

ADDRESS REPLY TO
"THE ATTORNEY GENERAL"
AND REFER TO
INITIALS AND NUMBER

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE,
WASHINGTON, D. C.

WVG-AS

June 20, 1921.

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. HOOVER.

61-1050

In connection with the popular drive among the radicals for amnesty for political prisoners, and the great pressure lately brought to bear on the Government, particularly the present administration, I feel that it is of interest that the following be called to your attention, as indicating the utter contempt in which these individuals hold the Government and how they play a double game. ROGER BALDWIN, who with ALBERT DE SILVER, managing most of this propaganda through the American Civil Liberties Union, spoke at Cincinnati on May 24th. ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN was booked to speak at the same meeting. Baldwin was supposed to speak on the subject of war prisoners, but in fact his speech contained very little on that subject and the greater part was on behalf of the One Big Union and the I.W.W. He said:

"The three organizations obtaining the best results for the object of free speech and assemblage in the United States, which had been denied them due to the war hysteria, were the Non Partisan League, the I. W. W. and the Communist Party."

He admitted that, "There is a great deal of propaganda for bolshevism in the universities and I hope there will be bolshevism in every college in the country". He outlined their particular interest in the case of CHARLES ASHLEIGH and VINCENT ST. JOHN and dwelt particularly on the case of CLYDE HOUGH, the American citizen and draft slacker. Because Hough surrendered himself, Baldwin considers his case one of the weakest and the surest as the basis of propaganda on the Government for amnesty and said that:

"Action will be brought on this weakest case in order to weaken the other cases, which, while there may be some grounds for the conviction, still were based upon the fact that these people had spoken or distributed literature advocating their principles."

1922

61-1050-3
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RECORDED

A significant remark of his was:

"Russia stands as an example of what you can do when you get away with radicalism."

Referring to the escape of HAYWOOD, Baldwin said:

"He could accomplish more by going to Moscow to attend the next red meeting there than he could by going on to Leavenworth to serve his sentence".

He also indicated that the power of the Third Internationale over the Communists in America was greater than that of the Government. Also that they have representatives stationed in Washington to keep alive interest in the DEBS case and others, and that they would soon have two representatives. Their plan was to flood various members of Congress and officials with protest communications in the form of telegrams and letters.

In making his report on the return from his western trip, he indicated that he not only spoke at public meetings but at "private gatherings", at Rochester, Cleveland, St. Louis, and Pittsburgh, and

"As a result of the conference at Chicago with the General Defense Committee of the I.W.W., attended by Baldwin and Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, the Committee has circularized the prisoners at Leavenworth, asking whether they are willing to have efforts made for the release of individuals as well as for the group as a whole".

This action indicates the extent to which Baldwin and his organization are carrying their work.



~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Special Report on

Address by

Roger Baldwin

SUBJECT:- HELL IN WEST VIRGINIA

under auspices of

Amalgamated Clothing Workers at Germania Hall,

Rochester, New York.

February 10, 1922.

DECLASSIFIED BY SP8 BTJ/98
ON 8-19-86

Began speaking at 8:30 to an audience of 2200. Finished at 9:30. Baldwin is a good speaker and held the close attention of audience and was vigorously cheered when he made reference to gains of Communists in West Virginia. He said,

"The so-called Government in West Virginia pretends to believe that every miner who belongs to the union or wants to belong to a union is a Communist. They are not now but at the rate they are going in West Virginia, they soon will all be "in". (Vigorous and prolonged applause). "In West Virginia, they have a Governor named Morgan and when he was running for the office, the operators in the non-union fields alone put up \$250,000.00 to help him get in. Well, he got in and, of course is their man. There is no law in West Virginia! Men are jailed without charges or knowing what for. In one jail, I saw 115 miners in a jail that was built to accommodate 35 and they were there for months. The tent colony has over 5000 men, women and children, living on the barest necessities of life, no shoes, no floors in tents, bare feet on the bare ground, but their spirit of unbreakable resistance in the great message to organized labor the world over. They are fighting the great U.S. Steel Co. with its unlimited resources for the privilege of American citizenship." (Loud applause). There followed strong denunciation of U.S. Steel Co.

He described Senatorial investigation at Washington, D. C. and said,

The largest single operator from Logan County was a pompous bud-mouthed, old hard-boiled guy, who admitted that he took 100% profit last year and was justified. Walsh, who was conducting the miners' end of the farce, turned to one of his colleagues and said, 'And I have been telling people all over the U.S. there were men like that in West Virginia and they would not believe me,' and the foolish old 'Colonel' did not have enough sense to know but that he was complimented and came over and shook hands with Walsh."

100-49565-811
61-1050-2
BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

MAY 8 1922 P.M.
DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

HOOVER

FILE

W. L. M.

Baldwin predicted the last great stand in the U.S., April 1st, and in May when the U.S. Steel Co. grapples with the U.M. of A. and the solidarity of the R.R. Unions at the same time, which will be a fight to a finish and the result will be in no doubt. "The U.S. Steel Co. is going to its 'Waterloo' as opposer of right to organize." He said he heard Mother Jones in Kansas City address striking miners. She said, "What is the matter with you miners? What is wrong with you? Here you have been on strike for eight weeks and not a striker in jail. Must be you are all feeling bad." (laughter and applause).

He asked the Amalgamated and all organized workers to remember that the tent colony of West Virginia is fighting for the right to organize as American citizens and that the fight is yours, mine and every other fellow's with a spark of manhood. The audience understood that sudden death at the hands of hired gunmen is the lot of any miner in five lower countries who joins a union, etc. (Long applause at close of speech.)

Instructions

Special Agent in Charge

Blackmon.

REPORT MADE AT:

DATE WHEN MADE:

PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE:

REPORT MADE BY:

Buffalo, N.Y.

2/11/22

2/10/22

E.B.Harrigan

TITLE AND CHARACTER OF CASE:

ROGER BALDWIN,

AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION.

FACTS DEVELOPED:

At Rochester, New York,

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 8-19-81 BY SP8 BTJ/SP8

Acting under instructions from Special Agent in Charge Blackmon, I proceeded to Rochester, New York, where I attended a meeting last night given by the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, at the headquarters of the Union, #476 Clinton Avenue, North, and who were addressed by ROGER BALDWIN, head of the American Civil Liberties Union and who took as his subject "Hell in West Virginia".

MR. BALDWIN began his address by giving an account of the coal strike by the Union miners in West Virginia, especially in Mingo and Logan Counties and described his first visit there with the United States Senate Investigating Committee and also described conditions found among the union miners in the tent colony in Mingo Co., He also described the activities of the State police and other peace officers in curbing union activities.

He further related that on or about April 1st there would be a national strike of coal miners together with the co-operation of the railroad brotherhoods, the center of which strike would be pivoted in West Virginia.

He described the inactivity of the miners, during the

Wm. J. Burns.

REFERENCE:

COPIES OF THIS REPORT FURNISHED TO:
Washington 3, Buffalo.

EBH-ES

last conflict between the miners and peace officers, to obtain firearms but that at this time the union miners in Mingo County had been able to obtain at least five machine guns, which were now hidden somewhere to be used, if necessary, in armed resistance in April if the necessity requires and that the State Constabulary had not been able to obtain all of the rifles and revolvers owned by the union miners; that these arms were concealed in the manner that a dog buries his bone.

MR. BALDWIN'S speech throughout was simply a recital of past performances by the union miners and what they were likely to do in a continuance of the strike expected in April.

There were about five hundred Garment Workers present and when he remarked that the union miners of Mingo County had obtained five machine guns, he was applauded very vigorously by the audience.

He also made reference to the inability of the union organizers to organize in Logan County and after a few remarks about DON CHAFIN the Sheriff of Logan County, he further stated that when the strike took place in April, special efforts would be made to organize the coal fields in this county.

He further stated that he did not expect any relief to be given the union miners as a result of the investigation conducted by the United States Senate Committee and that in his opinion the only friend that labor had on that Committee was Senator Kenyon and that his help was now gone because of the fact that he had been appointed to a judicial position.

MR. BALDWIN without a doubt is making a careful study of conditions in the West Virginia coal fields and undoubtedly he is now spreading propaganda among the union sympathizers so that when the strike takes place in April, union sympathizers throughout the country will be informed of conditions in West Virginia and they will undoubtedly give aid to the union miners. The Amalgamated Garment Workers in Rochester, N.Y. are composed of Jewish, Polish and Lithuanians.

Attached is the Amalgamated bulletin which I obtained at the meeting last night.

CLOSED.

E. B. Harrigan

The Man Who Doesn't Want To Join The Union Because There Are Foreigners In It.

(Mr. Non Union Worker No. 3)

He doesn't like spaghetti and the people who eat spaghetti. Whenever Jewish workers start talking Yiddish he says that they sound like a bunch of barbarians.

He hates the Lithuanians because he has heard somewhere that they are related to the Bolsheviks. He makes fun of the broken English of the Polish tailors who have just come from the old country.

He forgets that if he tried to speak Polish among the Polish people he would sound like the phonograph when the needle hits a crack.

He forgets that the Lithuanians were turning out great artists and writers when America was inhabited by savages.

He probably goes to church and worships a Carpenter of Palestine, but he never associates his faith with Jewish workmen in 1922.

He eats Boston beans and then laughs at the people who eat spaghetti! Like the horse who laughs at the rabbit for eating grass.

He doesn't want to join the union "with them damn foreigners!"

He thinks that a foreigner is good enough to work with in the shop but not good enough to work with in the union hall.

This is the kind of a worker who is loved by the non-union boss. The boss plays him for a fool all the time. He works for starvation wages rather than associate with a "wop." He forgets that America was discovered by a wop and that the Italians have fought as hard as any other class of workers to maintain the American standard of living in the clothing industry.

The Amalgamated Clothing Workers do not stand for cheap, ignorant jealousy among the workers in the clothing shops. We are a union of WORKERS.

And the working class is international. All the workers in the clothing shops need a living wage. All the workers need fair working conditions. All the workers must stand together to get these things. The bosses bring the foreigners into the industry. Our job is to organize them.

To the non-union worker who hates the foreigners we say:

"If you are too good to join a union with the foreigners, you are too good to work with the foreigners. We don't want snobs in the clothing shops and we don't want snobs in the union. We are one brotherhood with one noble purpose, and there is no room in our brotherhood for quarrels between the man who eats spaghetti and the man who eats Boston beans, between the man who never eats ham and the man who eats fish on Friday."

Cursi To Speak for Local 204

General Organizer Aldo Cursi will be the speaker at the next session of the Women's Local of the union next Wednesday, February 15th, in Room 100, at Union Headquarters. Brother Cursi has not appeared as the speaker for Local 204 for some time and his remarks will be received with an unusual interest. Women members of

the union have adopted the attendance card plan for local meetings so they expect a great increase in attendance at the regular local meetings.

SARTORIAL NOTE

In Honk Kong is a tailor named Ah Men.

The last word in tailoring, one might say.—Boston Transcript.



UNCLE SOLOMON SAYS:

The difference between a foreigner and an American is that the American's grandfather got here first. The Mayflower wasn't big enough for the foreigners, so they waited and took the Aquitania. And who says the Aquitania is not a better boat?

Girls' Bowling League

Highest Bowlers

Reds:	
1st game—Anna Komiss	116
2nd game—Dora Englert	110
Blues:	
1st game—Millie Hofschneider	106
2nd game—Lena Cohen	110
Reds won both games.	
Average—1st game	702
Average—2nd game	622

NEW CONSTITUTION

TO BE GIVEN OUT AFTER NEXT NATIONAL CONVENTION.

Members who are receiving the new membership cards will miss the old constitution and by-laws which were printed in the old red membership books. For the next three months members will be compelled to get along without new copies of the constitution since it is expected that a number of important changes will be made at the next national convention in Chicago. After this convention the revised constitution will be distributed among all locals.

BASKETBALL TEAM TO MEET STRONG OPPONENTS

Friday Night After Lecture: Dancing Until Midnight.

A new plan of entertainment for Friday nights will be undertaken this week by the Amalgamated Athletic Association when a dance and basketball game will be scheduled after the lecture by Roger Baldwin on "Hell in West Virginia." An admission fee of twenty-five cents per couple will be charged for the basketball and dancing which will begin at 9:30 and last until midnight.

Although the Athletic Association was defeated in its efforts to have Sunday night social affairs the officers

of the Association are determined to continue the work of the basketball team with renewed energy. Manager Goldman will place a strong team on the floor Friday night, and the game should be of interest to all Amalgamated members.

Ladies will be at a premium Friday night, since all gentlemen accompanied by a lady can get in for twenty-five cents. If he comes alone the two bits will be extracted anyway. Two girls will be admitted for twenty-five cents.

WOMEN'S LOCAL TO HAVE BIG DANCE IN AMALGAMATED HALL THIS SATURDAY NIGHT: EXPECT GREAT CROWD.

The Lincoln Dance arranged by the Women's Local of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers in this city will take place next Saturday night, February 11th, in the large hall at union headquarters. Hundreds of tickets have already been sold to this dance and a large attendance is certain.

The dance will be given for the benefit of a special fund created by Local 204 and the officers of that local will have complete charge of arrange-

ments. The fact that there will be no basketball game this week at the armory where the Centrals usually play is expected to bring a large part of the armory audience to Amalgamated hall Saturday night.

Tickets for Saturday's dance are on sale at the union office for thirty-five cents. The committee consists of Eudice Gutkovsky, Sarah Rickles, Rose Cominsky, Ida Dubin, Ida Bernstein and others.

TO ADLER'S EMPLOYEES.

All of Adler Bros. employees who are not working are requested to attend a meeting which will take place Tuesday, February 14, at 2:30 P. M. sharp at the office of the Union, 476 Clinton Ave. No.

AVISO

Agli Operai di Adler Bros.

Gli operai di Adler Bro. che non sono occupati sono invitati ad intervenire alla riunione che avra luogo Martedì 14 Febbraio, alle ore 2:30 p. m. precise all' ufficio dell' Unione, 476 Clinton Av. N.

Vaudeville and Unique Address Next Week Friday Night

Children of Amalgamated members will appear in a new series of dances at the Friday night meeting of the Amalgamated next week, February 17th. In addition to the musical and vaudeville program there will be an address by William E. Sweet of Denver, banker and capitalist. His subject will be "Why I Oppose the Open Shop Movement as an American Business Man."

Star Shops and Chairmen

Stein-Bloch Shops—8—and 9—Salvatore Leonardi, H. Wedel, Fred Berg.
Stein-Bloch Trimming Room—Al Sherman.

Adler Shop 5—Harry Levy.

(Several other shops have almost 100% orange cards. Watch for their names next week. Shop chairmen should report to the Financial Secretary not later than Saturday noon if they wish their shops to be recorded in the next Star List of the Bulletin.)

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Rochester, N. Y.

Amalgamated Bulletin

ISSUED BY THE EDUCATIONAL DEPARTMENT, ROCHESTER JOINT BOARD, AMALGAMATED CLOTHING WORKERS OF AMERICA

VOL. II.

14

ROCHESTER N. Y., FEBRUARY 8, 1922

14

No. 15

"HELL IN WEST VIRGINIA" TO BE DESCRIBED BY ROGER BALDWIN FRIDAY NIGHT: BASKETBALL AND DANCING AFTERWARDS.

A message from the battle front of West Virginia will be brought to Rochester this Friday night, February 10th, by Roger Baldwin, head of the American Civil Liberties Union, who has just returned from the scene of the miners' struggle against the "open shop" coal barons. The subject of Baldwin's address is "Hell in West Virginia." He will tell how the capitalists of West Virginia, financed by the United States Steel Corporation, have driven union miners and their wives out of their houses and have imported armies of thugs and detectives to terrorize the districts.

The West Virginia mining district which will be described Friday night is the key to the whole mining situation in the United States and will probably be the center of the great coal strike which is expected in April. Baldwin is an able and experienced speaker who is familiar with every angle of the West Virginia situation. He is a Harvard graduate who became a conscientious objector during the war and served a term in Fort



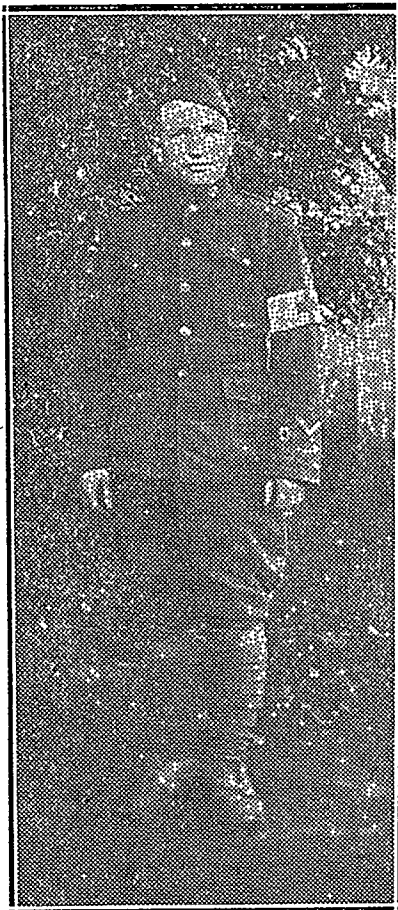
THE MINER ON THE FIRING LINE

Leavenworth penitentiary.

At the end of Friday's lecture the Amalgamated basketball team will appear in a regulation game with a fast opposing team in Joiner St. Hall. An admission price of twenty-five cents will be charged for the basketball game and the dance which follows. The dancing will last until midnight.

LETTORI ITALIANI

Non mancate di leggere la seconda pagina, scritta in Italiano.



JACOB WEBBER

who was assaulted by a Michaels-Stern worker while distributing bulletins

MICHAEL - STERN WORKER ARRESTED FOR ASSAULTING Amalgamated Member While Distributing Leaflets.

The arrest of Chester Tanner, a worker in the Child St. shop of Michael Stern, on the charge that he assaulted Jacob Webber, marked the campaign of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of this city to spread educational propaganda among the clothing workers of Rochester. The arrest occurred Monday afternoon at the factory of Michael Stern's and the warrant was sworn by Jacob Webber, a member of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers who was passing out leaflets before the Michael, Stern factory on January 19th.

Webber charges that while standing in front of the Michael, Stern factory passing out notices for a regular educational meeting of the union, he was struck by Chester Tanner and his nose broken. It is alleged that foremen from the plant tried to prevent workers from the shop from receiving leaflets and that when they failed in this attempt Webber was assaulted.

The case came up for preliminary hearing in police court Tuesday morning and was adjourned to February 14. Judge Sutherland represented the defendant and Maurice G. Ellenbogen appeared as personal representative of Mr. Webber.

YOU ARE NOT A GOOD UNION MEMBER IF YOU ARE WORKING IN A ROCHESTER SHOP AND NOT CARRYING AN ORANGE CARD.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 8-19-86 BY 258 BTJ/asp

100-49565-X2

LEVE BROTHERS

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Sciopero' pe' costringe er Padrone
A passaje piu' fieno e piu' biada:
Ma er padrone s'accorre der tiro
E penso' de pjasse un crumiro.

Chiamo' er Muro, ma er Mulo rispose:

—M dispiace, ma proprio nun posso.
Se Dio guardi je faccio ste cose
Li cavalli me sarteno addosso....
Er Padrone, pe' mette un riparo,
Fu costretto a ricorre ar Somaro.

