said:

"It is disturbing that in some localities allegations persist that Negro citizens are being deprived of the right to vote and likewise being subjected to unwarranted economic pressures.

"I recommend that the substance of the charges be thoroughly examined by a bi-partisan commission created by Congress. It is hoped that such a commission will be established promptly so that it may arrive at findings which can receive early consideration."

Meanwhile, Dr. T. R. M. Howard, prominent Mississippi negro

leader, said there must be "some political involvement" in FBI Director Hoover's attack on him for statements he made about the unpunished killings of three Negroes.

"It is a little hard to understand why he wished to apparently make a personal attack on me instead of rounding up the killers in Mississippi," Howard told The Post from Los Angeles.

He said he would make a full statement as soon as he had seen the Hoover letter to him.

Hoover had his letter released before it reached Howard.

In it, he accused Howard of making "false and irresponsible" statements. Hoover demanded that the Negro leader submit evi

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N. Y. N.Y. POST

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dence of his charges or publicly retract them.

Howard left no doubt that he did not intend to make a retraction.

Howard, of Mound Bayou, Miss., president of the Mississippi Regional Council of Negro Leadership, had said earlier:

**"We must find out why Southern investigators of the FBI can't seem to solve a crime where a Negro is involved."**

He referred to the murders of Emmett Till, Chicago boy; the Rev. George Wesley Lee, and Lamar Smith.

Hoover's blast was released by FBI regional headquarters in Memphis, 70 miles north of the all-Negro town of Mound Bayou.

Hoover insisted that a full investigation was made of each of the three killings at the direction of the Justice Dept., but the department decided no civil rights were involved.

The FBI chief said Howard apparently had no knowledge of how the FBI works.

**"The FBI is not a policy-making organization, and we merely conduct a fair and impartial investigation and submit the results of such investigation to the criminal division of the Dept. of Justice,"** he said.

He added:

**"This bureau is doing everything within the scope of existing legislation in civil rights matters and our fair and prompt investigations have done much to increase public respect for and consciousness of civil rights."**

Howard retorted:

**"If all has been done that could have been done, then he would produce the killers."**

Hoover said the FBI was "largely responsible for the virtual elimination of lynchings in the South.

In the Aug. 28 kidnap-slaying of Till near Money, Miss., two white men, J. W. Milam and Roy Bryant, were arrested but acquitted. They now are negotiating for the use of their names and characters in a movie based on the case.

Lee, an NAACP leader, was found dead May 7 in Belzoni, Miss., and the NAACP said he had been shot to death.

Smith, active in trying to get

Negroes to vote, was shot down in the town square of Brookhaven, Miss., on Aug. 13. A white man was arrested but not indicted by the grand jury.



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 Miss Gandy ☒

BAUMGARDNER

(HOOVER)

MEMPHIS--FBI DIRECTOR J. EDGAR HOOVER ACCUSED A NEGRO CIVIL RIGHTS LEADER TODAY OF MAKING "FALSE AND BASELESS" CHARGES AGAINST THE FBI FOR ITS HANDLING OF NEGRO SLAYINGS IN MISSISSIPPI.

IN A LETTER RELEASED BY THE FBI OFFICE HERE, HOOVER CALLED ON DR. T. R. M. HOWARD OF MOUND BAYOU, MISS., TO SUBMIT EVIDENCE OF HIS "IRRESPONSIBLE CHARGES OR "ISSUE A PUBLIC RETRACTION."

HOOVER SAID HOWARD'S STATEMENTS, AS REPORTED BY THE PRESS, OF THE FBI'S INVESTIGATIVE ROLE IN THE MURDERS OF EMMETT TILL AND TWO OTHER NEGROES "REFLECT A COMPLETE DISREGARD FOR THE FACTS ON YOUR PART.

"YOU AS AN AMERICAN CITIZEN, HAVE EVERY RIGHT TO EXPRESS YOURSELF AS YOU SEE FIT," HOOVER SAID IN HIS LETTER. "HOWEVER, I DO NOT FEEL YOU HAVE ANY RIGHT WHATSOEVER TO BE WRONG IN YOUR FACTS, PARTICULARLY WHEN THEY ARE USED IN PUBLIC STATEMENTS CONCERNING SERIOUS MATTERS."

THE FBI DIRECTOR CITED TWO SPECIFIC STORIES.

HOOVER SAID THE BALTIMORE MORNING SUN LAST SEPT. 26 CARRIED A NEWS STORY HEADLINED "PROBE OF SOUTH'S FBI AGENTS ASKED." HE SAID THE STORY QUOTED HOWARD AS TELLING A NEGRO ORGANIZATION "WE MUST FIND OUT WHY SOUTHERN INVESTIGATORS OF THE FBI CAN'T SEEM TO SOLVE A CRIME WHERE A NEGRO IS INVOLVED." HE SAID HOWARD WAS REFERRING TO THE SLAYING OF TILL, THE REV. GEORGE LEE AND LAMAR SMITH.

HOOVER ALSO REFERRED TO A STORY IN THE CHICAGO AMERICAN ON DEC. 28, 1955, IN WHICH HOWARD WAS QUOTED AS SAYING "CONFIDENTIAL INFORMATION USUALLY LEAKS FROM THE LOCAL FBI OFFICES AND WITNESSES IN NEGRO SLAYINGS ARE SUBJECTED TO PRESSURES AS A RESULT."

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WASHINGTON CITY NEWS SERVICE



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This matter handled by Mr. Nichols' Office.  
Letter written to Dr. Howard and released  
to papers after Howard accused local FBI  
offices of leaking information.

