

Roosevelt on Labor as Seen by Frances Perkins

Reviewed by George Morris

In these days, when Republican Congressmen are vying with each other like vultures to tear to pieces the social gains under Roosevelt, it is useful to have a book like Frances Perkins' *The Roosevelt I Knew* before us. It relates principally to his work in the field of labor relations and the social legislation for which the New Deal is principally noted.

So much of the change that has occurred under Roosevelt is taken for granted, that it is well to have the record clear on much of the history of this legislation.

The story is built around the man who was the architect of this 12-year era of progress. But it emerges through some 400 pages of which most are somewhat subjectively devoted to describing the work of Miss Perkins' department in four years under Roosevelt's governorship and 12 years as his Secretary of Labor.

BIG FAULT

There is one big fault with the book; it pictures more the Roosevelt and his "palace guard" as his opponents liked to call those who surround him, than Roosevelt and the great movements among America's changing people. As one reads the book, it appears as though everything funnelled to Roosevelt through his advisors. The FDR who liked to see for himself and learn directly from those who make America rich, is not so apparent.

Miss Perkins gives far more space to describing disputes between Roosevelt's aides over advice to the President or how to steer his policies, than to the movements of millions that were really decisive.

The author minimizes those great struggles of labor starting with the San Francisco waterfront and General Strike in 1934, which have been so influential in speeding the Wagner Act, Social Security and Wage-Hour legislation. The big difference in Roosevelt's first and later years in the White House isn't explained.

Some sections of the book will be of considerable interest to future historians. In one place she described the visit of Dan Tobin to the White House to ask the President to run for a third term. Roosevelt told the Chamberlain for help John Lewis, who advised him:

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FRANCES PERKINS

to be vice-presidential running mate as a condition for assuring him labor support.

Another section deals with the case of Harry Bridges which was handled in Perkins' department for a while. She describes the President as ridiculing the campaign against Bridges. When told that Bridges did nothing to "overthrow the government" he asked:

"Then why in the world should a man be punished for what he thinks, for what he believes? That's against the Constitution."

On occasions when Miss Perkins felt uneasy about Dies Committee rantings against her on handling of the Bridges case, she would run to the President. But she writes, the President continued ridiculing the whole affair in his usual jovial way.

"It's all nonsense," he said to her on one occasion. "Who is this fellow J. Parnell Thomas? I hear his real name is Feeney. Why do he bring his name? Who bothers about him? Don't pay any attention to him. You've done the right thing."

K.C.
1-16-47

red-baiting columnist of New Leader and Wall St. Journal and one or two other authors. It said she made "little digests" what she knew for the President. Apparently, however, FDR did depend solely upon Madame Perkins' digests.

Describing how Roosevelt was b during war years and was often off from people, she writes:

"Most of all he missed the la people whom he had been acc toed to seeing from time to time in groups to discuss legislation politics."

The Perkins book is one of growing number by people who w close to the President to write ab him. Trouble is they have a tendency to be too subjective—too mi slanted in describing what "I t the President" and what he thou of "my proposal." Some day a C Sandburg will do a rounded out place Roosevelt in his pro place in American history.

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This is a clipping from
Page 11 of the
DAILY WORKER

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Government.

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Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : The Director
 FROM : D. M. Ladd *D. M. Ladd*
 SUBJECT:

DATE: March 25, 1947

This memorandum is submitted in line with your inquiry concerning newspaper comment of Miss Frances Perkins wherein she indicated she was opposed to the wholesale investigation of federal employees. The article to which you apparently had reference was one appearing in the Evening Star for November 17, 1946, and it was entitled, "Miss Perkins Opposes Fleming on Issue of Personal Freedom for U. S. Employees." A photostatic copy of this article is being obtained for the Bureau files. However, inasmuch as it may take several days to obtain the same, there is set forth below a summary of the information appearing in this article.

In the article it is reported that Miss Perkins thinks the government is too inquisitive about the private lives of its employees. In a recent chat, according to the article, she charged the government with prying into the personal lives of federal employees. She said they should be allowed to do what they like after working hours and expressed disapproval of after-hours recreational programs. The article stated that both Miss Perkins and Mr. Fleming were in agreement that there is no place in the government for Communists, Fascists, or other disloyal elements. They also agree that government employees do not have the right to strike against the government.