Nun po' sta' che tradisca un compagno

—Disse er Ciuccio.—So' amico der
Mulo,

E pur' io come lui, non magno;
Tiro carci, m'impunto e rinculo.
Come voi che nun sia solidale
Se ciavemo l'istesso ideale?

Chiama l'Omo e sta' certo che quello

Fa er crumiro co' vera passione,
Per un sordo se venne er fratello
Pe' du sordi va dietro ar padrone
Finche' un giorno tradisca e rinnega
Er fratello, er padrone e la lega.

Trilussa.

TUTTI ALLA LOCALE ITALIANA

Luendi, 13 Febbraio, alle ore 7:45
p. m. precise, alla Sede dell' Unione,
476 Clinton Av. N., Sala No. 5, avra'
luogo la riunione della locale Italiana.

Una serie di questioni importantissime saranno soggetto di discussione. Il comitato conferenza ha gia' avuto parecchie riunioni e senza dubbio rapporterà alla locale del cosa finora e' stato fatto. La sospensione temporanea del lavoro in aleune fabbricche della citta sara' soggetto di discussione e di esame.

Si vòtera' anche in merito al proposto fondo di riserva, fondo necessario per far fronte a qualsiasi evenienza e per mettere l'Unione in grado di intensificare il lavoro di propaganda e di organizzazione nelle varie fabbricche e nei piccoli centri tuttora disorganizzati.

Venite tutti.

Locale Italiana No. 202,
Amalgamated Clothing Workers of A.
N. B.—L'ingresso alla sala e' permesso ai soli membri dell' Unione.

SHE WAS PUZZLED

Little Jane's mother brought home a box of candy given to her by an Episcopal friend shortly before Easter, and passed around some of its contents to her children, explaining that Mrs. Cox's children had given up eating candy until after Easter, "so they cannot eat any now, as it is

lent."

Little Jane's brothers promptly ate their pieces, but she stood looking at the candy in her hand with a puzzled air.

"Why don't you eat it, Jane?" her mother asked.

"Because," she explained, "then how could I give it back if it's just lent?"

OF
BUREAU

JEH/LMR



November 21, 1922.

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. RUCH.

Will you kindly prepare
for me a short but complete memo-
randum upon the antecedents of
Roger Baldwin.

Very truly yours,

J. C. D.

61-1050
100-49565-X3

<i>61-1050-5</i>
BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
JAN 4 1923 A.M.
DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

Memo

RECORDED

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 8-19-86 BY SP8 BT/AB

Q. H. R.

Instructions from [redacted] ncer, Special Agent [redacted]

REPORT MADE AT:

DATE:

PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE:

REPORT MADE BY:

Pittsburgh, Pa.

Dec. 5, 1922

Dec. 5, 1922

H. J. LENON.

TITLE AND CHARACTER OF CASE:

AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION,
ROGER N. BALDWIN - Speaking Tour.

FACTS DEVELOPED:

AT PITTSBURGH, PA.

Office File No. 209-MR.

The following report was received from a traveling informant covering Eastern Ohio and Western Pennsylvania:-

"ROGER N. BALDWIN, national director of the Union, will start on a tour of the country and will address meetings or interview local American Civil Liberties Union committees in the following cities. Where he does address meetings it will be in behalf of the Labor Defense Council of Chicago.

Sunday & Monday	-	December 3rd & 4th	-	Boston
Tuesday	-	"	5th	- Rochester
Wednesday	-	"	6th	- Buffalo
Thursday	-	"	7th	- Cleveland (mass meeting)
Friday	-	"	8th	- Youngstown-Pittsburgh (Probably in evening)
Saturday	-	"	9th	- Detroit-Toledo
Sunday	-	"	10th	- Detroit
Monday	-	"	11th	- Chicago
Tuesday	-	"	12th	- "
Wednesday	-	"	13th	- St. Louis
Thursday	-	"	14th	- " "
Friday	-	"	15th	- Indianapolis-Terre Haute
Saturday	-	"	16th	- Cincinnati
Sunday	-	"	17th	- Charleston, W. Va.

In Youngstown he will interview the local C. L. committee headed by W. Metcalf and such few liberals as this chap may be able to muster for the occasion. He will no doubt have an evening mass meeting in Pittsburgh."

Read by

DEC - 6 1922

Wm. J. Burns.

REFERENCE:

Hoover-2

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ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 8-19-86 BY SP8 DJS/08

FILE NO.

BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

DEC 6 - 1922

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

ROUTED TO:

HOOVER

FILE

DO NOT WRITE IN THESE SPACES

RECORDED

DEC 12 1922

EDWARD J. BRENNAN
(GJS:VD)

Department of Justice

Bureau of Investigation

15 PARK ROW, 14TH FLOOR

NEW YORK, N. Y.

January 10th, 1923.

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 12-21-2009DIRECTOR,
Bureau of Investigation,
Department of Justice,
Washington, D.C.~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

GENERAL INTELLIGENCE

JAN 13 1923

DIVISION

RE: ROGER BALDWIN:

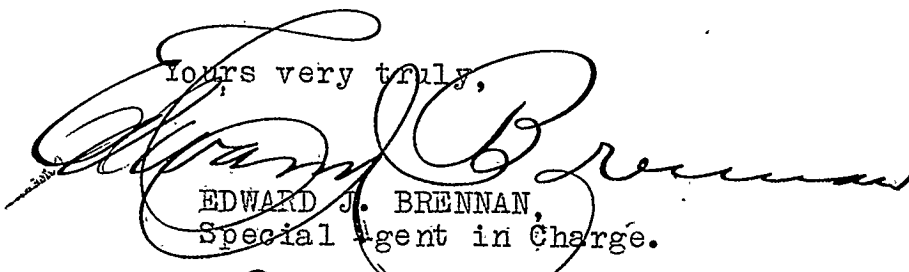
Dear Sir:-

b2
b7D

Referring to report of [redacted]
[redacted] dated January 8th, 1923 entitled "One BALDWIN,
Alleged Soviet Agent", this Informant states that
according to the latest information he has secured at
110 W. 40th St., the BALDWIN referred to is ROGER BALDWIN,
of the American Civil Liberties Bureau. (X)

The statement in this report, to the effect that
he recently arrived in New York is evidently incorrect.
The Informant states that as nearly as he can ascertain,
all the other statements are correct.

Yours very truly,


EDWARD J. BRENNAN,
Special Agent in Charge.ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISEClassified by SP8BJS/08
Declassify on: OADR 11-4-88

FEB 7 1923

100-49565-X5
~~61-1050-6~~
BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION RECORDED

JAN 11 1923 P.M.

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

HOOVER

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

15 1922

MEMORANDUM

IN RE: ROGER NASH BALDWIN

1847 61-1050

Roger Nash Baldwin was born in 1844 in Baldwin, Connecticut, where his father was a prosperous farmer. He is a direct descendant from Miles Standish. While a student at Harvard University he became interested in Socialism and after graduating from Law School, he specialized in defending radicals. He has traveled abroad quite extensively, spending considerable time in Germany. He

During 1917, while in St. Louis, the Subject became associated with Max Eastman, Christal Eastman, Fannie Witherspoon and other radicals. Leaving St. Louis for New York, he traveled by way of Washington, where he stopped long enough to stage an anti-war demonstration. (This was just before the declaration of war.)

Convicted for violation of the Conscription Act, Subject was sentenced to serve one year in the Newark County Jail. Upon expiration of this term he married Madeline Doty, a writer, and a member of a prominent Massachusetts family. During the Russian revolution, Miss Doty had been in that Country, and from there had gone into Germany, where she was in communication with Liebknecht, whom she financially aided.

Baldwin went to Pittsburgh while the steel strike was in progress, established contact with W. Z. Foster, strike leader, and offered to act as confidential informant for the strike committee. He succeeded in securing employment at the Homestead mill of the Carnegie Steel Company, and made a confidential report of conditions in the mill. This report was circulated widely throughout the Pittsburgh district. After this he worked for a while as a railroad track laborer.

Because of his education, training and executive ability, Baldwin is said to approach his work in an entirely different manner than the average red worker, but he has had some difficulty in establishing himself as one of the proletariat because of his prior environment.

Baldwin is, or at some time has been, chairman of the League for Mutual Aid, member of the Six or Eight Committee, the Advisory Committee of the National Public Ownership League, secretary of the Civic League of St. Louis, Missouri, member of the American Union Against Militarism, member of Executive Committee of National Urban League, People's Council, Executive Board of the Friends of Freedom for India, head of the American Civil Liberties Union of New York, member of the General Advisory Board of International Worker's Defense League, the General Advisory Board of League for Amnesty of Political Prisoners, member of Executive Committee of Inter-collegiate Socialist Society, and secretary of the Liberty Defense League.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 8-19-86 BY 2058 JTS/af

JUL 17 1923

100-49565-16

61-1050-70

RECORDED

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JUL 24 1923 A M

September 25, 1923.

JEH/LMR

100-49565-X7
61-1050-8

OCT 1 - 1923

Mr. Robert C. Deming,
Director, Connecticut State Board of Education,
Hartford, Conn.

Dear Sir:

I am in receipt of your communication of the 14th instant, in which you request certain information referred to in the recent release by the United Mine Workers of America relating to the activities of Roger Baldwin, one of the leading officers of the American Civil Liberties Union at New York City.

I note that you refer particularly to a so-called transaction which Mr. Baldwin is alleged to have had in connection with the activities of the Communist International. I would suggest that in view of the fact that reference to this matter is made in the articles issued by the United Mine Workers you communicate with Mr. Ellis Searles, Room 802, Raleigh Hotel, Washington, D.C., who is the editor of the United Mine Workers Journal and who, I understand, prepared these articles. There is, of course, considerable information upon the activities of Baldwin both in regard to the efforts of the American Civil Liberties Union to bring about the release of Communist agitators and in regard to efforts to evade the Selective Service Act. However, I assume that you are referring particularly to the matter mentioned in the articles which recently appeared in the press and for this reason I am making the suggestion that you communicate with Mr. Searles.

Very truly yours,

RECORDED & INDEXED

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 8-19-86 BY SP8 DJS/afg

Director.

MAILED

SEP 26 1923

CONNECTICUT
STATE BOARD OF EDUCATION
DEPARTMENT OF AMERICANIZATION



ROBERT C. DEMING
DIRECTOR

HARTFORD, CONNECTICUT

SEP 15 1923

September 14 1923

To the
U. S. Department of Justice
Washington
D. C.

Dear Sirs:-

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED 61-105
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 8-19-86 BY SP8BJTJ/ag

I have been somewhat interested in the career of one Roger Baldwin, present executive secretary of the American Civil Liberties Union of New York City. This gentleman is by birth, I believe, and of interest a Connecticut man.

The recent purported expose of and by the United Mine Workers of America relative to the spread of communism in the United States and through the workers of the country, cites the Civil Liberties Union as loaning money to the Communist International from the Charles Garland Foundation Fund. This information is quoted as having been obtained "by authorities" in raids on revolutionary headquarters.

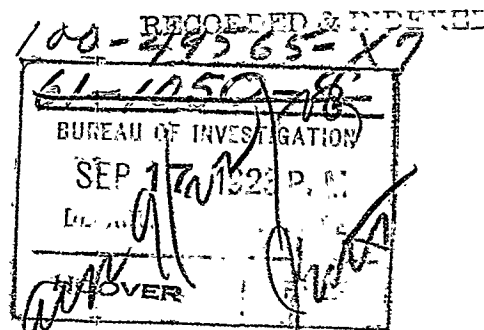
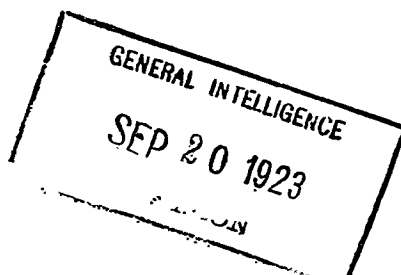
Can you give me information relative to the Baldwin Communist Transaction now in your possession? Baldwin recently appeared at Waterbury, Connecticut, and created much interest as an ardent advocate of "free speech", with complications. Please specify if the information you send me need be confidential or not.

Yours truly

RCD-CAK

Robert C. Deming

OCT 1 - 1923



November 3, 1923.

JEH/LMR

Mr. Lawrence Richey,
Department of Commerce,
Washington, D.C.

My dear Mr. Richey:

I would appreciate being advised as to the location and identity of radio station WJZ. It apparently is located somewhere in the vicinity of New York and I recently ascertained that Roger^O Baldwin of the Civil Liberties Union, a notorious radical and agitator, proposes to use this radio station to broadcast a speech, wherein he intends to direct an attack against the efforts of government officials in curbing the activities of ultra-radicals.

Very truly yours,

Director.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 8-19-86 BY SP8 BTJ/pp

MAILED
NOV 3 1923

RECORDED & INDEXED
61-1050-9
BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

NOV 6 1923 P.M.

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FILE

THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT

JOURNAL TO BE MADE AT ORIGINATING OFFICE ONLY

REPORT MADE AT:

DATE WHEN MADE:

PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE:

REPORT MADE BY:

N.Y. City

10-26-23

10-26

Wm. Ralph Palmera

TITLE AND CHARACTER OF CASE:

IN RE: #3.

FACTS DEVELOPED:

was engaged from 9 A. M. to 5.30 P.M. and the following information was obtained;

Chelsea 0340

11.35 A.M. (Outgoing)

Tresca called Roger Baldwin of the Civil Liberties Bureau and told him that Nieri had heard on the radio last night at 10 o'clock, a speech of Mr. Burns, in which Baldwin's name was mentioned in connection with the Third International and the Moscow Government, of which Baldwin was said to be the paid agent. Tresca urged him to answer Burns at once. Baldwin said he had to after that son of a b----. He did not mind, he said, to be called an Anarchist, but to be confused with that Moscow crowd was too much. He told Tresca that he was preparing a speech to be broadcasted through Station W. J. Z., in which he would answer Burns the way he deserved. Tresca made an appointment with Baldwin to meet at the usual place tonight.

Spring 0349.

4.55 P.M. (Outgoing)

Tresca called Quintilliano and told him the train for Providence would leave P.R.R. Station at 1.55 tomorrow, and Quintilliano and Aldegra should meet Tresca at the Pennsylvania Station at 1.30 by the "Information Bureau". Quintilliano said he would be there.

DO NOT WRITE IN THESE SPACES

FILE NO.

BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

ROUTED TO:

FILE

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 8-19-80 BY SP8 BTJ/ag

REFERENCE:

COPIES OF THIS REPORT FURNISHED TO:

Washington -2- New York -1-

WRP

November 6, 1923.

WJB-c

Mr. E. J. Brennan,
Agent in Charge,
New York City, New York.

My dear Ed:

I am enclosing herewith two letters, and wish you would immediately call on the Radio Corporation of America and speak to General Harbord, explaining fully to him who Roger Baldwin is and what his organization, "The Civil Liberties Union" stands for, and urge him as strongly as possible not to permit Baldwin, or any of the radicals, to use W J Z to broadcast their rotten propaganda.

Give this your immediate and personal attention.

Very truly yours,

Director.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 10-26 BY SP3 BTJ/ag

RECORDED & INDEXED

100-49565-X9
61-1050-10

BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION	
NOV 8 1923 P. M.	
DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE	
FILE	1

MAILED
NOV 6 1923

OFFICE OF
SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE
EDWARD J. BRENNAN

TELEPHONE, BARCLAY 8160
POST OFFICE BOX 241
CITY HALL STATION

Department of Justice
Bureau of Investigation
15 PARK ROW, 14TH FLOOR
NEW YORK, N. Y.

Nov. 8 1923

Personal

Mr. William J. Burns,
Director Bureau of Investigation
Dept. of Justice,
Washington D.C.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 8-19-86 BY SP8 BTJ/ag

Dear Sir:

For your information I am transmitting herewith memorandum from Special Agent Scully in regard to the matter contained in your letter of Nov. 6th 1923, initialed WJB:C of the reported speech to be made by one Roger Baldwin using the WJZ station to broadcast it.

Very truly yours,

Edward J. Brennan
Special Agent in Charge.

EJB:DD

GENERAL INTELLIGENCE

NOV 14 1923

DIVISION

BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

NOV 14 1923 P. M.

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

DIRECTOR
FOVER

RECORDED & INDEXED

NOV 17 1923

RE: ROGER N. BALDWIN
Attempt to Broadcast Radical Speech Via radio.

November 7th, 1923.

MEMORANDUM FOR SPEC. AGT. IN CHARGE BRENNAN:

Referring to Bureau letter dated Washington, D.C. November 6th, 1923, initialed by the Director, concerning reported arrangements being made by Roger N. Baldwin to broadcast a speech over the radio station WJZ of the Radio Corporation of America, in which Baldwin was to attack government officials, and pursuant to instructions received, in company with Agent Starr, I interviewed General Harbord, president of the aforementioned concern early today at his office, 1856 Woolworth Building, New York City..

Agents after explaining the purpose of the visit and informing General Harbord of the information we possessed concerning both Baldwin and the American Civil Liberties Union, he advised that up to this time no application has been made by Baldwin to broadcast a speech over his station but that Norman Hapgood of the American Civil Liberties Union had made a request to speak, but up to the present time no decision had been reached on Hapgood's request.

General Harbord further stated that Roger N. Baldwin would not be given the privilege of speaking over the WJZ station nor Norman Hapgood either, if he, Harbord, could prevent it. He expressed the opinion that probably Hapgood intended to broadcast the speech prepared by Baldwin. During this interview, General Harbord made notes of the information furnished him concerning both subjects, as well as the American Civil Liberties Union.

November 8th, 1923

Pursuant to instructions received from

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 8-19-86 BY SP8BJS/08

Mr. Brennan, I again interviewed General Harbord today at his office in the Woolworth Building and when asked as to his statement of yesterday concerning Hapgood, he, General Harbord, stated that after my visit he had conferred with Mr. Owen B. Young, Chairman of the Board of Directors of the Radio Corporation of America and that that gentleman had stated that under no circumstances would Hapgood or any person with extreme radical tendencies be permitted to use their station to broadcast a speech. General Harbord stated that he was but one of fourteen members comprising the Board of Directors but that we could be assured that his decision, as well as that of Chairman Young, would be followed by his fellow members. The other members of the directorate are:

ARTHUR E. BRAUN, ALBERT G. DAVIS, GEORGE P. DAVIS, HARRY P. DAVIS, HON. J. W. GRIGGS, JOHN HAYS HAMMOND JR., EDWARD W. HARDEN, EDWIN M. HERR, EDWARD J. NALLY, EDWIN W. RICE, JAMES R. SHEFFIELD AND GENERAL GUY E. TRIPP.

General Harbord advised that his organization was against permitting any persons to broadcast their political views, and as a matter of fact, says that in the future it may be limited to the two major political parties. He further advised that in the event he should receive any correspondence from the American Civil Liberties Union or any similar organization, that he would immediately notify this office concerning same.

Charles S. Sully

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

November 12, 1923.

HN: JVD

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PAGE IS CLASSIFIED C
UNLESS REPEATED OTHERWISE

Classified by SP8 BTJ/08

Declassify on: OADR 8-19-86

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 12-21-2009

T.L. Esola,
Post Office Building
San Francisco Calif.