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CRIMINAL RECORDS

(HOOVER)

MEMPHIS--FBI DIRECTOR J. EDGAR HOOVER ACCUSED A NEGRO CIVIL RIGHTS LEADER TODAY OF MAKING "FALSE AND BASELESS" CHARGES AGAINST THE FBI FOR ITS HANDLING OF NEGRO SLAYINGS IN MISSISSIPPI.

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WASHINGTON CITY NEWS SERVICE



## Mississippi Notebook

# State Negroes Asking What Dr. Howard Did With Funds

By TOM ETHRIDGE

The Negro press of Mississippi hints rather broadly that Dr. T. R. M. Howard, fiery NAACP leader, may have appropriated for his personal use certain funds intended to benefit colored people of this state. A certain alleged \$40,000 Negro hospital donation seems a matter of particular speculation.

Without direct accusation of dishonesty, a recent news dispatch from Mound Bayou raises some highly interesting questions regarding Dr. Howard's handling of money entrusted to his care. The item also states flatly that Mound Bayou is happy to be rid of this radical Negro. Like most NAACP agitators, he apparently has placed a high cash value on his services.

IN CASE YOU came in late, Mound Bayou has until recently served as Dr. Howard's headquarters. His inflammatory utterances have seriously threatened cordial racial relations in Mississippi. Thinking Negro citizens, perhaps the great majority, have applauded his decision to leave our state.

The Jackson Advocate, Mississippi's most influential and widely circulated Negro newspaper, ran the following 3-column headline in a recent issue:

"Mound Bayouans Applaud Dr. Howard's Departure."

THIS HEADLINE was displayed above the afore-mentioned Mound Bayou news dispatch, which said: "The citizens of this famed Negro town are all but unanimous in applauding the decision of Dr. T. R. M. Howard to leave the town and state and take up residence elsewhere."

"The doctor has been in the national spotlight since the school desegregation decisions and more particularly during the recent Till Case hysteria as a crusader for immediate integration. . . . (he) has announced the sale of his showplace home, farms and other assets here amounting to some \$200,000, at the same time announcing that he would hereafter spend his time in New York, Washington and California, as his wife and two sons left to take

up residence in Los Angeles."

"Virtually penniless," the Mound Bayou dispatch emphasizes, "Dr. Howard was brought here in 1941 by the Knights and Daughters of Tabor, the state's largest Negro fraternal organizations, to become Chief Surgeon of the Taborian Hospital here. . . . "He was ousted some eight years ago after an abortive attempt to gain control of the organization by getting himself elected Chief Grand Mentor to replace Sir P. M. Smith, its founder and principal organizer."

"IT WAS WHILE chief surgeon of the Taborian Hospital here, during which time he also engaged in private practice. . . . that he was able to get large donations from white plantation owners throughout the delta to aid him in establishing a health center that would reduce the cost and improve the health of Negro plantation workers."

"According to well informed sources, these donations were in a large measure responsible for his many investments and the lavish standard of living set at his home, modeled after the estate of an English squire."

"IN THE YEAR following his ouster from the Knights and Daughters of Tabor, Dr. Howard organized the United Order of Friendship, a rival organization, set out to build a hospital in its name, for which he reportedly received a single donation of \$40,000, although the Friendship Clinic remains just about as it was at the time the United Order of Friendship was organized. . . .

"What became of the \$40,000 is also a subject of hushed discussion hereabouts."

STATE NEGROES also seem powerfully curious about Dr. Howard's management of the Magnolia Mutual Life Insurance Company which he purchased and organized in Mississippi, originally started at Tupelo. Dr. Howard became its president and board chairman a few years ago.

"During its first two years," the Mound Bayou dispatches sets forth, "the company showed signs

of progress but last year (1954), the State Insurance Commissioner said that conditions of the company were such that if it were not for the fact that he might be charged with doing it because of Dr. Howard's activities as a Negro leader, the Insurance Commissioner would have withdrawn the company license to do business in the state.

"BOTH THE United Order of Friendship and the Magnolia Mutual Life Insurance Company are reported to have a list of unpaid claims, and reports are that reserves of the insurance company have disappeared and its other assets are under mortgage."

The foregoing quotations, taken from the Jackson Advocate, indicate that many state colored people share white distrust and dislike for Dr. Howard, who apparently has not answered these veiled accusations.

STATE NEGROES are slowly grasping the painful fact that many self-appointed "leaders" have a singular interest in personal profit. Having apparently "farmed" this area to the limit, Dr. Howard now sees fit to move into greener pastures.

Like Roy Wilkins, Mamie Bradley and other NAACP agitators, Dr. Howard seems to have made the pleasant discovery that racial leadership has a definite cash value. Thar's gold in them NAACP hills!

MOUND BAYOU leaders and townspeople have recently served notice that they want no more NAACP agitations and hate meetings. Theirs has always been a peaceful and law-abiding community and those good citizens evidently want to maintain this enviable record.

HOWEVER, it seems premature to hope that Mound Bayou and Mississippi are permanently rid of this notorious agitator. His widely publicized bodyguards, so we hear, have been more for protection from irate Negroes rather than whites. Be that as it may, optimism at Dr. Howard's departure must be tempered with caution. A bad penny has the habit of turning up again.

Mr. Tolson  
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 Mr. Holloman ☒  
 Miss Gandy ☒

### DRIVE IN MISSISSIPPI ON NEGROES FEARED

BATON ROUGE, La., Jan. 1 (UP)—Dr. T. R. M. Howard, Negro civil rights champion, told an Emancipation Day anniversary gathering Sunday that pro-white citizens councils aim to drive a half-million Negroes from Mississippi within ten years.

