

**FREEDOM OF INFORMATION  
AND  
PRIVACY ACTS**

**SUBJECT: BONUS MARCH**

**SECTION: 1 OF 1**



**FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION**

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**FREEDOM OF INFORMATION/PRIVACY ACTS SECTION**

**SUBJECT: BONUS MARCH**

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The following statement of the President and the attached report of the Attorney General are for release without further notice in the morning newspapers of Monday, September 12, 1932.

THEODORE G. JOSLIN  
Secretary to the President

September 10, 1932

The President said:

"On the 28th of July last I announced that I had directed the Department of Justice to exhaustively investigate and report in full upon the incidents of the so-called bonus riots of that day in Washington and to present the facts, through sworn witnesses, to the Grand Jury. I further stated that I should make the Attorney General's report public when received by me.

"The investigation has been completed. In giving out the report which shows the character of many of the persons assembled, the incidents and character of the instigators of the riots, I wish to state emphatically that the extraordinary proportion of criminal, communist and non-veteran elements amongst the marchers as shown by this report, should not be taken to reflect upon the many thousands of honest, law-abiding men who came to Washington with full right of presentation of their views to the Congress. This better element and their leaders acted at all times to restrain crime and violence but after the adjournment of Congress a large portion of them returned to their homes and gradually these better elements lost control. This report should correct the many misstatements of fact as to this incident with which the country has been flooded."

ENCLOSURE

196-0E 7-105

NOT RECORDED

September 9, 1932.

The President,  
The White House.

Sir:

Immediately following the riot by the so-called Bonus Army on July 28th, you directed that an investigation and report thereon be made in this Department. We have completed it, and I submit herewith a summary of the result. A vast amount of material in the form of reports, affidavits, and documentary evidence has been accumulated. It is only possible here briefly to summarize the conclusions.

1. The entry of the Bonus Army into the District of Columbia.

The first contingent of the Bonus Army arrived about May 27th. On June 3d, information reached the Department that a contingent from Cleveland led by C. R. Cowan and another from Detroit led by John T. Pace, comprising about 1300 men, gathered at the Pennsylvania Railroad yards at Cleveland and had held up a mail train and attempted to commandeer transportation to Washington. Cowan, one of these leaders, has a long police record; he has been convicted and sentenced twice for forgery in Ohio and was sentenced to 13 months for robbing the mails to the United States Penitentiary at Atlanta in 1928. Pace, a well known Communist leader, has an extended police record. By one means and another these groups and others obtained transportation to Washington. By the middle of June they had congregated here in large numbers. They entered into possession of various tracts of government property, on some of which were old buildings. In some instances permission to do so was given by the police authorities with the acquiescence of the Treasury, with the understanding that the occupancy would be temporary and would be discontinued at request and when Congress adjourned. Other government tracts were seized without permission and occupied by members of the Bonus Army. The number of Bonus Army marchers in Washington at the time of the adjournment of Congress on July 16th has been variously estimated at from 8000 to 15,000. Several thousand left shortly after Congress adjourned, but other groups came in, and at the time of the riot the best estimates are that there were from 6000 to 8000 bonus marchers in the city.

2. The quality of the Bonus Army.

To understand the conditions causing the riot it is necessary to know something of the character of the men in the Bonus Army.

(a) Number of marchers who were not ex-service men. A considerable number of the marchers were not in military service during the World War. An approximation of the number is impossible, but two items of reliable information throw some light on this question.

Prior to the riot of July 28th, 341 members of the Bonus Army had been arrested at various dates for a variety of offenses, including disorderly conduct, parading without a permit, assault with a dangerous weapon, destruction of private property, trespass on private property, and soliciting alms. 17 were arrested by the police on July 28th, and 4 on July 29th, making a total of 362. Unfortunately the police did not fingerprint all of these persons for identification, but 51 of them, including those arrested for disturbing the peace near the White House, were fingerprinted. Of these, 16, or approximately one-third, had no World War service record.

Prior to June 12th, 3656 of the marchers who were arriving at Washington registered on the muster rolls of the Bonus Army, giving their names, Army numbers, and other data respecting their World War service. These muster rolls came into the hands of the police and ultimately to the Veterans' Bureau, which commenced to check the names to ascertain whether the marchers were ex-service men. Learning what use was being made of the muster rolls, after June 12th the marchers discontinued the practice of registering. These first 3656 registered arrivals had been checked by the War Department and the Veterans' Bureau against their records of World War service men, with the result that of the total of 3656, 877, or a little more than one-fourth, could not be identified in either department as having had World War service. It is possible that some of the 877 were ex-service men

bulk of them were evidently impostors. It has been reported in the press that Director Hines of the Veterans' Bureau has said that over 90% of the Bonus Army were ex-service men. General Hines made no such statement. He did make the statement on July 23d that he believed not more than 8000 veterans had ever been present at any one time, but the 877 men not identified as veterans were part of the 3656 registered to which I have referred.

(b) Number of bonus marchers with criminal or police records.  
 Two sources of information are available on this subject. Of the 51 arrested men fingerprinted by the police prior to the riot of July 28th and checked in the fingerprint division of this Department, 17, or an even one-third, had been convicted of various offenses, including larceny, assault, sex offenses, forgery, robbery, military offenses, and disorderly conduct. A more striking result is obtained from the check by the criminal identification bureau of this Department of the fingerprints of 4723 of the bonus marchers who were admittedly veterans and applied for and obtained loans from the Veterans' Bureau, after Congress adjourned, for the ostensible purpose of returning to their homes. Of these 4723, 1069 were found to have police records.

829 or nearly 1 in 5 of the World War service men among the bonus marchers who obtained loans, had been convicted for various offenses, including assault, larceny, burglary, embezzlement, robbery, felonious homicide, forgery and counterfeiting, rape, sex offenses, and narcotic drug violations.

A summary of the police and criminal records of these men follows:

SUMMARY OF POLICE RECORDS OF 4723 EX-SERVICE MEN OF THE BONUS ARMY WHO APPLIED FOR LOANS FROM THE VETERANS' BUREAU.

|   | Total | Disposition<br>pending or<br>unknown | Charges<br>dismissed | Conviction |
|---|-------|--------------------------------------|----------------------|------------|
| Assault .....                                     | 46    | 9                                    | 7                    | 37         |
| Auto Theft .....                                  | 32    | 0                                    | 6                    | 26         |
| Burglary .....                                    | 88    | 1                                    | 21                   | 66         |
| Carrying Concealed Weapons .....                  | 9     | 1                                    | 2                    | 6          |
| Disorderly Conduct and Vagrancy...                | 107   | 3                                    | 35                   | 69         |
| Driving While Intoxicated .....                   | 24    | 0                                    | 0                    | 24         |
| Drunkenness .....                                 | 98    | 1                                    | 2                    | 95         |
| Embezzlement and Fraud .....                      | 52    | 1                                    | 13                   | 38         |
| Felonious Homicide .....                          | 13    | 0                                    | 6                    | 7          |
| Forgery and Counterfeiting .....                  | 48    | 0                                    | 4                    | 44         |
| Gambling .....                                    | 4     | 0                                    | 2                    | 2          |
| Larceny Theft .....                               | 167   | 2                                    | 27                   | 138        |
| Liquor Laws .....                                 | 61    | 3                                    | 9                    | 49         |
| Military, Offenses, Desertion, etc.               | 84    | 2                                    | 2                    | 80         |
| Miscellaneous .....                               | 41    | 4                                    | 5                    | 32         |
| Narcotic Drug Laws .....                          | 12    | 0                                    | 2                    | 10         |
| Offenses against the Family and<br>Children ..... | 18    | 0                                    | 2                    | 16         |
| Rape .....  | 8     | 0                                    | 2                    | 6          |
| Robbery .....                                     | 63    | 0                                    | 17                   | 46         |
| Sex Offenses (except rape) .....                  | 27    | 0                                    | 7                    | 20         |
| Suspicion and Investigation .....                 | 63    | 0                                    | 49                   | 14         |
| Traffic and Motor Vehicle Laws ...                | 4     | 0                                    | 0                    | 4          |
| Totals  | 1069  | 20                                   | 220                  | 829        |

Total number of bonus marchers (ex-service men) upon whom fingerprints were obtained 4723  
 Number of bonus marchers with police records as found from fingerprints 1069  
 Percentage of these bonus marchers having police records 22.6%  
 Total number of bonus marchers found to have one or more convictions 829  
 Percentage of marchers convicted to number having police records 76.9%  
 Percentage of bonus marchers having convictions to total number whose fingerprints were searched 17.4%

Of those individuals convicted, 149 had one prior conviction for some offense, 49 had two prior convictions; 28 had three prior convictions; and 26 had more than three prior convictions. Dispositions of all arrests were not obtainable.

I am submitting also with this report, as Exhibit "A", a detailed alphabetical list of each one of the 1069 men out of the 4723 borrowers who have police records, giving in detail the time and place of their arrests or convictions. It will be noted that many of them had been repeatedly convicted under various names. When it is realized that the men who applied for loans to go home after Congress adjourned were the most sensible and the least disorderly, that many with criminal records no doubt refrained from disclosing their identity for any purpose, and a considerable portion of the Bonus Army were not ex-service men and included Communists, radicals, and disorderly elements which always congregate under such conditions, it is probable the Bonus Army brought into the City of Washington the largest aggregation of criminals that had ever been assembled in the city at any one time.

(c) Communists. As soon as the bonus march was initiated, and as early as May, 1932, the Communist party undertook an organized campaign to foment the movement, and induced radicals to join the marchers to Washington. As early as the edition of May 31, 1932, the Daily Worker, a publication which is the central organ of the Communist party in the United States, urged worker veteran delegations to go to Washington on June 8th. Under date of June 1st, Emanuel Levin, alias Herman Levin, managing editor of the Daily Worker with a long police record for Red activities and rioting, arrived in the city. He then contended that the bonus march had been largely planned in the headquarters of the Workers Ex-service Mens League, a Communist organization with headquarters in New York City. Another Communist leader present in Washington was John T. Pace, who led a large contingent of bonus marchers to Washington, and in a demonstration on July 25, 1932, near the White House he was arrested by the Washington police. Pace was elected Field Marshal of the Detroit bonus marchers. James W. Ford, colored, now candidate for Vice President on the national ticket of the Communist party, was one of the bonus marchers arrested on July 29th. Clair Cowan, another Communist leader, led a contingent of bonus marchers from Cleveland consisting of several hundred men. Cowan himself was intercepted and arrested at Pittsburgh on June 8th and did not reach Washington. Another leader of the radical element among the bonus marchers was Walter F. Eicker. He was arrested on July 21st and again on July 25th by the Washington police. Another leader of the demonstration made by bonus marchers on July 25th at the White House was Sylvester C. McKinney, a Communist organizer with a police record for Communist activity.

One of the bonus camps - that within 12th and 14th and B and C Streets, S. W. - was occupied principally by Communists headed by Pace. Possession of this government property had been seized and occupied by these marchers without any authority. During June and July, while the Bonus Army was present, Communist meetings were held in this city frequently. The files of this Department contain voluminous reports of these meetings, at many of which incendiary speeches and plans to stir the Bonus Army to violence and bloodshed were made. During the various disorders, including the final riot, persons identified as radicals and Communists were observed among the disturbers. There is irrefutable proof that a very large body of Communists and radicals, some ex-service men and some not, were in the vanguard part of the Bonus Army, circulating among them and working diligently to incite them to disorder.

(d) The investigations we have conducted have demonstrated that a very much larger proportion of the Bonus Army than was realized at the time, consisted of ex-convicts, persons with criminal records, radicals, and none-service men. On the other hand, a very considerable number were genuine ex-service men of good intentions and clean records. This is particularly true of the conditions prior to the adjournment of Congress and before the exodus of those who realized that they had no further justification for remaining in the city. Some of their leaders were decent and law-abiding, and others were not.

3. Further conditions prior to the rioting.

After the adjournment of Congress, the quality of the men in the Bonus Army steadily deteriorated. With Congress gone, no possible excuse existed for remaining in the city. No-one here had authority to grant their demands. Many of the better elements left, but small groups of troublemakers augmented the forces. The Army was repeatedly asked to disband and vacate government property, but refused. It circulated around the city individually and in small groups and even in large bodies, asking or demanding money and supplies. Many reports have been received that they practically levied tribute on small merchants, and intimidated housewives when their demands were refused. Some of them boarded running-boards of cars driven by women and were disagreeable and insulting. It was quite impossible for such a body of men to be in the city without violating a variety of laws and ordinances. They were living in partly dismantled buildings which they had seized, and on vacant tracts in shacks constructed of debris. It was impossible that the conditions could continue. The health authorities of the District inspected their camps. We have a report from the Health Officer of the District stating that

"The sanitary conditions were necessarily very bad. Open latrines were freely used and, of course, flies and vermin infested the camps due to these and to refuse scattered about. In some instances vacant buildings with no toilet facilities, were used for latrines. The fact that it was warm weather increased the dangers incident to such practices, as well, causing, in many instances, foul odors that were extremely objectionable to citizens who lived near.

"In one instance open latrines were found within four hundred feet of the large wholesale and retail market at Fifth and Florida Avenue, N. E. The exceptionally dangerous character of such a condition as this is obvious.

"There was no time during the weeks that the Bonus Army was here when its presence, under the conditions that existed, was not an extreme menace to the public health, as soiled and vermin infested bedding, exposed garbage, open latrines and inadequate facilities for the preparation of food and the disposition of waste inevitably leads to the development and spread of contagious and infectious diseases."

Notwithstanding all these conditions, they were tolerated and gently dealt with by the community in the hope that they would see the futility of remaining and would consent to return to their homes. Before adjournment, Congress had provided for loans by the Veterans' Bureau to those holding bonus certificates to enable them to leave. The Secretary of War conferred with their leaders and urged them to disband, and made a definite offer to furnish them with Army trucks for part of the transportation and to arrange with National Guard units to transport them across the states, and still they declined to leave.

In the latter part of June the Treasury Department commenced to press for possession of some of the property occupied by the bonus marchers and which was urgently needed by the Government to carry on its program of public improvements, one purpose of which was to furnish employment. The bonus marchers were obstructing and delaying this program. I attach herewith, as Exhibit "g", a report from the Assistant Secretary of the Treasury, dated August 3d, giving the particulars respecting this situation.

