

CLARK HOWELL FOREMAN

My Autobiography

CLARK HOWELL FOREMAN

On February 19, 1902 a third child was born to Robert Langdon and Effie Howell Foreman at their home in Atlanta, 23 Kimball Street. He was named after his mother's favorite brother, Clark Howell.

Young Clark was healthy and mischievous throughout his childhood. In his second year, the house on Kimball Street burned down, but at the time no one blamed that on him.

Clark was raised in a comfortable, and loving family. He was devoted to his mother and admired his father, although there was little warmth in the relationship. Freedom of expression was not only allowed but practiced in the family. Consideration and responsibility were the virtues he remembers as most stressed. Moral and intellectual values were highest esteemed. At an early age his mother admonished him that unless he left the world better off for his having lived, his life would be a failure.

His mother taught him at home for the first two years of schooling and at age seven he entered the Tenth Street School in third grade. He was graduated from the eighth grade there when he was thirteen; from the Boys High School when he was sixteen and received a Bachelor of Arts degree at the University of Georgia at nineteen.

Clark did not have as brilliant a career at school and college as did his oldest brother, Howell. Nor did he have as many friends as his second brother, "Trot" who seemed to be loved by everyone. There was nothing really outstanding in Clark's first nineteen years except for the traumatic effect of a lynching which he witnessed almost accidentally in Athens during his second year at college. A Negro man was taken from a supposedly mob-proof jail and before a seated crowd of hundreds was slowly burned to death. He was alleged to have raped and murdered a young white woman. The fact that it was later found that the man lynched had not been guilty increased the horror. The affair left a lasting impression on Clark and influenced the remainder of his life.

At Harvard where Clark went after graduating, rooms were not easy to find. Walking in Cambridge one day he met by chance a former classmate at the Boys High School, Ben Jones. Ben said that his expected roommate had not come and invited Clark to share his rooms in Stoughton Hall on the Yard.

It was not only the physical luxury of the rooms, to which only seniors could aspire at that time, but also the circle of interesting friends who came to Ben's rooms that made this a most fortunate arrangement. The discussions of books which Clark had not read gave him a very busy schedule of reading. Also he regularly attended with Ben and others the concerts of the Boston Symphony Orchestra. In Atlanta he had heard a good many operas at the annual visits of the Metropolitan but he had never before heard a symphony or any chamber music. Otto Koenig of New York was one of Ben's friends whom Clark especially liked and they invited him to share their rooms which he did. George Stevens, a former schoolmate in Atlanta was a junior at Harvard at the time and also a good friend of Ben's. He, Otto and Clark visited the museums and went on many expeditions together.

Clark did not study for a graduate degree but instead took the courses such as economics and psychology which were not a part of the liberal arts course he took at Georgia. He found the courses helpful but not as inspiring as the associations he made among the students.

Across the hall lived Donald Culross Peattie who invited Clark to go with him to hear William E. Burghardt Dubois speak at the Liberal Club. Clark accepted but when Donald came at six Clark was surprised to find that it was a dinner meeting. He said he couldn't go because he couldn't eat with Negroes. At that Donald and Otto joined in challenging Clark's position. Southern tradition and prejudice didn't stand up very well and finally Clark had to admit that there wasn't any real reason why he shouldn't eat with Negroes. At the Liberal Club there were of course many tables and Clark sat some distance from the famous speaker, but it was Clark's first experience even so. He was impressed with what Dr. Dubois had to say and became an admirer.

Ben's friends extended into the social life of Cambridge and Clark was invited to many parties and dances as a result. At a Harvard Chi Phi Fraternity he met a very charming girl from Alabama named Virginia Foster who was attending Wellesley. At the same dance he met George Bingham of Manchester, New Hampshire, a businessman in Cambridge. George fell in love with Virginia and invited her and Clark to attend the Dartmouth Ice Carnival. Later he confided in Clark that he thought they were engaged. But when Clark next enquired of Virginia about George, she replied, "George, George who?" Clark chided her for "stringing the boys along". "I just like to make them feel good," was her historic reply.

George also invited Clark to spend Christmas with his family in Manchester and Clark had his first "white Christmas". He enjoyed the whole Bingham family who received him very warmly.

At the end of the year at Harvard, Clark's father offered him a thousand dollars for a trip abroad. Clark got permission to use it as he liked and to make it last as long as he could. When Otto saw Clark off on the S. S. President Adams from Boston he met and introduced Clark to some old friends of his on the Boat: Mrs. Karl Bitter, her daughter Marietta and son John. They were to prove very pleasant travelling companions and long-time friends.

As a farewell present Clark's mother sent him a copy of H. G. Wells' recently published Outline of History. He read it avidly on the ship and was particularly inspired by the last chapter, "The Next Stage of History". When he arrived in London he looked up Wells' address and sent a letter to his country home asking for an interview. After a week with no reply, and with only one more week before he had to leave for Paris, Clark decided to telephone Wells at his London flat. Wells' secretary put Clark right through and when Clark explained that he had telephoned because he had received no reply to his letter and thought something must have gone wrong, Wells replied, "then you are not the Mr. Foreman I was talking with this morning?"

"No, but I am very eager to talk with you about the last chapter in your book."

"What is it you wish to discuss?"

"I can't very well go into it on the telephone but I would very much appreciate a few minutes of talk with you about it."

"I am very busy with my work and I have little time for interviews but write me a letter and I will see what I can do."

Clark wrote another letter and sent it immediately to his flat by special messenger. Wells replied promptly saying he would see Clark for fifteen minutes. When Clark called he found Wells very casually dressed in his study. As nearly as Clark remembered the conversation fifty years later it went this way:

"I have read your Outline with great enthusiasm and have come to you as I would to a doctor to ask how I should proceed to be most useful in bringing about the conditions you predict in the last chapter. I have been graduated from the University of Georgia and have had one year at Harvard."

"No doctor would attempt to prescribe on such scanty knowledge. What had you planned to do before you read my book?"

"My parents have secured an opening for me in an Atlanta bank but I do not want to become a banker."

"Bankers can be very useful. Look at Thomas W. Lamont. He has been a great force for good."

"That may be true but in the first place I see no chance of by becoming another Thomas W. Lamont and in any case I do not want to be a banker."

"How is your German?"

"Non-existent. It was dropped from our curriculum during the war."

"And French?"

"Fair but I need a great deal more practice."