Mr. Howard, from the all-Negro city of Mound Bayou, Miss., told his audience of more than 1,000 persons that Mississippi's Congressional delegation should be challenged because a "mockery of democracy exists in the state."

He said that in spite of the Negroes' problems in Mississippi, "the Federal Government has done nothing to help."

"The F. B. I. can pick up pieces of a fallen airplane on the slopes of Colorado and find the man who caused the crash," Mr. Howard said, "but they can't find a white man when he kills a Negro in the South."

The Mound Bayou doctor said "as mean and as mentally ill as the white people of Mississippi are they are not going to murder 986,000 Negroes." Instead, he said, they will rely on economic reprisals. He added that Louisiana Negroes could expect the same economic pressures from the councils later on.

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*Howard, J. R. M.*

## FBI 'Leaks' Hit in Till Acquittals

Mississippi's acquittal of two white men in the slaying of Emmett Till, 14, of Chicago, was denounced today by Dr. Theodore M. R. Howard, Negro leader of Mound Bayou, Miss.

Dr. Howard, who is here to receive a civil rights award at Trianon Ballroom tonight from Alpha Phi Alpha, Negro fraternity, criticized the Federal Bureau of Investigation in respect to its operations in Mississippi. Dr. Howard said:

"Confidential information usually leaks from the local FBI offices and witnesses in Negro slaying are subjected to pressures as a result.

Dr. Howard, who found three witnesses in the Till case, said the youth "was just one of a half-dozen slaying victims in a reign of terror in Mississippi."

**CHICAGO AMERICAN**

*Diamond Final* Edition

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This is man who lied about the Bureau at NAACP meeting, Baltimore, Md., 9/25/55 re failure of Bureau to solve cases in South which involve negro victims.

He has also stated he planned to have conference with AG regarding five racial slayings in Mississippi.

CLM

### Negro Leader Sells Mississippi Home

MOUND BAYOU, Miss., Dec. 16 (AP).—Dr. T. R. M. Howard, a leader in the fight for Negro rights, said Wednesday he has sold his home and farm land for almost \$200,000, but denied he is fleeing Mississippi because of threats against his life.

The 47-year-old Negro doctor said he plans to spend more time in Washington and New York next year than in Mound Bayou because he is president of the National Medical Association.

He admitted that threats had "a lot to do with my selling the place," but said he has no plans to move from Mound Bayou, an all-Negro town in Bolivar County.

"I have received numerous anonymous telephone calls threatening my life, especially immediately following the Emmett Till trial," Dr. Howard told the Jackson Daily News.

"Most of the calls came from surrounding towns" in the agricultural delta where Negroes outnumber whites.

Dr. Howard said he is keeping real estate and other property valued at about \$100,000. He said he will remain surgeon-in-chief of Friendship Clinic, which he founded in 1948.

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# NAACP Closes State Meet Here

## 1100 Hear Dr. Howard Expose Dixie Terror

"I want to say to you this afternoon that as long as there is one colored person in the swamps of Mississippi who is not receiving justice, the NAACP will be needed," said Dr. T. R. M. Howard in the course of an address to one of the largest civil rights audiences assembled in Little Rock since the protest meeting over the Seargent Foster murder case in 1942, assembled at the public meeting of the eleventh annual meet of the State Conference of Branches of the NAACP in its final session Sunday afternoon. He paid his respect to "Uncle Toms" and ultra-conservatives by announcing that they shout "Don't rock the boat . . . This old boat you are talking about is already rocking. We're not going to be satisfied until we turn the damn boat over."

Dr. Howard described in detail the steps taken by his "beloved Mississippi", the "Iron Curtain State", to keep Negroes down. He cited the attempt of the governor to get Negro leaders to say they would accept voluntary segregation, unreasonable tests administered to Negro voters, economic pressure brought on independent Negroes by depriving them of jobs, of credit, of necessary services such as cotton ginning, and refusing to sell them such necessities as bread, by legislative enactments providing that schools may be closed to preserve segregation, by burning KKK crosses, and by the murder of George Lee, LaMar Smith and Emmett Till.

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Little Rock, Arkansas  
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The doctor paid his respect to the FBI with the words it "can never work out who the killer is when a colored person in the south is the victim. He concluded that "there is something in the air that makes us know the day is approaching when every American citizen will know what it means to be free. The doctor was

given a standing ovation when he stood up to begin his address and was interrupted by frequent applause.

The delegates to the conference were entertained in an elaborate get-together Friday nite at the home of Mrs. L. C. Bates, president of the state conference. Business sessions and workshops consumed the entire day Saturday. Gloster Current, national officer, coached one workshop on membership and fund raising, and U. Simpson Tate, chairman of the regional legal redress committee coached one on integration. Both were assisted by resource panels.

Resolutions adopted by the conference insisted on immediate desegregation of public schools throughout the state, elimination of all second class citizenship, greater vigilance in the punishment of killings such as those in Mississippi recently, and appreciation and commendation of the branches and committees concerned with the entertaining of the conference, and praised of the president and other officials.

Officers were elected as follows:

Mrs. L. C. Bates of Little Rock elected to a third term as president. Other officers named were W. E. Boston of Crossett, Austin Wilson of Brinkley and Mrs. E. A. Dawson of Pine Bluff, vice presidents; Mrs. L. O. Crofton of Nashville, secretary; Mrs. Willie Thomas of Little Rock, assistant secretary; N. Miller of Malvern, treasurer; Benjamin Criswell of Fort Smith, youth director, and Rev. M. A. Williams of Eagle Mills, state organizer.