One of the tracts occupied by the Bonus Army, and at which the riot of July 28th later commenced, is known as Reservations A and B, bounded by 3d and 6th Streets and Pennsylvania and Missouri Avenues. Part of this was vacant and part occupied by partially dismantled buildings. The property was occupied by the Bonus Army. A contract had previously been let for the demolishing of these old buildings,

and the contractor was demanding possession. The demolition of the buildings was necessary to the extension of Constitution Avenue and the further development of the Mall area. On May 16, 1932, the Treasury Department has awarded a contract for the completion of the Department of Agriculture Extensible Building, which included, as a part of its site, the tract within 12th and 14th and B and C Streets, S. W. In this area the Bonus Army had, without permission, seized and occupied some buildings and open areas, from which it was necessary to excavate earth to fill and level off Reservations A and B. Sub-contractors had been let for the wrecking of the buildings, but the sub-contractor could not proceed, and only limited excavation was possible. Request was made by the Treasury through the Superintendent of Police on July 20th that these buildings be evacuated. The Superintendent of Police reported that he had conferred with Commander Waters of the Bonus Army, who objected that he would not move his men into the open, and insisted that he intended to hold together a number of veterans in the District of Columbia to accomplish the object for which they had assembled, notwithstanding the adjournment of Congress.

There are statutes in the District of Columbia authorizing the summary removal by its officers of any person unlawfully or forcibly withholding the possession of government property. On July 23d the Treasury Department served notice on the Bonus Army occupants of these several areas to vacate. On July 25th attorneys for the Bonus Army conferred with the Treasury officials, who granted a 24-hour extension of its order of vacation to July 26th. On July 26th the attorney, Mr. Herbert S. Ward, and Captain Doak Carter, one of the leaders of the Bonus Army, presented a proposal consisting merely of the statement that the veterans were willing to withdraw from the government areas and retire to some private property which they were permitted to occupy, but that they required tentage and equipment, and demanded the assistance of the Treasury in procuring such equipment, with a view to their permanent encampment in the city. They requested what the Treasury had no power or authority to grant. This proposal was only a repetition of former statements made by Commander Waters, and nothing was accomplished. On July 26th a further letter was written by the Treasury to the Commissioners of the District, stating that the Treasury planned to begin work in the area between 3d and 6th Streets and Pennsylvania and Missouri Avenues on the morning of July 27th, and requested that a sufficient detail of police be on hand to prevent any interference with the contractor or his workmen. On the 27th, the proposed resumption of possession by the Treasury was again postponed to July 28th, and on the morning of Thursday, July 28th, a small portion of the old National Guard Armory on the space referred to, including an area about 25 yards in all directions surrounding it, was occupied by Treasury representatives under police protection. It was at this point that the serious disorder commenced.

#### 4. The riot and the use of troops.

At the time of resuming possession of the small area on Pennsylvania Avenue on July 28th, it was not planned immediately to attempt to regain possession by the Government of any of the other tracts occupied by the Bonus Army. It was hoped that their evacuation could be gradually accomplished. The small number of bonus marchers occupying this building vacated it, forcible resistance having been offered only by two or three. No-one was hurt by this movement, and the persons evicted were given ample opportunity to pack and leave. However, while this was taking place, speeches of an incendiary nature were being made at Camp Marks, an open area across the Anacostia River, on which a large bonus camp had been established. About noon, when the situation on Pennsylvania Avenue was well in hand and entirely peaceful, the bonus marchers from Camp Marks started across the Anacostia River to the Pennsylvania Avenue tract in large numbers by trucks and other means. They gathered in the street area near the property, then in the possession of the Treasury Department, which was being guarded by 75 policemen, and their number increased to 2000 or 3000. Suddenly, during the noon hour, the mob that had come from Camp Marks rushed the policemen and attacked them with bricks and rocks. Some of the police were felled with clubs. The police had revolvers, but had orders not

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to use them and did not do so. This attack finally subsided. Thousands of persons were attracted to the scene. The crowd of bonus marchers assembled at this point increased to numbers estimated at 4000 to 6000. With the bystanders, the crowd increased to an estimated number of nearly 20,000. The situation became more strained, and many of the Bonus Army were walking about with clubs and bricks in their hands. This continued until the middle of the afternoon, with continuous talk about attacking the police and driving them out. Some lawfully inclined veterans attempted to calm others, but made no impression. Finally the mob of bonus marchers again attacked the police with bricks, lumps of concrete, and iron bars. Two of the bonus marchers were shot by police who had been set upon and were in danger of their lives. The entire mob became hostile and riotous. It was apparent that a pitched battle on a large scale might start at any moment. Practically the entire police force of the city were called from their posts and assembled at this point, but they were outnumbered 10 or 15 to 1. Notwithstanding the large number of irresponsible persons in the city, the rest of the city was stripped of police protection. Many of the policemen had been on duty all night. It was obvious that the situation was entirely out of the control of the police, and that when darkness arrived appalling scenes of disorder would follow, during which the rest of the city would be without substantial police protection, except for a few scout cars.

Meanwhile, as early as 12:30, Lieutenant Keck of the Metropolitan Police and Aide to General Crosby, Commissioner of the District, reported to the Commissioners that in his opinion and in the opinion of the Assistant Superintendent of Police and two police inspectors, the situation was beyond control, and that bloodshed could only be averted by the presence of federal troops. The Commissioners then stated that before calling for military aid they desired the opinion of Major Glassford, the Chief of Police. Major Glassford stated that since Waters, the Commander of the Bonus Army, had lost control of his own men, the police could not control the situation any longer. Major Glassford, accompanied by Lieutenant Keck, went to the office of the District Commissioners at 1:00 P. M. In response to questions by the District Commissioners he stated that the situation was out of his control and that the police could no longer hold the bonus marchers in check. He was asked the direct question whether he thought it was necessary to secure the assistance of federal troops, to which he replied in the affirmative. The Commissioners then notified the Chief of Staff of the Army that the assistance of troops would be needed and requested that the necessary preparations might be made. Before asking for military assistance, Commissioners Reichelderfer and Crosby themselves then visited the area where the serious situation was apparent. After their return to the District Building it was reported to them that further rioting had broken out and that a bonus marcher had been killed. Then it was decided to dispatch a communication to the President requesting the assistance of federal troops to preserve law and order. A statement from the District Commissioners respecting this matter, dated August 2, 1932, is attached and marked Exhibit "C". From this time until the troops arrived the situation steadily grew worse. There is no difference of opinion about the fact that the presence of troops was necessary to and did prevent further disorder and bloodshed. In their absence, further rioting would have occurred with further bloodshed among bonus marchers and police, and possibly innocent bystanders.

The troops arrived and, with the use of practically no weapons except tear gas, restored order and cleared the area and put an end to the disturbance.

#### 5. Casualties.

Two bonus marchers were killed in the disturbance. They were shot by police in self defense, not by troops. A full investigation by a coroner's jury established that the police shot in necessary self-defense to save themselves from threatened fatal injury. After the troops arrived, no serious injuries to anyone followed. A few of the troops were stoned and slightly injured, and one bonus marcher had his car cut, but no other casualties were suffered after the troops came. Stories published in some quarters that the troops shot or seriously injured bonus marchers are utterly without foundation. The published reports that an infant child of a bonus marcher named Myers died as a result of tear gas are false. The records at the Gallinger Hospital show that the child died of intestinal trouble contracted and diagnosed before the riot.

#### 6. Fires.

After the troops arrived, fire broke out among the old shacks occupied by bonus marchers on the Pennsylvania Avenue tract where the rioting occurred, and later at the big camp known as Camp Marks on the Anacostia River, from which the bulk of the rioters had come to attack the police. The cause of the outbreak of the fire in the Pennsylvania Avenue area is not known. The troops had no orders to set any fires. There was inflammable debris around, and the cause of the origin of the fire in the Pennsylvania Avenue area is variously given as having been set by cigarettes or hot tear gas bombs. The evacuation of the large camp known as Camp Marks occurred later. At 7:00 o'clock in the evening the bonus marchers at that camp were notified that they would have to evacuate and that the troops would arrive. Sometime later the troops arrived at Camp Marks and were asked by the bonus marchers to delay an hour more to give the marchers time to evacuate comfortably. This request was granted. Many of the bonus marchers had already left, but the troops waited until the remainder packed up and marched out. While the troops were waiting, fires set by the retiring bonus marchers broke out in a number of localities among the shacks and debris in the camp, and the conflagration became general. Such action as the troops took at either of these places with respect to fire was later to complete the work of the retiring bonus marchers by burning up the remainder of the debris. Photographs of soldiers setting fire to debris were evidently taken at this stage of the proceedings. The bonus marchers at these two sites, having evacuated their camps, then proceeded to leave the city. Camp Bartlett, on private property, was not disturbed by the troops, but was later evacuated by the bonus marchers.

#### 7. Women and children.

The principal group of women and children in the Bonus Army was located in the Communist camp at 12th and 13th Streets, S. W., which was not disturbed by the troops but was voluntarily evacuated by the marchers. The Red Cross promptly offered and furnished assistance and transportation to all women and children in the Bonus Army and to their men-folks, and actually did furnish transportation to 221 women and 247 children. There is no evidence whatever that any women or children were injured or ill-treated. The Veterans' Bureau, under authority of Congress, issued transportation to 4344 veterans by railroad and 939 by automobile. Transportation by truck to their homes had been offered by the Secretary of War to all remaining bonus marchers, but was not furnished because the offer was refused.

#### 8. Grand Jury.

Indictments have been returned by the Grand Jury of the District of Columbia against a number of the alleged rioters. The results of this effort to bring to justice the principals who incited this riot have been disappointing. The reason is that on the day of the riot no detectives were at Camp Marks, where originated the large movement to march over and attack the police. The function of having detectives and crime prevention agents in a position to observe and obtain evidence against those who at the last moment incited the riotous march and attack, belonged to the District police. The inspector in charge of that branch of the police service reports that he had no orders to place men for that purpose, and, on the contrary, on the day of the disturbance was directed to keep his men out of the area. Consequently, in the confusion and absence of this detective service, it has been impossible to identify and bring to justice some of the principal inciters of the disorder. It is always the case under such conditions, that the radicals and disorderly elements who incite such action do so warily and sometimes fade from the scene when the trouble commences.

9. Conclusion.

This experience demonstrates that it is intolerable that organized bodies of men having a grievance or demand upon the Government should be allowed to encamp in the city and attempt to live off the community like soldiers billeted in an enemy country. Attempts by such groups to intimidate or coerce Congress into granting their demands hurt rather than help their cause, and can only end as this one did, in riot and disorder. The available facts demonstrate that the bonus marchers who remained in the city after Congress adjourned represented no fair cross-section of ex-service men. Prior to the adjournment of Congress, law-abiding ex-service men dominated this gathering and preserved order. Afterwards, the proportion of disorderly and criminal elements among these men steadily increased. Such of their leaders as were well-intentioned lost control over them entirely. It is appalling to think of the disorder and bloodshed that would have occurred if darkness had fallen on the city with the police hopelessly overwhelmed at the scene of the disturbance, and the balance of the community without police protection. The prompt use of the military to outnumber and remove the disturbers prevented a calamity. The principal reason the Federal Government was given exclusive jurisdiction over the Capital City was to enable it to preserve order at the seat of government and to protect the Congress and other public officials from unlawful interference while in the discharge of their duties. The right peaceably to petition Congress for redress of alleged wrongs does not include assemblage of disorderly thousands at the seat of the government for purposes of coercion.

Respectfully submitted,

William D. Mitchell.

Attorney General.

September 7, 1932.

MEMORANDUM FOR THE ATTORNEY GENERAL.

I am attaching hereto a complete memorandum of the activities of this Bureau in connection with the investigation of certain conditions growing out of the Bonus March situation. You will note there is attached hereto a statement of the steps taken by this Bureau together with a brief statement of the information developed during the course of its investigation and attached to this is a detailed analysis of the fingerprint records of such persons who had applied for transportation from the Veterans Bureau to return to their homes under the Congressional enactment, and who had been a part of the Bonus Army.

If there is anything additional you desire in this matter I will be glad to immediately comply with your wishes.

Respectfully,

Director.

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| BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION |      |
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| DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE   |      |
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ENCLOSURE

190-6357-105

September 1, 1932.

**MEMORANDUM**

During the encampment of the B.E.F. in Washington an Act of Congress was approved by the President authorizing loans to veterans for the purpose of returning to their homes. 5091 of the bonus marchers made application for loans under this Act of Congress. The Veterans Administration furnished each applicant with a card which was to contain the name of the applicant, his Army serial number, service record, organizations, date of service, claim number, if any, and application number for adjusted service certificate. It has been noted that in a great many cases the cards were not completely executed. Nevertheless, all 5091 cards were submitted to the different service branches of the armed forces for the purpose of identifying the applicants and withdrawing fingerprint records to compare the same with the criminal records of the United States Bureau of Investigation. 4506 of these cards were submitted to the Identity Section of the World War Division of the War Department. The War Department was unable to identify the fingerprint records of 696 of these individuals. 3810 were identified and fingerprints compared with the criminal records of the United States Bureau of Investigation. 473 cards were submitted to the Navy Department, of which 445 were identified and 28 were not. The 445 cards were compared with the criminal records in the United States Bureau of Investigation. 108 cards were submitted to the United States Marine Corps. All were identified and fingerprint comparisons made. 4 cards were submitted to the United States Coast Guard, only one being identified, and compared with criminal records.

The summarization of the 5091 cards submitted to the service branches indicated that 4364 fingerprints were obtained and compared with the fingerprints on file in the United States Bureau of Investigation. 727 cards were not identified.

It is understood that a name search was made by the identification divisions of the services indicated, using such data as was indicated on the card with reference to organization, service, dates thereof, et cetera, as a further check to support the identification.

The search of these fingerprints in the United States Bureau of Investigation developed the following information:

*First and preliminary memo.  
prepared on this subject. Copies  
sent to Mr. Richey; Judge Shober  
Mr. Dodd. Jett  
9-1-32*

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19 AUG 22 1972

Of the 4364 fingerprints searches, police records have so far been found for 1069 of these individuals, or in other words, 24.4% of this group of veterans of the B.E.F. were found to have prior police records. These records are divided by offense classifications as follows. The figures represent convictions, with the exception of the item "Charges dismissed", which represents either dismissal by the police or by no bill of the Grand Jury.

|                         |     |                                    |     |
|-------------------------|-----|------------------------------------|-----|
| Murder and Manslaughter | 7   | Driving while intoxicated          | 24  |
| Rape                    | 7   | Liquor Laws                        | 46  |
| Robbery                 | 39  | Drunkenness                        | 83  |
| Assault                 | 40  | Disorderly conduct,                |     |
| Burglary                | 55  | vagrancy                           | 81  |
| Larceny                 | 139 | Gambling                           | 2   |
| Auto Theft              | 18  | Traffic, Motor Vehicle Laws        | 4   |
| Forgery, Counterfeiting | 37  | Blackmail and Extortion            | 3   |
| Embezzlement, Fraud     | 34  | Military offenses, desertion, etc. | 1   |
| Weapons, carrying,      |     | Felonies (unknown)                 | 3   |
| possessing, etc.        | 8   | Misdemeanors (unknown)             | 22  |
| Sex Offenses            |     | Charges dismissed                  | 187 |
| (except rape)           | 21  | Miscellaneous offenses             | 14  |
| Offenses against Family | 18  | Total                              | 982 |
| Drug Laws               | 9   |                                    |     |

The difference between the total of these offenses and the total of 1069 identifications is accounted for by the fact that no dispositions for the charges against these individuals are shown by the record, and that information is being collected from the various police departments, and will be tabulated completely at a later date.