According to the article, Miss Perkins has not expressed herself against the Hatch Act, whatever her personal feelings may be, and she is quoted as saying, "The law is the law and we must enforce it." According to the article, Miss Perkins has accused the Civil Service Commission of asking impertinent and uncalled for questions on its application blanks, particularly about physical defects. The article states, further, that she is also opposed to "snooping" investigators checking up on federal officeholders and job applicants and she is quoted as commenting, "What does it matter if a man entertains ladies in his room?"

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Office Memorandum

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. Ladd
6/13
FROM : J. C. Strickland
SUBJECT:

DATE: March 28, 1947

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There is attached hereto a photostatic copy of an article appearing in the Washington Sunday Star for November 17, 1946, and in which article Miss Frances Perkins is quoted relevant to the investigation of Federal employees. It is noted the Director was interested in this article and a summary of same has already been furnished to him.

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Attachment

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The Sunday Star

WASHINGTON, D. C., NOVEMBER 17, 1946

Miss Perkins Opposes Flemming on Issue Of Personal Freedom for U. S. Employees

By Joseph Young

Do Federal employees have the right to conduct their lives with as much personal freedom as other Americans?

No, says Civil Service Commissioner Arthur S. Flemming. Yes, contends his newly appointed colleague, Commissioner Frances Perkins.

While there has been no open controversy on the subject, there seems little doubt that eventually the divergence of opinion on the issue will be aired officially.

One thing that particularly irritates commission officials and other top Government executives is Miss Perkins' expressed opposition to periodic health examinations and medical advice for Federal workers. Miss Perkins terms it "an intrusion on the employee's inherent right of privacy in such matters."

Flemming Cites Benefits.

Mr. Flemming and others point out that it took many years of uphill struggle to get the bill providing for examinations passed by Congress last year (the Randolph Health Act) and that most Government officials have bright hopes that the new law will mark a milestone in the progress and welfare of Government workers.

But this disagreement is only one of many points on which the two Commissioners apparently do not see eye to eye.

Mr. Flemming expressed his philosophy on the entire subject recently in an address at Boston University when he said: "We cannot do away with certain restrictions that we impose on Federal employees and still have a career service. In fact, they are restrictions which we cannot do away with and still have a Government in which the people of this Nation will have confidence."

Excessive Restrictions Opposed.

Mr. Flemming, who time and again has appeared before congressional committees to fight for legislation improving the welfare of Government workers, recognizes the dangers of excessive restrictions and has cautioned against them.

"Restrictions on freedom of action of Federal employees should not be imposed on the spur of the recent chat with Federal personnel moment," Mr. Flemming declared officials, she charged the Government recently. "They should be thought through carefully, and should only become a part of the accepted



ARTHUR S. FLEMMING.



FRANCES PERKINS.

ernment workers should be allowed to do what they like after working hours, within reason.

Recreation Program Hit.

Miss Perkins disapproves the after-office-hours recreation programs planned by Federal agencies for their employees. "Most people are intelligent enough to seek and find their own cultural pursuits," she contends.

She and Mr. Flemming are in agreement on some things. For example, they both believe that there is no place in the Government for communists, fascists or other disloyal elements. They also agree that Federal workers do not have the right to strike against the Government.

Mr. Flemming warmly approves the Hatch Act forbidding Federal workers' participation in political campaigns, although he does believe that some of the act's punitive measures are a bit too harsh. Contrary to reports, Miss Perkins has not expressed her opposition to the act, whatever her personal feelings may be. "The law is the law and we must enforce it," she said.

Danger of Spoils System.

It would seem, however, that Miss Perkins is not very enthusiastic about many provisions of the act. Mr. Flemming's stand is that if Federal employees engaged in politics it would lead to the return of the spoils system and the wreckage of the civil service career system.

It is on investigation of employees that Mr. Flemming and Miss Perkins are in wide disagreement. Miss Perkins has accused the commission of asking impertinent and uncalled-for questions on its application blanks, particularly about physical defects.

She also is opposed to "snooping" investigators checking up on Federal officeholders and job applicants.

Queries Called Too Personal.

"What difference does it make to us if a man entertains ladies in his room?" she asks. "How is this going to reflect on his ability to do his job?" Of course, Miss Perkins adds, Federal employees are expected to conduct themselves "in a manner befitting ladies and gentlemen." But Miss Perkins, who has the distinction of having been the only woman cabinet member in the Nation's history when she served under President Roosevelt as Secretary of Labor, believes that the Government does too much snooping into affairs "that are none of its business."