"As I said no doctor would attempt to prescribe without more facts but in general I would advise you to go to Germany and learn German, then France and polish up your French, and then study at the London School of Economics."

The interview took much longer than the above synopsis would indicate. It lasted longer than the scheduled fifteen minutes but Clark left grateful and determined to carry out the plan that Wells had recommended.

In Paris Clark was the guest of his Uncle Clark and his son, Comer Howell at the Hotel Continental, so he saw Paris in the conventional tour. But he enjoyed more the meetings with the Bitters on the Left Bank. They had been joined by Mrs. Bitter's elder son, Francis, and John Gunther who had worked their way over on a cattle boat.

On his way to Germany through Switzerland Clark was riding on the train to Zurich and sitting next to the window. On his left was a French woman who wanted the window closed but Clark wanted it open. After some discussion a compromise was reached and it was agreed that the window could be open except when going through tunnels. For the first few tunnels Clark had no difficulty closing the window but at the next one the window jammed and Clark was unable to close it. At this point he was relieved to hear an American voice say, "Can I help you old man?" Together they closed it and thereafter all went well. As Clark descended from the train he saw the man who had helped him and thanked him again. As they walked out Clark asked if he knew which was the best train to take for Munich and the man replied that he was going on the train that left the next morning and he thought that was the best one. So they met on that train and had an all-day conversation on the way to Munich. On arrival they exchanged names and the man was Curt P. Richter, about thirty, who was a psycho-biologist at John Hopkins University. He had gone to prep school in Germany and spoke the language perfectly so he suggested that Clark watch their bags while he searched the hotels for rooms.

He came back, however, with the report that all the hotels were full. At this point they were approached by an elderly lady in black who asked if they would like to rent one of her rooms. Curt interpreted this for Clark and added that he read of an American who fell for such an invitation and was beaten and robbed. But it was decided that as they had no alternative and were forewarned as well as being two men against an elderly woman, they could risk it.

Frau Blei's room in the suburbs in an apartment was adequate. Curt stayed about a week before going back to America and remained a good friend of Clark's through the rest of their lives. Shortly after Curt left, Clark was attending a theatre and during the intermission ran into Sylvester Bingham whom he had known in Manchester. They were looking for each other but their letters had gone astray. Together they stayed several months in Munich very cheaply because of the great inflation in Germany at that time. They left to visit Sylvester's sister and brother-in-law who had invited them to be their guests at the Hotel Adlon in Berlin.

After "doing Berlin" they left for Hamburg to visit some girls Sylvester had met while walking along the Rhine. Sylvester stayed on there but after a few days Clark left with a young Sein Feiner via Leipzig to Dresden.

At that time Clark was reading Shaw's plays, one after the other, and it just happened that in Dresden he was reading "Misalliance". In the preface to that play Shaw had written that one of the two schools he thought best of was the Dalcroze School in Hellerau-bei-Dresden. Clark and his Sien Fein friend decided to go out to see the school. When they got there they were told that Dalcroze had moved his school to Switzerland during the war but that a Scotchman named A. S. Neill had started the "international Schule" where Dalcroze's had been.

They spent the day talking with Neill, whose every idea was attacked by the Irishman and defended by Clark. At the end Clark said to Neill that he would like to teach in his school. Neill said that he would be glad to have him but couldn't pay him anything. Clark said he wouldn't work for nothing but would for his board and lodging. When asked how soon he could start, Clark replied "tomorrow".

Neill's methods were harder on the teachers than on the pupils. There were about thirty children from various countries in Europe ranging in age from seven to sixteen. Clark was asked to teach history and English. The students were

absolutely free to get up at any time and go out to play, so it was something of a strain to keep the lectures sufficiently interesting to hold the attention of every student, but he did.

A test of Neill's methods was given by an English girl named Betty who had been sent to Neill after she had been thrown out of several schools in England. When Betty arrived Neill told her about the school and asked her what classes she would like to attend. "None", she replied. Neill asked her what she was interested in and she replied, "nothing". He then told her that it was a free school and she could do just as she liked. For several months she left her room only for meals. Neill left books which he hoped would catch her interest on various tables she had to pass on her way to meals. After a few months she started going to the recreation room after dinner; which was used not only by Neill's students but also by some of the local boys and some students from the dance school that was also in Hellerau. Betty's first request was that she be taught German. She had developed an interest in one of the German boys who came to the recreation room. Later she asked if she could prepare herself for the matriculation examinations required for entrance by all British universities. Neill delightedly asked Willa Muir to coach her. Willa was in Hellerau with her husband, Edwin Muir the Scottish poet. Betty passed her examinations and went on to study in England.

Clark spent the winter months teaching in Hellerau and in the very early spring he received a cable telling him that his mother had had a serious paralytic stroke. He cut short his work in Germany and left to spend Easter in Rome on his way home. He exulted in the Alpine passage from German snow to Italian spring.

At the station in Florence he met Frances Gurr of Macon, Georgia, whom he had known at the dances at the University of Georgia. Frances was travelling in Europe as a part of her prize for being the runner-up in the contest for Miss America in Atlantic City. She was travelling with some wealthy friends from Hawaii and they all invited Clark to join their festivities in Rome, then on to Capri where Frances was going to act in a movie that would publicize the island. Later, back in Paris, Frances was asked to become a professional ballroom dancer. She invited Clark to be her partner but although it was his first job offer, he declined. So did she.

Clark still had a little money left and booked passage on the airline which had recently been established between Paris and London. The plane was a Daimler and held about twelve people sitting in single file on each side of the aisle. It was supposed to take five hours for the flight.

When he got on Clark was carrying the bulky articles which he couldn't squeeze into his suitcases: a Bible, galoshes and a straw hat. The tension was eased just before they took off by the lady across the aisle who said, "My, you seem to be prepared for any emergency!" But the tension soon rose when the plane started across the Channel and backfired. The pilot turned and made a sweep back over France and tried again. Another backfire and again the pilot swept over France. On the third try the plane got to the middle of the Channel before it backfired. The pilot who was seated close to the passengers looked around seeming to count the number he was responsible for and continued on his course. As Clark looked down on the water he said to himself that there was no need to worry as there was absolutely nothing he could do to influence the situation. That was a principal which remained with him the rest of his life. The pilot landed the plane on an English beach and the passengers travelled into London on the train!