Board members are W. J. Jarrett of Little Rock, re-elected, R. N. Chaney of Pine Bluff, C. H. Hannah of Altheimer, W. D. Johnson of Jonesboro and B. J. Strivers of DeWitt.

All members of the legal redress committee were re-elected.



# Mississippi His Home — 'Now and for Good'

By CARL HIRSCH

CHICAGO.

IF THERE IS HOPE for Mississippi—and there is—part of it rests in the strong surgeon's hands of Dr. T. R. M. Howard. He is from Mound Bayou, Mississippi, this Negro leader. And whether you meet him in Baltimore or Los Angeles or Harlem or Pittsburgh, he quickly makes it clear that his home, his life, his future, his work are all rooted in the Deep South, "now and for good."

We talked together in North Chicago, seated in the lobby of a school building where Dr. Howard was preparing to tell once again his electrifying story of Mississippi lynch terror and the Emmett Till case.

"Even in these busy days, I like to tag home base every few days at Mound Bayou," he said, "but I've been on call so much lately, and I've just received an invitation from Prime Minister Nehru to come to India."

From out of the ferment around the Till case, a number of figures have begun emerging in stronger relief. None more dynamic than Dr. Howard.

FOR YEARS, he has been an increasingly militant and outspoken leader of the Negro people in the South. On August 28, the day 14-year-old Emmett Till was taken from great-uncle's cabin in Money, Miss. to be lynched, Dr. Howard began a new phase of the struggle which has found him tireless and unafraid.

For weeks he and others went

dragging through the swamps and backlands of the delta country, seeking the kind of evidence that even a Mississippi court could not deny.

Then following the trial, he began an unending tour across America, telling the story, articulating with his expressive face, his hands, his whole body the plea for the kind of united struggle which will end lynch terror and the second-class status of Negroes.

"I say we can't go to Korea and meddle into other people's business everywhere while this disgraceful condition exists here," he told this reporter with deep earnestness. "The Till case has warned America that she's got to begin living this democracy she's talking about all over the world!"

A youngish man with great vigor, brawny and lithe, Dr. Howard combines a half-dozen careers in one. He is surgeon-in-chief of Friendship Hospital in Mound Bayou, in this all-Negro town of 1,300. He heads the National Medical Association, made up of 2,000 Negro doctors.

He is also a director of a bank in Nashville, Tenn., and vice-president of the National Negro Business League.

MISSISSIPPI leader of the Na-

tional Association for the Advancement of Colored People, he works for Negro rights under many auspices and is an active member of the Negro Elks and Masons. He is also the head of the South's Regional Council of Negro Leadership.

He was busy this week trying to bring together a national gathering of Negro leaders in Chicago, seeking to bind together into a stronger cable some of the parallel lines of struggle.

Dr. Howard emphasized the demand that the federal government must intervene in the Till case, "at the White House level." He called on President Eisenhower for a conference to work out the means by which the U. S. Department of Justice can enter the case.

The Mississippi leader spoke caustically of the FBI "which seems to be unable to produce any evidence where the lynching of a Negro is involved." And he condemned the Mississippi prosecutors out of his own personal knowledge of what they failed to show in the Sumner trial.

As he speaks, Dr. Howard puts the lynchers on trial in a way they have never been on trial in Mississippi. It was he who sought out the witnesses Willie Reed, Amanda Bradley, Frank Young, Moses Wright, and others who were prevented from testifying.

"I TALKED to each of the people who were there, near the scene of the murder," he said. "No fair-minded jury in the world could listen to their testimony and fail to know beyond a doubt who killed Emmett Till."

The story of the early morning of August 28 is horrifying and bell-clear as Dr. Howard tells it:

"On that Sunday morning, about 6:00 A.M., Willie Reed was on his way to the country store for some breakfast meat. Walking down the gravel road, a green and yel-

(Continued on Page 14)

Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Boardman \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Nichols \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Harbo \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Parsons \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Rosen \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Tamm \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Sizoo \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Winterrowd \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Holloman \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

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The Worker \_\_\_\_\_  
New Leader \_\_\_\_\_

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## MISSISSIPPI HOME

(Continued from Page 3)

low 1955 Chevrolet pickup truck passed him and Willie Reed noticed that there were four white men crowded into the front seat. Willie recognized one of them as J. W. Milam.

"Then he noticed three Negroes sitting on the rear of the truck and a younger person sitting on the floor inside the truck with his back against the cab.

"As the truck passed, Willie Reed turned around, and as he did so he looked right into the face of Emmett Till.

"The truck proceeded down the road to the headquarters barn of Leslie Milam. By the time Willie Reed had walked to where the barn was, all the men were inside.

"Willie heard cries coming from the barn. Somebody was crying. 'Mama, mama, save me!' He heard the sounds of cursing and of the blows being struck. And he heard more cries, 'Lord have mercy, save me!'

"Willie Reed ran to the home of Mrs. Amanda Bradley and he screamed out to her: 'Aunt Mandy, who are they beating to death down on the barn?' Mrs. Bradley gave him a bucket and told him to go to the well, which was close to the barn, on the pretext of getting some water.

"It was then that they noticed that the cries from the barn were getting fainter and fainter, and finally died away. They saw J. W. Milam, with a pistol in a holster at his side, come out of the barn. And soon the three other white

men came out of the barn to talk with him."

★

THREE DAYS later, when the naked and smashed body of Emmett Till was found in the Tallahatchie River, the world was confronted with the most revolting racist crime of this era.

None knows better than Dr. Howard that for all of its vindictive savagery, this was no personal crime. He puts it in the context of Mississippi white supremacy and the mounting struggle there which, he says, "is building up more tension than at any time since the Civil War."