REFER REPORT AGENT COSTELLO OCTOBER TWENTY-SEVENTH
GENERAL RADICAL SITUATION STOP OBTAIN AND FORWARD
IMMEDIATELY BULLETIN MENTIONED PAGE ELEVEN SAID
REPORT CONTAINING STATEMENT BY BALDWIN CIVIL
LIBERTIES UNION. STOP TWO

BURNS

Roger Baldwin
[1050] 4
C

RECORDED & INDEXED

100-49565-X 1174

61-1050-12

BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

NOV 15 1923 A.M.

DEPT. OF JUSTICE

FILE

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

INSTRUCTIONS FROM CHARGE L. C. WHEELER

THIS CASE ORIGINATED AT Los Angeles, California.

JOURNAL TO BE MADE AT ORIGINATING OFFICE ONLY

REPORT MADE AT: LOS ANGELES, CAL.	DATE WHEN MADE: 11/14/23	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE: 11/14/23	REPORT MADE BY: E. KOSTERLITZKY /N
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TITLE AND CHARACTER OF CASE:

AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION Los Angeles - RADICAL MATTERS.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 8-19-86 BY SP8 BTJ/08

61-105-0

FACTS DEVELOPED:

At Los Angeles, California.

Attention Mr. Hoover-No. 2
Los Angeles File 180/1120

Reference the following letter received from Acting Agent in Charge Edw. P. Morse, San Francisco, California, dated November 12th:

"Following is copy of a telegram received this date from the Director:-

"Refer report Agent Costello Oct. 27th General Radical situation stop Obtain and forward immediately bulletin mentioned page eleven said report containing statement by Baldwin Civil Liberties League stop two."

"See pages eleven and twelve of Agent Costello's report on the General Radical Situation for the week October 27th, 1923. This office has already mailed Better American Federation bulletin requested by the Director. It is respectfully suggested that you endeavor to secure the original copy of the bulletin from the headquarters of the Federation in your city and forward it to the Director, sending a copy of your letter to this office. If no bulletin is available, can the source of information be ascertained?"

Pursuant to instructions from Agent in Charge Wheeler to obtain the desired information, Agent called on Mr. Joplin in charge of the BETTER AMERICA FEDERATION, and while the original copy of the Bulletin referred to (No. 227, October 23, 1923) could not be obtained since only one copy was kept in the Federation's files, Mr. Joplin stated that the full text referred to in the

100-49565-1120

DO NOT WRITE IN THESE SPACES

BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION NOV 20 1923 DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE	GENERAL INTELLIGENCE NOV 21 1923 DIVISION RECORDED & INDEXED DEC 5 - 1923
ROUTED TO: HOOVER	FILE YRT

REFERENCE:

COPIES OF THIS REPORT FURNISHED TO:

Washington-3 File-1 San Francisco-1

SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE

E. KOSTERLITZKY

LOS ANGELES - 11/14/23

PAGE...2

RE: AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION.

Federation Bulletin of October 23, 1923, is contained in and taken from the book entitled REPORT BY THE JOINT LEGISLATIVE COMMITTEE OF NEW YORK, KNOWN AS THE "LUSK INVESTIGATING COMMITTEE", pages 1979-80-81, a copy of which book can be obtained at New York.

Closed at this end unless the Director desires further information.

STATION MR. HOOVER

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION.

JOURNAL MEMORANDUM

Date Nov. 15th, 1923 Office San Francisco, Calif.

TITLE AND CHARACTER OF CASE:

ROGER N. BALDWIN

CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION N.Y.C.

Origin of Case Wire from Director Date 11/12/23.

Local Office No. 6795-B-320 Bureau No. 61-1050 Other Office No. _____

Assigned to Special Agent D.F. Costello Date 11/12/23

Reassigned to Special Agent _____ Date _____

Reassigned to Special Agent _____ Date _____

STATUS OF CASE

Referred to U. S. Attorney _____ Date _____

U. S. Comm. Warrants Issued _____ Date _____
(Name of commissioner.)

Preliminary Hearing _____ Date _____

Continued Hearings _____ Date _____

Presented to Grand Jury _____ Date _____

Indictment Returned _____ Date _____

Arraignment and Plea _____ Date _____

Set for Trial _____ Date _____
(Name of judge, court, and place.)

Court Verdict _____ Date _____

Remarks: CLOSED.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 8-19-86 BY SP8 BTJ/p8

NOTE.—This form is to be filled in by typewriter or ink.

7-1256

DOCKETED

61-1050

Case originated at San Francisco.

S.F. No. 6795-B-320)

REPORT MADE AT: San Francisco	DATE WHEN MADE: Nov. 15th	PERIOD FOR WHICH MADE: Nov. 12 and 16, 1923	REPORT MADE BY: D.F. COSTELLO	ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE
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TITLE AND CHARACTER OF CASE:

ROGER N. BALDWIN.

CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION N.Y.C.

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE

DATE 12-21-2009

FACTS DEVELOPED:

AT OAKLAND, CALIF.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

61-1050

APPROVED
act. E.P. Morse
SPECIAL AGENT
IN CHARGE

--ATTENTION MR. HOOVER-2--

Reference is made to Director's part code telegram stop two dated Nov. 12; 1923.

Self-explanatory telegram and correspondence follows:

"Nov. 12, 1923.

F.L. Esola,
Postoffice Bldg., San Francisco.

Refer report Agent Costello October twenty seventh general radical situation stop obtain and forward immediately bulletin mentioned page eleven said report containing statement by Baldwin civil liberties league stop two. Burns".

"Nov. 12, 1923.

W.J. Burns, Esq.,
Director, Bureau of Investigation,
Department of Justice,
Washington, D.C.

Classified by SP3BIS/200
Declassify on: OADR
8-19-86

Attention Mr. Hoover-2.

Dear Sir:

Enclosed herewith please find bulletin of the 'Better American Federation of California' requested in your telegram of this date. Am writing the Alameda County representative of the Federation at Oakland, Calif., and Agent in Charge Wheeler at Los Angeles, in whose district the main office of the Federation is located with a view to securing the original copy if possible.

Very truly yours,

Edw. P. Morse,
Acting Agent in Charge".

"Nov. 12, 1923.

L.C. Wheeler, Esq.,
P.O. Box 694,
Los Angeles, Calif.

DO NOT WRITE IN THESE SPACES	
FILE NO. 100-49565-X/3 61-1050-13	GENERAL INTELLIGENCE NOV 21 1923 DIVISION
BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION NOV 20 1923 DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE	
ROUTED TO: HOOVER	RECORDED & INDEXED

REFERENCE:

EA

COPIES OF THIS REPORT FURNISHED TO:

WASHINGTON 3; FILE 1; LOS ANGELES 1.

DOCKETED

GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

7-1160

C. H. H.

11/15/23.

ROGER N. BALDWIN.~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Dear Sir:

Following is copy of a telegram received this date from the Director:

'Refer report Agent Costello Oct. 27th General Radical situation stop Obtain and forward immediately bulletin mentioned page eleven said report containing statement by Baldwin Civil Liberties League stop two".'

See pages eleven and twelve of Agent Costello's report on the General Radical Situation for the week ending October 27th, 1923. This office has already mailed Better American Federation bulletin requested by the Director. It is respectfully suggested that you endeavor to secure the original copy of the bulletin from the headquarters of the Federation in your city and forward it to the Director sending a copy of your letter to this office. If no bulletin is available, can the source of information be ascertained.

Very truly yours,
Edw. P. Morse,
Acting Agent in Charge".

Agent consulted Mgr. Brown of the Alameda County Branch of the Better American Federation of California 530-16th St., Oakland, Calif. relative to the source of the information that appeared in the Better American Federation of California Bulletin of Oct. 23, 1923, concerning Roger N. Baldwin, Director of the Civil Liberties Union of New York City. Mr. Brown immediately wired the main office of the Federation at Los Angeles, Calif. for the desired information. Nov. 16th Mr. Brown informed Acting Agent in Charge E.P. Morse, over the telephone, that the main office at Los Angeles had advised him that the information in the bulletin referred to was taken from a report of the Lusk Investigating Committee of New York, pages 1980 and 1981.

Copy of this report to the Los Angeles office for its information.

CLOSED.~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

THE AMERICAN LEGION
NATIONAL AMERICANISM COMMISSION
INDIANAPOLIS, IND.

1853-18

OFFICE OF THE
NATIONAL DIRECTOR

February 19, 1924.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 8-19-86 BY SP8 BTJ/ag

Hon. William J. Burns,
Department of Justice,
Washington, D. C.

My dear Mr. Burns:

Would you be kind enough to send me some
data on Roger N. Baldwin of The American Civil Liberties
Union? Also anything that you have that I can back up
by proof in attacking this organization.

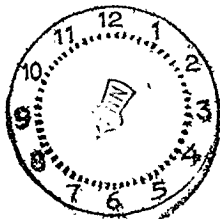
I believe that Baldwin is an arch-slacker
if I am not mistaken. If possible, would like to have his
record and any extremely radical extracts from speeches he
has made. I would more than appreciate your assistance in
this matter.

I sincerely hope I may have the pleasure
of seeing you while in Washington in the next few weeks.

My kindest regards and very best wishes.

Faithfully yours,
GARLAND W. POWELL,
National Director.

Rec'd
WM. J. BURNS



FEB 23 1924

GENERAL INTELLIGENCE

FEB 25 1924

DIVISION

BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

FEB 23 1924

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

DIRECTOR
HOOVER

FILE

MAR 5 1924

RECORDED & INDEXED

100-49565-X14

61-1050-13

JCH/LMR

February 26, 1924.

61-1050-15

100-49565-X14

MAR 5 1924

Mr. Garland W. Powell,
National Director, The American Legion,
Indianapolis, Ind.

My dear Mr. Powell:

I am in receipt of your communication of the 19th instant, requesting information concerning Roger H. Baldwin and the American Civil Liberties Union.

In connection with the activities of Roger H. Baldwin and the American Civil Liberties Union, I suggest that you refer to the report of the Joint Legislative Committee of the State of New York investigating seditious activities. The four volumes of this report contain considerable information upon practically all of the prominent radicals and radical organizations, particularly the two in whom you are interested.

I note that you expect to be in Washington within a very short period of time and I shall be very glad to see you at that time and to make available to you certain information upon this individual and his organization, in which I believe you will be interested.

Very truly yours,

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 8-19-80 BY SP5 BTJ/af

Director.

MAILED

FEB 26 1924

DECLASSIFICATION AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:
FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE
DATE 12-21-2009

ation, dated
been received
source by the
Division of Eastern European Af-
fairs, Department of State.

August 21, 1928.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

MEMORANDUM.

Referring to B.A.B. memorandum No. 218 of
June 21, 1928, regarding ROGER M. ^②BALDWIN,
information has just been received that he pro-
poses to sail, with a party of friends, on the
AMERICAN BANKER, in September, coming in transit
to London for Paris, where his address may con-
ceivably be, as it was in 1927, care of The
American Express Company, 11 rue Scribe.

61-
RECORDED & INDEXED

SEP 10 1928

100-49565-X15

SEP 8 1928 A.M.
DEPT. OF JUSTICE
FILED

Div. Two

CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES

House of Representatives

Washington, D. C.

June 19, 1935

Hon. J. Edgar Hoover, Director,
Bureau of Investigation,
Department of Justice,
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Hoover:

Would it be possible for you to send me any records you have concerning the convictions and arrests, or prison records, of the following: Earl R. Browder, Carl Haessler and Roger N. Baldwin?

I do not have much information concerning these cases, but understand that Earl Browder was committed to Leavenworth on July 14, 1919, and Roger Baldwin was convicted of draft dodging and one or two other charges during the war period. Also, I believe that Carl Haessler was sentenced to various occasions, serving at both Leavenworth and Alcatraz.

If you can let me have the complete records in these cases, including the charges made against each of them and the ones on which they were convicted, I will appreciate it.

Thanking you, and with kind regards, I am

Sincerely yours,

(s) Hamilton Fish Jr.

RECORDED & INDEXED

100-49565-X17

JUL 19 1935

JUL 13 1935

FILE

ORIGINAL FILED IN 61-2364

RECORDED & INDEXED
67-5164

Div. of Eastern European Affairs,
Department of State

May 3, 1929.

JUN 11 1929

100-49565-X16

No. 472.

~~SECRET~~

MEMORANDUM

Div. Four

In R.A.'s secret memorandum, No. 328, of December 18, 1928, regarding ROGER N. BALDWIN and the meeting in Paris with CHATTOPADHYAYA, the Indian revolutionary and secretary of the League against Imperialism, it was stated that Roger Baldwin was putting the League here in touch with the Washington organization known as THE PEOPLE'S LOBBY. It has now been ascertained that BENJAMIN C. MARSH, the Executive Secretary of the People's Lobby, proposes to bring over to 25 representatives for a joint conference with the Executive Committee of the League against Imperialism. He proposes to bring his party by the MAJESTIC sailing from New York at midnight on July 10, and arriving at Southampton on July 16.

Mr. James Maxton seems originally to have suggested that the conference should take place in the House of Commons. Whether, now that so many people are being brought, this proposal still holds, is matter for conjecture.

It is gathered that Marsh wants full publicity for the conference, but proposes to start organizing it at the American end, because it may be difficult for his people to get passports if the purpose of the meeting is prematurely disclosed.

The/

The discussion is to consist of a very plain statement on the part of Benjamin G. Marsh about the "plan of the United States to dominate the world", and the discussion is, it is suggested, to proceed on the following lines:-

1. How the United States is trying to dominate the world.
2. The British Labor Party and British Imperialism.
3. How to get Invading Marines and Troops out of occupied countries and areas.
4. Publicity on Concessions.
5. International Allocation of Natural Resources.
6. An International Investment Board.

CT:MG

RECORDED

100-49565-X17

July 3, 1935

Honorable Hamilton Fish, Jr.,
House of Representatives,
Washington, D. C.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 8-19-86 BY SP3 BTJ/08

My dear Congressman:

I beg to acknowledge receipt of your letter of June 19, 1935, in which you inquire whether there is any criminal record in the files of the Federal Bureau of Investigation concerning Earl R. Browder, Carl Haessler, and Roger N. Baldwin.

I have caused a thorough search to be made of our records and the files contain no criminal data concerning Roger H. Baldwin. However, the files contain a record of one Carl H. Hoessler, who was received at the United States Disciplinary Barracks, Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, on June 22, 1918, for wilful disobedience of orders, having been sentenced to a term of twelve years. The files further reflect that this individual, who was listed under the name of Carl Haessler, was committed to the United States Disciplinary Barracks at Alcatraz, California, on April 8, 1919, apparently being transferred from the Fort Leavenworth Disciplinary Barracks. Of course, without a check of the fingerprint records, it is not possible to definitely determine that the individual whose record is given is identical with the person concerning whom you inquire.

With respect to Earl R. Browder, I find a record on a man by the same name, who was received at the United States Penitentiary, Leavenworth, Kansas, July 14, 1919, on a charge of conspiracy. The records reflect a sentence of two years and that Browder was paroled November 5, 1920. There is a further record on the same individual, indicating his arrest by the police at Detroit, Michigan, on May 26, 1930, as a fugitive from justice, with disposition shown as "discharged on writ." As in the case of Hoessler, there is no way to determine that the man whose record is given is identical with the man concerning whom you inquire, but I am pleased to forward this information for such value as it may have.

With kind personal regards, I am

Sincerely yours,

John Edgar Hoover,
Director.

ORIGINAL FILED IN

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE

Classified by *SP8 BTJ/08*
Declassify on: OADR
8-20-86

Roger Baldwin

OCT 14 1940
encl

SEE REVERSE
SIDE FOR
CLASSIFICATION
ACTION

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

BALDWIN, ROGER N.

Office: 31 Union Square West, New York City 6/25/40

COMMUNIST

As director of the American Civil Liberties Union, talked before meeting of that organization on December 11, 1920, Hotel Bellvue, Boston, Massachusetts, and appealed for the moral and financial support of those belonging to prevent the personal rights of workers from being sacrificed by Federal and State laws, which prevent a free expression of opinion. He stated that 39 States "had enacted laws making it an offense to advocate the overthrow of the Government" and that some States prohibited the display of "Red Flags", which legislation has driven the radical movements under cover. Referred to as "a conscientious objector released some months ago from Leavenworth" (Special Agent Wm. J. West 202600-22-35)

Representative of the U. S. on the Executive of the League Against Imperialism.
(Confidential State Department report 2/26/29 61-5917-6 p6)

Editorial from Washington Herald of October 18, 1935, entitled, "Unmasked", relating to the activities of the American Civil Liberties Union, quoting "verbatim" a letter written by Mr. Parson, published in the Herald Tribune, October 8, 1935, in which Mr. Parson relates that he was a classmate of Mr. Baldwin at Harvard and in the classbook for 1935, appears Baldwin's description of himself as follows: "I have continued directing the unpolular fight for the rights of agitation, as director of the American Civil Liberties Union...I have been to Europe several times, mostly in connection with international radical activities, chiefly against war, Fascism and Imperialism: and then have traveled constantly in the United States to areas of conflict over workers rights to strike and organize. My chief aversion is the system of greed,

RECORDED & INDEXED

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

encl

100-49565-X/18

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

1 OCT 12 1940

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

H. Ranstad

FIVE


~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

BALDWIN, ROGER N.

1 - A

private profit, privilege and violence which makes up the control of the world, today, and which has brought it to the tragic crisis of unprecedented hunger and unemployment. Therefore I am for socialism, disarmament and ultimately, for abolishing the State itself as an instrument of violence and compulsion. I seek the social ownership of property, the abolition of the propertied class and sole control of those who produce wealth. Communism is the goal." (61-190-A)

In the same editorial published above, reference is made to a decision of Superior Court Judge, Arthur M. Mundo, in upholding the schoolboard of San Diego, California, in an action on the part of American Civil Liberties Union to hold meetings in the schoolhouse. Certain testimony before the school board is quoted in this editorial as follows: "The Chairman: Does your organization uphold the right of a citizen or alien--it does not make any difference which--to advocate murder? Mr. Baldwin: Yes. The Chairman: Does your organization uphold the right of an American citizen to advocate force and violence for the overthrow of the Government? Mr. Baldwin: Certainly, in so far as mere advocacy is concerned. The Chairman: Does it uphold the right of an alien in this country to urge the overthrow and advocate the overthrow of the Government by force and violence? Mr. Baldwin: Precisely on the same basis as any citizen. The Chairman: You do uphold the right of an alien to advocate the overthrow of the Government by force and violence? Mr. Baldwin: Sure; certainly. It is the healthiest kind of thing for a country, of course, to have free speech--unlimited." (61-190-A)

As director of the American Civil Liberties Union, addressed a letter to Bureau 2/26/35 "with what we regard the rights of citizens", alleging Agents at Birmingham, Alabama cooperated with local officials "in a drive on radicals." (47-10206-1) 

(cont'd)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

BALDWIN, ROGER N. (Card 2)

One of the principal speakers at meeting, Naval Armory, Detroit, Michigan, 2/14/36 sponsored by the Conference for the Protection of Civil Rights, "a radical organization." His record as shown on page 263 of "The Red Network" reflects that among other things, he is a director of the Garland Fund created by a radical, Charles G. Land of Boston, Massachusetts, to further the the radical cause; formerly connects with Industrial Workers of the World; former associate Berkman Anarchist gang: American League to Limit Armaments: Labor Defense Council 1923; Russian Reconstruction Fund 1925; National Committee, International Workers Aid, 1927; National Committee, World International Relief 1928; delegate with Communistic Games to World Congress Against Imperialism (Communist) Brussels 1927; Committee, U. S. Congress Against War; American Committee to World Congress Against War 1933; supporter of Communist National Student League (and Student Review); speaker at Communist meetings; Reception Committee, Soviet Flyers; American Committee for Struggle against War; National Mooney Council of Action, 1933; National Scottsboro Committee of Action, 1933; National Committee, Friends of Soviet Union, 1933. (Confidential informant, Detroit Office 61-7559-128 encl. p. 14, 15)

In February of 1940, as director of American Civil Liberties Union, he issued a "release" attacking the activities of the F.B.I. in connection with the Spanish Recruiting Cases in Detroit and Attorney General Jackson's reports concerning the arrest of the defendants. (61-190-185x)

As director of the American Civil Liberties Union represented John E. Spivak, a writer for the Daily Worker, in an action to defeat extradition from Pennsylvania to Kansas under the Criminal Libel Law. (Daily Worker 4/15/40 61-7559-A)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

BALDWIN, ROGER N.