On the ship to New York a young architect named William Wurster from California presented Clark a letter of introduction from a friend in Paris and another life-long friendship began.

Clark's mother had had a very severe stroke. She was unconscious for seventy-two hours and her whole right side was paralyzed for the rest of her life. She insisted on going to their country place in Highlands, North Carolina, for the summer and Clark's visit there was a very pleasant one. His mother, however, was very anxious for him to stay in America. His Uncle Clark said he was breaking his mother's heart by insisting on going back to London. His father told him that the great extra expenses of his mother's illness made it impossible for him to give him the necessary money.

Clark did not have any real argument to put up. All he could say was that H. G. Wells had recommended it. But he was determined to go and told his father that he would support himself by working while he was in London. His father relented and on a walk together told Clark not to be upset by his mother's eagerness to keep him; that it was a good thing to be independent and not wait like some birds until the mother pushed them out of the nest. Furthermore he said that while he couldn't afford to give Clark the money, he would lend it to him. So off he went to the London School of Economics.

Clark soon found nice lodgings on Bury Street near the British Museum and walking distance from the school. He was inspired by Graham Wallas' opening address in which he practically said that the world was waiting on those students to save it. More lasting inspiration came from the course in philosophy by L. T. Hobhouse and his book The Rational Good.

A number of the students were cordial and helpful. Jan Tabriski invited Clark for walks in the country with a leftist group to which she belonged, among them were J. D. Bernal and his wife Eileen. Also, Rupert Emerson was very kind to Clark because Rupert's older brother had been a friend of Clark's brother Howell at Harvard.

Clark attended some lectures by Alfred Zimmern on international affairs. He had heard and liked Zimmern at Harvard. Mrs. Zimmern attended all of her husband's lectures and made a point of inviting students for meals at the Zimmern's apartment. Clark met many interesting young people that way but he also met Dr. M. D. Eder, a psycholanalyst who had been analyzed by Freud. In the course of the conversation Clark asked Dr. Eder if he thought everyone should be analyzed. He replied, "No, but I think everyone should who is going to make a career of changing other people." Clark asked him if he could come to see him at his office.

Dr. Eder heard Clark's story and said he thought psycholanalysis would be helpful. In reply to Clark's question about costs, Dr. Eder said he thought that paying was important for the person being analyzed but if Clark couldn't pay then he would give him credit until he returned to the States. On that basis Clark began psycholanalysis twice a week at two guineas (about \$10 then) a session. He found the analysis stimulating and helpful.

Clark was very warmly entertained by Lawrence and Molly Tompkins from Atlanta who were then living in London. Lawrence was a sculptor who did a bust of Clark, and Molly was an actress doing well on the London stage. They were also helpful in introducing him to interesting people.

For the long holidays Clark went to Paris where George Stevens was working and

where Otto Koenig also came for a visit. They took walks in the country, visited Chartres and generally got to know and love France.

All this time Clark's parents were writing him to come home, fearful lest he stay abroad and become one of the "lost generation". In the spring Clark was given a book to review for the School paper: Oldham's Christianity and the Race Problem. In reading the book Clark learned for the first time of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation in Atlanta which Oldham highly praised for the work it was doing.

Clark decided that he would return to Atlanta and work for the Interracial Commission. He was able to get a cheap trip on a freighter which sailed from London and landed in Philadelphia and there was only one other passenger, the widow of a former officer.

When Clark told his parents in Atlanta what his plans were, his father readily agreed and said that he knew well the Chairman of the Commission, Dr. Asby Jones. So he made an appointment for Clark and Dr. Jones was most encouraging. He arranged an appointment with the Director, Dr. Will W. Alexander. Dr. Alexander was also cordial and said they would like to have Clark but would not have enough money until January. Clark said that in that case he would start working at once for no money as he could not see waiting around until January to begin. Dr. Alexander agreed, and somehow found the money to start paying him a good salary at once.

Clark almost lost his job as Secretary of the Georgia Committee on Interracial Cooperation before he had well started, as a result of a conversation. He was walking home from the office with an old friend, "Rick" Jackson, when he idly asked Rick why Southern men took off their hats in the elevator when women got on. "Out of respect for womanhood", Rick replied. "It couldn't be that," said Clark "because they don't take their hats off when a Negro woman gets on". Rick was shocked at this remark and reported it to his father, Marion Jackson. Mr. Jackson had known Clark's parents all his life, and, as a young man, he had been something of a roué but he "got religion" and became one of the most ardent Baptist laymen in Atlanta. He was a member of the Board of the Interracial Commission and called Dr. Alexander to demand that Clark be fired. Fortunately Dr. Alexander stood up to him and must have persuaded him that Clark was just being sophomoric.

Clark's work as the Secretary of the Georgia Committee may be illustrated by his visit to Augusta to organize a committee there. When he talked with the likely white leaders they all told him that they had no trouble in Augusta, in fact they had "the best nigras in the South". Similarly when he talked with the Negro leaders they assured him that they had no trouble with the white folks, who were very good indeed.

When Clark remarked that the street paving seemed to stop when it came to the part of the city where the Negroes lived, they readily agreed and said so did the other utilities although they paid the same taxes as the white people. When Clark reported this situation to the white leaders with whom he had formerly talked they expressed surprise. They had not realized that such was the situation and agreed to meet with the Negro leaders to see if some fairer solution could not be worked out.

Of course it was not always as easy as that. Once David Jones, a colleague on the Commission staff, called to ask Clark's help to get a doctor for his ill son. No doctor that he called would come into the Negro part of town. Clark was able to get help, but then he began to look into the medical situation in Atlanta.

He found that Negro doctors were not only not admitted into the Medical Association but were not allowed to attend the lectures regularly held to keep the profession up-to-date. When he discussed the situation with some of his doctor friends they agreed that it was bad and arranged for Clark to speak on the subject to the Medical Association. The Negroes were willing to avoid the issue of segregation by sitting in the balcony but the Association refused to allow it. They gave as their reason that the Negro doctors would have to hang their hats on the same hatrack and that that would be impossible! Clark's medical friends assured him the real reason was that the majority of doctors made money practicing on Negro patients and did not want to have the Negro doctors become sufficiently competent to take their practice away.