This is a clipping from
page A-15 of the
Sunday Star for 11-17-46
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Government

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Mr. Flemming declares that thorough investigations are needed to weed out Fascists, Communists and fellow-travelers who seek to infiltrate into the Government.

"The people of the United States have a right to demand that the Government be free of subversive elements," Mr. Flemming said. He is concerned whenever investigators go beyond their prerogatives in making inquiries, but he believes that there are few such instances.

Further Restrictions Urged.

Mr. Flemming also believes that the Federal employee's freedom must be restricted further "by those principles which are an integral part of a developing code of ethics in the Federal service." For example, Mr. Flemming says that a Government employee cannot substitute his views for those who, at a particular moment, are charged by the American people to formulate policy.

"His freedom of action is restricted to the extent that he must subordinate his own views to do the best possible job of administering a policy with which he may be in complete disagreement," Mr. Flemming said.

Another thing that Mr. Flemming declares vital to operation of the Government is a requirement that Federal employees cannot accept gifts or hospitality during or after office hours "which would tend to undermine the confidence of his fellow citizens in his ability to deal with public problems in an objective manner."

Mitchell's Views Underdetermined.

Miss Perkins believes in these essentials, but she thinks that Government personnel people are "over-organized," that they harass their employees with too many regulations. She facetiously remarked recently that she could foresee "the career civil service."

day when each Government employee would have to write a detailed description of his activities for that day before he was allowed to go home at night.

The position of the third member of the commission, President Harry E. Mitchell, on all these matters is less clearly defined, but in the past he has gone along on most issues with Mr. Flemming. Mr. Mitchell has been on leave the past few weeks and returned here last week.

Summing up his views, Mr. Flemming refers to the words of the late Justice Holmes when, in deciding that a Massachusetts city had the right to discharge a policeman who had violated one of its rules, said:

"The petitioner may have a constitutional right to talk politics [but he has no constitutional right to be a policeman. There are few employments for hire in which the servant does not agree to suspend his constitutional rights of free speech, as well as of idleness, by the implied terms of his contract. The servant cannot complain as he takes the employment on the terms which are offered him. On the same principle, the city may impose any reasonable condition upon holding officers within its control."

Commenting on this, Mr. Flemming says: "Justice Holmes' opinion has been looked on as a sound exposition of the law. It should also be looked on as a sound exposition of the philosophy which should underlie any successful

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

August 18, 1948

SE 25

DIRECTOR, FBI

FRANCES PERKINS, Mrs.
MRS. PAUL CALDWELL WILSON

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ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 1/25/05 BY SP/leb/afey
DRAFT # 347833

Reference is made to the call of Mrs. Frances Kroll of your office
on August 4, 1948, requesting information concerning Frances Perkins. See
and below is a summary of information relating to her. For your information
this Bureau has NOT conducted a loyalty investigation or any other type of
investigation in connection with Frances Perkins.

Biographical

Frances Perkins was born in Boston, Massachusetts, on April 10, 1880,
the daughter of Frederick W. and Susan Perkins. She received an A.B. Degree
at Mount Holyoke College in 1902, studied at the University of Pennsylvania,
received an A.M. Degree from Columbia University in 1910, and received her
second LL.B. Degrees from the University of Wisconsin and Amherst College in
1933 and 1934, respectively. She married Paul Caldwell Wilson on September
26, 1913. They have one daughter, Suzanne.

Miss Perkins has held the following positions:

Executive Secretary, Consumers League, New York, 1910-1912.
Lecturer in Sociology, Adelphi College, 1911.
Executive Secretary, Commission on Safety, New York, 1912-1917.
Director Investigations, New York State Factory Commission, 1912-1913.
Executive Director, New York Council of Organization for War Service,
1917-1919.
Commissioner, New York State Industrial Commission, 1919-1921.
Director of Council on Immigrant Education, 1921-1923.
Member of State Industrial Board, New York, 1923-1928; Chairman,
1926-1929; Industrial Commissioner, State of New York, 1929-1933.