In the days of the Underground Railroad, Mississippi Negroes made up an important part of the intricate hidden network which carried thousands of slaves toward the North Star and freedom. "I may tell you," said Dr. Howard, "that the Negro in Mississippi is organized today as never before."

He speaks with hope of decent whites in the South overcoming their fears and backwardness and joining in the struggle for democracy. And he expresses confidence that labor will play a bigger role in bringing about the free Mississippi which he hopes he will live to see.

Dr. Howard has no special immunity, but he is committed to remain in Mississippi in the thick of this struggle. "Threats come every day to my wife and myself, but our only real protection is to fight back." He paused and the anger flashed in his intense face as he spoke: "It is not in my mind to give up!"

Mr. Tolson \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Boardman \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Nichols \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Belmont \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Harbo \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Mohr \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Parsons \_\_\_\_\_  
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Mr. Sizoo \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Winterrowd \_\_\_\_\_  
Tele. Room \_\_\_\_\_  
Mr. Holloman \_\_\_\_\_  
Miss Gandy \_\_\_\_\_

Wash. Post and Times Herald \_\_\_\_\_  
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N. Y. Herald Tribune \_\_\_\_\_  
N. Y. Mirror \_\_\_\_\_  
Daily Worker \_\_\_\_\_  
The Worker \_\_\_\_\_  
New Leader \_\_\_\_\_

Date \_\_\_\_\_



# HOOVER

## FBI head hits charges of negligence

WASHINGTON — The criticism of the FBI voiced by Dr. T. R. M. Howard is both accurate and unfair, J. Edgar Hoover, director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation contended in a letter to Thurgood Marshall last week.

Dr. Howard, during a speech in Baltimore, charged that the "FBI can never seem to work out who is responsible for killings of colored citizens in the South."

Pointing out that the FBI moves only on the direction of the Department of Justice, Mr. Hoover disclosed that his agents had completed their investigation of the lynching of the Rev. George W. Lee at Belzoni, Miss.

**THIS INFORMATION**, he said, has been turned over to the Criminal Division of the Justice Department.

The department, Mr. Hoover writes, never investigated the lynchings of Larma Smith and Emmett Till, because it appeared that no Federal laws had been violated.

Contending that the work of the FBI was responsible for the virtual elimination of lynching, Mr. Hoover pointed to the work of his agency in breaking up the Klan in North and South Carolina and Georgia.

"THE FBI'S fair and prompt investigations," he wrote, "have done much to increase public respect for and consciousness of civil rights."

Mr. Hoover made no reference to the FBI's 1952 investigation of the bomb assassinations of Mr. and Mrs. Harry T. Moore in Florida. Thus far no arrests have been made.

Mr. Marshall, special NAACP counsel, in replying to Mr. Hoover's letter, admitted that the FBI had done "a full and complete job in so far as the Mississippi situations are concerned."

The difficulty, he said, stems from the fact that Federal laws are "not adequate in such situations and should be strengthened."

Mr. Tolson	_____
Mr. Boardman	_____
Mr. Nichols	_____
Mr. Belmont	_____
Mr. Harbo	_____
Mr. Mohr	_____
Mr. Parsons	_____
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Mr. Holloman	_____
Miss Gandy	_____

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*T.R.M. Howard*

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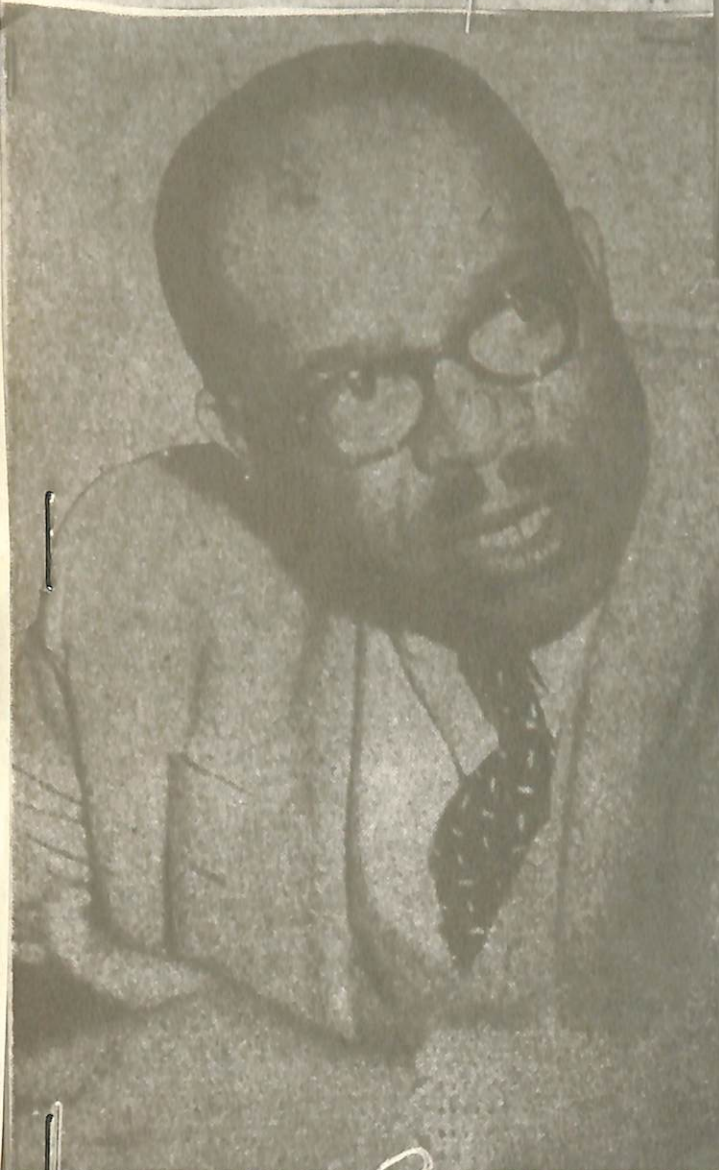
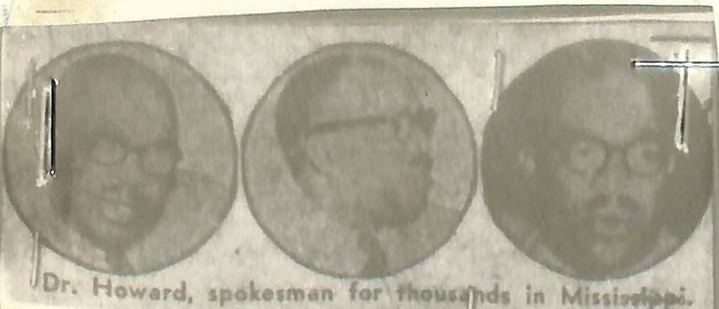
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Mr. Tolson ✓  
 Mr. Boardman ✓  
 Mr. Belmont ✓  
 Mr. Harbo ✓  
 Mr. Mohr ✓  
 Mr. Parsons ✓  
 Mr. Rosen ✓  
 Mr. Tamm ✓  
 Mr. Sizoo ✓  
 Mr. Winterrowd ✓  
 Tele. Room ✓  
 Mr. Holloman ✓  
 Miss Gandy ✓