It should also be stated that many of these individuals have long police records, and that the above represents only one offense for each individual. 38 of this group have been convicted four or more times. No effort has been made to collect the number of offenses committed by the entire group.

With reference to the 187 dismissals, it should be stated that most of these records indicate more than one arrest but no convictions for this group of 187.

In addition to the 4364 fingerprints, it should be stated that several days subsequent to the bonus riots in Washington, the United States Bureau of Investigation received from the Washington Police Department the fingerprints of 51 marchers who had been arrested by the Washington Police Department. These 51 names are not included among the 4364 previously mentioned. A comparison of these fingerprints was made with the records of the United States Bureau of Investigation, which resulted in the disclosure that 17 of these 51 individuals had prior police records, divided as follows:

|                         |   |
|-------------------------|---|
| Larceny                 | 2 |
| Military offenses       | 3 |
| Assault                 | 1 |
| Sex offenses            | 1 |
| Disorderly and vagrancy | 4 |
| Felonies (unknown)      | 1 |
| Forgery                 | 1 |
| Robbery                 | 1 |
| Liquor laws             | 1 |
| Dismissed               | 2 |

It was ascertained from the service branches of the government that 16 of these 51 individuals, or 31.5%, had no World War Service record, and were thus not entitled to bonus certificates.

Of this group of 51 persons arrested, 33-1/3% had prior police records.

BONUS MARCH CONDITIONS

On August 1, 1932, a conference was held in the office of Mr. Nugent Dodds, Assistant Attorney General, for the purpose of ascertaining what evidence was available in connection with the Grand Jury proceedings in the District of Columbia in regard to the so-called bonus march and the riots which occurred July 28th. Representatives of the United States Secret Service, United States Veterans Administration, Metropolitan Police Department, United States Immigration Service, and Military Intelligence Division of the War Department, were present, in addition to United States Attorney Lee A. Rover, Mr. Parrish, an attorney in Mr. Dodds' division, Mr. J. Edgar Hoover, Director of the United States Bureau of Investigation, and two of his assistants, Mr. Hughes and Mr. Appel.

Mr. Hoover reported for the United States Bureau of Investigation that it had made no investigation of any phase of the bonus marcher situation and therefore had no information available. Because of the statements which had been issued in the press concerning radical activities, this phase of the matter was discussed and the representatives of the various organizations were called upon to furnish the information which they might have concerning this, as well as any other phases of the situation.

Mr. Egan of the United States Secret Service, stated that the only information which he had was in the possession of Inspector Davis of the Metropolitan Police Department and stated he had worked in close collaboration with Inspector Davis and had taken a group of alleged radicals who had been arrested within the District of Columbia to the District Line to see that they left the District.

Inspector Davis turned over to Mr. Rover a file which he had containing all of the information in his possession.

Representatives of the Military Intelligence, the Immigration Bureau, and the Veterans Administration had no information to furnish.

It was agreed that the function of the United States Bureau of Investigation would be to check any fingerprint records which might be available in the criminal fingerprint files in order to ascertain the police records of any persons who had been arrested during the riots or who had participated in the bonus march. It was also to assist the United States Attorney in presenting the evidence to the Grand Jury by interviewing persons designated by him.

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In accordance with the request of the United States Attorney, two of the officials of the United States Bureau of Investigation, Mr. Hughes and Mr. Appel, interviewed the Commissioners of the District of Columbia and the Secretary to the Board of Commissioners, several Inspectors and ranking officers of the Police Department, and called at the War Department where arrangements were made for a copy of the order calling out the troops to be delivered to the Grand Jury.

The interviews with the Commissioners and the Secretary occurred on August 2nd, the entire group being present. It consisted of Dr. Reichelderfer, President, Commissioners Crosby and Getwals, and Secretary Gargas.

Dr. Reichelderfer stated that on July 28th, about 12:30 P.M., Lieutenant Ira E. Keck of the Metropolitan Police Department, assigned as aide to General Crosby, reported to Commissioners Reichelderfer and Crosby that a most serious situation existed in the area in which the Treasury Department was endeavoring to recover possession of its property; that a short time before a riot had occurred in which the Police had been attacked with bricks, clubs, iron bars, concrete and similar articles, and that several thousand bonus marchers were on their way from other camps to the scene, two truckloads having already arrived. Lieutenant Keck stated that in his opinion and the opinions of Inspectors Brown and Edwards, Assistant Superintendents of the Police Department, the situation was beyond the control of the Police and bloodshed could be averted only by the presence of Federal troops. Dr. Reichelderfer stated that the Commissioners advised Lieutenant Keck that before calling for military aid they desired the opinion of Major Glassford, the Chief of Police. Lieutenant Keck then returned to the scene of action; advised Major Glassford of the Commissioner's request, and Dr. Reichelderfer states that he was informed by Lieutenant Keck that Major Glassford said: "Since Waters (the commander of the bonus marchers) has lost control of his men, the Police cannot control the situation any longer". Lieutenant Keck and Major Glassford returned to the office of the Commissioners, arriving about 1 P.M. Major Glassford had with him at this time a Mr. Walker. Dr. Reichelderfer stated that this man has accompanied the Major and Superintendent of Police for more than a month and has acted in an advisory capacity to him. Major Glassford

was asked by the Commissioners if the situation was beyond his control, to which he replied "Yes", and was supported in this statement by Mr. Walker. A discussion of the situation was had and Dr. Reichelderfer states that Major Glassford advised the Police could no longer hold the bonus marchers in check. He was then asked whether he thought it necessary to secure the assistance of Federal troops, to which he replied that he did. Dr. Reichelderfer further states that while Major Glassford was still in the Commissioners' office, General Crosby, the Commissioner in charge of Police, telephoned to General MacArthur, the Chief of Staff of the Army, advising of the situation, and requested that troops be held in readiness for a possible later call for assistance.

General Crosby, the Commissioner in charge of Police, and Secretary Gargas in their statements corroborated in detail the statements of Dr. Reichelderfer. In addition, General Crosby stated that he made the telephone call to General MacArthur at that time, because by reason of his experience as an Army officer, he knew that an advance notice of this kind would be an invaluable aid to the Army in the event they were later called.

The Commissioners stated that Dr. Reichelderfer and General Crosby thereupon visited the area where the riots had occurred for the purpose of advising themselves of the seriousness of the situation. They became convinced of the necessity that the Police receive assistance and returned to the District Building. Shortly thereafter Lieutenant Keck reported that rioting had again broken out and that a bonus marcher had been killed. It was not until the report of this killing that it was definitely decided to dispatch a commission to the President of the United States requesting the assistance of Federal troops to preserve law and order in the District of Columbia. The Commissioners stated that from this time until the arrival of the troops the situation grew steadily worse, with a constant increase in the number of bonus marchers in the affected area since about 1 o'clock. Every available man on the Police force, whether on or off duty, had been ordered to the scene of the disorder, leaving the remainder of the District without police protection except for a few scout cars. No men remained to act as reinforcements or relieve those on duty, many of whom had had no rest since midnight

of the preceding day. Threats were being made by bonus marchers of serious violence when darkness fell. The Commissioners stated that it was the opinion of Inspectors Brown, Edwards, Bean and Davis, and Lieutenant Keck of the Metropolitan Police Department, as well as themselves that had the arrival of troops been delayed, bloodshed and death could not have been averted.

Commissioner Gotwals had no personal knowledge of the situation.

On August 3rd interviews were conducted with Inspectors of the Police Department, who also furnished copies of statements which they had made at the request of the Commissioners.

Inspector Louis L. M. Edwards, Executive Officer and Assistant Superintendent, states that he received no instructions in regard to activities on the 28th of July until 7:30 A.M. when he was told to have a detail of 100 men with 4,000 feet of rope report to the Traffic Bureau at 9:30 in connection with the evacuation of a portion of the area owned by the Treasury Department on Pennsylvania Avenue at 3rd and Four and One-half Streets. These men were personally instructed by Major Glassford, who drew a diagram on a blackboard, and Inspector Edwards then received his first detailed information of what the operations were to be. At about 12 o'clock, the Police were attacked with bricks and several were injured. This continued until a truce was called at 1:15 by Major Glassford for "lunch". At about this time, having been informed by Inspector Brown that bonus marchers from the various camps were moving in, without further instructions Inspector Edwards directed that all Police officers on or off duty be sent to the scene, numbering about 500 men.

Inspector Ernest W. Brown, Senior Assistant Superintendent, stated that he received his instructions for the operations on July 28th for the first time at 9:30 A.M., when he found General Glassford making a diagram on the blackboard in the Traffic Bureau squad room and was instructed to regulate traffic in the affected area. During the time of the riots and several times throughout the day, Inspector Brown stated that he was placed in command during the absence of General Glassford, with no instructions as to what was to be done.

Both Inspectors Edwards and Brown stated that they advised Major Glassford of the need for troops. They are emphatically of the opinion that troops were necessary and were the only means of preventing such loss of life among the Police and the bonus marchers.

Inspector Ogden T. Davis stated that on the morning of July 28th, instructions had been received that the plain clothes officers detailed at the Bureau of Crime Prevention, of which the Inspector had charge, were not to take any part in the activities and were to make no arrests. He stated he considered this a most unusual instruction; in fact, that theretofore it had been the duty of his men to mingle throughout the camps, observe conditions, and furnish information of their activities to the Police Department. Inspector Davis said that he was present about 1:30 o'clock at the time the bonus marcher was shot and that in his opinion the calling of the troops was necessary to prevent further bloodshed and loss of life. He further stated that two of his men who had their shields on the outside of their coats were recognized by Major Glassford in the affected area and were told by him to get ten miles away. In addition to this, one of his men was a witness to the shooting of the bonus marcher and went to the rescue of the policeman when he was attacked and his life placed in jeopardy. This occurred notwithstanding the order for these men to stay out of the area.

The foregoing Inspectors stated that they were not consulted by Major Glassford for advice nor did they receive instructions other than as indicated.

Lieutenant Ira E. Keck (aide to Commissioner Crosby) stated that he was present when the riots occurred, saw additional truckloads of bonus marchers coming to the scene, and reported to the Commissioners that in his opinion and in the opinions of Inspectors Brown and Edwards with whom he had talked, the Police could no longer cope with the situation. He was told that before the troops would be called, a request from the Chief of Police was desired. He returned to the scene of action and so advised Major Glassford who stated that "Since Waters has lost control of his own men, the Police cannot control the men longer". Major Glassford was taken by Lieutenant Keck, together with Mr. Walker, to the Commissioners' office in the District Building about 1 P.M. Lieutenant Keck states that Major Glassford advised the Commissioners the Police could no longer hold the bonus marchers in check. When asked the question if he thought it necessary to call the troops, he said he did. He further stated that the plans for the eviction of the bonus marchers from the building had been arranged the day preceding the evacuation and that Major Glassford might have issued his instructions on that day. He also stated that practically no preparation had been made to

meet the situation which arose. Tear gas bombs, although in the possession of the Chief Clerk, were not used and when he asked the Chief Clerk why they had not been used, he was advised that instructions had been received from Major Glassford to lock them in a cabinet. He further stated that Major Glassford had spent but little time in his office for the past two months; that he had been accompanied continuously by a civilian named Walker who had no official status but to whom Major Glassford turned for advice and counsel and that the Police Department had practically run itself.

Lieutenant Keck further stated that Major Glassford was a most difficult person for the Commissioners to handle; that he would perform no function unless given written instructions signed by the Commissioners, and that he frequently argued the necessity of orders even though written. Lieutenant Keck, when asked if any plan had been made to raise the draw of the Anacostia Bridge on July 28th, advised that apparently there had not.

Inspector Thaddeus E. Esch stated that his knowledge of events that day was limited to what he saw when he reported in response to the emergency call about 1 o'clock. In his opinion, as a result of his experience and his observation of the rioting, he believed it necessary to have troops called and that it was a matter of impossibility for a Department of the size of the Metropolitan Police Department to cope with a situation of that kind. He further stated that if troops had not arrived when they did, there would have been more trouble, further bloodshed and loss of life. Even after he reported in response to the general call he received no instructions, but simply did what he considered best.

Inspector Frank W. S. Burke, in charge of detectives, stated that he took no part in the Police activities on the 28th of July, and that he had received instructions early in the morning from Major Glassford to have some of his plain clothes men in the vicinity. His duties would not usually embrace activities in a situation of this kind.

The Commissioners and the Police officers were examined by the Grand Jury on August 4th.

At the request of United States Attorney Eover, interviews were had with a number of the neighboring residents in the vicinity of the bonus riots and as a result of said interviews, ten such witnesses were subpoenaed to testify before the Grand Jury to the effect that the local situation might have been taken care of by the Police had it not been for the great influx of bonus marchers apparently from other camps around Washington.

-7-

It was considered desirable to procure information as to the personal history of members of the Bonus Expeditionary Force. The Police Department was requested to furnish the names of persons arrested and copies of their fingerprints. They were able to furnish the fingerprints of but 51 who had been arrested. These were persons who had been arrested about the time of the riots. Before that time no fingerprints had been taken when arrests were made. A comparison of these fingerprints with the police records maintained in the Identification Division of the United States Bureau of Investigation, resulted in the disclosure that 17 of these 51 individuals, or 33-1/3%, had prior police records, divided as follows, the name of the offense indicating the charge for which convicted:

|                         |   |
|-------------------------|---|
| Larceny                 | 2 |
| Military offenses       | 3 |
| Assault                 | 1 |
| Sex offenses            | 1 |
| Disorderly and vagrancy | 4 |
| Felonies (unknown)      | 1 |
| Forgery                 | 1 |
| Robbery                 | 1 |
| Liquor laws             | 1 |
| Dismissed               | 2 |

The fingerprints of these 51 individuals were, likewise, compared with the records in the service branches of the Government. From this search it was found that 16, or 31.3%, had no World War service record, and, thus, were not entitled to bonus certificates.

During the time when the Bonus Expeditionary Force was in Washington, legislation was enacted authorizing loans to veterans for the purpose of returning to their homes. In order to ascertain the eligibility of applicants for these loans, the Veterans Administration required each applicant to fill out a card containing his name, his Army serial number, service record, names of organizations in which served, date of service, claim number, if any, and the number of his application for adjusted service certificate. In many cases the cards were not completely executed.

These cards were obtained by the United States Bureau of Investigation and submitted to the different service branches for the purpose of identifying the applicants, and thus obtaining fingerprint records which could be compared with the police records of the Identification Division of the United States Bureau of Investigation. Notwithstanding the fact that the applicants, themselves, furnished the information shown on the cards, it was impossible for the service branches to identify as veterans some of these individuals.