2 - A

As director of the American Civil Liberties Union sought an injunction to restrain Governor Edward Rivers of Georgia from registering aliens in Georgia, claiming that there are "adequate laws and agencies both State and Federal to cope with acts of sabotage and espionage", claiming the fingerprinting of aliens to be unconstitutional. In reply, Governor Rivers charged that the American Civil Liberties Union "has been the prestige front for the Communistic agitation since the days of Lenin"; - "they have tried to keep out of jail every Fifth Columnist and notorious criminal who ought to be in jail from Sacco-Vanzetti to the Scottsboro rapists, and Angelo Herndon." (Augusta Herald, Augusta, Georgia 5/22/40 62-9322-9)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

HR:wmc

April 3, 1941

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. L. M. C. SMITH
CHIEF, SPECIAL DEFENSE UNIT

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 8-20-86 BY SP8 BTJ/ag

There is transmitted herewith a dossier showing the information presently available in the files of this Bureau with respect to Roger N. Baldwin whose address is 31 Union Square West, New York, New York

It is recommended that this individual be considered for custodial detention in the event of a national emergency. The information contained on the attached dossier constitutes the basis for appropriate consideration in this regard.

It should be understood, of course, that additional information may be received from time to time supplementing that already available in the Bureau's files, and as such data are received they will be made available to you so that the dossier in your possession may be supplemented thereby.

It will be greatly appreciated if you will advise this Bureau at your earliest convenience as to the decision reached in this case.

Very truly yours,
RECORDED

100-49565-X-19
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
2 APR 7 1941
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

John Edgar Hoover,
Director

COMMUNICATIONS SECTION
MAILED
★ APR 16 1941 ★
P. M.
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

Federal Bureau of Investigation
United States Department of Justice
New York, New York

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Mr. Tolson.....
Mr. E. A. Tamm.....
Mr. Clegg.....
Mr. Foxworth.....
Mr. Glavin.....
Mr. Ladd.....
Mr. Nichols.....
Mr. Rosen.....
Mr. Carson.....
Mr. Drayton.....
Mr. Quinn Tamm.....
Mr. Hendon.....
Mr. Tracy.....
Mr. Gandy.....

FILES

RWM:JB
100-8424

DECLASSIFIED BY SP3 BTJ/08
ON 8-20-86

July 14th, 1941

Director
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D. C.

RE: ROGER NASH BALDWIN
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

Dear Sir:

Reference is made to the photostatic copy of the Custodial Detention card furnished to this office by the Bureau on ROGER NASH BALDWIN, 31 Union Square West, New York City, N. Y.

Investigation conducted by Special Agent (A) D. W. Chappelle, Jr., reflects that subject BALDWIN maintains a business office at 31 Union Square West, New York City, and resides at 282 West 11th Street, New York, N. Y.

From the publication "THE AMERICAN LABOR WHO'S WHO" it was ascertained that subject BALDWIN was born at Wellesley Hills, Massachusetts, on January 21st, 1884.

It is suggested that the Bureau files be amended to show this additional information concerning subject.

RECORDED

INDEXED

Very truly yours,

T. J. Donegan

T. J. DONEGAN, Acting for
E. J. CONNELLEY,
Assistant Director U.S.D.

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67-23

AIR MAIL SPECIAL DELIVERY

Copy to Remsted

100-49565-X2
T. J. DONEGAN, Acting for
E. J. CONNELLEY,
Assistant Director U.S.D.

JOHN EDGAR HOOVER
DIRECTOR



CHC:LL

General Bureau of Investigation
United States Department of Justice
Washington, D. C.

October 21, 1941

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. LADD

Re: ROGER BALDWIN
DIRECTOR
AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION

1:05 P. M.

SAC Brantley, Kansas City, telephonically advised that Mr. Roger Baldwin is in Kansas City today and that Special Agent Jerry Campbell of the Kansas City office had occasion to interview him in connection with an undeveloped lead set out by the New York office for the Kansas City office in a conscientious objector case, which lead requested that Mr. Baldwin be contacted in care of Jerome Walsh, a local attorney who represents the Civil Liberties Union.

Mr. Brantley said that during the above interview, Baldwin told Agent Campbell that he is on his way from the East to the West Coast, Denver being his next stop, and that recently he had a conference with the Director of the FBI in which he told the Director that he wanted the Director to discontinue referring subversive complaint cases to police for investigation, for the reason that the police, in their clumsy efforts and methods, were violating civil liberties and human rights; further, that he had completed an investigation of the FBI field office in St. Louis yesterday (October 20th) and found that the police department, in investigating a case which had been referred to it by the FBI, had infringed and invaded the civil liberties of an Episcopal minister (whose name he did not furnish) and that the minister had lost his church; that he was in Kansas City today to contact his friends and members of the Civil Liberties Union and to look around and that he would very likely investigate the Kansas City office of the FBI. (Relative to his contacts, Mr. Brantley said that they undoubtedly include Jerome Walsh and Decker, the President of the Kansas City University and also the President of the local chapter of the Civil Liberties Union.)

Mr. Brantley said that Baldwin wanted to know how many Agents were assigned to the Kansas City office, how many complaints had been received, etc. Mr. Brantley advised that, of course, Agent Campbell gave Baldwin no information, and that Baldwin told Agent Campbell he would probably come to see the Agent in Charge of the Kansas City office of the FBI.

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HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 8-20-86 BY SP8STJ/ag

CH-26
COPIES DESTROYED 10/18/68 (47)

Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. E. A. Tamm _____
Mr. Clegg _____
Mr. Foxworth _____
Mr. Glavin _____
Mr. Ladd _____
Mr. Nichols _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Carson _____
Mr. Holloman _____
Mr. Quinn Tamm _____
Mr. Wendon _____
Mr. Coffey _____
Mr. Harbo _____
Tele. Room _____
Tour Room _____
Mr. Nease _____
Mr. Tracy _____
Miss Beahm _____
Miss Gandy _____

100-249565-1
RECORDED & INDEXED
OCT 27 1941
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
LADD
FIVE
Jag

Memorandum for
Mr. Ladd

Page 2

Mr. Brantley pointed out that during Agent Campbell's interview with Mr. Baldwin, Baldwin was not hostile or unpleasant; that, as a matter of fact, Baldwin did not lean toward the conscientious objector concerning whom Agent Campbell interviewed him.

Mr. Brantley said that he would advise SAC Nicholson at Denver of Baldwin's contemplated trip to Denver.

Mr. Brantley inquired as to whether Baldwin had actually talked with the Director recently and what Baldwin should be told if he calls at the Kansas City office.

1:15 P. M.

After talking with Mr. E. A. Tamm, I called Mr. Brantley back and told him to treat Baldwin very courteously, as Baldwin has talked to the Director about these matters; to tell Baldwin that he, Mr. Brantley, would be very happy to receive any suggestions or comments that Baldwin might be in a position to offer, and bring same to the attention of the Director, and that the Director would be very pleased to receive any such comments or suggestions. Mr. Brantley inquired as to the matter of giving out actual information on the number of complaints referred to the police, etc., to Baldwin. He was told that he should not do this but should courteously explain to Baldwin that this information is not available and is confidential.

Respectfully,


C. H. Carson



Federal Bureau of Investigation
United States Department of Justice
Washington, D. C.

DML:CSH

October 21, 1941

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. TAMM

RE: ROGER BALDWIN, Director,
American Civil Liberties Union

6:00 p.m.

SAC Brantley called from Kansas City with reference to the presence of Baldwin in Kansas City, and advised that Baldwin visited him this afternoon, accompanied by a Kansas City attorney, Joseph L. Judson, who is probably also one of the Civil Liberties men.

Baldwin stated while in St. Louis he had ascertained that the FBI had referred to the local police an investigation involving a clergyman, and the police had conducted the inquiry in an ignorant, clumsy manner, violating the clergyman's civil rights, et cetera. Baldwin further stated he had ascertained in Kansas City that some of the police officers had investigated alleged subversive activities and in connection therewith had told some young girls to burn literature in their possession, such as "Mein Kampf" and other material, probably of a Communistic nature; that these officers were accompanied by a Bureau agent and told the girls they were working with the FBI.

Brantley inquired as to names and details, and Baldwin indicated one of the police officers was a [redacted] was at one time connected with the Kansas City police, but is not now so connected. Baldwin indicated he would furnish affidavits relative to these complaints. Brantley told him we would be glad to receive such affidavits, and anything he might care to submit would be promptly forwarded to the Director for his consideration.

Brantley stated Baldwin was not at all offensive, and merely indicated he did not believe the Bureau should refer cases of this type to the police. Brantley informed him that we had always been most circumspect in the types of cases referred to police agencies for investigation, and had impressed upon all concerned the fact that these people had rights and liberties which should not be violated. All in all, Brantley stated the interview was very pleasant. Brantley will advise the Bureau as soon as the affidavits are received.

RECORDED & INDEXED

Respectfully,

D. M. Ladd

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 8-20-86 BY SP8 BTJ/pj

100-49565-21

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

3 OCT 27 1941

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

TAMM

Hug

Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. E. A. Tamm _____
Mr. Clegg _____
Mr. Foxworth _____
Mr. Glavin _____
Mr. Ladd _____
Mr. Nichols _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Carson _____
Mr. Holloman _____
Mr. Quinn Tamm _____
Mr. Hendon _____
Mr. Coffey _____
Mr. Harbo _____
Tele. Room _____
Tour Room _____
Mr. Nease _____
Mr. Tracy _____
Miss Beahm _____
Miss Gandy _____

JEH:HCB

October 23, 1941

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. TAMM

Please let me have a memorandum as soon as possible upon the matter about which Mr. Roger Baldwin called to see SAC Brantley at Kansas City. I would like to have this information, and if Mr. Baldwin does not give Mr. Brantley the details about the matter about which Baldwin spoke, then I think a letter should be prepared for my signature to Mr. Baldwin, asking him to let us have this information in order to check into and make certain no improper action was indulged in by either Special Agents of this Bureau or by local police authorities acting on our behest.

Very truly yours

John Edgar Hoover
Director

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 8-20-86 BY SP8 BTJ/008

RECORDED

Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. E. A. Tamm _____
Mr. Clegg _____
Mr. Foxworth _____
Mr. Glavin _____
Mr. Ladd _____
Mr. Nichols _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Carson _____
Mr. Drayton _____
Mr. Quinn Tamm _____
Mr. Hendon _____
Mr. Nease _____
Miss Gandy _____

SENT FROM D. O.
TIME 1245P
DATE 10-27
BY 13

100-49565-3
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
OCT 29 1941
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

CH-15

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 3-20-86 BY SP8 BTJ/af

November 1, 1941

MEMORANDUM FOR THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

I am attaching hereto, for your information, a copy of a communication dated October 28, 1941, from Mr. Roger Baldwin, Director of the American Civil Liberties Union.

I thought that you would be interested in Mr. Baldwin's observations, first, as to his reaction upon the work of the FBI in the field, and second, his comment upon the use of local law enforcement authorities in the National Defense investigations.

As to the first observation he makes, it is gratifying to note that one of Mr. Baldwin's viewpoints does not meet with unanimous approval, as he has visited the various sections of the country, the care and impartiality being manifested by the Agents of the FBI in handling the National Defense work.

As to his second observation, namely, that investigative work of this type should be handled exclusively by the Agents of the FBI and not by the local authorities, the suggestion presents several very definite problems. In the first place, to comply with his suggestion would require an increase in the investigative staff of the FBI by at least double its present size, if not more so. It of course would be desirable, in order to have absolute uniformity and assure complete impartiality, to have these investigations conducted by a Governmental agency. But the question of cost is one that must be considered, particularly in view of the disinclination of the Budget Bureau to authorize additional appropriations for the FBI.

(INDEXED)

RECORDED

EX-11

100-49565-4

The other aspect of this problem is that it has been thought desirable to enlist the local authorities in the task of National Defense investigations so that they might share, and feel the responsibility of carrying on this work. As you well know, local communities frequently resent the intrusion of Federal agencies in law enforcement, and it has been my purpose to eliminate the various jealousies that over a long period of years were held against Federal law enforcement, by endeavoring to have the local law enforcement agencies feel that they are working shoulder to shoulder with the Federal authorities, in any common project of National interest and importance.

SENT FROM D. O.

TIME 3:45 P

DATE 11-1

BY

111-190-211
RECORDED COPY FILED IN 61-190-211

The Attorney General

- 2 -

November 1, 1941

I well realized the fact that the local authorities might overstep certain lines of propriety in this project and with that in mind, I have initiated regular training courses and conferences in our various field divisions with the local authorities so as to endeavor tactfully to instruct them as to the things that should be done, and more importantly, the things that should not be done. Until the Budget Bureau or Congress see fit to grant such expansion to the FBI as would enable it to handle this work exclusively, it will be necessary, of course, to utilize local law enforcement machinery, but I shall continue to reiterate and re-intensify our efforts to properly instruct and direct the local authorities so that abuses against such liberties will not be indulged in.

I am attaching hereto, for your information, a copy of my reply to Mr. Baldwin in which I thought you might be interested.

Respectfully

J. Edgar Hoover

John Edgar Hoover
Director

Inclosed

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Tracy
Mr. Carson
Mr. Egan
Mr. Gurnea
Mr. Hendon
Mr. Pennington
Mr. Quinn
Mr. Nease
Miss Gandy

copy

AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION
170 Fifth Avenue - New York City
(at 35th Street)

Albuquerque, New Mexico
October 23, 1951

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover
Director FBI
Department of Justice
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Hoover:

Following our conversation in Washington I have attempted to find out as I have come across the country just what complaints there are concerning those very difficult investigations of what are regarded as subversive opinions and activities. I find that your local agents are keenly aware of the delicacy of these inquiries and faithfully reflect the bureau's policies.

But I find one aspect that seems to me to deserve your personal attention. It appears that in some offices at least, complaints of subversive activities or opinions are turned over to the local police department for investigation where the local FBI staff is overburdened. You can imagine the result in most communities where city detectives are utterly incompetent to use any discretion whatever. Representing themselves as making investigations for the FBI, as they frequently do, they tend to compromise the policies of your bureau.

May I suggest that, in this field at least, instructions be given that such investigations be made only by your own agents who alone are qualified in such tasks? The case is so self-evident that it hardly requires argument.

With regards,

Sincerely yours,

/s/ ROBERT BALDWIN

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DATE 8-20-86 BY SP8 BTJ/agp

100 - 49565 - 4

ALFRED M. BINGHAM
HARRY LORIN BINSSE
DOROTHY DUNBAR BROMLEY
CARL CARMER
REV. ALLAN KNIGHT CHALMERS
JOHN CHAMBERLAIN
RICHARD S. CHILDS
ROBERT W. DUNN
JOHN F. FINERTY
OSMOND K. FRAENKEL
WALTER FRANK
NATHAN GREENE
QUINCY HOWE
DOROTHY KENYON
CORLISS LAMONT
FLORINA LASKER
PROF. EDUARD C. LINDEMAN
THURGOOD MARSHALL
ELIOT D. PRATT
ELMER RICE
ROGER WILLIAM RIIS
WHITNEY NORTH SEYMOUR
REV. WILLIAM B. SPOFFORD
NORMAN THOMAS
RAYMOND L. WISE

100-49565-5

November 1, 1941

RECORDED

Mr. Roger Baldwin
Director
American Civil Liberties Union
170 Fifth Avenue
New York City

Dear Mr. Baldwin:

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 8-20-86 BY 2085TJ/008

I was very glad to receive your letter of October 23th, from Albuquerque, New Mexico, and particularly to note your observation that after you have travelled through the country you have found the Special Agents of the FBI to be keenly aware of the responsibility which they have in properly conducting such investigations as must be carried on incident to the National Defense work.

I am also particularly gratified to note that the basic policies which the Federal Bureau of Investigation has laid down in this project, particularly those tending to safeguard the rights and civil liberties of all persons, are being faithfully observed and followed by the representatives of the FBI throughout the country. As I have indicated to you personally, it is my earnest desire to have the FBI stand for those principles that are so close to the hearts of all interested in maintaining our liberal form of Democracy, particularly in these very trying times. I have sincerely believed that American law enforcement during this period can and for all establish the fact that it, too, can function in the American way and thereby justify confidence and faith and trust in it, under our established institutions. In this program I have wanted the Federal Bureau of Investigation to play a prominent part, and I am gratified to know that as you have travelled through the country you have observed that we are making some headway.

- Mr. Tolson
- Mr. E. A. Tamm
- Mr. Clegg
- Mr. Foxworth
- Mr. Glavin
- Mr. Ladd
- Mr. Nichols
- Mr. Rosen
- Mr. Carson
- Mr. Drayton
- Mr. Quinn Tamm
- Mr. Hendon
- Mr. Tracy
- Miss Gandy

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COMMUNICATIONS SECTION

MAILED

NOV 4 1941

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

RECEIVED-FYDD

RECEIVED-HENDON

NOV 5 1941

Mr. Roger Baldwin

- 2 -

November 1, 1941

With regard to the observation that you make concerning the handling of certain investigative work by the local authorities at the instance of the FBI, I fully appreciate the difficulties and problem involved in this aspect. It of course would be most desirable if all investigations which have to be made incident to the National Defense work, with which this Bureau is charged for responsibility, could be handled by the Agents of the FBI. However, at the present time this is impossible for the reason that our personnel is not sufficiently large in number to carry on these investigations. We have, for instance, on our docket today a total of 127,646 investigative matters. We have a total of 2,137 Special Agents in our entire field service. We are receiving on an average of 23,434 cases per month. I believe that you can see from these few statistics the very definite problem with which we are faced. In order for the official representatives of the FBI to handle this entire volume of work it would require at least a doubling of our present investigative force, which I do not believe would be viewed with favor by the Budget Bureau.

I had anticipated the development of some of the conditions which you have observed which would follow the assignment to local authorities of some types of investigations of matters which are submitted to us by persons in various communities. Therefore, I had arranged for each of our fifty-five field offices to hold series of regional meetings with the local authorities in order to instruct and direct them in the proper type of approach which should be made in the handling of these matters. For your information, during the past year 1,034 such conferences have been held, attended by representatives of over 7,000 law enforcement agencies. The Special Agents in charge of the FBI at these conferences have endeavored to point out not only the things that should be done, but more importantly, the things that should not be done, and I do believe that some progress is being made along this line. I shall, of course, continue to intensify our efforts to eliminate by tactful direction and instruction to the local authorities, those tendencies which do not reflect credit upon law enforcement and endeavor to bring about, as much as possible, a fair and judicial approach to these problems.

Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. E. A. Tamm _____
Mr. Clegg _____
Mr. Foxworth _____
Mr. Glavin _____
Mr. Ladd _____
Mr. Nichols _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Carson _____
Mr. Drayton _____
Mr. Quinn Tamm _____
Mr. Hendon _____
Mr. Tracy _____
Miss Gandy _____

Mr. Roger Baldwin

- 3 -

November 1, 1941

There, of course, is another aspect to this particular situation that I know you appreciate, and that is the need for enlisting local assistance in a matter of such national importance and coverage. For many years the local law enforcement authorities of this country had strong prejudices and jealousies toward Federal law enforcement agencies. Whether well intended or not, there developed in many circles in this country a demand for a national police in order to supersede local law enforcement and overcome these local prejudices and jealousies. I, however, have always been a strong opponent to any national police idea. I have considered it basically repugnant to our form of Government and I earnestly believe that it would be entirely unworkable and impractical. Consequently, I have endeavored to remove, as much as possible, the jealousies and prejudices that have existed by bringing about a closer relationship between the local authorities and the Federal authorities. I took active steps in 1935 to initiate a plan for police training under the supervision and direction of the FBI so as to bring into direct and personal touch the forces of the FBI with the local law enforcement agencies. This project has been quite successful and when the National Emergency developed, realizing the fact that the FBI would not be able to handle exclusively all of the investigative work incident to such an emergency, I took such steps to bring into this program for coverage and responsibility the local authorities by initiating, as I have indicated, regional conferences for the purpose of endeavoring to point the way to how this added responsibility to law enforcement might be handled in an effective, and at the same time judicial and fair manner. I believe that marked progress has been made along this line. Certainly, the conditions today in our country are less flagrant in the instances and number of abuses against the rights of the individual than there were during the late World War, and I believe this has been largely due to the approach to it by the law enforcement agencies and the control of investigative activity by constituted authorities, and not by sometimes well-meaning, but often ill-guided efforts of local groups with the spirit of the vigilantes.

As I have indicated, I shall endeavor to intensify

Mr. Roger Baldwin

- 4 -

November 1, 1961

our efforts in the FBI toward the training and direction of the local authorities in the proper handling of these matters, and I would welcome and appreciate receiving from you any information of specific instances where either representatives of this Bureau or representatives of local law enforcement agencies indulged in actions that are improper and prejudicial to the civil rights and liberties of any person or persons.

With expressions of my best regards, I am

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

Mr. Tolson
Mr. DeLoach
Mr. Mohr
Mr. Bishop
Mr. Casper
Mr. Callahan
Mr. Conrad
Mr. Felt
Mr. Gale
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Sullivan
Mr. Tavel
Mr. Trotter
Mr. Tele. Room
Mr. Holmes
Miss Gandy

Federal Bureau of Investigation
United States Department of Justice

Denver, Colorado
October 24, 1941

Mr. Tolson	
Mr. E. A. Tamm	
Mr. Clegg	
Mr. Glavin	
Mr. Ladd	
Mr. Nichols	
Mr. Tracy	
Mr. Rosen	
Mr. Carson	
Mr. Coffey	
Mr. Hendon	
Mr. Holloman	
Mr. Quinn Tamm	
Mr. Nease	
Miss Gandy	
Files	

~~PERSONAL AND CONFIDENTIAL~~

Director
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D.C.

Dear Sir:

DECLASSIFIED BY SP8 BTJ/agf
ON 8-20-86

RE: ROGER BALDWIN
AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION

In accordance with telephone conversation between Mr. HENDON and Special Agent R.J. BRANDT of the Denver Office, and Mr. E.A. TAMM'S later conversation with Mr. BRANDT, I desire to advise that ROGER BALDWIN, who is connected with the American Civil Liberties Union, 170 Fifth Avenue, New York City, called at the Denver Office at approximately 3:00 P.M. on October 23, 1941, and was interviewed by Agent BRANDT.

Mr. BALDWIN endeavored to give the impression that he was most cordial, and Agent BRANDT has advised me that he endeavored to handle this interview in a very diplomatic manner. Mr. BALDWIN stated he was particularly concerned with the policy of the Bureau in assigning cases for investigation to various Police Departments, and he inquired as to whether any cases had been assigned to the Police Department in Denver, Colorado. He was advised that upon certain occasions, certain types of cases are assigned to the Police for investigation. He had indicated by his prior conversation that he was aware of the fact that this was the practice and that it was being followed in various cities throughout the United States, including Kansas City and Chicago. BALDWIN was advised that under the presidential directive of September, 1939, the Bureau was designated as the coordinating and recording agency for National Defense matters, and that under this Directive, cases were being assigned to local law enforcement agencies for investigation.

Mr. BALDWIN stated that he had not received from his local representatives in the Denver area, City and some other eastern cities he had received investigations made by police officers because in an indiscreet manner, and certain officers had,

any complaints
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
but that in Kansas
complaints concern
they had been made
in fact, indicated

LADD
TAMM
NICHOLS
FIVE

Director
October 24, 1941
Page 3.

handle these cases in a judicious manner because of their educational background and training. Mr. BALDWIN then went into a rather lengthy discussion concerning the term "subversive". He stated he interpreted that term to mean any person who placed his loyalty to a foreign government above that to the United States, and could not see how this could be applied to a Catholic, for example, who expresses his loyalty to the Pope, or to a member of Jehovah's Witnesses, who places his loyalty to his religion before that to his country. Agent BRANDT did not comment concerning this remark.

He then inquired as to whether the Bureau investigates Government employees, and was informed that the Bureau investigates all individuals suspected of violations of the Federal Statutes within the primary investigative jurisdiction of this Bureau, or actions inimical to the best interests of the United States Government. However, investigations of governmental employees are not conducted without the specific authority of the Attorney General.

BALDWIN also referred to the fact that certain individuals connected with strikes might be termed subversive individuals, and he was definitely advised by Agent BRANDT that this Bureau is not interested in labor difficulties or employer-employee relations, and, in fact, has no jurisdiction in labor disputes as such. He stated he realized this and knows Mr. HOOVER is very careful in restricting the Bureau activities to those within its jurisdiction.

The interview with Mr. BALDWIN lasted approximately five minutes. It will be noted that this interview was conducted by Special Agent R.J. BRANDT during my absence from the city, and Agent BRANDT has advised me that Mr. BALDWIN was afforded every courtesy and that he endeavored to handle this interview in a discreet and diplomatic manner.

For the Bureau's information, I am enclosing a copy of an article which appeared in the Rocky Mountain News, Denver, Colorado, on Thursday, October 23, 1941, and also a copy of an article which appeared in the Denver Post on that same date.

Very truly yours,


G.A. NICHOLSON

Special Agent in Charge

Enclosure

Director
October 24, 1941
Page 2.

that they were investigating for the Federal Bureau of Investigation, which, he stated, had on some occasions created undue concern on the part of persons being investigated.

He inquired as to whether any complaints had been received in this office concerning the action of Police Officers, and he was advised that Agent BRANDT had no personal knowledge of any such complaints. He also inquired as to whether there had been any newspaper publicity concerning such complaints, and he was advised that Agent BRANDT was not aware of any such publicity.

Mr. BALDWIN also inquired as to whether there was any great amount of Communist activity in Denver, and was not given any direct answer. He was advised that Agent BRANDT was not particularly familiar with this type of activity, inasmuch as it was supervised, for the most part, by Mr. NICHOLSON, the Special Agent in Charge. When this question was not answered, BALDWIN stated he had inquired of his associates in Denver as to Communist activity in Denver, and that the only name mentioned to him by those individuals was that of

[redacted] and who, BALDWIN stated, had been in Denver for a number of years. He apparently intended to infer that [redacted] probably was a reputable citizen, although he did not say so in so many words. Agent BRANDT did not manifest any interest in [redacted] or indicate that this office had investigated or contemplated any such investigation. In fact, Agent BRANDT has advised me he was entirely non-committal on this point.

Agent BRANDT inquired as to whether Mr. BALDWIN had any specific complaints to make, and courteously informed him that if he had any information which he believed would indicate improper conduct on the part of any officers conducting an investigation for this office, it would be appreciated if he would furnish complete details to this office so that they could be forwarded to Mr. HOOVER at Washington, so that appropriate inquiry could be made concerning the facts. He stated that he has no complaints whatsoever concerning the activities of the Denver Office or the Denver Police Department, and merely wished to voice his objection to the practice of assigning National Defense cases to various local law-enforcement agencies, because he believes that Bureau Agents are much better qualified to

b6
b7C

CALMNESS OF U. S. AMAZES DIRECTOR OF CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION

America is calm, composed and without hysteria despite the apparent gathering of war clouds.

This was the opinion expressed in Denver Thursday by Roger N. Baldwin of New York city, director of the American Civil Liberties Union, who was in Denver on a countrywide tour to "feel the pulse of the nation."

"I'm astonished at the degree of calm," he said.

"Interference with the civil rights of people is slight."

"The prevalent assumption that our accustomed liberties cannot stand the pressure of crisis and must be suspended, in part at least, is imbedded in distrust and fear of democracy."

COUNTRY ON WHOLE IN GOOD CONDITION

"Those who yield so easily to the notion that wars cannot be fought nor great emergencies met without sacrificing the process of debate and the right of dissent forget the very purpose for which democracy exists. They forget that national unity is sound only so far as it represents voluntary support, not enforced conformity."

Baldwin, who conferred here with school authorities, United States District Attorney Thomas J. Morrissey, the FBI and other federal agencies, said that on the whole he considered the country in good shape.

In speaking of free speech, free assembly and a free press, he said Denver had been one of three cities in which pupils had not been required to

salute the flag of the United States. The other two cities are New York city and Berkeley, Calif.

"We point to these cities as examples of the right of citizens to exercise their civil liberties," he said.

"In Denver, I am told, for whatever cause, children in the public schools who do not wish to salute the flag are permitted to remain in their seats."

"No reasonable man in the United States now approves the sweeping restraint imposed in the United States during the World war."

From Denver Baldwin will go to the Pacific coast, and then to other points before returning to New York.

Finds Americans Calm on War



ROGER N. BALDWIN

Director of the American Civil Liberties Union, who said in Denver Thursday that he believes the citizens of the United States are calm and without hysteria over the war in Europe.

THE DEN
DENVER

THURSDAY, OCTOBER

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATED 2-20-86 BY 2088515/08

Denver Schools Praised For Omitting Flag Salute

Head of Civil Liberties Union
Says Colorado Has Good
Record for Liberalism

By ROBERT L. PERKIN

Rocky Mountain News Writer

The Denver Public Schools system is among the only three large school systems in the country which do not make flag-saluting a prerequisite to education, Roger Baldwin of New York City, national director of the American Civil Liberties Union, said in Denver last night.

"On the whole, Colorado's record on the safeguarding of its citizens' civil liberties has been very good in recent years," Mr. Baldwin, gray-haired and sharp-eyed veteran of three decades of struggle for guarantee of the Bill of Rights, said.

"From what I can learn, it would seem that the citizens of Denver have been extremely fortunate in this respect. Your schools have a good record; there has been little labor trouble and apparently no oppression of your small Communist group."

On Tour to Coast

Mr. Baldwin stopped in Denver en route to the Pacific Coast in connection with a national tour of inspection of local chapters of the ACLU.

He addressed a dinner of the Colorado ACLU chapter in Boggio's Rotisserie, and is scheduled to confer today with local Federal Bureau of Investigation officials, U. S. District Attorney Thomas J. Morrissey of Investigation officials. He met with Charles E. Greene, superintendent of schools, yesterday.

Information on three principal situations holding dangers to civil liberties is being sought by Mr. Baldwin in cities he visits. They are use or denial of use of schools for public meetings, the FBI investigation of subversive individuals, and treatment by local authorities of the Jehovah's Witnesses religious cult.

Schools Open Here

"Many school systems are denying use of their buildings for controversial public meetings, and are, in effect, editing what the public may talk about," he said. "I find that situation is not true in Denver."

"Mr. Greene tells me that the Denver schools have had no difficulty over the matter of saluting the flag. Children whose religious training has been against such saluting have been permitted to sit still in their seats in Denver for several years."

"In addition, the American Legion has apparently been unsuccessful in its efforts to determine what books are to be used in Denver. Mr. Green tells me the Legion has been invited to help educate the children in Americanism and that the co-operation is working out very well."

Sees Danger in FBI

Mr. Baldwin said he conferred recently with J. Edgar Hoover,



Roger Baldwin

chief of the FBI, with regard to the investigation of subversive activities and individuals and that the interview, "to put it mildly, left much to be desired."

"There is considerable danger here, especially in these times of emotional stress and neighborly gossip," he said. "After all, they don't know what loyalty or subversiveness means—no one knows."

Mr. Baldwin said the ACLU has no official position on conscription except that "we feel the government should not draft those who conscientiously object to military service on any grounds—religious or otherwise." So far, he said, the record of local draft boards has been good.

The campaign for legislation to outlaw strikes has failed, he said, "because those who have supported such a move have been ineffective in opposing the position of OPM, which opposes anti-strike laws as having the danger of spreading disaffection in labor's ranks and causing more harm to the defense effort than strikes do."

ROCKY MOUNTAIN NEWS

DENVER, COLORADO

THURSDAY OCTOBER 23, 1941

194 475

Federal Bureau of Investigation
United States Department of Justice

KANSAS CITY, MISSOURI

OCTOBER 22, 1941

DECLASSIFIED BY SP3 BT/020
ON 3-25-86

PERSONAL
AND
CONFIDENTIAL

Director
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D. C.

RE: ROGER N. BALDWIN
AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION

Dear Sir:

On October 21, 1941, Special Agent CHARLES G. CAMPBELL of this office had occasion to interview Mr. BALDWIN in the case entitled, "GEORGE BURNHAM DeSILVER, SELECTIVE SERVICE, CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTOR," in which New York is the office of origin.

Mr. BALDWIN was very courteous and cooperative during this interview. He gave every assistance, with no partiality or favor on behalf of the Subject. During the course of the interview BALDWIN stated to Agent CAMPBELL that he recently saw the Director and discussed with him the assignment of subversive activity cases to police agencies; that it is his, BALDWIN'S, belief that the police are incompetent and lack sufficient intelligence to handle such cases without possible injury to the character and reputation of the subjects involved. As BALDWIN put it, some of the officers are "bound to get off the reservation."

BALDWIN also said he had discussed the investigative activities of Agents in labor matters with the Director, who informed him, BALDWIN, that the Bureau was not engaged in such investigative activities, which he, BALDWIN, believes is right, because he feels the Bureau has no business therein.

RECORDED & INDEXED

BALDWIN made inquiry as to the size of the Kansas City Field Office and the number of personnel assigned here, and was informed by Agent CAMPBELL that he was unable to furnish such information for the 1941 reason that he was not in position to be aware of these facts. BALDWIN also inquired as to whether this office had received complaints regarding the investigative activities of the police who were engaged in subversive activity cases assigned to them by this office. BALDWIN was again informed by Agent CAMPBELL that he was not in a position to receive such complaints and therefore was unable to enlighten him on

Mr. Tolson	✓
Mr. E. A. Tamm	✓
Mr. Clegg	✓
Mr. Glavin	✓
Mr. Ladd	✓
Mr. Nichols	✓
Mr. Tracy	✓
Mr. Rosen	✓
Mr. Carson	✓
Mr. Coffey	✓
Mr. Hendon	✓
Mr. Holloman	✓
Mr. Quinn Tamm	✓
Mr. Nease	✓
Miss Gandy	✓

[Signature]

RECORDED COPY FILED IN 61-190-209

100-49565-8

KANSAS CITY FIELD OFFICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

OCT 24 1941

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

I ENCL. 112

[Handwritten notes and signatures]
10/29/41
Baldwin
W.G.R.
Dyer

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10-22-41

this matter. BALDWIN then stated he had just completed an investigation of several complaints involving the St. Louis office of the Bureau. He informed that apparently our St. Louis office had referred some complaints to the St. Louis police for investigation. BALDWIN said he had learned that the police had conducted one investigation in such a clumsy manner that it resulted in the loss of his church by an Episcopal minister in St. Louis.

Agent CAMPBELL interviewed BALDWIN in the early morning, at which time he said he had received no complaints regarding the activities of the Kansas City office of the Bureau. However, he intended to inquire among his "people," after which he intended to call on the Special Agent in Charge at the Kansas City office before departing for Denver and the West Coast.

During the late afternoon of October 21, 1941, BALDWIN appeared at the office accompanied by JOSEPH L. JUDSON, a local attorney. BALDWIN presented his card, which shows his address as 170 Fifth Avenue, New York City, The American Civil Liberties Union, telephone - GRamercy 7-4330. BALDWIN and his companion, JUDSON, were polite and courteous. They were treated in the same manner by me.

BALDWIN stated he recently had had a conversation with you; that he had known you for a good many years, the acquaintance with you dating back to World War #I days. He stated that he had admiration for you; that he knows you are doing a good job, and believes you are doing it fairly and impartially, and that it is your desire that all of the Bureau personnel be fair and impartial in their investigations of all types of cases. I told BALDWIN that you most certainly are doing a good job, and that it is your earnest desire to see that every employee of the Bureau is courteous, polite, and conscious of civil liberties and human rights at all times; that such had always been your practice, and that you would make no departure from it during the emergency.

BALDWIN said he is quite concerned about the reference by the Bureau of subversive complaints to police and local law enforcement agencies. He stated he felt that the police had not received sufficient training and were not sufficiently intelligent to handle these matters as Bureau Agents handle them. He said that in his conversation with you recently he had expressed to you some concern

Director - 3

10-22-41

with respect to this particular phase of our participation in the national defense program.

BAIDWIN said that he had had lunch with some of his "people" on October 21, 1941, and it had been brought to his attention that two members of the Kansas City, Missouri, Police Department; namely, Lieutenant [redacted] and [redacted] of the Internal Security Squad, had apparently told some young women in Kansas City, whose names he did not furnish, that they should burn some literature in their possession. He said that this literature, he believed, consisted of the book, "Mein Kampf," and possibly some other books, the names of which he could not recall. He stated he considers this a violation of civil liberties. He stated he had heard that [redacted] and [redacted] had said they were working for or with the FBI in connection with the particular matter under consideration. He said he had heard that possibly an Agent of the Bureau was present.

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I told BAIDWIN that I had not heard of the case; that I should like to have the names of the persons involved; and that I was certain no Special Agent had been present under any such circumstances or conditions. He stated that he would furnish the names of the individuals concerned at an early date to this office. I told him that you would be promptly furnished with any information supplied by him; that you would be eager to receive it; and that I knew you would give it appropriate attention.

I cited to BAIDWIN again your concern with respect to the preservation of civil liberties and human rights, in pointing out to him that there is no man in the United States who is more interested in the preservation of these attributes of democracy than you, and that you seek to inculcate that into the minds of every employee in the service. I pointed out to him that in many public utterances you had pointed out that you wanted no violations of civil liberties; that you were desirous that investigations with respect to subversive activities be handled through the existing machinery of law enforcement; that citizens promptly report anything of this nature to the nearest office of the FBI, and that in many public utterances you had indicated that such matters should not be handled by private groups or persons, and that there should be no vigilante activities in connection with these matters.