DR. T. R. M. HOWARD  
 ... a brave man in the heart of the Delta

# Dr. Howard:

## Situation in Mississippi Extremely Serious; Tension Is Continuing to Mount

EDITOR'S NOTE—The following tape recording interview with Dr. T. R. M. Howard, famed Mississippi leader, was held Monday afternoon in Pittsburgh . . . and gives a graphic picture of what happened at the trial . . . the tensions . . . the insults!

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"It is my firm conviction that nowhere in the State of Mississippi could twelve white men have been found . . . who would have convicted Roy Milam and J. W. Bryant for the murder of Emmett Till . . .

" . . . My belief in American democracy and my belief in the religion of Jesus Christ are the only things that keep me in a state like Mississippi. I know that if the fundamentals of democracy are true and if the religion of Jesus Christ is right, conditions cannot continue in Mississippi as they are today . . . where it is practically impossible for a Negro to get justice where the races are involved . . .

" . . . I feel today, and I don't hesitate to say so, that unless the Federal Government can be made to realize how extremely serious the situation is in Mississippi . . . with

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THE PITTSBURGH COURIER  
 LOUISIANA EDITION  
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tension mounting by the moment in the hearts of both Negroes and whites . . . that there is going to be an outbreak of violence in Mississippi which will shock the very imagination of the American people and the entire civilized world. The Negro's fear in my state today is a rather dangerous fear complex, because he feels now that there is absolutely no justice he can expect at the hands of whites. He is going to have to be the one to see that he gets justice . . ."

THESE BOLD, bald, unvarnished, brutally frank statements came from the lips of serious-faced Dr. T. R. M. Howard, Monday afternoon, and gives to America for the first time, a graphic picture from a man who knows the situation there . . . because he lives with it every day.

But here, without further discussion are the questions Courier editors asked Dr. Howard . . . and his replies:

Q.—Dr. Howard, why do you continue to live in Mississippi?

A.—My belief in American democracy and my belief in the religion of Jesus Christ are the only things that keep me in a state like Mississippi. I know that if the fundamentals of democracy are true and if the religion of Jesus Christ is right, conditions cannot continue in Mississippi as they are today, where it is practically impossible for a Negro to get justice where the races are involved.

Q.—In this connection, what is Mississippi's record?

A.—A review of the record of crimes committed against Negroes by white people over a period of the last thirty-five year within the eighteen counties of Mississippi where most Negroes live . . . commonly referred to as the Mississippi Delta Counties . . . reveals that white men have had to pay greater penalties for killing deer out of season than for killing Negroes for any cause.

Q.—What were the conditions surrounding the Till trial?

A.—I have never seen or been any place where the atmosphere was as tense as it was about the courthouse in Sumner. It was so tense it seemed that if you had a knife, you could just cut it and blow it out. The same conditions were noticeable inside the courthouse. The sheriff had the nerve to explain when the trial started that they didn't believe in mixing the races in Mississippi and that Negro newsmen would be segregated.

But the thing that disgusted me most was that these two white men, being tried for murder, came into the courthouse unaccompanied by either the sheriff or his deputies . . . that they walked about during recess periods, shaking hands, talking and laughing with their friends and when it was necessary for them to go to the rest rooms, they went into the judge's private chambers, and no deputy nor anyone else went along with them.

Q.—This is in direct contrast to other incidents?

A.—Oh, yes! I have been to trials in Mississippi where, for example, a Negro was accused of doing something not near as bad, where the Negro was brought into the courtroom with his feet shackled, his hands handcuffed and three deputies surrounded him, with drawn guns. But this, the most outrageous crime of our day, saw the defendants acting as though a great big party had been held in their honor. They were the honored guests. Their children crawled over them, hugging them about their necks, while the jury was weighing the evidence.

Q.—Do you think the case of the state was adequately prepared?

A.—No, I don't think that the case, as prepared by the state, was done well at all. My reason for saying that is because the prosecuting attorney told me out of his own mouth that they had prepared the case, based on circumstantial

evidence. They knew it would be impossible to convict a white man for doing anything to a Negro in Mississippi on mere circumstantial evidence.