With David Jones, Clark arranged to bring Roland Hayes for his first concert to Atlanta. Roland Hayes was a Georgian who had made a great success in the north but had had no concert in Georgia. It was agreed that they would divide the auditorium in half with identical seats for both races. Even so it was a delicate situation as illustrated by the call which Clark received the night of the concert from Mrs. Wilmer Moore, one of his mother's best friends and the sister of Marion Jackson.

"Clark", she said, "I am taking my chauffeur to the concert tonight."

"Fine".

"Yes, but which entrance should he use?"

"Any entrance".

"You mean that he and I should go in by the same door?"

"Yes".

"But won't there be trouble?"

"Not unless you cause it", he said and she ended the conversation. There was no trouble.

There weren't many of Clark's previous friends in Atlanta who were sympathetic with his work but thanks to Rupert Emerson's request that he look up a couple of his friends then living in Atlanta, Richard and "Lib" Cobb, Clark had a warm relationship that made up for the lack of it elsewhere. Actually, Clark had no trouble. The only reason he had to suspect any hostility that might have existed was when Lib told him one night as they were dancing at the Piedmont Driving Club, "I don't want to frighten you but I think I should tell you that I heard the Ku Klux Klan is planning to ride you out of town on a rail". Clark told her it was like that first airplane flight - he couldn't do anything about it and he wasn't going to worry about it. That was the last he heard of it.

Dr. Thomas Jesse Jones, the Director of the Phelps Stokes Fund in New York, came to Atlanta on his way to the Martha Berry School in Rome, Georgia. He asked Clark to go along and in the course of the visit Clark said he was going to New York to work as he felt that the emotional drain of the uphill struggle in Atlanta required a break. Dr. Jones urged Clark to get a Ph. D. saying that he could be

so much more useful if he had one. "That may be so", said Clark, "but I don't want to ask my father for further support". When Dr. Jones got back to New York he wrote Clark offering him the position of Assistant to the Director of the Fund with a good salary if he would go to Columbia at the same time and work toward his Ph.D. Clark accepted and in the fall of 1926 Clark started work in New York.

Clark and George Stevens shared an apartment on Lexington Avenue and Clark's work and studies did not interfere with any active social life. His friend Marietta Bitter was then playing the harp in the orchestra of the Provincetown Theatre in which Paul Robeson was making a great acting success. She invited Clark to meet Paul and Eslanda Robeson for lunch at the Bitter's new house in Riverdale. It was Clark's first interracial social engagement except for some informal meetings in London, but it went off very smoothly and Clark and Paul saw much of each other in later years.

Through Lib Cobb, Clark met a lot of friends, particularly Abbott and Mabel Ingalls. Mabel invited Clark to lots of affairs but a Christmas party was especially memorable as it was different from any Christmas dinner that Clark had attended or has since. Mabel's parents, Mr. and Mrs. Herbert L. Satterlee, were the hosts in their Murray Hill home. The men wore white tie and tails. At the top of an impressive staircase a formally attired butler handed each man a card with the name of the lady whom he was to escort in to dinner. The whole dinner was like a state function but it left an indelible impression.

Dr. Jesse Jones was travelling in Africa most of the time Clark was in the office and there really was not a great deal to do. The most important accomplishment probably was working with Miss Mary Van Kleeck on an Interracial Conference in Washington in December, 1928. At that time Negroes could not stay at any of the white hotels nor eat at any restaurants except the one at the Union Station. So the initial job was to break that custom for the conference. It was done with great difficulty but just for the conference.

Clark received his M.A. degree at Columbia in 1928 with a thesis on interracial cooperation. He started on toward his Ph.D. but his heart was not really in it. He had been greatly inspired by the lectures of Pareto by Professor Henry L. Moore but found the sociology department generally was very dull.

About this time he received an offer to work for the Rosenwald Fund and that seemed a much more tempting opportunity. Julius Rosenwald, the head of Sears, Roebuck & Co. had given twenty-five million dollars to set up the Fund in 1925 with the proviso that all the money must be spent within twenty-five years. Rosenwald did not believe in government by "the dead hand of the past". The endowment was in Sears, Roebuck stock and by the end of each year the Fund was worth more than it had been at the beginning despite its gifts. Clark's job was to think up new ways of getting rid of that money. After a little while in the Chicago office he moved to the Nashville office and operated from there.

In Nashville Clark looked up John Donald Wade, a friend from Georgia who was then Professor of English at Vanderbilt University. Through John he got to know the group of intellectuals called the Agrarians who were protesting the growing evils of industrialization.

Clark also looked up Dr. E. E. Reinke, the Professor of Biology at Vanderbilt and interested him in the Highlands Museum which Clark had started several years before. Now Clark wanted it to become a center of biological research in which the various Southern universities would cooperate. Dr. Reinke agreed to become Director of the Museum for a summer and make a study of the possibilities for a biological research station. He later reported enthusiastically. A group of biologists from many Southern universities met in Highlands to endorse the Reinke report. Clark persuaded Dr. W. C. Coker, the Professor of Botany at the University of North Carolina to take over the job of President which Clark had held from the beginning.

While in New York Clark had been invited by Olga Samaroff Stowkowski to join Mrs. Theodore Steinway as a "guinea pig" in Olga's lectures to her students at the Juillard School of Music on the possibilities of teaching unmusical people to hear more in music. Clark did not prove to be as apt a pupil as Ruth Steinway but he enjoyed the work and the friendship of Olga and Ruth. He later persuaded Olga to come to Atlanta and start The Atlanta Music Center for the development of music appreciation there.

Frans Blom, the head of The Middle American Institute at Tulane University in New Orleans, had been commissioned to duplicate one of the Mayan temples at Uxmal for the World's Fair to be held in Chicago. Frans invited Clark to go with a group he was organizing to Uxmal to measure the temple to be duplicated, so Clark had a very interesting visit to Mexico.

Clark was able to get rid of quite a lot of the Rosenwald Fund money by developing county libraries in the South. Seven counties were selected on the basis of their willingness to cooperate and match funds over a number of years in a program that would furnish free library service to all the people in the county, rural as well as urban, black as well as white. At the time no county in the South did that and Charleston, South Carolina, one of the counties selected had no free library service at all.

With the assistance of Horace Mann Bond, Clark made a study of the educational achievement in eleven Southern counties and compared the results with the United States standard for the comparable classes. They also noted the environmental factors involved such as the education of the teachers, the classrooms, length of term, etc. to show the effect of the environment on the achievement results, as opposed to alleged native differences.