She was appointed Secretary of Labor on March 4, 1933, and resigned
in May of 1945. At the present time she is a member of the Civil Service
Commission and resides in Washington, D. C. *[Who's who 1947- current B-144]*

II. Criticism Concerning Handling of Disputation Rollups

Mr. Harper L. Knowles, Chairman of the Radical Research Committee of
the American Legion, Department of California, on October 25, 1938, made a
statement to the House Committee on Un-American Activities. The following
are excerpts from this statement:

Mrs. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Clegg
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Tracy
Mr. Tamm
Mr. Gurnea
Mr. Harbo
Mr. John
Mr. Quinn
Mr. Tolson
Mr. Tolson
Mr. Tolson
Mr. Tolson
Mr. Tolson
Miss Quincy

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TIME 3:20 PM
DATE 8-16-48
BY RUK

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8/18/48
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"In presenting to the Committee statements and substantiating evidence with respect to the operations of the Department of Immigration and Naturalization, under the control of Secretary of Labor Frances Perkins, it is definitely and specifically charged that Madam Perkins has been guilty of dereliction of duty in her failure to carry out the laws of the country which in her assumption of office she solemnly assumed and swore to fulfill."

"As further evidence of her failure to discharge the duties of her office the attention of the Committee is here directed to the fact that for the past five years Secretary of Labor Perkins has withheld the deportation of 2,862 aliens in the expectation that Congress will revise our Immigration and Naturalization laws."

(61-7582 Vol. 3, Copy C, p. 2001).

By letter dated November 15, 1938, Stephen F. Chadwick, at that time National Commander of the American Legion, advised Honorable Frances Perkins, Secretary of Labor, that the American Legion at its convention held in Los Angeles, California, September 19-22, 1938, had adopted two resolutions. The following are excerpts from these two resolutions:

"Be it resolved by the National Convention of the American Legion in convention assembled. That we demand the immediate trial and deportation of Harry Bridges and like undesirable aliens.

"Whereas certain officials of the Department of Labor have failed miserably in the enforcement of laws relative to immigration and deportation;

"Resolved the American Legion in National Convention at Los Angeles demands that the Congress of the United States investigate the failure of these officials to comply with the existing immigration laws and take such steps as may be necessary to correct this unwarranted failure of duty."

(61-7582 Vol. 4, Copy A, p. 2957).

In an article in the New York "Times" dated July 29, 1940, captioned "Aid to Aliens Laid to Miss Perkins", it was stated that the National Small Businessmen's Association had charged that more than 700 aliens, guilty of deportable offenses, had been granted exemption from deportation by Secretary of Labor Frances Perkins. (94-1-7451-A).

There is transmitted herewith as an enclosure to instant memorandum, a copy of a pamphlet entitled "The Impeachment of Frances Perkins". The material in this pamphlet was taken from the Congressional Record for January 24, 1939. It concerns the charge of Mr. Thomas, member of the House of

Mr. Tolson
Mr. E. A. Tamm
Mr. Cleef
Mr. Glavin
Mr. Ladd
Mr. Nichols
Mr. Rosen
Mr. Tracy
Mr. Durkee
Mr. Harbo
Mr. Tamm
Mr. Pennington
Mr. Quirk Tamm
Tele. Room
Mr. Nease
Miss Gandy

Representatives from New Jersey, that Frances Perkins, James L. Moughteling and Gerard D. Reilly failed to enforce the immigration laws of the United States against Alfred Benton Bryant (Harry) Bridges. It also concerns Mr. Thomas' charge that these individuals unlawfully conspired together to commit offenses against the United States by causing the Strocker case to be appealed to the Supreme Court of the United States. (61-7587-2-10).

III. Miscellaneous

The "Daily Worker" for October 18, 1933, in an article by Seymour Waldman, Washington Bureau of the "Daily Worker", refers to Secretary Perkins having been a member of the Socialist Party fifteen years previous to that time. (101-255-2 "Daily Worker" for Oct. 18, 1933, p. 3).

In an article in the Boston "Evening American" for November 3, 1936, it was stated that Percy C. Pryor, Vice President of the International Seamen's Union, charged that the support of Secretary of Labor Frances Perkins was directly responsible for the rise to power of Joseph Curran, Eastern head of the Communist-dominated left-wing faction of the International Seamen's Union. Pryor claimed that Madam Perkins had made Curran a "big shot" in the International Seamen's Union and he referred to a telephone conversation between Curran and Miss Perkins in the spring of 1936 when Curran, in San Pedro, received Miss Perkins' assurance that members of the California's crew would be protected from charges of mutiny growing out of their "walk-off" after they had signed aboard the vessel. Miss Perkins, a few days later, ruled that the action of the crew was not mutiny since it occurred in part, and that the men had a right to strike in defense of maritime law. (61-7550-Serial 1523, p. 3).