The state did not present one single bit of testimony from an expert witness. I maintain, for example, that they have had an anthropologist examine the epiphany of union of any joint in the body to determine the age of the victim that they took out of the Tallahatchie River. They could have also certified the identity by finger-printing. This they failed to do. In fact, they had no real witnesses in the case until the witnesses came to my home on the Sunday before the trial started and volunteered the information that they had made it known they wanted to go before the court and testify

Q.—Did that include Willie Reed and Leroy (Too Tight) Collins?

EDITOR'S NOTE—Willie Reed was the 18-year-old youth who testified and was later spirited to Chicago. Collins is one of the controversial figures in the case.

A.—That included Willie Reed, but not Leroy Collins. The testimony of Reed, an 18-year-old plantation boy, would have put those two men in the gas chamber in any other state except the State of Mississippi. His testimony, the testimony of his grandfather, Ed Reed, and the testimony of Mrs. Mamie Bradley were the most damaging given during the trial.

Q.—What about Leroy Collins?

A.—It so happens that we knew that "Too Tight" or Leroy Collins was one of the key witnesses in the case, because we had been tipped off that he was the individual who washed the blood out of the 1955 green Chevrolet pick-up truck after the boy's body had been carried from the barn on the Leslie Milam plantation (he's J. W.'s full brother) to be deposited in the Tallahatchie River. It so happened that we were concerned about finding this man. We heard he was in the Charleston, Miss., jail. Charleston is considered the county seat of Tallahatchie County. But when an inquiry was made of the sheriff of the county, he informed newspapermen that he didn't have a man by the name of "Too Tight" or Leroy Collins.

But on Thursday night of the trial, after the prosecution had presented its final arguments, we found that "Too Tight" was in the Charleston jail.

Q.—Do you know why he had been jailed?

A.—We understand that J. W. Milam had him locked up . . . conveniently . . . for a few days.

Q.—What about the "fear complex" of Negroes in Mississippi?

A.—I believe the Negro's "fear complex" in Mississippi today is rather dangerous, because he has finally come to feel there is absolutely no justice he can expect at the hands of the Mississippi white man. He feels that if he is to get any justice that he is going to have to be the one to see that he gets justice. I'm not hesitant to say that I feel today, that unless the Federal Government can be made to realize how extremely serious this situation is in Mississippi, with tension mounting by the moment, in the hearts of both Negroes and whites . . . that there is going to be outbreak of violence in Mississippi that's going to shock the very imagination of the American people, and of the world.

Q.—What about FBI investigations in Mississippi?

A.—It seems that the FBI is never able to find the criminal when a Negro and a white man are involved. That is especially true if a Negro is murdered by a white man. To give a specific example . . . the FBI was called in on the case of the Rev. George Lee, was was murdered on the streets of Belzoni, Miss., at 11:35 P. M. on May 2. There were certain eyewitnesses to this murder. We even located the Chinaman who sold the killer the buckshot. It was known to whom the automobile involved in the killing belonged to. Yet, because certain county officials seemed to be in "on the know" about this murder, no one has ever been arrested. It's just another unsolved murder. It's our belief that you can't take a man that's trained a certain way from birth; lived under



certain code of ethics that fails to recognize a Negro's rights, and change his whole nature by pinning an FBI badge on him. We don't believe a leopard can change his spots.

**Q.—Did the presence of Negro reporters and observers have any effect on the white people of Sumner?**

**A.—**I don't think they were even impressed . . . not even by the presence of a Negro U. S. Congressman. They took this attitude: What the heck is he doing down here? One comment from the Jackson Daily News . . . the most rabble-rousing newspaper in the state . . . could be repeated. The article said that at one point the jury may have been considering something being presented by the prosecution. A well-dressed Negro walked by, and that killed the effect of anything the prosecuting attorney might have been saying. So you can understand that this Mississippi white man is just a different brand of American than the rest of them.

**Q.—Do you think Collins was deliberately "hidden"?**

**A.—**Yes, I think so. But the thing that is concerning me today is that we know, at least we did Thursday night, where "Too Tight" Collins was. But there is a young man named Loggin and another individual whose name we don't know. We're wondering where these two young men are. We don't know whether they have been shipped out of Mississippi or whether, if we drag the Tallahatchie River, we might find their bodies there. I don't believe the mystery around the Till case can be cleared, until we definitely know the whereabouts of Loggin and the other Negro who Willie Reed saw sitting on the back of this pick-up truck the morning Till was murdered.

**Q.—Was Willie Reed's testimony challenged?**

**A.—**No, not at any time. Incidentally, his testimony was so important that we didn't feel it would be safe to let him stay anywhere in Mississippi but at my home, where I knew he would be protected.

Willie testified that he didn't live on the Leslie Milam plantation, but on an adjoining plantation. On Sunday morning, Aug. 28, about 6 o'clock, his grandmother sent him to the country store, about a mile and a quarter away, to get some fresh meat for breakfast. Walking down the gravel road, he met the pick-up truck and noticed there were four white men on the seat of this truck. One of the men was sitting on another's knee, but Willie recognized J. W. Milam. As the truck passed, he noticed three Negroes sitting on the rear of the truck, and a younger individual sitting on the floor inside the truck with his back against the cab. As the truck passed, his eyes followed as he turned around to see if he could make out who any of the Negroes were. When he turned around, he looked right into the face of Emmett Till. It so happens that when he saw the first picture of Emmett Till in the newspaper, he told his grandfather and grandmother that this is the boy I saw sitting in the back of the truck.