By 1931 the value of Sears, Roebuck stock had fallen so that the Rosenwald Fund was afraid that the money wouldn't even last out the twenty-five years, so Edwin Embrie, the President of the Fund, told Clark to stop thinking up ideas for giving away the money and instead to take a year's salary and finish his work for a Ph.D. at Columbia.

In New York, Clark had gotten to know Corliss Lamont quite well as they were both studying for Ph.D. degrees at Columbia. Clark had first met Corliss in 1925 when Corliss came to the Interracial Commission office in Atlanta on a tour of the South. In New York they were both on the Board of the American Committee for the Geneva School of International Studies, of which Alfred Zimmern was the head.

One weekend when Clark was Corliss' guest at the home of his parents on the Palisades, H. G. Wells was also a guest. At Sunday dinner Clark was seated between Mr. Wells and Mr. Lamont and was delighted to be able to tell both of them of Clark's interview with Mr. Wells about ten years earlier. Mr. Wells did not remember it.

As his Ph.D. thesis Clark was able to use the material of his school survey in the South. The work was published at the expense of the Rosenwald Fund, "Environmental Factors in Negro Elementary Education". Then Edwin Embree said that as the Fund's resources were lower than ever Clark should take a year's salary and go off to Europe to study anything he liked.

Crossing cabin class in the French Liner S.S. LaFayette, Clark spent a good deal of his time studying Russian in preparation for his visit to the Soviet Union. In the dining salon, however, he noticed a very beautiful girl sitting at a table some distance away. Once their eyes met but she quickly lowered hers. All his attempts for a meeting were frustrated by the fact that she seemed always to be surrounded by other young ladies.

By way of keeping the passengers occupied, the Chief Steward had arranged for a deck tennis tournament and Clark entered it. The competition was not stiff and after a few days Clark found himself in the finals with the rest of the passengers gathered around to watch, and the beautiful young lady whom Clark thought to be Spanish was sitting with her friends on the first row. Clark won. It was his first athletic triumph but it turned out to be a very important one. The prize was a cup of tea which the steward formally presented to the applause of the passengers. Clark took the tea and offered it to the beautiful young lady and thus at last achieved an introduction to her, her sister Peggy and their friends.

The young lady was Mairi Fraser, a Canadian who was travelling to France for the Toronto Daily Star of which she was the Woman's Editor. After arriving in France she and her sister were going to Spain to visit friends and then return to Paris to cover the openings of the big coutouriers for her paper. It took a couple of days to get this information and even so Miss Fraser thought Clark was being very personal, if not nosey. But he had to get off the ship at Plymouth to go to visit a friend in Cambridge and the opportunities for talk were very limited.

After a few very rainy days in Cambridge Clark went to Paris although he had not told Miss Fraser he would. At her hotel the lady at the desk said Miss Fraser was expected back that night so Clark left a note inviting her for dinner. But she didn't arrive. The procedure was followed for four or five more days and then Clark had to leave for Copenhagen where he had arranged to meet Curt Richter.

From Copenhagen Curt and Clark went to Stokholm and then flew first to Helsimki and then to Reval (now Tallinn) and then to Leningrad. In that city they visited the biological laboratory of the great Pavlov and Curt's knowledge of the subject greatly added to its interest for Clark.

To Moscow they went by train and were met at the station by Jane Tabriski and her friend Freda Utley, two members of the English Communist Party who were working for the government in Moscow. They were very helpful as they knew their way around and introduced Curt and Clark to many of their friends.

Curt soon returned to Baltimore but Clark stayed on in the Soviet Union for nine months, five of which were in Moscow and the other two travelling in the south. Clark found the Russian people very friendly and sympathetic. In Moscow he lived in the Hostel for Intelligencia on Tablecloth Lane and through his friends he ate at the Club for Intellectuals which was in the home of a former wealthy merchant. He spent a good deal of time studying and reading in the Marks-Engels Institute. Jane and Freda were Trotskyists and were already at that time pretty disillusioned with their Russian Dream. Freda was later to write about it in The Dream We Lost, and took credit for Clark being "one of the very few foreign visitors to learn something of the realities of Soviet life."

It was a very hard time in the Soviet Union. Food was scarce and Stalin's ruthlessness was a growing cloud. Living was austere but everywhere Clark met with friendliness. He spent a couple of weeks in the winter outside Moscow at the former home of Prince Troubetskoye, which had been turned into a "Home for Culture and Rest" for intellectuals - mostly engineers and actresses. There he met Valerian Kleshchob whom he liked a great deal and later visited his family in Kiev. Valerian was a professor of Physics at the Technical Institute there. He had been one of the original Bolsheviki in his town on the Volga and had fought through the Revolution but he too was becoming disillusioned.

Julius Rosenwald had contributed a great deal of money to an organization known as Agro-Joint for the purpose of resettling Jews from the urban slums into collective farms. One of these farms was in the Crimea and Clark arranged to visit it. The approach over the steppes was more by ruts in the grass than by anything that could be called a road. As they bounced along the steppes they would pass a community in a shallow valley and then cross a hill into another. Each community seemed to be of a different ethnic group, Jews, Tartars, Germans from the Volga, etc.

In the Jewish collective the members were all most hospitable although Clark accepted their generosity with reluctance feeling that they needed the food more than he did. He visited a school and found the teacher teaching in Yiddish. "Do the pupils prefer to be taught in Yiddish?" Clark asked.

"Oh, no", she replied.

"Is it their parents who insist?"

"No, the parents want them to be taught Russian because otherwise they will not be able to communicate with the people on the other side of the hill."

"Then why in the world do you teach them in Yiddish?"

"Lenin has said", she replied, "that every people must have their own language and culture."

All these communities were wiped out during the Nazi invasion.

After a walking trip alone near Yalta, Clark took ship at Sevastopol for Batum. In his cabin was a very agreeable young naval architect on his way to Vladivostok with a group. They became friendly on the ship and on the train up to Tiflis, so Clark invited him to have dinner with him. After dinner they went to the opera. They had had a few drinks and his Russian friend was very talkative and critical of the Soviet government. Clark tried his best to get him to lower his voice but was not very successful. During the intermission the friend

went out but Clark stayed seated. By the end of the intermission his friend had not returned. Clark was very worried lest his friend's indiscretion had gotten him in to trouble but could find no trace of him. The next morning about six there was a heavy knocking on Clark's door at the hotel and there entered a very grim young man followed by several others. They demanded to know the whereabouts of Clark's friend of the night before. Clark explained that he was equally mystified and told how he had not returned at the end of the intermission.