Director - 4

10-22-41

I also pointed out to BALDWIN that in our Quarterly Peace Officers' Conferences we had stressed the preservation of civil liberties and related matters; that we had pointed out to the officers at these meetings that information coming to their attention relating to subversive activities should be promptly reported to the Bureau; that investigations of these matters should be handled in such a manner that the persons under investigation, who are guilty of no wrongdoing, should not suffer, and that their reputations should not be injured.

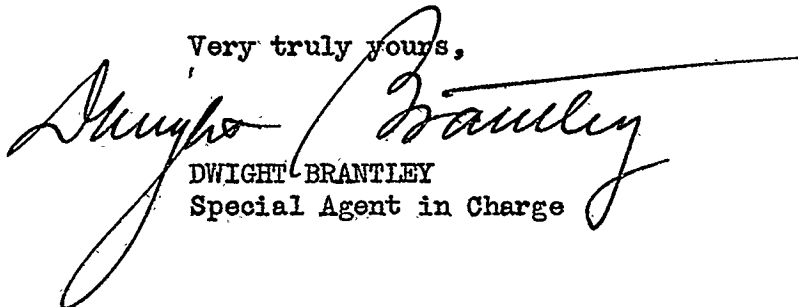
I am attaching hereto a clipping from The Kansas City Times of October 22, 1941, relating to the presence of BALDWIN in the City on October 21, 1941.

The substance of the foregoing was furnished telephonically to Mr. LADD and Mr. CARSON of the Bureau on October 21, 1941.

Should BALDWIN furnish me any information relating to the activities of the Bureau in any connection, it will be promptly furnished the Bureau.

For the information of the Bureau, JOSEPH L. JUDSON, the attorney who was in the office with ROGER N. BALDWIN, is an admitted Communist, is active in the affairs of the Human Rights Club, a Communist Front Organization here, and has caused the Human Rights Club to become identified with the American Peace Mobilization. In this connection attention is invited to the report of Special Agent M. B. RHODES, Kansas City, dated January 30, 1941, for more information relative to JOSEPH L. JUDSON.

Very truly yours,



DWIGHT BRANTLEY
Special Agent in Charge

DB:CM

cc - St. Louis
Denver
Salt Lake City
San Diego
San Francisco
Portland
Seattle
New York

HE "FIRES" STRIKE BLAME

Civil Liberties Union Head Here
on "Check Up" Tour.

The issue of labor and defense production was settled satisfactorily when Congress "refused to yield to pressure to limit the right to strike," Roger Baldwin of New York, president of the American Civil Liberties union, said here yesterday.

"You can't get production by compulsion," Baldwin asserted. "Britain knows that and has put no restrictions on its labor, even in the midst of war. The unions themselves have decided they must not strike. It seems to me that the blame for our record in the last year must be placed upon those employers who have refused to comply with the law."

Here on what he describes as one of his regular "educational" tours to check up on the state of civil liberties over the nation, Baldwin conferred with friends of his organization at a luncheon.

All in all, Baldwin reported, he is finding the country surprisingly calm in regard to Communists, Bundists and other groups.

He is concerned, however, about possible abuse by the FBI of a recently passed law giving agents the privilege of investigating "subversive activities" by such federal employees as WPA workers.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 2-20-26 BY SP8 BJS/98

CLIPPING FROM
THE KANSAS CITY TIMES
DATE: October 22, 1941
FORWARDED BY THE KANSAS CITY
FIELD DIVISION

100-49565-8

RPK:

October 29, 1941

Mr. Roger N. Baldwin
170 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 8-20-86 BY SP8 BTJ/og
266251

Dear Mr. Baldwin:

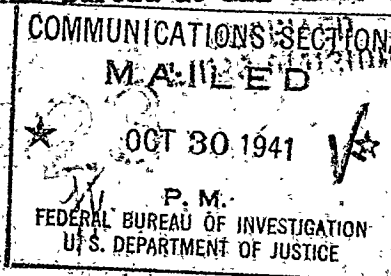
I have been advised by Mr. Dwight Brantley, Special Agent in Charge of the Kansas City, Missouri, Field Office of this Bureau, of your visit with him on October 22, 1941. I trust that the discussion which you had with Mr. Brantley may have served to clarify such questions as you might have had in mind concerning the functioning of the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

There is one matter which arose during your conference with Mr. Brantley which has occasioned considerable concern on my part. I have reference to the incident you reported to Mr. Brantley where certain police officers are alleged to have demanded that certain young women in Kansas City, Missouri, destroy literature in their possession. You advised Mr. Brantley that the police officers are reported to have been working under instructions from the Federal Bureau of Investigation in this instance and that it was rumored an Agent of this Bureau was present on this occasion.

As you were informed at the time, the Special Agent in Charge of the Kansas City Office of this Bureau had no information concerning the incident and I must advise you that no report of it had previously reached me. I am sure that you appreciate my concern over this affair, particularly when you consider the long standing policy of the Federal Bureau of Investigation requiring strict compliance with the constitutional guarantees of human freedom and civil liberties.

You promised Mr. Brantley that you would furnish him at an early date specific facts surrounding the incident, including the names of the individuals involved. I am informed that this information has not as yet been made available and I should like to urge that you personally communicate it to me at your earliest possible opportunity. In order to preserve and maintain the standards of fair play under which this Bureau at all times desires to operate, it is imperative that reports

Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. E. A. Tamm _____
Mr. Clegg _____
Mr. Glavin _____
Mr. Ladd _____
Mr. Nichols _____
Mr. Tracy _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Carson _____
Mr. Coffey _____
Mr. Hendon _____
Mr. Holloman _____
Mr. Quinn Tamm _____
Mr. Nease _____
Miss Gandy _____



RECORDED COPY FILED IN 61-170-201

Mr. Roger N. Baldwin

-2-

such as you referred to Mr. Brantley be promptly traced and corrective action taken if necessary. So long as such reports are permitted to remain vague and uncertain, it is not only impossible to take appropriate action on them but there is the constant danger that by repetition and imagination, they may grow to even more alarming proportions. I should, therefore, appreciate your immediately furnishing me with the facts in this matter and I can assure you that prompt attention will be afforded this information.

Very truly yours,

JOHN EDGAR HOOVER

John Edgar Hoover
Director

HHC:ceb

October 21, 1941

~~Confidential~~

Special Agent in Charge

DECLASSIFIED BY DP3 BTJ/ag
ON 2-25-86

New York, New York

RE ROGER N. BALDWIN
INTERNAL SECURITY

Dear Sir:

Reference is made to my letter of August 19, 1941, to all Special Agents in Charge enclosing a copy of a memorandum from Mr. Lawrence M. C. Smith, Chief of the Special Defense Unit of the Department of Justice, relative to the classification, as to dangerousness, of the individuals under consideration for custodial detention and the classification, as to sufficiency, of the evidence upon which the dangerousness classification is made.

Please be advised that information has now been received from the Special Defense Unit that

Roger N. Baldwin
31 Union Square West
New York City

RECORDED	100-49565-9
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION	
7	OCT 30 1941
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE	
<i>[Signature]</i>	

has been tentatively placed in:

Group A. Individuals believed to be the most dangerous and who in all probability should be interned in event of War.

Group B. Individuals believed to be somewhat less dangerous but whose activities should be restricted.

Group C. Individuals believed to be the least dangerous and who need not be restricted in absence of additional information, but should be subjected to general surveillance.

COMMUNICATIONS SECTION
OCT 21 1941
P. M.
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

- 2 -

The evidence relating to Subject has been classified by the Special Defense Unit as:

_____ 1. Sufficient to establish the charges upon which the dangerous classification was made.

_____ 2. Not satisfactory to substantiate the charges.

With respect to citizenship status, Subject has been tentatively classified by the Special Defense Unit as:

_____ (A) An alien

_____ (N) A naturalized citizen

_____ (NB) A native born citizen

The above classifications are subject to revision in the light of additional information and you will be promptly informed of any revision of the status of the above named individual.

This investigation must be given preferred and expeditious attention in accordance with existing Bureau instructions and concluded at the earliest possible date. The citizenship status of Subject should be definitely ascertained as soon as possible where this has not already been done.

Very truly yours,

J. E. Hoover

John Edgar Hoover
Director

LAWRENCE S. GREENBAUM
EDWARD S. GREENBAUM
HERBERT A. WOLFF
MORRIS L. ERNST
JONAS J. SHAPIRO
WALLACE D. JENNINGS
SAMUEL J. SCHUR
ALEXANDER LINDEY

GREENBAUM, WOLFF & ERNST
285 MADISON AVENUE
NEW YORK

TELEPHONE CALEDONIA 5-1582

Mr. Tolson ✓
Mr. E. A. Tamm ✓
Mr. Clegg ✓
Mr. Glavin ✓
Mr. Ladd ✓
Mr. Nichols ✓
Mr. Tracy ✓
Mr. Rosen ✓
Mr. Carson ✓
Mr. Coffey ✓
Mr. Hendon ✓
Mr. Holloman ✓
Mr. Quinn Tamm ✓
Mr. Nease ✓
Miss Gandy ✓

November 6, 1941.

Hon. John Edgar Hoover
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Department of Justice
Washington, D.C.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 8-20-86 BY SP8 BTJ/ag

Dear Edgar:

1. Thanks for the courtesy extended to Harold Stern, who was quite overwhelmed.

2. As to Roger Baldwin's communication, I would certainly suggest that you follow up at some proper time, and ask him the names of the cities, the names of the people and the names of the cases, because certainly you do not want to do an injustice to the local officials, and Roger must know how easy it is to unjustly accuse people. Furthermore, you might ask him whether he does not agree with you that despite all the errors and diversities of local administrations, he would oppose a complete concentration into a national police force.

3. I am sending you a copy of a letter that I received from Francis Biddle. At his suggestion I am to talk to you about the matter further.

Yours

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Enc (1)

1 ENCL. 2

RECORDED

100-49565-10
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
5 NOV 24 1941
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FIVE

100-49565-10

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Read to
Director
No action
in view of
12-1-41

OFFICE OF THE ATTORNEY GENERAL
WASHINGTON, D.C.

C
O.

P
Y

November 5, 1941.

Dear Morris:

The suggestion in your letter with regard to the "subversives" is also the line we are considering, and I have shown your letter to Edgar Hoover.

He and I have worked out an approach which I think will be satisfactory. Rather than write about it, talk to him or me the next time you are in Washington.

Sincerely yours,

F.B.

Francis Biddle

Morris L. Ernst, Esq.
Greenbaum Wolff & Ernst
285 Madison Avenue
New York City

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 3-20-86 BY SP8 BTJ/alp

100-49565-10

EAT:GEG

November 13, 1941

Time: 12:10 P.M.

THE DIRECTOR

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 8-20-76 BY SP8 BTJ/af

SAC Pieper called from San Francisco, advising that access had been obtained to the room of Robert Minor last night and that the following letter written on the letterhead of the American Civil Liberties Union was obtained. Mr. Pieper stated he did not know the meaning of the letter but thought the Bureau might know what it refers to.

October 17, 1941

"Dear Bob:

"I could not get you this afternoon because I was not out of the Department of Justice and tonight I got no reply from your Croton number so here goes for a confidential memo on what I learned. Please keep it out of your files.

"1. Nothing will be even started until Mrs. King files the further memo she indicated would come on comparative sentences in the New York District. When it does it will be checked so be sure it is a careful job. It is now incomplete if it is the document Unger sent me.

"2. The Attorney General is handling the matter personally from now on though he did not even know of it until I saw him. He is disposed to think that action should be taken in the reasonably near future but not right now in view of the considerations stated in Mr. Wilkie's letter which the Attorney General on his own account reflected. He will not, however, let the matter go with an adverse report to the President as might happen if it followed routine.

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg

Mr. Foxworth
"3. Reports will be sought from the officials connected with the prosecution as usual and what they say will have considerable influence. I have arranged to see that each of them except the trial judge is interviewed and I should know in advance of their official action how they feel. Letters from influential citizens should be held up until that is determined so we will know what points

Mr. Drayton
Mr. Quinn Tamm
Mr. Hendon
Mr. Tracy
Miss Gandy

and is not on record. The original is retained in the Division if it is possible with this copy or may be given a new trial.

11/25/41

100-37565-

Memorandum for the Director

- 2 -

have to be countered. I doubt if the machinery of official reports will be completed inside a month after the check-up on comparative sentences.

"4. The international situation and domestic opposition which might be complicated by favorable action will doubtless play a part so the action itself is to be pursued on the sole basis of excessive sentence.

"5. Publicity in the daily press on the part of non-party people would be unwise as yet for the reasons you quite understand and petitions from such quarters should be withheld until the officials have a chance to make their recommendations.

"You can reach me through my office at any time while I am away and I shall be pursuing the work by contact with those I have already enlisted.

Yours ever,"

Mr. Pieper stated that the signature which is written in a scrawled fashion appears to be "Roger", he pointing out that in addition to the name of Roger Baldwin appearing on the letterhead there is an individual listed as Roger William Rile.

I suggested to Mr. Pieper that the letter might refer to the O'Neill perjury case although he felt it might have reference to the Browder case. Mr. Pieper stated he did not have a copy of the signature of Roger Baldwin but since the signature on the letter is quite distinctive he does not feel identification will be difficult. Mr. Pieper stated several copies of the above-mentioned letter are available, some of which are being forwarded to the Bureau air mail, special delivery, this morning.

Respectfully,

Edward A. Tamm

JOHN EDGAR HOOVER
DIRECTOR



DML:CSH

Federal Bureau of Investigation
United States Department of Justice
Washington, D. C.

November 15, 1941

Mr. Tolson ☒
Mr. E. A. Tamm _____
Mr. Clegg _____
Mr. Glavin _____
Mr. Ladd _____
Mr. Nichols ☒
Mr. Tracy _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Carson _____
Mr. Coffey _____
Mr. Hendon _____
Mr. Quinn Tamm _____
Mr. Holloman _____
Mr. Harbo _____
Tele. Room _____
Tour Room _____
Mr. Nease _____
Miss Boehm _____
Miss Gandy _____

MEMORANDUM FOR THE DIRECTOR

RE: ROGER BALDWIN
Director, American Civil
Liberties Union

In accordance with your instructions, I telephonically contacted the field offices listed below, and talked with the individuals indicated, on the dates indicated, advising them of the possibility of a visit from Roger Baldwin, Director of the American Civil Liberties Union. I furnished them with the background of this matter, and conveyed to them the instructions set forth in Mr. Tamm's memorandum of October 23rd in connection with his calls to Denver, Salt Lake, and other Western offices.

<u>Office</u>	<u>Agent contacted</u>	<u>Date of call</u>
Butte	SAC K. Logan	11/10/41
Des Moines	SAC J. L. Dalton	11/15/41
El Paso	SAC D. A. Bryce	11/10/41
Houston	SAC R. J. Abbaticchio	11/12/41
Oklahoma City	Agent R. T. Hood	11/10/41
Omaha	Agent A. J. Rafferty	11/12/41
Phoenix	SAC H. R. Duffey	11/12/41
Portland	Agent H. A. King	11/10/41
St. Paul	SAC C. W. Stein	11/12/41
San Antonio	Agent George W. Carlson	11/12/41
Sioux Falls	Agent C. Fletcher	11/15/41

While talking with SAC Johnson of the Chicago Office on November 12th, and Agent Shiley of the New Orleans Office on November 14th, I also conveyed the above information to them.

Respectfully,

D. M. Ladd
D. M. Ladd

RECORDED

100-49565-11
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
5 NOV 24 1941
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
TAMM
RECEIVED

CH-21 (13)

JOHN EDGAR HOOVER
DIRECTOR



Bureau of Investigation
States Department of Justice
Washington, D. C.
October 23, 1941

EAT:DMP

Mr. Tolson ✓
Mr. E. A. Tamm ✓
Mr. Clegg ✓
Mr. Glavin ✓
Mr. Ladd ✓
Mr. Nichols ✓
Mr. Tracy ✓
Mr. Rosen ✓
Mr. Carson ✓
Mr. Coffey ✓
Mr. Hendon ✓
Mr. Quinn Tamm ✓
Mr. Holloman ✓
Mr. Harbo ✓
Tele. Room ✓
Tour Room ✓
Mr. Nease ✓
Miss Beahm ✓
Miss Gandy ✓

MEMORANDUM FOR THE DIRECTOR

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 3-20-86 BY 288 STJ/08

I telephoned Special Agent Brandt at Denver, Special Agent Nulty at Salt Lake City, SAC Hood at Los Angeles, SAC Pieper at San Francisco, SAC Nathan at San Diego, and SAC Fletcher at Seattle, regarding the attached memorandum on Roger Baldwin of the American Civil Liberties Union and his trip to Kansas City and tour of the western cities. I informed them that Baldwin is making it a practice to drop in on the various Field Offices on his way and ask to see the Special Agent in Charge.

I instructed each of them to see Baldwin when he calls and to be exceedingly courteous, polite but extremely discreet and judicious in talking with Baldwin. I warned them that Baldwin is quite cagy, telling them about his interview with you and how apparently pleased he was with you and the fine work the Bureau has been doing down through the years, then about his statement to the press in Denver to the effect that there was danger in the FBI and that his interview with you left much to be desired.

I instructed these men to be the essence of courtesy, diplomacy and finesse, telling them that if Baldwin brings up the subject of the use or denial of public buildings, to inform him that we have nothing whatsoever to do with matters of this nature. I told them that if he brings up the matter of our referring cases to the police, to inform him that matters of policy affecting the operation of the Bureau are determined by the Attorney General and that if he, Mr. Baldwin, has any criticism to make in this regard, they will be glad to receive it for you and forward it to you for your attention. I warned them about committing themselves in any way or getting into any controversy with Baldwin.

RECORDED

I told each of these men to point out to Baldwin that you had always insisted that the civil rights of all subjects under investigation be completely observed and that you took vigorous administrative steps against any Agent who in any way contravened the civil

100-495654-2
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
SEARCHED INDEXED SERIALIZED FILED
OCT 24 1941
FBI - DENVER

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Enclos, not received in routing, ghw

Memo for the Director

- 2 -

August 23, 1941

rights of any subject. They were told that Mr. Baldwin should be informed that you had personally issued instructions that whenever any allegation of abrogation of civil rights came to their attention, they should obtain all of the details and forward them to Washington for your personal attention in order that you might personally assign an administrative officer to conduct an appropriate inquiry and to take drastic administrative action if this was necessary.

Respectfully

Edward A. Tamm

Attachment



Federal Bureau of Investigation
United States Department of Justice

Washington, D. C.

October 23, 1942

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 2-20-86 BY SP8 BTJ/pb

RCH:DW

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. NICHOLS

Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. E. A. Tamm _____
Mr. Clegg _____
Mr. Foxworth _____
Mr. Glavin _____
Mr. Ladd _____
Mr. Nichols _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Carson _____
Mr. Drayton _____
Mr. Quinn Tamm _____
Mr. Hendon _____
Mr. Coffey _____
Mr. Harbo _____
Tele. Room _____
Tour Room _____
Mr. Nease _____
Miss Beahm _____
Miss Gandy _____

Special Agent R. J. Brandt, Acting in Charge of the Denver Office, just telephoned. Roger Baldwin of the American Civil Liberties Union telephoned this morning asking for SAC Nicholson who is out of the city and advised Brandt that he was coming up to the Denver Office at 2:00 p.m. this afternoon to see Brandt about "some matters."