The truck proceeded to the headquarters barn of Leslie Milam. Every plantation in the state has a headquarters barn, where they have a store-room, keep cotton seed or soy beans or fertilizer. The room is usually close to where tractors and tools are kept. When Willie had walked to where the barn was, the pick-up truck had stopped and all the men had gotten out. Willie heard cries coming from the barn. Somebody was saying: "Mama, Lord Have Mercy, Lord Have Mercy." Willie heard blows and it appeared that the individual being beaten was crawling, trying to find something to pull himself up by. As the blows continued, Willie said he heard another voice saying: "Get down, get down, you black bastard."

Willie rushed to Mrs. Amanda Bradley's home and screamed: "Who are they beating to death down to the barn, Aunt Mandy?"

Finally convincing his family, Willie returned to the well, accompanied by Frank Young, presumably to get a bucket of water. As they neared the well, close to the barn, they heard more blows and a sound of someone crying. While at the well, they noticed the cries getting fainter and fainter, and by the time they had filled their bucket, there were no more cries. Then it was that they saw J. W. Milam, with a

pistol in a holster on his side, coming out of the barn to get a drink of water. As he returned to the barn, the three other white men came out to talk with him.

Willie and Frank returned to Aunt Mandy's and the three of them watched the pick-up truck being backed next to the barn door, after the tractor was removed. They noticed something being put in the truck. They couldn't see what it was, but they saw them throw a tarpaulin over it. This was between 8:30 and 9 in the morning, well over two hours from the time Willie first saw the truck. Nothing has been heard about the other Negroes since. That was Willie's story . . . and it stuck!

**Q.—What about the so-called "Wolf Whistle"?**

**A.—**If you've ever seen a country store in the South, Negroes are always hanging around. On the afternoon in question, Negroes were playing checkers right outside the store. They hang around these stores to buy candy, soda water and ice cream. Little Till, so the story goes, went into the store to get some bubble-gum. A victim of infantile paralysis, he stammered. After buying the gum, he stammered out a "good-bye" to Mrs. Bryant as he left the store. The other boys, who lived in the neighborhood, teased him about saying goodbye, explaining to him that a Negro boy couldn't say goodbye to a white lady in the South. One of the boys is then believed to have said: "What did you think about the lady inside?" Instead of answering, the little fellow whistled, meaning that she was good-looking. I talked with plenty of Negroes who were present on the porch, and they insisted the lady didn't even hear Till's whistle. It is believed that one of the Negro loafers, who probably wanted 50 cents worth of credit, told Bryant when he came, that a Negro boy from "up nawth" had whistled at his wife.

**Q.—How was Mrs. Bradley treated in court?"**

**A.—**It was interesting to note that whether it was the prosecution or defense . . . was MR. Roy Bryant and MR. J. W. Milam and MRS. Bryant. However, when it came to the boy's mother, it was "Mamie this" and "Mamie that." It will also be of interest to you that the defense lawyers seemed to have every copy of your paper and the Defender that had been published since this case started.

**Q.—What references were made about the NAACP?**

**A.—**The reference to the NAACP was the most disgraceful thing I've ever heard in a courtroom. The defense, in its initial final summary, told the jury that thirty-five years ago, when the Ku Klux Klan reigned supreme in Mississippi, three embalmed bodies of Negroes had been put in the Mississippi River at Greenville, to make it look like the Klan was responsible for the bodies being there. They insisted that the NAACP was the greatest enemy of the South; that they had gotten young Till back North; that they had taken his ring and placed it on the body of a dead individual and had then put that body in the Tallahatchie River to make it look bad for the glorious State of Mississippi. I must say that to those twelve Mississippians who sat on the jury, they appeared to be more impressed by this fantastic lie than by anything which had been said during the whole trial.

**Q.—As a medical expert, was the body that of Emmett Till?**

**A.** I would like to say, first of all, that the temperature of the water in a shallow river like the Tallahatchie, in a hot state like Mississippi on the 28th day of August, would be anywhere from 80 to 90 degrees. Every medical doctor knows that an individual who is killed when the body is hot, and especially when the skin of the body is broken, that such a body will undergo changes, will decompose, much more rapidly than a body not necessarily hot and where there are no skin breaks. Young Till's body had the head crushed in, with a bullet hole through it. It can be easily understood that a body, in this condition, placed in warm water, would decompose very, very rapidly. The body would become entirely water-logged in a period of twelve hours. It is possible to conceive that some of the large catfish in the water could have pulled at the body and torn it in additional places, causing even more rapid decomposition. The sheriff of Talla-



Tallahatchie County said that it was definitely not the body of a boy. I say that even the body of a small baby might be the size of an individual in their teens, if it had undergone the same process. As a medical doctor, I saw the picture of little Emmett Till, when he was six months of age and the picture made by the police department of Greenwood after they had taken the body out of the Tallahatchie River. I could easily identify that body as the same body of the individual whose picture I saw at six months of age.

**Q.—What was the experience of the mortician who testified?**

**A.—**He's in a little country town and had spent the sum total of one whole year in mortuary science. Yet his testimony at the trial was considered that of an expert.

**Q.—What is your opinion of Sheriff Smith of LeFlore County?**

**A.—**I think he is the most courageous and the fairest sheriff in the entire State of Mississippi. The defense tried hard to color and discount his testimony . . . and they are going to do the same thing on the kidnapping charge. Incidentally, I don't believe that if the kidnapping case goes to trial in Mississippi, that either one of these men will be given a year. You see, Mississippi is anxious for the rest of the world to know they are "mad" about the Supreme Court's decision outlawing school segregation, and they are determined that no Negro gets justice.