Of these cards, 4723 fingerprints were obtained and compared with the records in the Identification Division of the United States Bureau of Investigation.

There is shown on Page 9 a tabulation of the number of individual bonus marchers which the records of the United States Bureau of Investigation show as having been arrested by police officers. These are divided according to the classification of crime for which they were charged. It will be noted that there is shown, not only the number of persons charged with offenses, but the disposition of these charges - that is, whether the charges remain pending (this includes unknown dispositions), or the charges were dismissed, or the persons were convicted.

The records in the United States Bureau of Investigation from which the tabulation was made consist of fingerprint cards and data forwarded by police officers throughout the country. They are furnished in the regular course of business by Police Departments, and are maintained as a National Clearing House for identification purposes. It should be understood that fingerprint records are forwarded to this Bureau at the time of arrest for the purpose of seeking any identification data such as prior arrest or conviction of the same subject. Consequently, many fingerprint records are maintained in the United States Bureau of Investigation of persons who have been arrested on one or more occasions but who have not been convicted of crime. On the other hand, the Bureau also receives from Police Departments dispositions of charges against arrested persons whose fingerprints have previously been forwarded. These dispositions are noted on the records of the Bureau at the time of receipt, and the convictions set out in the analysis which follows represent records of fines and sentences of imprisonment following trial of the charges. The distinction between charges which have been dismissed and convictions of persons for the offenses is believed to be clearly shown in the summary. The term "Charges Dismissed" includes all dispositions of the charges other than by conviction.

**SUMMARY OF POLICE RECORDS**

|   | Total       | Disposition pending or unknown | Charges Dismissed | Convictions |
|---|-------------|--------------------------------|-------------------|-------------|
| Assault.....                                  | 46          | 2                              | 7                 | 37          |
| Auto Theft.....                               | 32          | 0                              | 6                 | 26          |
| Burglary.....                                 | 88          | 1                              | 21                | 66          |
| Carrying Concealed Weapons.....               | 9           | 1                              | 2                 | 6           |
| Disorderly Conduct and Vagrancy...            | 107         | 3                              | 35                | 69          |
| Driving While Intoxicated.....                | 24          | 0                              | 0                 | 24          |
| Drunkenness.....                              | 98          | 1                              | 2                 | 95          |
| Embarrassment and Fraud.....                  | 52          | 1                              | 13                | 38          |
| Felonious Homicide.....                       | 13          | 0                              | 6                 | 7           |
| Forgery and Counterfeiting.....               | 48          | 0                              | 4                 | 44          |
| Gambling.....                                 | 4           | 0                              | 2                 | 2           |
| Larceny Theft.....                            | 167         | 2                              | 27                | 138         |
| Liquor Laws.....                              | 61          | 3                              | 9                 | 49          |
| Military Offenses, Desertion, etc.            | 84          | 2                              | 2                 | 80          |
| Miscellaneous.....                            | 41          | 4                              | 5                 | 32          |
| Narcotic Drug Laws.....                       | 12          | 0                              | 2                 | 10          |
| Offenses Against the Family and Children..... | 18          | 0                              | 2                 | 16          |
| Rape.....                                     | 8           | 0                              | 2                 | 6           |
| Robbery.....                                  | 63          | 0                              | 17                | 46          |
| Sex Offenses (except rape).....               | 27          | 0                              | 7                 | 20          |
| Suspicion and Investigation                   | 63          | 0                              | 49                | 14          |
| Traffic and Motor Vehicle Laws....            | 4           | 0                              | 0                 | 4           |
| <b>Totals</b>                                 | <b>1069</b> | <b>20</b>                      | <b>220</b>        | <b>829</b>  |

|   |       |
|---|-------|
| Total number of bonus marchers upon whom fingerprints were obtained                               | 4723  |
| Number of bonus marchers with police records as found from fingerprints                           | 1069  |
| Percentage of these bonus marchers having police records  | 22.6% |
| Total number of bonus marchers found to have one or more convictions                              | 829   |
| Percentage of marchers convicted to public having police records                                  | 76.9% |
| Percentage of bonus marchers having convictions to total number whose fingerprints were searched. | 17.4% |

Of these individuals convicted, 149 had one prior conviction for some offense; 49 had two prior convictions; 28 had three prior convictions; and 26 had more than three prior convictions. Dispositions of all arrests were not obtainable.

There are transmitted herewith under the title of "Exhibit A" copies of the individual police records of those identified from the fingerprints obtained from the service branches, and compared with the fingerprints in the United States Bureau of Investigation. These copies include not only the arrests, but dispositions, and the preceding tabulation, labeled "Summary of Police Records," was compiled from these individual records as shown herein.

U. S. Bureau of Investigation

Department of Justice

Washington, D. C.

November 21, 1932.



MEMORANDUM FOR THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

With reference to the so-called "children's delegations", designed to create a demonstration on Thanksgiving Day at Washington, there is transmitted herewith a memorandum containing information received from various sources.

Respectfully,

*J. Edgar Hoover*  
Director.

Encl. #640343

U. S. Department of Justice  
Bureau of Investigation  
Washington, D. C.  
November 21, 1932.

NP

MEMORANDUM FOR ASSISTANT ATTORNEY GENERAL DOBBS.

I beg to acknowledge receipt of your memorandum of the 18th. instant, and note the expression of desire therein that you be advised of the developing situation with regard to the various marches anticipated to be made upon Washington, more particularly the "Children's March" scheduled for Thanksgiving Day.

The various field offices of the Bureau have been requested to secure all information possible from outside sources with reference to this situation.

There is transmitted, attached hereto, a copy of a memorandum covering the information forwarded to the Bureau to date relative to the "Children's March". You will be advised of the receipt of further data.

Very truly yours,

J. E. Hoover  
Director.

Incl. 325932.

FEB 4 1933

125

U. S. Bureau of Investigation

Department of Justice

Washington, D. C.

November 21, 1932.

CHILDREN'S DEMONSTRATIONS.

A circular urging the organization of meetings for the election of child delegates in all eastern states to go to Washington and take part in the demonstration on November 24 describes this as the "Children's Hunger Delegation", states it will serve as a mighty prelude to the National Hunger March, and asks that it be supported by local demands for action in every city, town, and neighborhood. It includes the slogan, "Forward to a successful hunger march on December 5", and is signed by the National Committee of the Unemployed Councils of the United States of America, Central Bureau; Young Pioneers of America, National Committee; and Workers International Relief.

It is also reported that the National Children's Hunger Delegation is to concentrate on Washington on Thanksgiving Day, November 24, to demand of President Hoover relief for working class children, and to hold a public hearing on "child misery in the United States". The march is sponsored by the Young Pioneers of America, 25 East 12th Street, New York, and the National Committee of Unemployed Councils, 799 Broadway, New York City. The child delegates will be the elected representatives of workers' children in the eastern states. Doctors and nurses will accompany the delegates, according to the announcement. A list of demands to be presented by the children to President Hoover are:

1. Unemployment insurance for their parents
2. \$50.00 immediate relief for unemployed workers and \$10.00 for each dependent
3. Appropriations by Congress for the establishment of Federal Child Relief Stations
4. Abolition of child labor in the United States.

It is reported that open hearings on child labor and "child misery" will be held in Washington and throughout the

country on the same date. Doctors and nurses, and also children will testify at these open hearings. The "Hoover Committees" for Child Welfare, Child Labor, etc., are being asked to send representatives to the hearing in Washington. They will also be urged to endorse the National Hunger March to Congress on December 5, in which children also are to participate.

It is further reported that an effort is being made to hold a "United Front" conference in as many towns as possible to make plans to support and take care of the children's delegations to Washington on November 24, and the Hunger March to Washington on December 5.

Statements in the Daily Worker, the central organ of the Communist Party of the United States of America (section of the Communist Internationale) are general in character and follow the lines of the "call" issued by the National Committee of the Unemployed Councils, the Young Pioneers, and the Workers International Relief. They speak of delegates to be elected at "hunger hearings" throughout the eastern states, but do not indicate the particular localities from which the children will come.

No definite information has as yet been secured indicating the cities from which children's delegations will come. A report from Baltimore, Maryland, the reliability of which is open to question, states that about seventy-five children would come from New York, twenty from Baltimore, and some from Cumberland. A rehearsal or local demonstration in Baltimore was to have been held November 19. One Joan Hardy is said to be preparing to come. She is said to be an eighteen or twenty-year-old woman who was previously arrested in Washington during a demonstration.

Reports have been received from Chicago to the effect that the children's delegations will probably come from New York City, Baltimore, and Philadelphia. Translations of articles in Novy Mir, a Russian language Communist publication, do not indicate details as to the number of children or the starting points.

Copies of circulars entitled "On to Washington", urging the election of workers' delegates for the National Hunger March to the opening of Congress December 5 have been obtained. They are apparently being distributed throughout the United States, but as far as can be ascertained at this time activities in regard to children's delegations have been confined to the eastern states, and no great effort has been actually made to recruit children generally.

It is reported that the young Communist League in Youngstown, Ohio, has received a letter from the New York headquarters asking for marchers to go to Washington for the Thanksgiving demonstration, but no one had signed up by November 17.

A report from Chicago indicates there has been no activity involving children in that district, but that information was obtained that children in New York City, Philadelphia, and Baltimore were organizing for the Thanksgiving day demonstration.

The reports from Pittsburgh indicate that there was a meeting on November 19 at which one Edith Broscoe presided, when arrangements were perfected for twenty-seven children to depart from Pittsburgh on the evening of the 22nd via truck and arrive in Washington the following morning. This report, the reliability of which is not known, stated that one thousand children were expected from all districts and would mobilize on Pennsylvania Avenue and march to the White House from the Capitol.

Reports from Detroit indicate there is to be a Children's demonstration scheduled for Thanksgiving day in Detroit, which is being organized by the Young Communist League and Young Pioneers. They are to march on the City Hall and subsequently on the State Capitol at Lansing. These reports indicate there is no information that children will leave Detroit for the Thanksgiving day demonstration in Washington.

Reports from New York City indicate that about twenty children are to arrive in New York from New England and meet at New York a group of about forty children on November 23.

They are to then proceed to Baltimore. Other groups from Philadelphia and Western Pennsylvania will also proceed to Baltimore. These children are to remain at Baltimore until the morning of Thanksgiving Day and then the entire body of about one hundred children will leave Baltimore for Washington. This report states that one Ernest Cemer is now in Washington making arrangements for these children to interview the President. After the interview the committee intends to have a huge mass meeting at some undetermined hall in Washington. The children are to stay over night in Washington and leave Washington Friday for their homes.

JOHN EDGAR HOOVER  
DIRECTOR

U. S. Bureau of Investigation  
Department of Justice  
Washington, D. C.

OFFICE OF THE  
RECEIVED  
NOV 21 1932  
Goddard  
ATTORNEY GENERAL

November 19, 1932.

MEMORANDUM FOR THE ATTORNEY GENERAL.

I am attaching hereto, for your information, a copy of a circular entitled "On To Washington", which is being widely distributed throughout the country for the purpose of arousing interest in the proposed National Hunger March.

Respectfully,

J. E. Hoover  
Director.

incl. 162300

*Handwritten initials/signature*

*Handwritten note: noted*

FEB 4 1933

CRIMINAL DIVISION  
NOV 21 1932  
RECEIVED

ENCLOSURE  
No. 162880

FROM

Department of Justice.

# Washington!

## Unemployment Insurance at Expense of the Unemployed and Employers!

Forward to Mighty, United Struggles Against Hunger In Every Town and Neighborhood!

HELP ELECT AND SEND THOUSANDS OF WORKERS' DELEGATES IN

# NATIONAL HUNGER MARCH

## To Opening of Congress December 5th

Fellow Workingmen and Women of the U. S.:

*The fourth consecutive winter of mass misery and hunger is approaching!*

*The lives of millions of workers and of their families are in danger!*

Only the united mass struggle of all who suffer from and are threatened by mass unemployment and the deliberate hunger policy of the multi-billionaires and their government, can save the destitute masses from indescribable suffering and actual death.

More than sixteen millions of us are already totally jobless. Less than 15 per cent of the employable population has full time work. Merciless, repeated wage slashes have reduced by nearly one-half the earnings of even those who still have jobs. The jobless army grows at the rate of 800,000 per month. The spectre of hunger and destitution hovers over every working class family in the United States. Never has there been greater need for united action by all sections of the toiling population.

*There Is But One Choice—Fight for Relief or Starve!*

The Wall St. government at Washington arrogantly refuses to provide the necessary funds for the relief of those who have been impoverished by the prolonged crisis. Instead, every institution of capitalist society is employed in the effort to impose new, intolerable burdens upon the masses, so that the powerful ruling class may not be disturbed in its complete monopoly of the nation's enormous wealth. Only the pressure of the united toiling masses, can force them to release their

greedy hold upon the vast storehouses of food and clothing for want of which, we, our wives and children die.

In the effort to force us into silent submission to their hunger program, the bosses and their government have unleashed all their forces in violence and terror. They are conducting a ruthless, murderous war against the hungry masses. Within the last twelve months, a score of workers have been murdered on the streets of Chicago, Cleveland, Detroit, and the National Capitol—Washington. Many more have been maimed and wounded, gassed and trampled by their hired police and military. Hoover, the Chief Executive of the Wall St. government personally directed the armed forces that drove the hungry veterans, their wives and children, at the point of sabres and bayonets from their miserable hovels on the mud flats of the coast.

But fire and sword, savage terror, brutal attacks, cannot and will not cow the masses into submission. The men and women of the working class who are threatened with death by slow starvation, must and will fight for the right to live. Our armed forces can defeat the bosses' hunger program and the terror which supports this program.

*Militant Struggle Can Win Food, Clothing and Shelter!*

The heroic struggles of the masses led by their own Unemployed Councils and Committees for Action, have forced many concessions from the reluctant bosses and their government agents.