Baldwin is in Denver where he gave two addresses yesterday and he is quoted in today's paper as praising the Denver schools for eliminating the saluting of the American Flag. He also praised Colorado in general for the guarding of various civil liberties. The paper states that Baldwin was scheduled to confer with the FBI and the United States Attorney seeking information upon (1) the use or denial of use of public buildings for public meetings. (2) the FBI investigations of subversive individuals and (3) treatment by local authorities of Jehovah's Witnesses. There is a subheading to the article, "Sees danger in FBI" and quotes Mr. Baldwin as follows:

RECORDED & INDEXED

"Mr. Baldwin said he conferred recently with J. Edgar Hoover, Chief of the FBI, with regard to the investigation of subversive activities and individuals and this interview 'to put it mildly, left much to be desired.' There is considerable danger here especially in these times of emotional stress and neighborhood gossip," he said. "After all, they don't know what 'loyalty' or 'subversiveness' means - no one does."

Brandt stated that he had received a letter from SAC Brantley of Kansas City indicating that Baldwin had recently called at the Kansas City Office and had particularly discussed the assignment of cases to police. I advised Brandt that this matter would be brought to the attention of the Director and unless advised to the contrary he should indicate to Baldwin that the Bureau of course had no control over the use or denial of use of public buildings for any purpose. (2) That all of our investigations were conducted into alleged violations of Federal laws and pursuant to the instructions of the President and the Attorney General of the United States. (3) That this Bureau while always doing everything possible to protect the rights of any individual had no control over the activities of

1 ENCL. 5

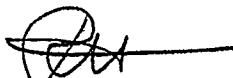
Tamm:

Call Denver at once & advise them to handle as Brantley did. They should be very courteous. Also call

For Gung, Ben Dr, San Diego, 10.
Sent to counsel accordingly.

local authorities insofar as Jehovah's Witnesses were concerned and suggested that he refer Mr. Baldwin to the Attorney General, whose office had made an expression in connection with this subject in the past. I stated that insofar as the assignment of cases to the police was concerned he should indicate that of course in this we were following out specific instructions of the President in the coordination of all law enforcement matters insofar as national defense is concerned.

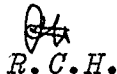
Respectfully,



R. C. Hendon

ADDENDUM: 10/23/41

Brandt was specifically instructed to not go beyond the above, not to engage in any controversy whatsoever with Baldwin and on anything doubtful to refer Baldwin to the Washington Headquarters of the Bureau. Brandt is acquainted with Baldwin's background and I think he can tactfully handle the situation.



R.C.H.



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HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 8-20-86 BY SP8 BTJ/af

ADDITION

- 3 -

BALDWIN, ROGER H.

COMMUNIST.

31 Union Square West
New York City (office)

A letter dated 4-15-41 from the American Civil Liberties Union addressed to Senator Carter Glass and signed by Baldwin opposed the bill granting a sum of money to the FBI to investigate government employees who are members of subversive organizations and advocate overthrow of the U. S. Government. (Copy of letter furnished to Bureau by Arthur Garfield Hays, 120 Broadway, NYC, 4-24-41, 61-190-201)

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100-49565-13
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
12 NOV 28 1941
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
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gac

CH-23

Federal Bureau of Investigation
United States Department of Justice

San Francisco, California
November 8, 1941

Director
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D. C.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 8-20-86 BY SP8 BTJ/08

Re: ROGER BALDWIN
AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION

Dear Sir:

Mr. ROGER BALDWIN of the American Civil Liberties Union and the local director, ERNEST BESIG called at the San Francisco office on November 7, 1941.

Mr. BALDWIN had an appointment at three o'clock. He was 20 minutes late; he made no explanation and stayed about ten minutes. He rushed into the office, talking hurriedly, and seemed to be preoccupied in his mind about something while conversing with me.

He handed me his card, stating that the FBI certainly wanted to know to whom they were talking, and I stated that I recognized him from his photograph, and had no difficulty in knowing who he was, in fact I had on my desk a copy of a newspaper item which showed his photograph together with his statement. Mr. BESIG began to laugh, and stated - "Have you seen this?" Mr. BALDWIN stated - "I am not interested in personal publicity - I don't like it." I then read to him part of the article which appeared in the San Francisco News on November 6, 1941, (which is attached hereto): "The place to watch for the machinery of suppression of opposition to Administration policies is the Federal Bureau of Investigation." He denied the statement, and stated that he had said no such thing. He said - "This is a misquote; this is hooey." He stated that he had said that in troubled times people could tell the trend as to civil liberties by the way the Department of Justice carried on its functions.

I stated that I, of course, wanted very much to have his views on this statement since I knew the Director would personally be interested, particularly in view of the fact that the Director had long been a champion of civil liberties, which Mr. BALDWIN certainly knew, and that he had always insisted that any

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6 DEC 30 1941

100-49565-14

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NOV 12 1941

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

MAILED

10

EX-105

Director - Page 2

violations on the part of any of the agents in the service be brought to his attention. In his hurried manner, Mr. BALDWIN cut in and stated that - yes, he knew the Director had done a very fine job along this line.

He then advised that his attention had been directed however, to some examples of police violations of civil liberties in connection with our practice of having the local authorities handle cases involving subversive activities. He mentioned having been in correspondence with the Director about a case in Kansas City. He wanted to know about our practice here of referring cases to local authorities and I told him that in conformity with the policy which had been laid down by the Attorney General and the President of the United States, we referred appropriate matters to the local authorities for their attention, pointing out to him that it was a decided advantage in having the benefit of local officers who had an intimate knowledge of a local picture, aiding us in protecting the rights of innocent people, who might be injured should the investigations be conducted on innocent persons based upon unfounded complaints.

Mr. BALDWIN asked me whether or not I didn't think that agents were much better qualified to handle investigations than the local officers. I replied that I, of course, felt that we had the highest type of investigators, but smilingly stated that I certainly was not going to say that local officers were no good, and could not handle cases because as a matter of fact the officers had been given intensive training not only in general investigative work through the police training program of the FBI, but had been given particular training in national defense matters, and in that type of investigations, the latest type of training which is not in progress being that which was given to local police officers by the specific direction of the Office of Civilian Defense under Mayor F. H. LaGUARDIA. I turned to Mr. BESIG, and stated that he knew of the great amount of training that we in the FBI had given officers in this area, and he nodded that he did.

Mr. BALDWIN came back again to the specific point - didn't I think that it was much better for the Bureau to handle all cases and not refer them to the police, and I replied again that those were matters beyond my purview, that those were matters of policy which were decided by persons other than the Bureau.

Director - Page 3

He then stated that with 9000 people in the Bureau, there certainly must be some who are indiscreet. I smilingly stated that I certainly knew that among 9000 people, that the human element would arise - that we would like very much to have 9000 agents, but to my knowledge, we had just about 2,500. He then said he meant the whole personnel of the Bureau.

I then asked him if he had any complaints of any type regarding any of our personnel because if he did, I most certainly would want to know about them, and I knew that the Director, personally would insist upon them being brought to his attention. He said, no, that he had no complaints, and he turned to Mr. BESIG, and asked him whether he had any complaints and Mr. BESIG stated that he had none; that as a matter of fact we had some very fine boys here. He liked them, and he had no complaints. The only thing that he recalled was that some-time ago a school teacher had been requested to come down to our office, and had been questioned by our agents; that this school teacher had only been a member of a peace organization. She had come down with her husband, and the agents had talked to her about Communists in the schools. He was unable to give me any names or time. I asked him to give me specific information on it in order that I could determine the reason for it. Mr. BALDWIN stated that he certainly felt that I was entitled to something specific rather than just a general complaint, and told Mr. BESIG that he should get me the specifics because I certainly was entitled to them. Mr. BESIG then began to hem and haw around and said that he couldn't figure out at the time why they had been called about it either because there apparently was no basis for a complaint, and the school teacher said that she was not concerned about it.

He then asked about having people come to the office, didn't I think that was embarrassing them by asking them to call at our office, and I stated that I certainly did not think so. As a matter of fact we had about 100 people a day come to our office who came for help, who came seeking advice, and direction in a great variety of subject matter because they had the confidence in us, and we always did what we could for those people, helping them in many ways. I further stated that if this person whom Mr. BESIG mentioned had nothing to conceal, and was a good citizen, that there must have been a good reason for our agents requesting her to call at the office, possibly in order

Director - Page 4

to ask her help in a matter which dealt with some case in which we were interested. Further, that a number of people preferred to come to our office for interview. Mr. BESIG was left flat-footed on this one, and I have made inquiry in the office, and nobody can remember the case, and even Mr. BALDWIN obviously felt that Mr. BESIG was talking too much in generalities, particularly after his original statement that he had no complaints.

Mr. BALDWIN then got back on the subject of the police handling subversive activities again, and said he thought it was a dangerous practice. I again stated that those were matters of policy which were not decided by us.

He said, "You know Mr. HOOVER has a hard time defining subversive activities to me. What are subversive activities? Do you go out and investigate someone just because they are a member of the Communist Party?" I replied that we investigated violations of the Federal laws; that if a person was accused, or if it was developed through investigation initiated by us, that an individual was engaged in activities inimical to the best interests of this country, we would conduct an investigation.

He then wanted to know how many cases of subversive activities were being handled by police and how many by us. I ducked this question, stating that I had no figures on that because we were working in very close cooperation with them on matters in which they could be of assistance to us; that our agents were conducting investigations constantly regarding violations of Federal laws and in national defense matters, and those types of cases dealing with actions inimical to the best interests of this country.

He then said, what about these cases where men are discharged in industries because of their sympathies or allegations of their activities. I professed amazement at such a statement, and stated that I knew of no such instances. I stated that under no circumstances and at no time had we ever told anybody that they were to discharge a person for his beliefs or expressions. I stated that if there were a person in a plant who was guilty of any violations of law, he would be brought before our courts to determine whether or not he was guilty of those violations, and that we under no circumstances ever took

Director - Page 5

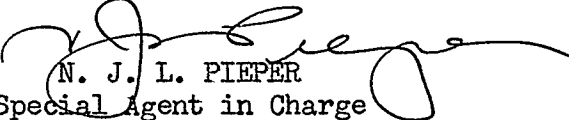
upon ourselves to tell any employer what he should do about his employees. BESIG jumped in at this point, and stated - "What about the Mare Island cases?" (The Bureau will recall that there are a number of employees that have been discharged at Mare Island because of investigations conducted by ONI which reflected their possible connection with the Communist Party.) I replied that any matters pertaining to Mare Island were not under our control, being under the jurisdiction of the Navy. Mr. BESIG backed down on this one, and said, yes, that would be the Navy and not us.

I repeated to them again that we certainly could not and would not tell any employer what he should do, nor had we ever prejudiced the position of an employee. As a matter of fact by the discreet manner in which we conducted investigations, we had been able to protect numerous individual whose positions might have been prejudiced by our inquiry even after it had been proved that the original complaint was unfounded, had we not been doing a good job in this regard.

I then told Mr. BALDWIN that I had been here over four years and that there had never been an instance that I knew about or that had been called to my attention, and that I certainly felt that I should know about them in order that I could let the Director know if there had been any misconduct as far as civil liberties were concerned on the part of any of our agents. Mr. BESIG said there were none, and Mr. BALDWIN said there were none.

The whole interview was most unusual. BALDWIN rushed in, and seemed to be going through the motions of asking certain questions while his mind was on something else. After about 10 minutes of very rapid talking, he jumped up and said that he had to be going, and dashed out with owl-eyed BESIG tagging along.

Very truly yours,


N. J. L. PIEPER
Special Agent in Charge

NJLP:FL
Encl.

Roger N. Baldwin

California Is Both Joy and Sorrow to Liberties Union

California seems to be the joy and the sorrow of Roger N. Baldwin, national director of the American Civil Liberties Union, who arrived in San Francisco yesterday for a series of Bay Area lectures.

It is his joy because, out of all the States of the Union, California has maintained the most balanced and liberal attitude toward the war.

And it is his sorrow because California now has five cases before the United States Supreme Court that bear heavily upon civil liberties.

These cases, according to Baldwin, will establish repressive legal precedents if they are decided adversely. Liked all test cases involving the intangible of the public weal, he believes they may lead to a growth or a disintegration of justice.

The cases involve:

- 1—The Los Angeles Times, held in contempt for editorializing a court decision.
- 2—Harry Bridges, held in contempt for giving to the newspapers a letter he had written to the Secretary of Labor.
- 3—A Court of Appeals decision denying citizenship to aliens or relief.
- 4—The Anti-Oakie law, which makes it a crime to help an indigent to enter the State.
- 5—Revocation of the citizenship of William Schneidermann, State secretary of the Communist party.

Conditions which produce cases such as these make a lot of work for Baldwin and his ACLU, but this does not make him happy. He believes that a democracy should have no need of a civil liberties watchdog, and that, eventually, it should be possible to abolish his organization.

But there are good signs as well as bad in California, Baldwin said yesterday.

There is, for instance, the general acceptance of the process of collective bargaining under the National Labor Relations act, the decrease of State vigilanteism, and the apparent decline of the power of the Associated Farmers.



ROGER N. BALDWIN
Civil Liberties chief

This may be due to the international impact of the war which has reduced local tensions everywhere, Baldwin believes, or it may be due to the generous policy of the national administration which has chosen whenever possible, not to interfere with minority rights. (Examples: the America First Committee, and conscientious objectors).

The fate of civil liberties in the coming war years depends, according to Baldwin, upon the FBI and the Department of Justice. The response of these organizations to reserve is the best national gauge of the policy of the administration.

Baldwin will remain in the Bay

Area through Saturday and will then travel north to Oregon and Washington.

En route he will keep an eye on a coming test case involving a California bill which would keep parties having international connections off the ballot. As an old time watch dog, Baldwin thinks he smells a rank bone here.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 3-20-86 BY SP8 BTJ/bep

San Francisco Chronicle
11/7/41

100-111565-14

Civil Liberties Group Studying Racial Discrimination in Unions

Democracy within the nation's trade unions is being investigated by Roger N. Baldwin, director of the American Civil Liberties Union, who arrived here today on a nationwide tour.



ROGER BALDWIN

He is interested particularly in unions which deny membership to members of certain races, notably Negroes.

Mr. Baldwin was conferring with Ernest Bevis, local Civil Liberties Union director, and other leaders regarding five California civil liberties cases which are being fought by the organization.

These cases are the contempt action against The Los Angeles Times for editorial comment on a case during litigation; the contempt action against Harry Bridges for releasing a telegram criticizing a court decision; the revocation of citizenship of William Schneidermann on the ground he was a Communist when he was granted citizenship in 1927; a California law which makes it a crime for anyone to aid an indigent to enter the state; the denial by Federal courts of citizenship to persons on relief.

The Civil Liberties Union is striving to implement President Roosevelt's request that racial discrimination be eliminated in hiring workers.

Mr. Baldwin has been amazed, in his swing across the country, he said, by the calmness with which the nation is taking today's crises. From East to West he found the attitude the same.

If the time comes, there will be no opposition to war with Japan. Everybody already realizes that we are in a naval war with the Axis.

He was amazed, also, at the calmness and openness of debate on the issues confronting America, contrasting it with the hysteria of 1917. So far, suppression of free speech has not become apparent, Mr. Baldwin said, but

The place to watch for the machinery of suppression of opposition to Administration policies is the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

AMERICAN C...
170 FIFTH A
NEW YORK

November 6, 1941

Mr. John Edgar Hoover
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Department of Justice
Washington, DC

Dear Mr. Hoover:

Your letter of November 1st
comes to me in Mr. ^{ROGER} ~~Waldwin~~'s absence
from the city. It will be called
to his attention upon his return
November 17th.

Sincerely yours,

Laurel H. Milner

LBM:LB

Secretary

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 8-20-86 BY SP8 BTJ/SJS

*Chapman reply
brought up
11/10/41*

RECORDED

INDEXED

100-49565-6

11 NOV 8 1941

U. S. DEPT. OF JUSTICE

File

EX-1

San Diego, California

November 22, 1941

Director
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D. C.

RE: ROGER N. BALDWIN
AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 11-26 BY 28351/8
2166251

Dear Sir:

The following is a report of the meeting at the Unitarian Church, San Diego, California, on the evening of October 30, 1941, at which ROGER N. BALDWIN spoke, which report was furnished to this Office by the office of Confidential Informant [redacted]

1. Subject, director of the American Civil Liberties Union, spoke at the Unitarian Church, 1525 6th Ave., Thursday, Oct. 30, 1941, at a meeting sponsored by the San Diego League for the Defense of Democracy. Capt. Jessie B. Gay, (641 San Geronimo St., San Diego) introduced the Subject.

2. In his speech Subject said the purpose of the A.C.L.U. was to defend all minority groups whose rights were violated, citing as an example, a case in which his organization defended Bund members in an instance 'involving no overt acts, but freedom of speech alone.'

3. The remainder of his talk was concerned with the 'exaggerated emphasis' which was placed upon the denial of civil liberties to Communist groups and Labor Unions. Subject cited the following examples to illustrate this alleged persecution:

a. F.B.I., Military Intelligence and Naval Intelligence were unduly concerned with Communist activities even to the extent that their investigations injured the prestige of innocent people who were not Communists. On the other hand, these agencies were said to neglect the more dangerous activities of Nazi Falangist and Japanese minorities.

b. The Post Office Department, according to the subject, enforced bans on literature sent here from Russia and neglected written material from other countries, notably Japan, because of its inability to read that language. (Laughter from audience)

3 DEC 27 1941

INDEXED

U. S. DEPT. OF JUSTICE

PERSONAL AND CONFIDENTIAL

Director - 2
ROGER BALDWIN

November 3, 1941

this time that this Bureau has better facilities than most government agencies, and more personnel trained for investigative activities. He said that the Director stressed the fact that no Trade Union members were considered subversive because of their membership in the union, but that HOOVER openly showed his hate of the Communist Party. [redacted] reported that BALDWIN bitterly criticized the FBI for investigating citizens and leaving the impression that they were not loyal. He cited a case of a churchman, who, although completely exonerated and given a letter by the FBI, had to be sent away by his church as the damage had already been done, and the people of his parish thought something was wrong. He also stated that the FBI was not qualified to judge loyalty or what was subversive, but did state that most of the Agents are lawyers, and because of that they now have a higher type of personnel than the average police force.

b6
b7C
b7D

BALDWIN also informed this group that he intended to see the FBI representative in Denver, and, among other things, wanted to learn whether local policemen had been assigned to make subversive investigations for the FBI. He criticized this condition, and stated that he knew it to exist in Kansas City. He is alleged by [redacted] to have stated, "I'm collecting evidence against the FBI."

One of the individuals present inquired as to the right of the FBI to make investigations of students who had gone to Spain during the war there, and BALDWIN advised him that it was a violation of the law, and enthusiastically requested him to obtain affidavits from persons who had talked to the Agents; stated he specifically wanted the name of the Agent making the investigation, the place, the time of the conversation, and the precise subject matter under discussion. This individual replied that he would obtain the affidavits. [redacted] stated that through a casual inquiry of one of the individuals present at this meeting, he believes that the person holding this latter conversation with BALDWIN is one Dr. COHEN of the University of Colorado, at Boulder, Colorado.

In this connection, it is noted that this individual reported to be Dr. COHEN may have been referring to the case entitled, "BORIS TANIER, with aliases, et al; Recruiting American Citizens for Service in Spanish Loyalist Army;" Denver origin, Bureau file 54-596.