Walter S. Steele of the "National Republic", testifying before the House Committee on Un-American Activities concerning the American League for Peace and Democracy, stated, "The late Henri Barbusse, French Communist, was the founder of this international movement who came to the United States with the permission of Secretary of Labor Perkins to assist in launching the American section." (61-7582 Copy A, Vol. 1, p. 153).

Mr. Steele submitted to the Committee a memorandum in connection with the Workers Alliance of America. Contained in this was the following statement:

"With the permission of Secretary of Labor Perkins, Communists and Socialists met in a four-day session in the Labor Department Building on Constitution Avenue in Washington, D. C. in 1935. Approximately 900 delegates arrived in the city via trains, buses and automobiles. They stated they were duly elected delegates representing 500,000 or more dues-paying members of the Socialist Workers Alliance of America, the Communist National Unemployed Councils, the National Unemployment League (Trotzky Communist movement)."

This memorandum indicated that "Mother" Ella Reeve Bleer, "Communist agitator and organizer" and "Herbert Benjamin (Communist) and David Lasser (Socialist)" were among the speakers who appeared before this group. (61-7582 Copy A, Vol. 1, pp 183 and 184).

The following appeared in an article from the Saturday Evening Post dated July 27, 1940, by Benjamin Stolberg concerning Frances Perkins and her tenure of office as Secretary of Labor. Stolberg was referring to the Communist penetration into the Department of Labor.

"One of the most astonishing cases of such Communist penetration was that of Mrs. Frances Ballant who became Miss Perkins' confidential file clerk. Mrs. Ballant was born Frances Davis, granddaughter of President Jefferson Davis of the Confederacy. Ballant is a pseudonym of her husband, Nicholas Dozenberg, a member of the Soviet Military Intelligence who has been sentenced to a Federal prison for the use of a false passport."

The article later reflects that Mrs. Ballant filed suit on June 7, 1940, to annul the marriage at which time "she asserted that she did not know that Dozenberg was a Soviet spy". Near the conclusion of this article Stolberg states:

"Miss Perkins is not a Communist, nor even remotely a Communist sympathizer. She is as true a Democrat in her convictions as I have ever known. But she represents the classic type of soft-minded liberals whom the Stalinists behind the scenes knew how to exploit for their own purpose. Completely lacking in political astuteness she is incapable of recognizing the protean forms and devils milieus of totalitarian techniques, or, for that matter, of any oblique strategy." (39-915 Serial 96 X5 and Saturday Evening

Post, July 27, 1940).

"Madam Perkins, Department of Labor, Washington, D. C.", appeared as a reference on the application dated January 22, 1942, of Dr. Theodore Schmidt which was filed by him for a position with Howard University. It is noted that Dr. Schmidt pleaded guilty to a violation of the Registration Act of 1917, and on November 19, 1943, was sentenced in the United States District Court in Washington, D. C. to serve from sixteen months to four years. The sentence was later reduced making him eligible for parole on September 1, 1944. (65-39300-732 and 733). 52

In an article captioned "Dies Links CIO Group to High Federal Aides", appearing in the Washington "Daily News" for July 29, 1944, Chairman Dies of the Dies Committee charged "seventy-two Federal employees with being 'in frequent communication' with CIO Political Action Committee officials during recent campaigns." Labor Secretary Frances Perkins was included in this group. (57-407-A)

An article published in the "Brockton Record" on October 19, 1944, revealed that the Honorable Frances Perkins would speak at the Community Church of Boston on October 22, 1944. The article stated that a question period would be held at the close of the service conducted by Reverend Donald Lethrop, Minister of the Community Church. It is noted that considerable data has been made available to you concerning the pro-Communist activities of Reverend Lethrop in reports concerning him and his activities with the Community Church. (100-29870-21).

The "Sunday Star" for November 17, 1946, carried an article on page A-15 by Joseph Young captioned "Miss Perkins Opposes Flaming on Issues of Personal Freedom for U. S. Employees". The article indicates that Miss Perkins (newly appointed to the Civil Service Commission) "thinks the Government is too inquisitive about the private life of its employees". Young also states that "she also is opposed to 'snooping' investigators checking up on Federal office holders and job applicants". (62-28592-5)

Note: It is noted that the Bureau files contain numerous references to Frances Perkins. These largely relate to her activities as Secretary of Labor. The material in instant memorandum has been limited to derogatory information or criticism of Mrs. Perkins.