Even the meager relief which has thus far been afforded has been secured only through militant, stubborn struggle. It was through such struggle

that the workers of St. Louis... of that city to reinstate... 13,000 families who had been stricken... The courageous battles of the... by the Unemployed Councils of Chicago... wholesale eviction, and saved thousands... ers from being left without shelter. Similar strug- gles in other cities, won food and clothing for the school children; effectively defeated attempts to introduce forced labor; compelled increases in in-

to the greater... Only means by which... month year of... The National... Councils of the... victims of... together with their neighbors and fellow workers in their own neighborhoods, bread lines, flop-houses, employment offices, unions, fraternal societies and to elect committees of action to lead

**DEMAND \$50  
WINTER  
RELIEF FOR  
EVERY  
UNEMPLOYED  
WORKER  
FROM THE  
FEDERAL  
GOVERNMENT!**



adequate relief; prevented the shutting off of gas, light and water; defended the interests of Negro and foreign-born workers who are victims of special abuse and discrimination.  
**Forward to Renewed, Multiplied, Intensified Mass Struggles**

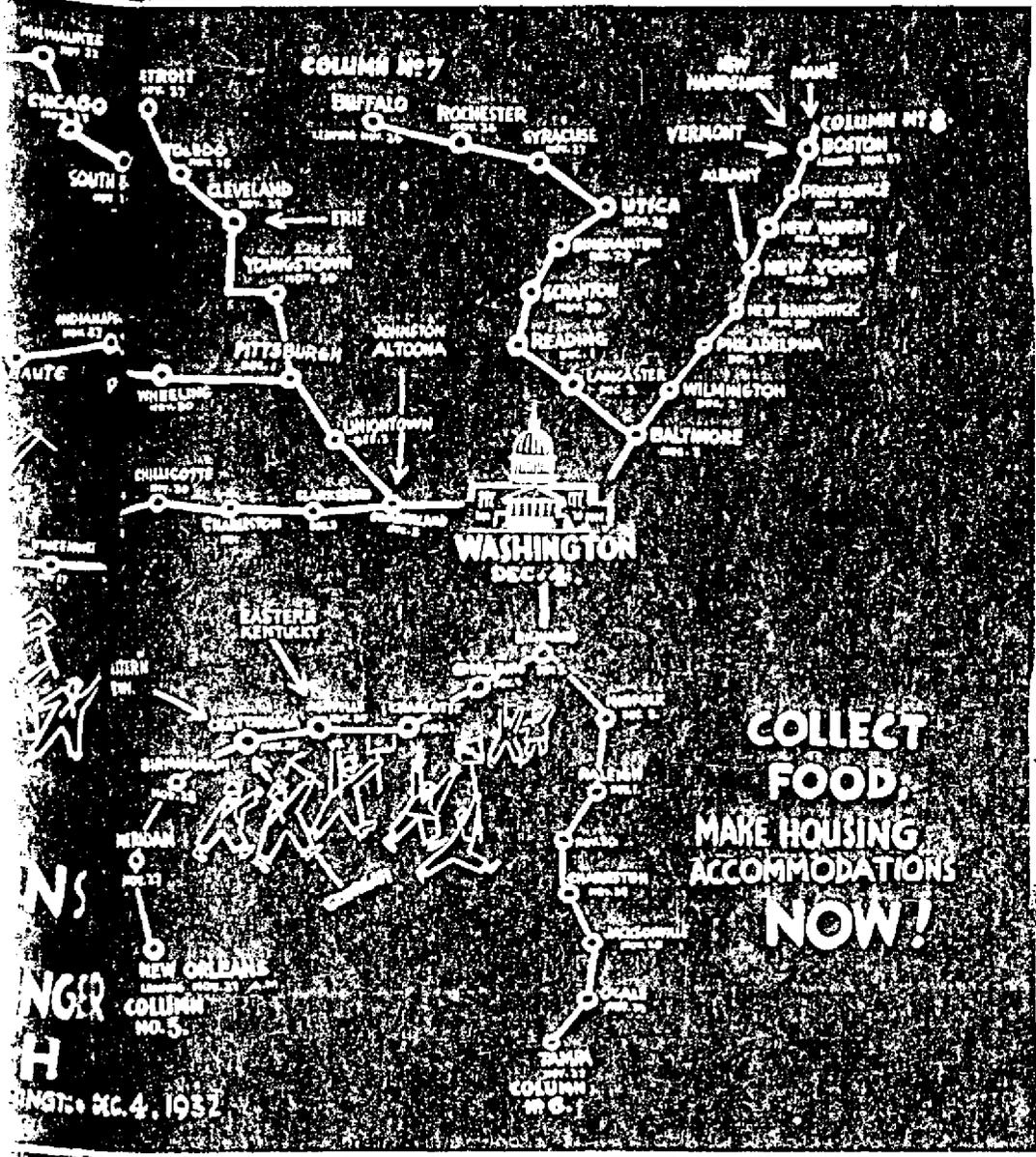
The victories achieved through the mass struggles that have been waged up to now, point the way to the greater victories that must be won in our further fight for the right to live. The experience gained in these bitter struggles must serve as guide

their struggles around their most urgent immediate needs and demands.  
**Not Promises But Immediate Relief for the Starving Unemployed! Not One Unemployed or His Family Without Decent Housing, Food and Clothing!**

Develop united action and struggle around the demand at every relief office, within the bread lines and flop houses, around the employment offices, at city halls, county court houses, state cap-

And at the same time...  
 the Federal Government has...  
 the demands of the...  
 created the...  
 country. Instead of relief, Congress has imposed  
 new burdens of taxation upon the masses. Sales  
 taxes on articles of mass consumption have been

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**DEMAND  
 UNEMPLOYMENT  
 INSURANCE  
 AT THE  
 EXPENSE  
 OF THE  
 GOVERNMENT  
 AND  
 EMPLOYERS**

for the daily struggle in defense of the lives and interests of those threatened by starvation.

**On to Washington! Demand \$50 Federal Winter Relief for Every Unemployed Worker!**

This plus \$10 for each dependent to be provided by the Federal Government as a supplement to local relief.

instituted and have served to further reduce the purchasing power of the workers and their living standards. The additional billions of government revenue are being turned over to the banks and trusts. Funds, urgently needed to provide means of existence for the masses, are being squandered on further preparations for new imperialist world wars.

We call upon the tolling masses of the United States to join in a mighty struggle and demand to:—

**Stop the billion dollar subsidies to the banks and trusts! Not a cent for war! All funds for immediate Federal Unemployment Insurance at the expense of the government and employers!**

In order to relieve themselves of the obligation to provide relief for those whom they have condemned to starvation, the bosses are urging "self-help" upon the masses. Through their Community Fund campaigns, and block-aid schemes, they force the employed workers whose wages they have repeatedly cut, to contribute to the support of the unemployed.

Under the high-sounding "Job-sharing" campaign they are further slashing the meager incomes of the employed workers and the standard of living of the working class.

These schemes cannot solve the problems of unemployment. The unemployed refuse to resort to cannibalism as the way of keeping alive. We cannot and will not live by feeding off the bare bones of the few workers who still have jobs. On the contrary, we must support the employed workers in our common fight. We must declare:—

**Not one penny off the wages, not one penny of new taxes on articles of mass consumption!**

In order to press the demands of the millions who face starvation and to force the Federal government to grant these demands, the National Committee of the Unemployed Councils of the U. S., calls upon all workers to select from their own ranks and struggles, elected representatives. These workers, representatives, constituting a Workers' Congress, shall participate in a

**Militant National Hunger March to Washington!**

The Congress of the Workers will arrive in the National Capitol to confront the Congress of the bosses and bankers when it opens on December 5. The representatives of the workers will present and press our demands before the representatives

of the ruling class who have willed that we shall starve.

The National Hunger March and the Workers' Congress, through which we will ultimately organize as a means for stimulating and maintaining the will of the masses to fight against hunger. It will support the veterans in the demand for

**Immediate Full Payment of the Veterans' Bonus!**

It will present to millions of workers in the towns and cities through which it will pass, the workers' program for the way to fight for and establish the right to live.

We call upon all workers, employed and unemployed, Negro and white, native and foreign born, men, women and young workers, to rally in the National Hunger March and Workers' Congress.

Develop your struggles in every locality. Elect the best leaders of your struggles as your representatives in the Hunger March! Mobilize to force your local and county officials to provide food and shelter for the Hunger Marchers, as they pass through your cities and towns! Organize mass demonstrations to greet the workers' representatives when they arrive in your city to endorse the workers' program and defend the workers' representatives against the attacks of police and fascist bands.

Let our bitter resentment, our determination to fight, our insistent demands, the power we generate in the thousands of local struggles, flow into one mighty national action that will advance our program and force Congress to grant the demands of the toiling population of the workers, the farmers and the veterans.

**Forward to a Mighty United Struggle Against Hunger! On With the Fight for the Right to Live!**

National Committee Unemployed Councils of U. S.  
R. 436—799 Broadway, New York City

## HELP WIN UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE!

### Support the Fight Against Hunger!

Thousands of dollars are needed for the struggle against hunger.

Millions of leaflets must be issued.

Organizers must be sent into every nook and corner of the country.

The fight against hunger is the fight of every toiler, of every professional, of all who suffer from and are threatened by the effects of mass unemployment.

Send your contribution to:

**JOINT COMMITTEE FOR SUPPORT OF THE NATIONAL HUNGER MARCH**  
of the Workers' International Relief  
**142 FIFTH AVENUE NEW YORK CITY**

Workers: Men and Women ... Negro and White

COMMITTEE

# Celebrate The 15th Anniversary

OF THE

## RUSSIAN REVOLUTION

Monday, November 7th, at 7:00 P. M.

MOSCOUTAH, ILLINOIS

KARCH'S HALL

PROMINENT SPEAKERS ...

... INTERESTING PROGRAM

ALL WELCOME

ADMISSION 10c

UNEMPLOYED FREE

### TO ALL WORKERS

On November 7th, the Russian workers and tens of millions of workers throughout the world will celebrate the Fifteenth Anniversary of the Russian Revolution; the unparalleled victory of the working class over the capitalist class. For fifteen years the Russian workers have been showing the workers all over the world what workers can do when they overthrow the capitalist system of misery and starvation and establish a workers' and farmers' government.

During these fifteen years, the Russian workers have built up on one-sixth of the surface of the world from the most backward country into one of the most modern and advanced of industrial countries. They have dug new coal and metal mines, have drilled new oil wells, and have built huge factories and laid miles of railroads. New homes are being built for the workers in place of the wretched hovels, and schools have been built for the education and culture of the workers and their children.

Every mine, mill and factory is working full blast, every railroad carries the heaviest of traffic. **THERE IS NO WORKER OUT OF A JOB.** Wages are being constantly raised. The greater part of these advancements have taken place within the past four years, under the Five-Year Plan of the Soviet Union, during which time the workers have built up as much as a capitalist country could boast of building in fifty years.

While the Soviet Union progresses rapidly, the capitalist countries are going backward. Let us see how the United States, the richest country in the world, is crumbling. Factories are being abandoned and allowed to rot. **FIFTEEN MILLION WORKERS ARE UNEMPLOYED.** They have no relief from the miserable charity outfits. One-third of the population are without the means of living.

It is not because there is no food or clothing or no means of producing it. Milk is being dumped in sewers, and crops rot away in the fields while millions starve. Workers go ragged and bare-foot in the factories capable of supplying the world with clothing and shoes.

Right here, where railroads and factories are almost at a standstill, workers are being shot and gassed when they fight against starvation. We find the coal mines almost at a standstill, and the State Militia sent out to shoot workers who fight against starvation.

The Hoover-Wall Street Government refuses to spend a penny for the relief of starving workers, but they gave billions of dollars to railroads and bankers. They gassed and shot the workers who demanded their bonus, but they spend billions for preparation for another World War. The fact that the Soviet Union has advanced under workers' rule, the Hoover-Wall Street Government cannot stand. The United States is leading and financing other capitalist countries who are preparing to attack the workers' government, the Soviet Union.

JOHN EDGAR HOOVER  
DIRECTOR

U. S. Department of Justice  
Bureau of Investigation  
Washington, D. C.

NOV 17 1932

RECEIVED

November 16, 1932

MEMORANDUM FOR ASSISTANT ATTORNEY GENERAL DODDS

Information has been received that on November 10, at Youngstown, Ohio, at the Workers' Center, 334 East Federal, a meeting was held to make arrangements to send a delegation of children to Washington, D. C. It seems that delegations of children are being sent from all over the country to gather in Washington, proceed to the White House, and on November 24, Thanksgiving Day, stage a demonstration thanking President Hoover for the hungry, famishing, clothesless children his four years in office have produced, and demanding free school books, clothing, and warm meals at the schools three times a day for the children.

At a meeting November 8 in Youngstown, Ohio, it appears that a report was made on the National Hunger March, the statement being made that the march will take place soon, there being nine lines, one of which will pass through Youngstown with over a thousand delegates. Arrangements were made for a conference on November 23 to elect thirty-two delegates to go from Youngstown; to get three trucks with food and clothing, and \$320.00.

The above information was gratuitously furnished from an anonymous source.

Very truly yours,

*J. E. Hoover*  
Director.

95-110-11

P  
11

JOHN EDGAR HOOVER  
DIRECTOR

U. S. Department of Justice  
Bureau of Investigation

Washington, D. C.

November 15, 1932.

CRIMINAL DIVISION  
NOV 16 1932  
RECEIVED

MEMORANDUM FOR ASSISTANT ATTORNEY GENERAL DODDS.

For your information and appropriate attention, there are transmitted herewith four photostatic copies of both sides of a circular labeled "On to Washington", issued by the Joint Committee for Support of the National Hunger March of the Workers International Relief, 142 Fifth Avenue, New York City, which contains details of a proposed march.

Very truly yours,

*J. E. Hoover*  
Director.

Encl. #640244

U. S. Department of Justice  
Bureau of Investigation  
Washington, D. C.

November 15, 1932.

MEMORANDUM FOR ASSISTANT ATTORNEY GENERAL LODDS.

For your information and appropriate attention, there are transmitted herewith four photostatic copies of a news item which appeared in the Post-Dispatch, St. Louis, Missouri, November 6, 1932, referring to the activities of Herbert Benjamin, Secretary of the National Committee of the Unemployed Councils, in the proposed hunger march to Washington, D. C.

Very truly yours,

*J. E. Hoover*  
Director.

NOV 17 1932

Encl. #640243.

CRIMINAL DIVISION

NOV 16 1932

RECEIVED

**CLOSURE**  
No. 640243  
FROM  
**Department of Justice.**

POST-DISPATCH  
St. Louis, Mo.  
Nov. 6, 1932

**JOBLESS MARCH ON CAPITAL  
PLANNED BY GROUPS IN U. S.**

NEW YORK, Nov. 5.—Herbert Benjamin, secretary of the National Committee of the Unemployed Councils, announced today he had cabled W. A. L. Hannington, leader of the British Hunger march, inviting him to speak at a giant send-off mass meeting to American hunger marchers.

Benjamin said the New York meeting to which Hannington was invited, would be held Nov. 23 and include marchers from New England and New York. He added that plans call for nine columns of marchers from various parts of the country to meet in Washington Dec. 4.

JOHN EDGAR HOOVER  
DIRECTOR

U. S. Department of Justice  
Bureau of Investigation  
Washington, D. C.

November 15, 1932

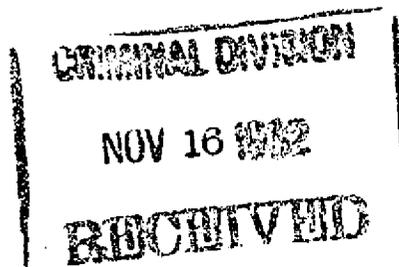
MEMORANDUM FOR ASSISTANT ATTORNEY GENERAL DODDS

For your information and appropriate attention there are transmitted herewith four photostatic copies of a circular entitled "Rank and File, Veterans March to Washington".