~~PERSONAL AND CONFIDENTIAL~~

Director - 5
ROGER BALDWIN

November 3, 1941

It is noted from the report of Special Agent D. C. SPENCER in this case, dated at Denver, Colorado, February 3, 1938, that some investigation in this matter was conducted at the University of Colorado, Boulder, Colorado.

It is noted that the Dr. COHEN referred to above may be identical with the Subject of the case entitled, "JOSEPH COHEN; Internal Security - C;" Denver origin, which was closed with the report of Special Agent HENRY W. BECKER, dated at Denver, Colorado, May 1, 1941.

Bureau advice is requested as to whether any inquiry should be conducted for the purpose of determining if Dr. COHEN is in fact endeavoring to obtain affidavits as referred to above.

Very truly yours,

G. A. NICHOLSON
Special Agent in Charge

GAN:BM

61-255

Director
ROGER N. BALDWIN
November 22, 1941

- " c. Subject said the State Department was singularly cooperative in aiding refugees from Germany, Italy or Spain in obtaining visas to the U.S., but foreign men of prominence who, for political reasons alone had associated with Communists, were excluded from the country.
- " 4. The audience consisted of about 150 persons.
- " 5. Members of the Executive Council of the S.D. League for the Defense of Democracy who were present included: Capt. Jessie B. Gay, president; Mrs. Cynthia Copeland, treasurer; Mr. Orton Barnall; Dr. A. P. Nasitir; Clarence Novotny; and Etta Mae Wallace.
- " 6. Others in the audience included Assemblyman Paul A. Richie; Emily Morse; Margaret Pock; and Mrs. Daisy Worcester.
- "

For the information of the Bureau, BALDWIN did not contact the San Diego Bureau Office.

Very truly yours,

H. NATHAN
Special Agent in Charge

FOH:wmh
100-478

JOHN EDGAR HOOVER
DIRECTOR



Federal Bureau of Investigation
United States Department of Justice
Washington, D. C.

Mr. Tolson ☒
Mr. E. A. Tamm ☐
Mr. Clegg ☐
Mr. Glavin ☐
Mr. Ladd ☐
Mr. Nichols ☒
Mr. Tracy ☐
Mr. Carson ☐
Mr. Coffey ☐
Mr. Hendon ☐
Mr. Quinn Tamm ☐
Mr. Holloman ☐
Mr. Harbo ☐
Tele. Room ☐
Tour Room ☐
Mr. Nease ☐
Miss Beahm ☐
Miss Gandy ☒

DML:WGR

November 10, 1941

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 3-20-76 BY SP8 BTJ/afp

6:20 P.M.

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. E. A. TAMM

RE: ROGER BALDWIN

SAC Pieper of the San Francisco Office telephonically advised as follows in connection with Roger Baldwin.

Roger Baldwin, who had an appointment at the San Francisco Office for 3:00 today, did not arrive until 3:20; and when he arrived, he did not give any excuse for being late, but rushed into the office and stated that he thought he had better give Mr. Pieper his card because an FBI Agent ought to know whom he is talking to. Mr. Pieper advised Baldwin that he knew who Baldwin was because he recognized him by his photographs. Pieper had before him on his desk a newspaper clipping of Baldwin's interviews, which also had his photograph. One clipping which Mr. Pieper had before him contained a quotation which Baldwin had made, the exact quotation having been furnished to the Bureau previously. With Baldwin was Ernst Befig who is the local director. Befig began to laugh when he saw the newspaper clipping and asked Baldwin whether he had read it. Baldwin said "No", that he did not like publicity and had not read it. Pieper told Baldwin that he was very glad Baldwin was there as he wanted to ask Baldwin about the newspaper clipping because of the reference to the FBI. Baldwin stated that the quotation was a misquotation, that "it was a lot of hooey", that he had never made such statements, that he had stated that the matter of civil liberties could be judged by the manner in which the Department of Justice conducts itself these days.

Pieper stated that Baldwin talked very, very rapidly and seemed to have a preoccupied mind. He wanted to know about the policy of referring cases to police departments, and Pieper told him that was beyond the purview of the FBI, that matters of policy along that line were laid down by the Attorney General and the President. Baldwin wanted to know how many cases the FBI have assigned to the police departments. Mr. Pieper stated that he "ducked" that question by stating that we are working very closely with the police agencies and have been for a number of years. Baldwin also stated that he thought the assignment of such cases to police departments was a dangerous thing because of the fact that law enforcement officers were not qualified to handle subversive activities. He stated that the Director himself could not define just exactly what subversive activities were and Baldwin then asked Pieper whether he did not feel that the FBI is much better qualified to handle those investigations than police officers. Pieper replied that he thought the FBI had the highest type of law-trained personnel, but he was certainly not going to say that he thought police officers were incapable and could not conduct investigations. As a matter of fact, Pieper stated that he replied to Baldwin in such a way that he could not say that the FBI said at any time that we have the best officers, yet he let Baldwin know that he, Pieper,

RECEIVED

EX-16

thinks the FBI has the best officers without criticizing any police officers.

Pieper stated that he then pointed out to Baldwin the police training program which the FBI has effected and which is now at its height in following out the directives of the President through cooperation and working with Mayor LaGuardia and the Office of Civilian Defense. Pieper told Baldwin that the police officers in San Francisco had had a great deal of training.

Baldwin then asked Pieper about men in industry being accused of subversive activities and losing their jobs. Pieper told him that at no time, and no place had the FBI told anyone what they should or should not do in industry, that the FBI never takes upon itself to tell people whether to buy or sell, that if an individual in industry had violated the law or was conducting himself in such a manner which was against that individual, he was brought before the courts for proper action, and that he, Pieper, had never heard of an instance where the FBI had done such a thing as cause a man to lose his job. Pieper told Baldwin that he would certainly like to know of any instance of this kind which Baldwin might be referring to. Befig then stated, "What about the Mare Island cases?" Pieper told him that he did not know anything about those cases, that they were naval matters and the Navy had complete jurisdiction.

Pieper stated that he questioned Baldwin as to whether there had been any instances brought to his attention where any of the FBI Agents had been accused of having violated any civil rights of any person. Befig stated that there had not been any instances, as a matter of fact the San Francisco Office "had a bunch of good boys, that he liked them very well and always got along well with them". Pieper told them that in five and one-half years he had never received any complaints and he felt he should be entitled to receiving the complaints if there were any. Befig stated that there had not been any complaints, that everything was all right. He stated that Baldwin kept coming back to the question of the police cases, and that he, Pieper, kept mentioning the policy which the Bureau had to follow. Pieper stated that Baldwin said he was making every instance known to the Director as he was in touch with the Director regarding a case in Kansas City. Pieper said that he then changed the subject as he did not want to talk about individual cases.

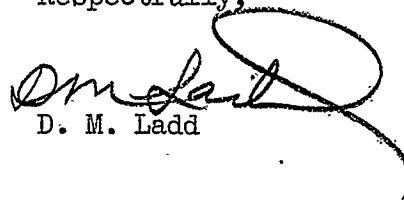
Befig brought up a case of some school teacher who was supposed to have been invited down to the office, coming down with her husband, and she was only a member of a peace group, that she was questioned about Communist activities in the school. Pieper told them that he would like to know the name of the person and the allegation of the violation of her rights. Befig stated, "Don't you think that's rather embarrassing, and is that the right thing to do to have someone come down to your office?" Pieper told him that there are many people coming to the FBI Office all the time, that as a matter of fact many people come in for help on matters over which the FBI does not have jurisdiction, but they have confidence in the FBI and therefore ask us for help.

Pieper told them that this woman was probably told to stop in at the San Francisco Office the next time she was down town, that she may have been helping the FBI on a particular matter. Pieper asked them what the specific matter was in which there was a violation. Befig said that she did not have anything, that he could not see what she called him about. Baldwin then turned to Befig and said, "Well, that's not very specific. If there is anything, Mr. Pieper certainly is entitled to something specific". Befig then coughed a couple of times and said there wasn't anything to it that he would try to find the name of the woman. Pieper stated that he could find no reference of such an incident occurring. Pieper pointed out to them that there are a number of people coming to the San Francisco Office.

Pieper stated that the interview with Baldwin lasted for only about ten minutes, that he left as fast as he had come, that his mind seemed to be preoccupied on something else.

Pieper stated that he dictated a letter to the Bureau immediately after the interview was over, which letter left San Francisco Saturday via Air Mail.

Respectfully,



D. M. Ladd

Denver, Colorado

November 2, 1941

AMASD

~~PERSONAL AND CONFIDENTIAL~~

Director
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D. C.

RE: ROGER BALDWIN
American Civil Liberties Union

Dear Sir:

Reference is made to my letter dated October 24, 1941, wherein an interview which was had with captioned individual by Special Agent R. J. BRAHDT during my absence is reported.

Supplementing that report, for the Bureau's information, this is to advise that [redacted] who has only been in this territory a short time, working directly out of the office of Colonel A. W. ROFFEL, Assistant Chief of Staff, G-2, Fort Sam Houston, Texas, has advised me that he attended an American Civil Liberties Union meeting held at Boggio's Rotisserie, Denver, Colorado, on the evening of October 22, 1941, which was held as a private meeting for the purpose of having BALDWIN speak to interested members of the American Civil Liberties Union. [redacted] stated that the meeting and dinner lasted for approximately two hours, and that there were some forty-five individuals present, identities of whom he was unaware. He stated that the following comments were made by BALDWIN concerning this Bureau. These comments are not verbatim, but as nearly so as [redacted] could report from the meager notes he was able to take under the circumstances.

BALDWIN is reported to have commented that he had recently had a conference with the Director, and that the Director was very cordial, but did not give out very much satisfaction. He also stated that HOOVER is a man without convictions, in that he will follow all of the Attorney Generals and plays politics. He also stated that from a government point of view, there was something to the concentration of investigations with the FBI; this was said by BALDWIN in connection with a question concerning Civil Service applicants. He pointed out at

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ON 8-20-86

SP8 BTJ/afp

AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION

170 FIFTH AVENUE

NEW YORK, N. Y.



MADISON SQUARE
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Hon. J. Edgar Hoover
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Department of Justice
Washington D. C.

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AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION

170 Fifth Avenue • New York City

(at 22nd Street)

GRamercy 7-4330

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DATE 8-20-86 BY 2088 BTJ/agf

November 17, 1941

Hon. J. Edgar Hoover
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Department of Justice
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Hoover:

I appreciate greatly your letter of November 1 which I have on my return from a trip to the Coast.

By the way, I referred your letter concerning the Kansas City complaint to Jerome Walsh, attorney, in the Commerce Building, who said he would make inquiry and reply to you direct.

I quite understand the general problem with which your agents are confronted and the necessity for getting the co-operation of the local police. I wonder, however, whether the complaints of so-called subversive activities by private citizens are sufficiently numerous to justify turning them over to comparatively untrained men with hardly the degree of discretion and horse-sense which your men have.

At best this is an exceedingly difficult field, since it inevitably involves complaints concerning people's opinions, membership in perfectly legitimate organizations, and activities not only legal but regarded by many as patriotic. When an investigation is made, for instance, of a private citizen active in a peace movement on the ground that he is subversive--as has of course been done--it arouses indignation. Even in time of war it could hardly be held that the activities of pacifist organizations are subversive; yet even now in time of peace that appears to be the assumption in some police departments.

In the difficult task you confront of examining the loyalty of federal employees by mandate of Congress

EX - 16

RECORDED

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

DEC 4 1941

U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

EX - 16

INDEXED

Reply - 11/24/41

Hon. J. Edgar Hoover

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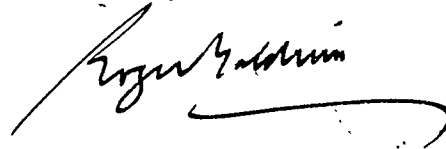
November 17, 1941

you would, I am sure, not turn over to any local police department so difficult an investigation. It is equally delicate in the case of private citizens. If the number of complaints deserving investigation is not too much, I should think an exception could be made in those cases, confining the inquiries to your own men; or if that is not possible, in certain districts, at least, having them carefully sifted by one of your staff before the investigations are made.

✓ This is the only substantial complaint I have heard in regard to the F.B.I. activities in a tour around the country, and it seems to me serious enough to merit consideration.

With regards,

Sincerely yours,



RNB/sa

EAT:GEG

November 24, 1941

RECORDED

EX-16

100-49565-17

Mr. Roger N. Baldwin
Director
American Civil Liberties Union
170 Fifth Avenue
New York, New York

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
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DATE 3-20-86 BY 288 BTJ/af

Dear Mr. Baldwin:

I have received your letter of November 17, 1941, and desire to advise you in answer to your specific inquiry that the number of complaints of subversive activities on the part of private citizens are sufficiently numerous to necessitate the Bureau's turning over a limited number of them to police departments for investigation. I desire to point out with reference to the handling of all of these cases that upon receipt of any complaint involving an allegation of subversive activities on the part of any person the matter is very carefully evaluated by the Special Agent in Charge of the Bureau's Field Division in which the complaint is initially received. Each Special Agent in Charge is, of course, a carefully selected man who has had years of experience and training in the Bureau and who has been found qualified to act in charge of a Field Office because not alone of his ability but also because of his judgment. Of course, facetious and ridiculous allegations are never made the subject of inquiries. Those cases referred to police departments are generally those in which it is considered that the local department has appropriate contacts through which accurate information may be obtained without embarrassment to the subject of the investigation. The police officers utilized in this type of investigation have received special instructions in the manner in which the Bureau desires these investigations conducted and in the type of information which should be obtained.

Local police departments which are requested to assist the Bureau in conducting its investigations are cautioned against taking any action which would constitute a violation of the civil rights of any person or would otherwise jeopardize that person in his position in his

NOV 25 1941

P. M.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

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NOV 24 1941

Mr. Roger N. Baldwin

- 2 -

community. Of course, if any situation arises in which a local police department takes any action in abrogation of the civil rights of a subject of a Bureau investigation I would take immediate and decisive action.

I desire to point out further that the Bureau has never investigated any private citizen merely because he is active in a peace movement. In any cases in which such persons have been investigated there have been other allegations of subversive activities. Most certainly the Bureau does not subscribe to a policy that construes any bona fide activity in a peace movement as being subversive.

With reference to the investigation of employees of the Federal Government who are alleged to be engaged in subversive activities, you are advised that all of these cases are being handled by Special Agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation and that none of these cases are being referred to police departments for handling.

Very truly yours,

J. Edgar Hoover

John Edgar Hoover
Director

**Federal Bureau of Investigation
United States Department of Justice**

707 U. S. COURT HOUSE
KANSAS CITY, MISSOURI
November 21, 1941

PERSONAL AND CONFIDENTIAL

Director
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington, D.C.

DECLASSIFIED BY SP8 BTJ/ab
ON 8-20-86

Mr. Tolson	✓
Mr. E. A. Tamm	✓
Mr. Clegg	✓
Mr. Glavin	✓
Mr. Ladd	✓
Mr. Nichols	✓
Mr. Tracy	✓
Mr. Rosen	✓
Mr. Carson	✓
Mr. Coffey	✓
Mr. Hendon	✓
Mr. Holloman	✓
Mr. Quinn Tamm	✓
Mr. Nease	✓
Miss Gandy	✓

Dear Sir:

RE: ROGER N. BALDWIN
AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION

Reference is made to my letter of October 22, 1941, relative to the recent visit to this office of the above named. I am now in receipt of a report from the Kansas City Police Department relative to a luncheon held in honor of BALDWIN during his recent visit in this city by JEROME WALSH, an attorney, affiliated with the Civil Liberties Movement in Kansas City, which luncheon was held on October 20, 1941. Present were:

BALDWIN; WALSH; BUZZ MERCHANT;
JOE HUDSON; ROY RUCKER; TED O'LEARY.

[Redacted Box]
who is the informant in this instance.

At this luncheon BALDWIN "did flaunt, brag about and display a letter from Director J. Edgar Hoover stating in part that the Federal Bureau of Investigation had no intention of suppressing civil liberties, or words to that effect, according to informant. Subject gave the impression he had the protection of the FBI, and exhibited a fiendish glee over that misapprehension."

The foregoing is furnished for your information.

INDEXED RECORDED
Very truly yours,

DWIGHT BRANTLEY
Special Agent in Charge

100 - 49565-18
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
3 DEC 4 1941
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

3 DEC 30 1941
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100-1220

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December 5, 1961

DATE 8-20-86 BY 28 BTJ/af

MEMORANDUM FOR MR. TOLSON
MR. FALLOMR. LADD
MR. NICHOLS

Mr. Roger Baldwin of the American Civil Liberties Union called to see me today. He said the New Republic had asked him to prepare an article on the FBI, which he expects to have finished next week, and it will then be submitted to me for my comments and reply. In connection with the preparation of this article, Mr. Baldwin stated he sent a man out and told him to "get all the dirt he could on the FBI," but that after two weeks he came back with almost nothing. He says the article could particularly with the new duties delegated to us by Congress in the line of subversive investigations. He spoke of the criticism which will naturally be directed at us by reason of the nature of such investigations.

With reference to the criticisms which Mr. Baldwin had previously advised me he had heard concerning us throughout the country, he stated he is going to send no specific information of the cases referred to; that he has written to his people, asking them to give specific information of the cases referred to; that he has asked them to include affidavits to support the allegations. He admitted, however, that the only criticism he has heard has dealt only with investigations made by local police under our direction. I told him, of course, that we will be glad to receive this material. I explained to him the necessity for our using the local police, stating that if we were not able to do this we would need a much larger force, and that also we felt by directing the activities of the police in these cases, we can more or less exercise restraint in their activities, which otherwise might work to the detriment of our cause.

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100-49565-19

Mr. Baldwin was not clear in his mind as to the scope of our investigative jurisdiction. I explained the difference between the Bureau of Investigation, the Defense Division as distinguished from our regular investigative Division, and the functions it performs. I told him that investigations of Government applicants are investigated by the Civil Liberties Commission, with the exception of CCR, which is handled by the Bureau. We also take investigations of subversive allegations. I cited several embarrassing incidents which have come to our attention recently, in which individuals had been interviewed allegedly by FBI Agents, but which in fact turned out to be agents of other Governmental agencies. I also explained the reports which we make to the Army and Navy of investigations of industries having Government contracts, making it clear that we do not furnish reports to the industries themselves. I told him that the Special Defense Unit of the Department decides what organizations would come under the classification of subversive.

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Tracy
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Carson
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Miss Gandy

SENT FROM D. O.

TIME 12:10P

DATE 12-6

BY E

McCarr, Tolson, Tamm,
Ladd and Nichols

- 2 -

12-8-41

I told Mr. Baldwin of the rigid requirements of the FBI and of its training course. He stated he realized that other Governmental agencies cannot compare with us in this respect.

He inquired who is responsible for alien investigations and I told him this comes under Mr. Espinosa of Immigration and Naturalization.

He wanted to know if we have made investigations concerning persons' opinions, as such, and I told him we do not, although the Department has ruled certain investigations could be made of various organizations.

Very truly yours

John Edgar Hoover
Director

p y ram

December 3, 1941

012087

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

Dear Mr. Hoover:

I expect to be in Washington on Friday and
in the Department of Justice during the morning.

I shall hope to have the privilege of a few minutes
with you. I will call your secretary shortly after
9. The only definite appointment I have is with the
Attorney General at 11:30.

Sincerely yours,

S/ Roger N. Baldwin

RNB:IE

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6 DEC 29 1941

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