DO-6

OFFICE OF DIRECTOR
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

August 4, 1948

Mrs. Frances Kroll in the Attorney General's Office called to advise that the Attorney General desires to know whether or not we ever conducted a loyalty investigation on Frances Perkins. I told her that I felt sure we had not but that I would check and advise her. She then stated that the Attorney General would like to be advised of any information we might have in our files concerning Frances Perkins with the specific understanding that we were not to conduct any investigation concerning her in order to ascertain the information.

Mr. Fletcher has been advised.

gan
cc - Mr. Fletcher

Mr. Tolson _____
Mr. E. A. Tamm _____
Mr. Clegg _____
Mr. Glavin _____
Mr. Ladd _____
Mr. Nichols _____
Mr. Rosen _____
Mr. Tracy _____
Mr. Egan _____
Mr. Gurnea _____
Mr. Harbo _____
Mr. Jones _____
Mr. Mohr _____
Mr. Pennington _____
Tele. Room _____
Mr. Nease _____
Miss Holmes _____
Miss Gandy _____

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33 AUG 17 1948

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 1/25/85 BY SP6 by Fletcher
COMINT 247833

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : MR. D. M. LADD *JB*

FROM : A. H. Belmont *AS*

SUBJECT: MRS. FRANCES PERKINS
SPECIAL INQUIRY
WHITE HOUSE
(NAME CHECK)

DATE: April 24, 1952

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*MR. C. M.**AS*

Mr. Donald S. Dawson, Administrative Assistant to the President, called Mr. Roach today and stated that he desired the Bureau files to be checked for subversive derogatory information only on Mrs. Frances Perkins, presently a member of the Civil Service Commission and past Secretary of Labor.

Mr. Dawson gave no indication that he had received any derogatory information on Mrs. Perkins but indicated that perhaps someone had so stated. Dawson advised that just to make sure that any derogatory information the Bureau may have was in the possession of the White House, he desired this check be made. Mr. Dawson further advised that he desired to see a note from the Bureau indicating the results of the file check.

The files of the Bureau are being checked to determine information available in our files suitable for dissemination to the White House.

*RRB:lws**100*

*Memorandum
will file memo for Whitehouse
H-26-52 May 2
EJ*

2nd edit.

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NAME Terhune, Frances b7c SB

DATE 8-5 SERVICE UNIT SEARCHER # [REDACTED] R#

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I Vol #1 pp. 457 459 481 534

I 545 694 706

I Vol #2 p 1690

I Vol 3 pp. 1960, 1761, 1765, 1766, 1791

I 1830, 1831, 1833, 1833, 1915, 1921

I 1926, 1929, 1933, 1936, 1939,

I 2015, 2025, 2026, 2080, 2081,

I 2082, 2083, 2374

I Vol #4 p 2934, 2951, 2954, 2959

I Vol #5 p 3479

I Vol #6 p. 4211

I Vol #7 p. 5126

I Vol #8 p. 4213

I Vol #9 p. 8367

I W. Steele #1 pp. 455, 456, 183, 234, 239, 391

I 6745 - 82 p 15:

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				✓	I 7550 - 1523 p. 3
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				✓	I 7587 - , 080
				✓	I 367360 - 5 p. 101
				✓	I 321 - 308
				94	I 1 7451-A - 7. y
					Times 7/23/40
				39	I 955-C - Wash.
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				98	I 4665 - 1
				✓	I 7562 - 1507
				✓	I 7568-A - 7. y
					Times 11/23/40
					I 449185-C - Wash.
					Exhibit 3/27/40
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					I 48970 - 701
				✓	I 346626 - 4
				✓	I 203268 - 569
				✓	I 7559 - 8220

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NAME Perkins, France b7c S

DATE SERVICE UNIT 85 SEARCHER # R:

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✓ I 75-6-9 - 8795, 9699,
39 I 945 - 412,
✓ I 4322 - 1,
I 179392-A - Dailey,
✓ worker 1-29-43,
I 755-9 - 779582,
I 10335 - 4,
✓ I 0 - 10435-
66 I 455-53 - 70,
✓ I 33049-9 - 28,
97 I 117 - 160,
✓ I 56941 - 58,
✓ I 56921 - 67,
I 9441-A - Dailey,
✓ worker 1-29-43,
I 22529 - 9,
I 8891 - 19,
I 120818 - 118,
I 927494 - 1,
I 23170 - 145-93-1,
✓ I 3 - 516,