Very truly yours,

*J. E. Hoover*  
Director.

Encl. #640332



INSURANCE  
No. 640532  
FROM  
Department of Justice.

# RANK AND FILE VETERANS MARCH TO WASHINGTON

TO ARRIVE AT OPENING OF CONGRESS

## DECEMBER 5th, 1932

TO DEMAND

# CASH PAYMENT of BONUS

### MARCH TO BE LED BY RANK AND FILE VETERANS

All the veterans are going to march to Washington to demand immediate cash payment of the Bonus. The march will have the leadership that won't sell to our enemies on the march. Let's see...

### A WINTER OF HUNGER FACES THE VETERANS

Over a million and a half unemployed veterans are hungry. Hundreds of thousands are in the streets. And there will be more of us in that way this winter.

Those of us who still have some will have hunger wages and the larger plan, and 200 more wage cuts.

### INTEREST CHARGES WIPE OUT BONUS BY 1915

If there will be no Bonus for the rank and file veteran, the balance of the Bonus being cashed up by the compound interest charged by the government to all who borrowed the fifty percent of the Industrial Service Certificate. In 1915 there will be only about \$20 to \$30 for the great majority of the veterans against the Bonus. WE MUST FIGHT FOR THE BONUS NOW!

### THE ENEMIES OF THE BONUS ARE UNITED AGAINST US

The Republican, Democratic and Socialist Parties are all united in the fight against the payment of the balance due the veterans on the Bonus. They get the full support of the boss press and the liberal writers too.

Wages, the Hook Settlers, the Dock Carters and other former leaders of the B. E. F. are fighting the rank and file veterans who are putting up a fight for the immediate payment of the Bonus.

The newly elected commander Johnson has had recent correspondence with Hoover and will not fight for the Bonus. General Hines and the Hoover government are again preparing to prevent the veterans from making direct demands of Congress.

These forces are all lined up with the enemies of the Bonus to prevent the rank and file of the veterans from utilizing their own power to march to Washington and again demand the immediate payment of the Bonus and fight against cutting of the disability allowance.

### RANK AND FILE VETERANS MARCH TO WASHINGTON!

All Veterans March to Washington. Veterans organizations, elect Bonus Marchers. Rank and file veterans, including employed and unemployed veterans, should elect Bonus Marchers. Veterans from all over the country should be elected. Bonus marchers should be elected from the Veterans and File Committees and local organizations.

### ELECT CITY RANK AND FILE COMMITTEES

Only rank and file committees representing all groups and organizations of veterans should elect the program of Central Rank and File Committees. See the Cleveland Conference of the Rank and File Veterans (Sept. 23-24).

### HEROES IN 1917? THEY CALL US "CRIMINALS" NOW

In 1917 the government appealed to the masses, "Can we be more liberal with our dollars than with the lives of our sons?" (Second Liberty Bond Poster, 1917)

And now in 1932, the Bonus marchers are called "criminals" (Statement of President Hoover)

Neither then nor now did the Wall Street government care about the welfare of the soldier, "the lives of our sons."

Billions went to the billionaires who in 1917 made huge profits from the war, and today the billions go to the same crowd. The Congress that refused to give the Bonus to the Bonus boys through the Reconstruction Finance Corporation four and a half billion dollars for the railroads and other big corporations.

We got the bullets and the gas in 1917. Many were maimed and crippled for life. In 1932 we get the wages and gas of the police as we did in Washington, and Hoover called out against us.

Because we were demanding the Bonus so that our families could have something to eat, the President of the United States orders the army to gas and bayonet our own people and to drive our wives and children into the dark of the night.



JOHN EDGAR HOOVER  
DIRECTOR

U. S. Department of Justice  
Bureau of Investigation  
Washington, D. C.

November 15, 1932.

MEMORANDUM FOR ASSISTANT ATTORNEY GENERAL DODDS.

For your information and appropriate attention, there are transmitted herewith four photostatic copies of a circular relative to a proposed celebration of the fifteenth anniversary of the Russian Revolution, transmitted to the St. Louis office of this Bureau by Mayor Hagist of Mascoutah, Illinois.

Very truly yours,

*J. E. Hoover*  
Director.

Encl. #640238.

CRIMINAL DIVISION  
NOV 16 1932  
RECEIVED

*9-16-32*  
*[Handwritten signature]*

under the leadership of the Communist Party that the workers overthrew their oppressors and established a workers and farmers government. It is the Communist Party which is leading the Russian workers in the building up of Russia from a primitive and backward country into one of the most modern and advanced of industrial countries.

It is the Communist Party which leads the workers in mass struggles against hunger, evictions, and other miserable conditions. The Communist Party led the workers of Saint Louis in the militant struggle of July 11, when the unemployed workers defeated the forced starvation program which would have cut 13,000 destitute families out of relief.

Now, when the time comes for the Election of National and State officials, the Communist Party comes forth as the only real workers political party, with working class candidates, and with a platform of struggle against the boss class and the Hoover-Wall Street Government.

There are other political parties in the field. The Republican Party is frantically agitating that a change would only make conditions worse. The Democrats are trying to cash in where the Republicans failed, but the jack ass is only promising to serve his Wall Street master better than the elephant did. The Socialist Party comes out with red words, but their actions are yellow. In spite of the flowery promises of the Socialists, who tell what they will do if

elected the Socialist candidate for the office of Mayor of Saint Louis, the workers refused to have anything to do with the Socialist Party. The police were used to break up the strike of workers.

The Communist Party does not come to the workers with promises, but comes as a leader of the workers in struggles for bread. The Communist Party leads the workers in a struggle for Unemployment and Social Insurance at the expense of the bosses and their Hoover-Wall Street Government. The Communist Party leads the workers in the fight against the cutting of wages of workers. It is the Communist Party which leads the impoverished farmers in the fight against foreclosures and sheriff's sales and for immediate relief of the farmers.

The Communist Party leads workers in a struggle for unity between the white and black workers; for equal rights for the Negro workers and to the right of self-determination for the workers in the South.

The Communist Party is the leader of the fight against the suppression of free speech and fights for the political rights of the workers. The Communist Party is leading the workers in a revolutionary struggle against imperialist wars and rallies the workers to the defense of the Chinese people and of the Worker's Fatherland, the Soviet Union, and calls upon every worker to celebrate the Anniversary of the victory of the Russian Workers.

Join The Party of The Working Class . . . THE COMMUNIST PARTY

VOTE COMMUNIST NOVEMBER 3rd

**VOTE COMMUNIST!**  
NOVEMBER 3rd

JOIN THE PARTY OF THE WORKING CLASS

Send Me More Information About The Communist Party:

NAME \_\_\_\_\_

ADDRESS \_\_\_\_\_

SEND TO 1243 N. GARRISON AVE., ST. LOUIS, MO.

JOHN EDGAR HOOVER  
DIRECTOR

U. S. Department of Justice  
Bureau of Investigation  
Washington, D. C.

November 8, 1932.

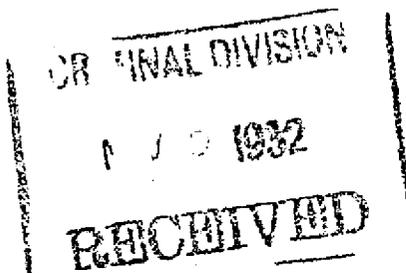
MEMORANDUM FOR ASSISTANT ATTORNEY GENERAL DODDS.

For your information and appropriate attention, there are transmitted herewith four copies of a memorandum of information regarding the contemplated hunger march to Washington in December, which was obtained from an anonymous source.

Very truly yours,

*J. E. Hoover*  
Director.

Enclosure #640136



ENCLOSURE  
No. 40136

FROM

Department of Justice.

7-849

GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE

November 1st, 1932.

and 12th the enlarged national committee of councils met in Chicago and drafted plans for the unemployed hunger march to Washington in December. These plans are largely a duplicate of the plans used last December. Beginning the first of November local Communist groups will begin agitation for the march which will take the form of local marches to City Halls, County Bureaus and State Capitols where demands will be made for the support of the national hunger march.

The program calls for some 3000 official delegates from the forty-eight states apportioned according to distance, population, etc. The march will originate in eight different remote cities and the various columns will merge as they approach Washington, until there will be only three separate columns enter Washington from the North, South and West. The starting points will be 1 - Seattle; 2 - San Francisco; 3 - Los Angeles; 4 - Sioux City; 5 - New Orleans; 6 - Tampa; 7 - Buffalo; 8 - Boston. Columns 2 and 3 will merge at Kansas City; columns 1 and 4 at Pittsburgh and all four of these Western columns will merge at Cumberland, Md. Columns 5 and 6 will merge at Richmond, Va., and columns 7 and 8 will merge at Baltimore, Md. These are the main columns and at the various major cities on the route lesser columns tapping the surrounding territory will merge with the main division.

The march will be conducted as follows:

1. The National Committee will be in full charge of all arrangements in the matter of preparations, enroute to and in Washington. In financial matters and matters affecting food, lodging, etc. The Workers International Relief will share the responsibility.
2. Each column will elect its own leadership in the following manner:
  - a.- The unit of organization will be the individual auto or truck
  - b - The marchers on each truck or auto will elect one of their group as captain. The truck captains will constitute the leading committee of the territorial division and will elect one of their members as territorial captain and another as assistant captain.
  - c - The captains of the territorial divisions shall compose the leading committee of the column. These will likewise elect a column captain. These various committees will hold daily meetings to consider their problems and transmit their decisions to their units.
  - d - Where two columns converge as in Kansas City, Chicago, Pittsburgh, etc. the leading committees of both columns shall merge and elect the leader of the combined column.

November 1st, 1932.

On October 11th and 12th the enlarged national committee of the National Unemployed Councils met in Chicago and drafted plans for the unemployed hunger march to Washington in December. These plans are largely a duplicate of the plans used last December. Beginning the first of November local Communist groups will begin agitation for the march which will take the form of local marches to City Halls, County Bureaus and State Capitols where demands will be made for the support of the national hunger march.

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  - d - Where two columns converge as in Kansas City, Chicago, Pittsburgh, etc. the leading committees of both columns shall merge and elect the leader of the combined column.

e - Each division shall organize a campaign defense squad under the leadership of the division captain.

All columns will enter Washington on December 4th and on that evening will be held the first session of the Workers Congress. On the 5th of December demands will be presented to Congress in a manner to be determined later. After the presentation of demands the Congress will be reconvened. Departure from Washington will take place on December 6th and in the same formation as upon entering, going back over the same routes to capitalize upon the propaganda and sympathy developed at meetings held on the way to Washington and also for the various delegates to make reports at big mass meetings that will be scheduled.

The Communist veterans' bonus march will arrive in Washington about December 2nd or 3rd to be on hand when the hunger marchers arrive. This is a very clever move on the part of the Communist Party as the veterans will form a defense corp to protect the hunger march on its arrival and during its sojourn in Washington. The veterans will present their bonus demands with the demands of the unemployed delegates.

The Farmers National Relief Conference will immediately follow the veterans and unemployed, it being scheduled for December 6th. This conference is organized under the direction of Len Harris, who is acting as national secretary. Harris is a young Harvard graduate who first appeared on the scene in Russia as a correspondent for the Moscow Daily News when it was inaugurated in October, 1930. At that time Harris was roost abouting in Soviet Russia spending a major part of his time around the collective farms. He is reported to be connected with some farm journal in Washington, D.C.

When the picketing was inaugurated by members of the Farmers Holiday Assn. in Iowa and adjacent states, members of the Communist Agrarian organization, the United Farmers League and also of Unemployed Councils became active in the picketing movement stirring the farmers to further radical outbreaks. On the 9th of September a conference of farmers was held in Sioux City, Iowa with representation from 10 states. Here plans were drawn up for the Washington Conference. The daily Worker of October 6th stated as follows:

"The Communist Party stands ready to give all possible help to the Farmers National Relief Conference. In all party sections where there are farmers, party members should help farmers to organize meetings and elect farmer delegates and first of all to initiate local movements. Meetings have the right to send one voting delegate for every 23 farmers present at the meeting. Party members and party organizations should extend aid to the fullest possible extent to delegates on their way to Washington. In this way the Communist Party will help to make into a reality the third plank in its election platform which reads as follows:

'Emergency relief for impoverished farmers without restriction by the government and banks; exemption of impoverished farmers from taxes and no forced collection of rents or debts.'

"But this national conference will really have deep significance only if the Communist Party is able to help the toiling farmers to organize mass movements in every village, before and after the national conference, and bring about solidarity action between farmers and city workers, especially with the unemployed."

Thus we see the Communist Party slowly but surely capitalizing upon the unrest and dissatisfaction which has been developed by the constant agitation of subversive agencies in this country. Communism is accomplishing its objective of uniting the classes which have become radicalized by constant propaganda and turned toward revolutionary channels. The converging of these three major class groups upon Washington within the period of a week has indeed a major significance and out of it may develop almost anything. That the Communists are planning on creating trouble is evidenced by the careful plans that have been laid with the greatest of skill and thought. This includes the massing of veterans which will include gunmen and thugs under the guise of veterans, to provide a defense group to oppose any action on the part of federal authorities to regulate or check the activities of the reds when they reach Washington. This will mark a decided advance in the Communist movement in the United States and once again the Press will contribute thousands of lines of free advertising to the Communist movement.

Basing conclusions upon the ever increasing boldness of the Communist groups, almost any form of violence may be anticipated in connection with this combined mass movement invasion of the Nation's capital from December 3rd to December 11th, 1932.

JOHN EDGAR HOOVER  
DIRECTOR

U. S. Department of Justice  
Bureau of Investigation  
Washington, D. C.

November 8, 1932.

RECEIVED  
NOV 11 1932  
GENERAL INVESTIGATIVE  
DIVISION

MEMORANDUM FOR ASSISTANT ATTORNEY GENERAL DODDS.

For your information and appropriate attention, there are transmitted herewith copies of a letter from the New York Office of this Bureau dated November 2nd and its enclosure, a memorandum submitted by Special Agent L. E. Kingman. Attention is invited to the statement that one Baron Van Der Noot and R. R. Waterman, in an interview at the New York Office, advised that there is an alleged plot on the part of one Hadley of New York City, to organize a revolution against the Government of the United States, through enlisting members of the Bonus Expeditionary Force, and the ultimate seizure of the various Government arsenals.

This Bureau has taken no action in this matter in the absence of a request.

Very truly yours,

*J. E. Hoover*  
Director.

Enclosure #640135

*geli*  
*112*

ENCLOSURE

No. 64135

FROM

Department of Justice.

7-849

GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE

P. O. Box No. 251,  
and Central Station,  
New York, N. Y.

EAT:PS

November 2, 1932.