The leader and his group left somewhat skeptically but later in the day Clark's friend telephoned and explained that he had tried to push through the door which had been closed at the beginning of the second act. He was then arrested for drunkenness. He came to dinner again and this time there were no unfortunate circumstances.

Clark found the city of Baku with its great contrast between old and new most interesting. He did not go to the opera there as he thought opera in Turkish would be much better in Istanbul. But when he got to Istanbul there was no opera.

On the train back to Moscow Clark shared a compartment with a very devout Russian Communist who believed everything put out by the official line. He undertook to convince Clark that any doubts he might have about the 100% success of the Soviet government were without substance.

In Moscow J. D. Bernal had come while Clark was there. Bernal was not travelling with Eileen his first wife whom Clark had known pleasantly while he was studying at the London School of Economics. Bernal was with an American cousin. Back in London she invited Clark to lunch to meet John Strachey. Strachey was full of questions about Russia and was shocked when Clark expressed the opinion that the average British worker was better off than the average Russian. Pressed for reasons for such an opinion Clark cited the edict that had been published while he was in Moscow, punishing any worker who was absent from his job for more than a few times. The punishment was not only the loss of his job but also his working papers which would permit him to get another job, also his food card and his apartment. In other words, he was cast out to starve. Strachey was furious and denied the existence of such an edict despite the fact that Clark said he had read it in English in the Moscow Daily News. Strachey was surly the rest of the luncheon and after he left the hostess apologized for him saying that she had never seen him so upset before. She tried to justify his actions by saying that he had come straight from his psychoanalyst. A justification that did not hold water for Clark.

After farewells to all his Moscow friends Clark took the train for Odessa and there took ship for Istanbul. He had a little trouble getting admitted into Turkey because when the customs official saw "Sociologist" in his passport they were doubtful about admitting him from the Soviet Union. After a while they were convinced that "sociologist" had no connection with "socialist".

While seeing the sights and bazaars of Istanbul, Clark became acquainted with a young Turk who gave him an introduction to a Russo-Greek friend of his in Athens, named Yuri. Yuri was very congenial and Clark was glad to have the opportunity of further practicing the Russian language. Yuri spoke no English but was a good guide. After travelling a bit on the mainland they took a ship to Rhodes, then under Italian control. After riding over Rhodes in a car Clark decided to go to Crete. He was told that the only way he could do so was by way

of Athens. Unwilling to retrace their steps, Clark asked Yuri to see if there were not some ship in the harbor willing to take them the overnight journey to Crete. Yuri found a captain with a load of pots for the potless people of Syria who was willing and eager to make the trip. About midnight they started out of the harbor in beautiful weather. Clark standing on deck tried to imagine the Colossus striding above them as they sailed out on the good ship "Marietta".

The captain insisted that Clark take his cabin which was down a few steps from the deck with an open hatch. Shortly after going to sleep Clark was awakened by the smashing of the pots as the ship rolled. He looked out of the hatch and saw all the stars swing from side to side. Unable to make sense of this phenomenon he turned over and went back to sleep. Soon afterwards the captain awakened him and told him to come on deck as the ship was completely out of control. On deck he found the ship being bounced about by a tumultuous sea (he later found it was due to an earth quake on the bottom of the Mediterranean). After three days of such bouncing the captain and all hands had lost everything they had ever eaten. They still did not dare try to go into a harbor but the captain pulled up alongside the little island of Astypalea and the crew rowed them in. Walking toward the town they then encountered a man coming from it who warned them not to go further. He said people in the town were "dying like flies from the plague". All were so hungry that no one wanted to stop at that point.

The "center" of the town was at the top of a high hill like an inverted cone, with the approaching street winding around. The people did not seem afraid of the "plague" which turned out to be influenza, but were hungry for visitors. The people coaxed the small party from the "Marietta" into every bar and regaled it with hospitality. By the time the party finally reached the peak hardly a one could still walk. They purchased a lamb and other provisions and went back to a barbecue on the deck.

A few days later they reached Candia, Crete, only to find that Clark's money was no longer any good - Roosevelt had declared the bank moratorium on that day. Soon, however, they were able to drive over the islands and to visit the famous ruins. Clark was greatly inspired by Crete as it seemed so obviously a good place for Western civilization to have started.

After returning to Athens on a steamship, Clark flew to Rome. Lawrence and Molly Tompkins were then living there and were well acquainted with Roman society. From Rome he went to Paris and London where he awaited word from Miss Fraser about her plans for another summer in France.

The letter from Miss Fraser mentioned a plan to sail down the Danube from Linz to Vienna in July and then to return to Paris to cover the fashion openings. She did not invite Clark to join her on the trip down the Danube but she did sign her letter "Mairi". Also waiting in London was a cable from the Rosenwald Fund inquiring about Clark's plans for returning. He replied by letter that he expected to get to New York in August.

The big event in London that summer was the World Economic Conference at which the big capitalist powers were trying to put their finances in a better plan and thus to pull themselves out of the depression. It was most obvious to

Clark that with the Soviet Union no longer a part of the system it was not going to be possible to get world economic relations back on the basis they were in before the war. He had been asked by Professor Zimmern to address the Geneva School of International Affairs on July 26th, and decided that his address would deal with the changed international situation.

With the help of Michael Ross an English friend of Jane Tabrisky, he wrote up his speech and then made certain changes for an article which he sent to The New Republic.

Mairi was to arrive on July 20th in Cherbourg so Clark went over to Paris to meet the train. On the 19th he received another cable from the Rosenwald Fund, this time asking for a cabled reply. So he cabled "August".

Mairi was surprised to find Clark waiting at the train but agreed to go out to dinner and dancing at the Sheherazade.

MAIRI ELIZABETH FIONA FRASER

was born at 26 Woodlawn Avenue in Toronto, Canada to Colonel and Mrs. Alexander Fraser on August 12, 1900. She was the second daughter and the fourth of seven children. Alexander Fraser had been born and raised in Inverness, Scotland. After being graduated from Glasgow University he migrated to Canada rather than take up the little farm outside Inverness which was his inheritance. In Canada he became a press reporter and later Aide to the Governor General, in which capacity he had made a colonel. He married Christina Ramsey of Ontario.