NOV 28 1932

Director,  
United States Bureau of Investigation,  
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir: For the Bureau's information, in the event of subsequent inquiry or activities on the part of the individuals named, I am submitting herewith copies of a memorandum submitted under date of October 28, 1932 by Special Agent L. M. Kingman, concerning an interview had at the New York Office with Baron Van Der Root and H. R. Waterman, relative to an alleged plot on the part of one HADLEY of New York City to organize a revolution against the Government of the United States through the enlistment of members of the Bonus Expeditionary Force and the ultimate seizure of various Government arsenals and other items of Governmental structure.

No further action is being taken upon this information at the present time.

Very truly yours,

J. E. P. DUNN  
Special Agent in Charge

enc.

LEK:AOB

Post Office Box 251  
Grand Central Station  
New York, N. Y.

October 28, 1932

MEMORANDUM FOR SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE J.E.P. DUNN

Baron Van Der Noot, of 305 West 98th Street, who has been a frequent visitor at the New York Office in the case of Patrick Kelly, Impersonation, came to the New York Office today (October 27th) accompanied by one R. R. Waterman, who maintains a place of business at 100 West 37th Street, New York City and who resides at 3447 DeKalb Avenue, The Bronx.

Waterman stated that he was formerly Treasurer of the Bonus Expeditionary Forces and was engaged in soliciting funds for them, and during this time maintained an office at 100 West 37th Street. He stated that an individual by the name of Duke Hadley, during August of this year, had phoned to Waterman's office on several occasions in an attempt to make an appointment with Waterman and at one time came to the office during Waterman's absence and waited three hours for him. Waterman stated that he later arranged an appointment at 9 P.M. on or about August 25, 1932 and took Baron Van Der Noot with him to meet Hadley. Waterman stated that as near as he can recall Hadley met them at his home in a large apartment hotel on either 47th or 48th Street. Mr. Waterman stated that his interest in meeting Hadley was because he supposed Hadley wished to contribute something to the B.E.F. He stated that this apartment hotel was located near Madison Avenue. Waterman and Baron VanDerNoot were both present during the conversation with Hadley in which Hadley represented himself to be in the tobacco business. He claimed to be of an old Southern family of aristocracy and a descendant of Alexander Hamilton. Hadley outlined a plan for a

62-27637-2460

revolution against the government of the United States and stated that he was anxious to interest the members of the B.E.F. in his plan and that if they would be interested he had definite plans for the seizing of government arsenals and that he could also get members of the Army and Navy to lay down their arms and refuse to support the United States against the revolutionists, and that by means of his plans it would be possible to seize the entire government structure. Hadley claimed to have connections in Washington with senators and congressmen, and other government officials, and claimed that he knew "the inside stuff" of how the government is operated by the officials. He claimed he knew about crooked deals with which President Herbert Hoover was connected while conducting the Belgian Relief work. Hadley wanted to know how many B.E.F. boys there were in New York and how many could be congregated all over the United States, for the purpose of seizing arsenals and government buildings. Hadley claimed he wanted to organize a New York headquarters and from this headquarters spread propaganda nationwide and perfect organizations throughout the country. Waterman stated that Hadley was a very educated man, of exceptionally good manners and bearing, and was apparently a gentleman of wealth.

Mr. Waterman and Baron Van Der Noot believing that Pat Kelly was a government agent reported their conversation with Hadley to Kelly so that an investigation might be made. Waterman stated that he informed Mr. Hadley that the members were 100% American, and were not interested in engaging in any revolutionary activity against the government of the United States, and terminated the conversation as soon as possible after learning that Hadley did not wish to contribute anything to the B.E.F. Waterman stated that for a time he was of the opinion that Hadley might have been an undercover agent of some sort working for the government, and had outlined these revolutionary plans merely for the purpose of ascertaining if the members of the B.E.F. were all ready engaged in revolutionary activities.

Waterman and Baron Van Der Noot stated that it would be quite easy for them to again contact Hadley in case the government was interested in investigating him further and stated they would possibly be able to introduce a government agent as one of their number interested in conducting a revolution. Agent informed Baron Van Der Noot and Mr. Waterman that this matter would be properly handled and that if it was necessary to again contact them, they would be communicated with.

L. E. KINGMAN  
Special Agent

*(Handwritten signature)*

JOHN EDGAR HOOVER  
DIRECTOR

U. S. Department of Justice  
Bureau of Investigation  
Washington, D. C.

NOV 13 1932  
RECORDED

November 7, 1932.

MEMORANDUM FOR ASSISTANT ATTORNEY GENERAL DODDS.

The Bureau will appreciate a reply to its memoranda of October 13th and 21st, concerning the disposition of a box of unloaded 44 caliber shells forwarded by the Treasury Department, and the contemplated hunger and bonus marches.

Very truly yours,

J. E. Hoover  
Director.

*[Handwritten signature]*  
11/17/32

DEC 1 1932

JOHN EDGAR HOOVER  
DIRECTOR

U. S. Department of Justice  
Bureau of Investigation  
Washington, D. C.

CRIMINAL DIVISION  
NOV 2 1932  
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November

MEMORANDUM FOR ASSISTANT ATTORNEY GENERAL DODDS.

For your information and appropriate attention, there are transmitted herewith four photostatic copies of page 3 of the Daily Worker, New York, Monday, October 24th, in which is outlined the program of the mobilization of the so-called National Hunger March, to converge on Washington, December 4th.

Very truly yours,

*J. E. Hoover*  
Director.

Encl. #640046

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*[Handwritten signature]*

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*This document  
sent to storage*

JOHN EDGAR HOOVER  
DIRECTOR

U. S. Department of Justice  
Bureau of Investigation  
Washington, D. C.  
November 3, 1932.

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MEMORANDUM FOR ASSISTANT ATTORNEY GENERAL LODGS.

For your information and appropriate attention, there are transmitted herewith four copies of a letter from Mr. Walter S. Steele, of the National Republic and The National Republican, dated October 26, 1932, and its enclosure, concerning Communist Party plans for the National Hunger March on Washington, scheduled for December 4th.

Very truly yours,

*J. E. Hoover*  
Director.

Encl. #640033

*J. E. Hoover*

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION  
FOIPA DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET

3 Page(s) withheld entirely at this location in the file. One or more of the following statements, where indicated, explain this deletion.

- Deleted under exemption(s) \_\_\_\_\_ with no segregable material available for release to you.
- Information pertained only to a third party with no reference to you or the subject of your request.
- Information pertained only to a third party. Your name is listed in the title only.
- Document(s) originating with the following government agency(ies) OFFICE OF NAVAL INTELLIGENCE, NAVY DEPARTMENT was/were forwarded to them for direct response to you.

\_\_\_\_\_ Page(s) referred for consultation to the following government agency(ies); \_\_\_\_\_ as the information originated with them. You will be advised of availability upon return of the material to the FBI.

\_\_\_\_\_ Page(s) withheld for the following reason(s):  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

For your information: \_\_\_\_\_  
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The following number is to be used for reference regarding these pages:  
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JOHN EDGAR HOOVER  
DIRECTOR

U. S. Department of Justice  
Bureau of Investigation  
Washington, D. C.

December 3, 1931.

APPROPRIATE BY ASSISTANT ATTORNEY GENERAL LOUIS

There is being transmitted herewith a photostatic copy of a circular issued by the National Hunger March Committee of Chicago, Illinois. The circular in question was forwarded to this office through the Chicago Office of the Bureau, by the Chief of Police at Forest Park, Illinois. Same is being submitted to you for your information and appropriate attention.

Very truly yours,

*J. E. Hoover*  
Director.

Incl. 7/7/230

*John*  
*11-9*  
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DEC 8 1931

JOHN EDGAR HOOVER  
DIRECTOR

U. S. Department of Justice  
Bureau of Investigation  
Washington, D. C.  
December 2, 1931.

MEMORANDUM FOR ASSISTANT ATTORNEY GENERAL DENNIS.

There is transmitted, attached hereto, a copy of a communication received from Congressman Wood, together with a copy of a circular transmitted by his relative to a group of laborers at Indiana Harbor of the allegedly unemployed.

No action is being taken thereon by the Bureau.

Very truly yours,

*J. E. Hoover*  
Director.

encl. 7-1557.

*J. E. Hoover*

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61-3099-47 171

*Copy*

December 2, 1951.

Honorable William R. Wood,  
House of Representatives,  
Washington, D. C.

My dear Congressman:

I beg to acknowledge receipt of your communication of November 24th., enclosing a circular relative to Communist activities at Gary, Indiana.

Please accept my thanks for the information in question.

With expressions of my best wishes and highest esteem,  
I am,

Sincerely yours,

Director.

CLOSURE  
No. 726557

FROM

Department of Justice.

7-840

GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE

November 24, 1931.

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

Dear Mr. Hoover:-

I am inclosing a "red circular" that I have just received from Gary, Indiana. I presume the country is being flooded with this stuff, but I thought it well for you to know what they are doing out in my section of the country.

I wish there was some way of getting after these rats.

With all good wishes, I am

Very truly yours,

(Signed) Will R. Wood.

JOHN EDGAR HOOVER  
DIRECTOR

U. S. Department of Justice  
Bureau of Investigation  
Washington, D. C.

December 2, 1931.

MEMORANDUM FOR ASSISTANT ATTORNEY GENERAL DOBBS.

For your information and appropriate attention, the Bureau has been advised by the National Delivery Service, an organization which through contracts arranges for loads to be delivered from one city to another by owners of trucks, that one of the drivers in New York who owns a number of trucks had just rented five trucks in New York to Communists which are to be used for the purpose of transporting the agitators who are engaged in the so-called luncheon march on the Capital.

Very truly yours,

J. E. Hoover  
Director.

L. B. L.

J. L. Gill  
12-1-31

12-1-31

JOHN EDGAR HOOVER  
DIRECTOR

U. S. Department of Justice  
Bureau of Investigation  
Washington, D. C.

December 1, 1931.

MEMORANDUM FOR ASSISTANT ATTORNEY GENERAL DODDS

For your information and appropriate attention there is transmitted herewith a copy of a circular relating to the so-called hunger march, which was sent to the Kansas City Office of the Bureau by the United States Attorney at Wichita, who in turn received it from C. J. Botkin, Claim Adjuster, A. T. S. F. Railway Company, Box 92, Marceline, Missouri.

Very truly yours,

*J. E. Hoover*  
Director.

Incl. #129291

*File  
12/1/31*

*J. H. L.*

HAF-kcc

November 28, 1931.

Major and Superintendent,  
Metropolitan Police Department,  
Washington, D. C.

Sir:

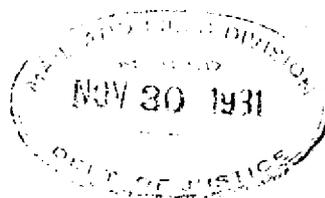
With further reference to the proposed hunger march of the so-called unemployment organization which is scheduled to appear in Washington at the opening of Congress, I beg to enclose herewith for your information a copy of a circular with reference to certain so-called defense groups and their activities during the prospective hunger march.

Respectfully,  
For the Attorney General:

(signed) Nugent Dodds

Encl. 759659

NUGENT DODDS,  
Assistant Attorney General.



J. EDGAR HOOVER  
DIRECTOR

U. S. Department of Justice  
Bureau of Investigation  
Washington, D. C.

November 25, 1931.

MEMORANDUM FOR ASSISTANT ATTORNEY GENERAL TOLDS

I am transmitting, attached hereto, a copy of a circular forwarded to the Chicago Office by the Commissioner of Police at Chicago with reference to certain so-called Defense Groups and their activities during the prospective "hunger march."

The Bureau will take no investigative action in connection with this matter unless it receives definite advice that this comes within its investigative jurisdiction.

Very truly yours,

*J. E. Hoover*  
Director.

Incl. #72655A

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DIRECTIVES ON THE ORGANIZATION AND DEFENSE OF DEFENSE  
GROUPS DURING THE NATIONAL HUNGER  
MARCH.

Take notes and DESTROY AFTER READING.

(These directives are only for DO's. They shall however be carried thru at an early date and not left to the last minute.)

The previous experiences of state and local hunger marches have shown the possibility of attack on the part of the armed forces and of the fascist groups on the National Hunger March.

Already the American Legion has had a special meeting in Washington, and took up the question of the National Hunger March and discusses ways and means of breaking up the march. We must be thoroughly prepared for an attack. The attack can be expected as follows:

1. In many localities an open attack by the state and city police on the march.
2. The organization of fascist groups, American Legion, etc., to attack the marchers.
3. Re-route the marchers outside the city limits in order to avoid passing thru important cities.
4. Picking on little details, as overcrowded trucks, etc., to break up the march.
5. To demoralize the march in Washington proper thru either an open attack or other ways, such as denial of housing accommodations thru all kinds of excuses, etc.
6. Splitting up of the main column on the route and thus demoralizing the effectiveness of the march.

In order to withstand all possible attacks by the city, state and national government, we must take immediate organizational steps to protect the National Hunger March and organize defense groups to defend the March from all possible attacks.

The following steps shall be taken and carefully prepared:

1. Right after the conference where the delegates will be elected, a meeting of all delegates shall be held and the delegates assigned to trucks. While dividing the delegates special attention must be given to assigning to every truck 3 comrades as a nucleus for defense work, whose task it is to lead and involve the workers in defense. Wherever possible these 3 comrades shall be ex-servicemen, or physically fit for this work.
2. A special meeting of the comrades assigned for defense shall be held where the duties and tasks shall be explained and detailed instructions given.
3. Every district division shall assign a comrade responsible for the defense work, who in turn shall be in close touch with the defense groups on the trucks. Comrades responsible for defense work shall sit in the front of the truck with the driver.
4. The district division and column shall move together. Under no circumstances shall they break up. This in itself is one of the prerequisites to withstand an attack.
5. The defense of every truck shall be placed so that they can be the

- first to dismount and the last to mount the trucks.
6. The comrade in charge of the defense work shall arrange with the defense groups for a special signal, whistle or bugle, which shall indicate to dismount the trucks, to remain standing near the trucks or to move forward to the first truck where the trouble started.
  7. A special signal shall be designated for a general dismounting of the trucks by all marchers.
  8. Special attention shall be given to the first and last truck, and a larger number of comrades fitted for the defense work shall be assigned. In case of an attack on the front truck, the defense group shall be signalled to dismount the trucks and when necessary be signaled to move forward for assistance.
  9. At night stopover points squads shall be assigned to guard places where the delegates are housed, on the basis of regular watches.
  10. When demonstrations are held in cities, defense squads shall be divided in two, one group shall be around the speaker and the other at the outskirts of the demonstration.
  11. It is necessary to have a series of meetings between the days of the United Front Conferences and the departure, to drill the comrades properly and definitely explain the tasks and also warn them of provocation, etc.

The district division captain who will be elected right after the conference shall receive a copy of these instructions, and is responsible to carry them thru to the point.