Mairi's chief interest was always music but serious study of it was prevented by her father who considered it too "trivial". Because of a serious illness of her mother, Mairi had to leave her studies at the University of Toronto and help in the home.

Against the wishes of her father Mairi accepted a position as supervisor in the Telephone Company and after a few years became the Society Editor of The Toronto Daily Star, the largest paper in Canada. Shortly thereafter she was made Woman's Editor and it was in that capacity she went to Europe.

One of Mairi's assignments from the Star was a story on a French summer resort. On the advice of the American Express, Mairi and Clark decided to go to Deauville for a weekend. They stayed in one of the large hotels but were about the only guests. The dining room and the Casino were practically deserted. The answer the French gave to all questions was, "C'est la crise".

The beach was of course beautiful and all the better for being deserted. Mairi and Clark became engaged at Deauville and went back to Paris to get ready for the next weekend in Geneva.

In Geneva Clark was supposed to stay with the Zimmerns in their home at 7 rue Jean Calvin. He called at once to tell Mrs. Zimmern that it would not be possible as he was there with his fiancée. "Why don't you get married here?" Mrs. Zimmern readily replied and when Clark agreed she added, "I will send Ross McDonald out at once to make all the arrangements".

Soon thereafter Ross called to say it was not possible to get married in Geneva on such short notice and that it would be necessary to declare vows two weeks before the ceremony. So Mairi and Clark decided to call on the Canadian consul for help.

The Canadian consul was very polite. He asked Mairi if she were not the daughter of Colonel Alexander Fraser, who he said was a friend of his. After a while he recommended that the marriage take place in Toronto. "It's a fine place to get married in". He said "I was married there". Mairi and Clark decided to try the U. S. Consulate.

The American Consulate advised that they seek the Consul at the Plage. Mairi and Clark swam out to the raft and there indeed found the Consul. He

denied that he had the right to marry them and said that there were only two places where they could get married over the weekend: one in Russia and the other at sea. Since neither seemed a possibility at that time they waited for the dinner at the Zimmerns.

When the ladies had retired to the drawing room Clark suggested to Zimmern that since he had been a professor of Greek and had written a book on Greek life he should give them a Greek wedding. But Zimmern replied that that was impossible as it took two days. Then Clark said "Okay we have tried every way possible to do this legally but we are going to get married tonight and if there is to be any moral obloquy it will have to be on your head". To this Zimmern replied, "Come let's join the ladies and I will marry you".

So they all went to the drawing room and Zimmern stood in front of the fire and performed a simply ceremony declaring Mairi and Clark man and wife, kissing them both. Then all proceeded by foot to the Conservatoire for Clark's lecture.

Afterward Clark gave a small party on the roof garden of the hotel. Ross McFarland repeatedly warned Clark that he shouldn't say they were married as legally they weren't. But Clark ignored this precious caution.

The next morning Ross called to say that the Zimmerns thought it would be better if Clark skipped the second part of his lecture. Clark replied that he thought it was necessary to finish what he had started and unless Zimmern asked him personally not to, he would go ahead with the second part. He heard no more about it and went that night to the Conservatoire where a full audience awaited him.

At the end of the lecture the audience gave a generous ovation. Clark then announced that many people had expressed disappointment that he had not talked more about Russia. Even if he had more time, he said, it would hardly be possible to deal with such a vast subject but in the remaining half hour of the time allotted to him he would talk about one aspect of life which he had noticed in the Soviet Union, namely sex.

He then proceeded to contrast the free relations he had witnessed in Moscow to the formal debuts, bows, etc. which hampered relations between the sexes in the capitalist countries. After he finished there were a few questions from timid-seeming students but no applause whatsoever, in striking contrast to the reception given the regular lecture.

On the way back to the hotel, a workman repairing the street noticed Mairi and Clark and shouted after them, "C'est l'amour! Vive l'amour!" That was an omen more welcome than applause.

They then went back to Paris for Mairi to do in two weeks what she had planned to do in two months. Clark had wired the Rosenwald Fund that he had just married and would like to stay a little longer. Embree had cabled back to stay two more weeks.

They left Cherbourg on the S.S. Isle de France and Clark thought he should take advantage of one of the ways which the American consul had said the marriage could be legalized. So Clark asked the captain of the ship if he would marry them. "Is one of you dying?" the captain asked. On being assured that they were both in perfect health he then said "Well, in that case I can't marry you. The French Line unlike all others is subject to French law". So having registered as Mr. and Mrs. Clark Foreman and having disclosed to the captain that they were not in fact married there was nothing left to do but to face it through. Fortunately the captain was a very understanding man and had a cake sent to Mairi's table on her birthday.

Clark, still eager to have the ceremony legalized, cabled George Stevens to arrange for the marriage at the City Hall when they arrived in New York. George and "Buzz" deLima were waiting at the dock and hurried them right down to City Hall where everything went smoothly.

Neither Clark nor Mairi reckoned on the dearth of social news in that Depression period and were surprised when some reporter picked up the notice from the register and wired it to the Toronto and Atlanta papers. Clark had cabled the news to his parents from Geneva but Mairi was afraid that such a cable might affect her father who was suffering from a weakened heart. So she just wrote and at the same time wrote the Editor of the Star. Mairi's letter and the telegram from the reporter in New York arrived simultaneously at the Star office. Both the Star and the Atlanta Constitution contrived the same explanation in long stories that told of a double wedding in Geneva and New York.

When Mairi and Clark went to Hudson Bay to visit Mairi's parents Mairi's letter to them and the Star arrived at the same time. At the large family dinner "Mother Fraser" asked Clark if Dr. Zimmern was a doctor of divinity.

"Oh no!" answered Clark unsuspectingly, "He is a Professor of International Affairs at Oxford."

"Then what right did he have to marry you?" asked "Mother Fraser".

Clark was silent but Mairi spoke up, "None whatsoever, Mother."

The meal continued smoothly but afterwards Mairi's sisters came to her assistance. "You know your father and I eloped" said Mother Fraser, "But we did have a minister". And that was the end of the incident.

The reason Edwin Embree had cabled Clark to come home was a job with the Secretary of the Interior, Harold Ickes. Embree had persuaded President Roosevelt that he should have a man to ensure that Negroes got their fair share of the New Deal. The President said that such a person should be in the Department of the Interior. When Clark went for his interview with the Secretary he was told that his name had been chosen out of a list of possibilities recommended by Embree.