Special attention must be paid to the truck drivers, that they are reliable comrades and instructed not to dismount the trucks, no matter what occurs, and they must also have sufficient skill in driving the trucks thru lines of trouble. See to it that every truck has an adequate set of tools.

Special attention must be given to the youth and as many as possible of the young marchers shall be drawn into the defense work.

Stones are a very important defense. Every truck shall be supplied with a sufficient number of stones.

JOHN EDGAR HOOVER  
DIRECTOR

U. S. Department of Justice  
Bureau of Investigation  
Washington, D. C.

October 24, 1931.

MEMORANDUM FOR ASSISTANT ATTORNEY GENERAL DODDS.

For your information and appropriate attention, there are transmitted herewith three photostatic copies of an article in the Daily Worker, organ of the Communist Party, New York City, October 21st, with regard to further plans in connection with the so-called public hearings to be held from November 1 to November 7 in all principal cities of the United States at the instance of the National Bureau of the Trade Union Unity League to expose "starvation conditions" in connection with the National Hunger March.

Very truly yours,  
For the Director,



Assistant Director.

Enc. #726507.

CRIMINAL DIV.

OCT 26 1931

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JOHN EDGAR HOOVER  
DIRECTOR

U. S. Department of Justice  
Bureau of Investigation  
Washington, D. C.  
October 15, 1931.

MEMORANDUM FOR ASSISTANT ATTORNEY GENERAL DODDS

For your information, there are transmitted herewith copies of a memorandum received from a confidential informant believed to be reliable with reference to plans of the Communist Party of the United States and Trade Union Unity League in regard to the program for the coming winter in connection with the unemployment situation fomenting of unrest and strikes. Additional copies are furnished for any purpose deemed appropriate.

Very truly yours,

*J. E. Hoover*  
Director.

Encl. 734367.

FROM  
Department of Justice.

7-349

GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE

June 1, 1932

# BONUS MARCH ON WASHINGTON WAS CONCEIVED BY RADICALS

## Movement Was Given Title of "Third Big Parade," Says Leader.

## Veterans Asked to Lay Aside Any Personal Feeling Against "Reds."

The organization of the "Bonus Expeditionary Force," composed of World War veterans from the four corners of the Nation, was planned in the headquarters of the Workers Ex-Service Men's League, a Communist organization in New York City, it was learned today.

As hundreds of veterans continue to pour into Washington to join those already here for the demonstration planned for June 8, the details of how the movement was formulated were revealed by Emanuel Levin, a Communist leader, who arrived here yesterday to take over the chairmanship of the National Provisional Bonus March Committee of the League. He said his headquarters were in New York.

The League, according to Levin, does not claim a major part of the former soldiers now assembling here to see that Congress is going to do about their demands for cash payments of their adjusted service certificates, are on its membership roll. However, despite reports to the contrary, it claims credit for starting the movement by its members in 30 strategical points in the United States.

The shelving by the House Ways and Means Committee of the Patman bill calling for cash payments of the service certificates, Levin said, caused instructions to be sent out from New York to members in these centers to see that delegations of veterans were sent to Washington.

"Styled 'Third Big Parade'"  
"The movement," Levin explained, was given the title of the "Third Big Parade"—the first was the Preparedness Day Parade here in 1916, led by President Woodrow Wilson, and the second was the march of the First Division, led by General Pershing after the war.

"The 'Third Big Parade' slogan immediately caught on in the Western States and through the workings of our members under instructions sent out by the League, veterans began to organize for the trip to Washington.



EMANUEL LEVIN

"Our main instructions to members were to get movements started in principal centers and get the men to Washington before June 8. As to how they would get here was left up to the veterans. With these plans shaping up well, we then selected members of the League to compose the National committee. They are men who saw service overseas and represent each branch of the service."

The committee is made up of James Ford, colored, of Alabama, candidate for Vice President of the United States on the Communist Party ticket; Joseph Shaker, Harold Nielson, (Michigan) McTeague, Samuel Webster and Levin.

Under the original plan of the League, no effort was made to get the veterans to join this organization, Levin continued, the main object being to organize a sufficient force of men for the presentation of the demands for the immediate cash payment of the bonus, which we regard as back wages.

"Mass Meeting Planned"  
"When practically all of the veterans arrive in Washington, we plan to hold a mass meeting at which a new provisional committee will be set up and leaders named. We will ask veterans to lay aside all personal feelings about being affiliated with 'Reds' and get down to one and only one objective—the immediate payment of the bonus. There are veterans here now and many on their way who will resent be-

ing affiliated with the so-called 'Reds' and we will appeal to them to lay aside their personal prejudices and get down to work. The Provisional Committee will meet in communication with Congress. It will immediately report to the mass delegations being organized and will be taken up. If the Congress measure is passed, calling for a sum of \$2,000 to care for the veterans while here, we will demand that this fund be turned over to us so that we can see that it is properly distributed.

"Our demands upon Congress are now being drafted and will be given approval by the mass delegation. We will not make them public until the main objective is achieved—the payment of the bonus. We will make a suggestion as to how the \$2,000 may be raised.

Resent Police Moves  
"We resent the interference of the part of Police Chief Gilliam's Washington Police Department. We have warned the veterans not to be troubled by their late moves of force. We also resent the statement that they will call on the military authorities if we do not behave ourselves. They have dispersed a large number of veterans, including the President, Currier and others, and are demanding a cash payment. We also want to know what is being done for the care of the veterans who will come to this demand."

"The committee will have the veterans already assembled here charged that 'Big Deal' (Gilliam) is trying to 'divide and conquer' the other delegates from coming to Washington. The proposed shift in the field, the budget continuing to set the too far away from Congress, rank and file of the watch these misadventures and then divide up the ranks. Beware of any suggestion of a Washington before all of the delegations will present in a body demands to Congress. Do not get into separate small demonstrations. One monster demonstration is all that is what we want."

Vertical handwritten note on the left margin: "The League, according to Levin, does not claim a major part of the former soldiers now assembling here to see that Congress is going to do about their demands for cash payments of their adjusted service certificates, are on its membership roll. However, despite reports to the contrary, it claims credit for starting the movement by its members in 30 strategical points in the United States."

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Handwritten initials or signature in the bottom right corner.

JOHN EDGAR HOOVER  
DIRECTOR

U. S. Department of Justice  
Bureau of Investigation  
Washington, D. C.

September 13, 1932.

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SEP 14 1932  
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

MEMORANDUM FOR ASSISTANT ATTORNEY GENERAL DODDS

For your information and appropriate attention, there is transmitted herewith a copy of a letter from the Special Agent in Charge of the Chicago Office of this Bureau, dated September 7, 1932, referring to information that an effort is being made to instigate another march of ex-service men to Washington to advocate passage of the Soldiers Bonus, within the next thirty or sixty days.

Very truly yours,

*J. E. Hoover*  
Director.

Incl. #325157

OCT 7 1932

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*[Handwritten initials]*

ENCLOSURE

No. 325107

FROM

Department of Justice.

7-549

GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE

OFFICE BOK 1405,  
GO, ILLINOIS.

September 7, 1932.

Director,  
United States Bureau of Investigation,  
Washington, D. C.

Dear Sir:-

Mr. Donald H. Sweet, Attorney-at-Law, 360 N. Michigan Avenue, Chicago, Illinois, called at this office on September 7, 1932, being referred here by United States Attorney Dwight H. Green, with reference to some information which he had relative to communistic activities and a further march to Washington by bonus advocates.

Mr. Sweet stated that he was a patent attorney, was a member of the bar in Chicago, and had previously been employed by the Bureau of Standards, Washington, D.C. in 1915 and 1916, and by the Patent Office in Washington, D.C. from 1916 to 1919; that he was presently engaged in the practice of patent law at Chicago, Illinois, and recently took a trip to North Dakota and South Dakota for the purpose of forming independent grocers and tradesmen. On this trip he became acquainted with one Charles Stevens, Vice-President of the Farmers Union of North Dakota, and who operates a gasoline filling station in Valley City, North Dakota. Mr. Sweet stated that in conversation with Mr. Stevens he learned that Stevens was very active in organizing ex-service men and unemployed men, as well as farmers in the community, to form another expedition to march to Washington to advocate passage of the soldiers' bonus; that their plans are to obtain recruits in North and South Dakota and all through the Mississippi River Valley so that if possible thousands of ex-service men as well as unemployed tradesmen and farmers will march to Washington within the next thirty or sixty days. Mr. Sweet said that no definite date had been arranged, but that during his trip to North and South Dakota he heard considerable concerning this march and believes that a large number of persons will be recruited for a further march to Washington.

Mr. Sweet said that his principal reason for contacting the United States Attorney's office was for the purpose of ascertaining

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whether the Government would be interested in retaining him to conduct further investigations in North and South Dakota among the farmers in order to learn more of the plans. He stated that he speaks German fluently and has a good understanding of the French language, and that he would be quite valuable in securing information. He was advised that this Bureau did not hire any outside investigators, but that the information given by him would be forwarded to Washington.

Very truly yours,

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WAG:GH

W. A. McSWANEY  
Special Agent in Charge.

JOHN EDGAR HOOVER  
DIRECTOR

U. S. Bureau of Investigation  
Department of Justice  
Washington, D. C.

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SEP 23 1932

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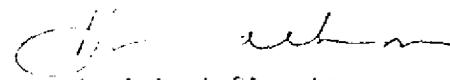
September 23, 1932.

MEMORANDUM FOR ASSISTANT ATTORNEY GENERAL DODDS.

For your information in connection with the Bonus Expeditionary Force, there is transmitted herewith a copy of the report of Special Agent J. D. Milenky, Chicago, Illinois, dated September 13, 1932, entitled ALTON LEROY PETRIE, fugitive, et al, Theft of Government Property.

You will note that there is a reference to Clarence Fay Petrie, who is said to be one of the bonus marchers and who boasted to the Agent of his activities as one of the commanders who was causing a great deal of trouble in Washington.

Very truly yours,  
For the Director,

  
Assistant Director.

Enc. #404953.

*404953*

RECEIVED  
DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE  
SEP 23 1932 AM

**SURE**  
**No. 404958**  
 FROM  
**Department of Justice**

FILNO. 52-249

REPORT MADE AT: **CHICAGO, ILL.** DATE: **9-9-32** REPORT MADE BY: **J. D. MILLENY** CH

TITLE: **ALTON LEROY PETRIE - FUGITIVE;  
 DEWEY GARANT;  
 WILLIAM WHETSLER.** CHARACTER OF CASE: **THEFT OF GOVERNMENT PROPERTY**

SYNOPSIS OF FACTS: Adolph Penning, Griffith, Ind., states that several months ago he notarized a paper for Alton Leroy Petrie. Person named Clarence Ray Petrie, who claims to be Alton Leroy Petrie's brother, located at rural route #3, Crown Point, Ind., and because of his suspicious actions it may be possible that he is the person under indictment, under an assumed name. Alton Leroy Petrie's sister and brother-in-law, Mr. and Mrs. Frank Vanderwater, deny knowing where Alton Leroy Petrie is.

- RUC -

REFERENCE: Report of Special Agent J. L. Robertson, San Francisco, Cal., 7/9/32.

DETAILS: AT GRIFFITH, INDIANA. Adolph Penning, whose post office address is Box 195, Griffith, Indiana, and who is the town treasurer, upon being interviewed stated that he recalled some time ago that some person, who lives in the vicinity of Griffith, Indiana, brought a man by the name of Alton Leroy Petrie to him for the purpose of having him, Penning, notarize a proof of claim for him. Although not certain, Mr. Penning believed that J. E. Newall, post office address Route No. 2, Cass, Indiana, which is about three miles outside of Griffith, Indiana, was the person who brought Alton Leroy Petrie to him. Mr. Penning stated that he had never seen Alton Leroy Petrie before and did not know who he was or where he was from.

DO NOT WRITE IN THESE SPACES

|                                     |  |                         |
|-------------------------------------|--|-------------------------|
| APPROVED AND FORWARDED:             | SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE                            | RECORDED AND INDEX      |
| COPIES OF THIS REPORT FURNISHED TO: |  | BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION |
| Bureau - 2                          | Portland - 3 (U.S. Atty. Boise, Idaho - 1) (Encl.) | DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE   |
| Los Angeles - 2                     | San Francisco - 1                                  | ROUTED TO: FILE         |
| Chicago - 2                         |  | CHECKED OFF: JACKETED:  |

In company with Adolph Penning, Agent proceeded to the home of Mr. J. E. Newall, where Mrs. J. E. Newall was interviewed. She stated that a man named Petrie was at the present time residing with his sister, Mrs. Frank Vanderwater, whose post office address is rural route #3, Crown Point, Indiana. Mr. J. E. Newall, who was also interviewed, stated that until about July 2nd, 1932, a man named Alton Leroy Petrie worked for him on his farm picking strawberries, but that he left. He stated that Alton Leroy Petrie was also a brother of Mrs. Vanderwater, and that the person who was staying with Mrs. Vanderwater at the present time was not Alton Leroy Petrie.

In the company of Mr. Adolph Penning, and Thomas Rutledge the town constable, Agent proceeded to rural route #3, Crown Point, Indiana, which is about four miles outside of Griffith, Indiana, where Agent inquired of Mrs. Vanderwater as to whether or not Mr. Petrie was at home. She informed Agent that Petrie was in the rear. Upon going to the rear, Agent noted a man clad in overalls, who did not fit the Subject's description, but upon being asked whether or not he was Alton Leroy Petrie, he immediately stated that he was. Thereupon Town Constable Rutledge proceeded to take this man into custody, and while walking to the automobile this man said, "Is this in connection with ---?" Thereupon, Agent said, "Yes", believing that this person was referring to the indictment against Alton Leroy Petrie. Upon reaching the automobile this person stated that he was not Alton Leroy Petrie, and that Alton Leroy Petrie was his brother. Thereupon Agent asked him why he stated he was Alton Leroy Petrie and he replied that perhaps he had a reason for doing so. Mr. and Mrs. Frank Vanderwater, who appeared on the scene at this time, stated that the man in custody of Town Constable Rutledge was not Alton Leroy Petrie, but was Clarence Ray Petrie. Agent then requested Clarence Ray Petrie to establish his identity, which he did by various papers in his possession. Clarence Ray Petrie is the same person, it may be stated here, who received notoriety during the time that the Bonus Expeditionary Forces were in Washington, D.C., and he exhibited various newspaper clippings containing his photographs and news items concerning his activities as one of the commanders of the Bonus Expeditionary Forces, who was causing a great deal of trouble in Washington, D.C. He boasted to Agent that while he was in the United States Marine Corps he deserted his ship and subsequently applied for an honorable discharge, which he received. He also stated that he had been arrested on numerous occasions for various offenses ranging from drunkenness to driving while under the influence of intoxicating liquor.

Mr. and Mrs. Frank Vanderwater and Clarence Ray Petrie stated that they did not know where Alton Leroy Petrie was, although he stayed with them for a short time, having left about July 2nd, 1932.