When Secretary Ickes asked Clark to take the job, Clark replied, "As I understand it, the main purpose of the job is to see that more jobs become available to Negroes and this would seem to be one which could surely be filled by a Negro."

But Secretary Ickes replied that he did not know a Negro to whom he could offer the job and that if Clark did not take it he would offer it to another white man. On that basis Clark accepted but said he would like to have a Negro assistant and a Negro secretary. Ickes agreed and Clark started to work.

Clark chose as his assistant a young economist named Robert Weaver who had a Ph.D. from Harvard but was then teaching in a small Negro college in North Carolina. Secretary Ickes said that when his wife was in the Illinois Legislature she had a very competent Negro secretary and he recommended her, Miss Lucia M. Pitts. She was the first woman Negro secretary to be employed by the Federal Government and as such caused considerable controversy, particularly in Georgia where Governor Eugene Talmadge went on the radio nearly every day denouncing Clark for such a gesture of "social equality".

When Dr. Weaver came up for his interview it lasted well into the morning and Clark suggested that they go to the Department cafeteria and finish talking at lunch. At the time he was unsure of the system of segregation which had been worked out in previous administrations. At the entrance to the cafeteria there was a sign "For Employees Only". The only Negro employees were maids and messengers and elevator operators. They had a separate dining room. When Dr. Weaver and Clark started to order, the hostess came over and asked Dr. Weaver if he were an employee. He was nonplussed but Clark spoke up and said yes he was. So she wrote his name down and the room number of his office. The two decided then and there that if they could not eat together in their own Department cafeteria they could not very well do the job they were supposed to do. Nothing more was heard of the incident until months later when Clark overheard Secretary Ickes say to someone else, "It is just a matter of fundamental justice. Just like the case of Negroes eating in the cafeteria. When that matter was brought to my attention I said, 'Of course, it is just a matter of fundamental justice'."

Clark was supposed to operate not only in the Department of the Interior but throughout the Administration. When it came to his attention that Negro officers and professional workers were not used in the Negro CCC camps he went to talk with the head of the CCC. But the answer he got was that it was impossible because the Army would not appoint Negro officers.

At the War Office Clark was referred to a Major Major. When he got to the Major's office the Major looked at his watch and said, "It is now 4:20 and I usually leave at 4:30."

"What I have to ask won't take long," Clark replied and then proposed that Negro reserve officers be assigned to the Negro CCC camps.

"That's impossible," said the Major. "The people in the South would never stand for it."

"They did during the war when there were Negro companies", Clark said.

"You don't know what you are talking about." The Major said indignantly. "Where are you from?"

"I'm from Georgia, Major, Where are you from?"

"Well, I'm from New York, but I have spent a lot of time in the South."

When Clark reported this incident to Secretary Ickes, Clark also told him that appointments of professional workers in the CCC camps which were located in the National Parks could be made by the Secretary of the Interior. And as one of the chief objections to having Negro professional workers was that the white officers would not want to eat with them, the appointment of Negro professional workers might solve both problems. Secretary Ickes immediately replied, "Write a peremptory order for my signature directing the Park Service to appoint a Negro to the next vacancy which occurs in a Negro CCC camp in the parks." Before long a delegation from the Park Service came to Clark's office to protest the order. They said the next vacancy was for an archaeologist to help restore the battlefields at Gettysburg.

Finding an unemployed Negro archaeologist was not easy but Clark put out the word and before long had a name of a Ph.D. from West Virginia, Dr. King. He sent it along to the Park Service. Then a few days later another delegation waited on Clark. "The personnel of the CCC camp in Gettysburg eats in a dining room over the Post Office" they said. Negroes and white people do not eat together there. If you insist on going through with this, even though Dr. King is the most highly qualified candidate for the job, there will be trouble. There will be riots and bloodshed and they will be on your head! was the final threat of the retiring group. But Clark remembering it was Gettysburg said "My grandfather fought at Gettysburg to keep Negroes as slaves. Presumably your grandparents fought to free them. If there has to be more bloodshed on that question, Gettysburg is the best place." Angrily the delegation left.

Each day Clark watched the papers for news of riots and bloodshed at Gettysburg, but there was none. Months later he got a call from a colonel in Gettysburg who said he was coming to Washington and would like to talk to Clark. Of course he agreed. When the colonel arrived he said that he understood Clark was responsible for Dr. King's appointment. Clark said he was instrumental in it. The colonel then added, "I want to thank you. We haven't had a moment of trouble and if you have any more men like Dr. King I would like to get them." It was a lesson in the importance of not being intimidated.

Soon after their arrival in Washington Clark and Mairi found an apartment at 2540 Massachusetts Avenue and soon were launched into an active social life. The newspapers carried a short notice of Clark's appointment as an assistant to Secretary Ickes and Virginia Foster wrote Clark a letter saying that she was now married to Clifford Durr an attorney in the Reconstruction Finance Corporation and invited him to bring Mairi out to their home in Alexandria. When they went, Virginia also had her sister Josephine Black and her husband Senator Hugh Black.

Virginia wanted to know all about Clark's views on the race question and soon accused him of being a traitor to his family and his State. Clifford later told how he quietly moved the basket of wood away from the fire because he was afraid Virginia might otherwise have used a stick of it to attack Clark. Nevertheless they had a pleasant non-violent evening and it resulted in a long and warm friendship.

Curt Richter had a house at Gibson Island near Baltimore and he invited Clark and Mairi for frequent visits there. On them they met a very congenial Washington couple, Alice and Corrin Strong. Alice called on Mairi and Mairi returned the call. Alice then led a very full social life and generously included them in it.

Soon after they moved into their apartment Mairi became pregnant. One

night she talked in her sleep, saying, "That's what I want to do." Clark was awake so he asked her "What?" and she replied, "That. Something to do with color." The next morning he asked her about her dream and recalled the conversation. She remembered that she was going with a friend into an interior decorating shop and thought she would like to run one. Clark tried to persuade her that if she wanted to do something with color it need not be on a commercial basis; she could paint. Mairi was very modest about her ability and said she did not think she had enough talent to try. But Clark stopped by the Phillips Memorial Art School which was located not far from their apartment and picked up some literature, leaving it around for Mairi to see. Later Mairi went in and registered. She studied first with Law Watkins but later with Karl Knaths whom she found very stimulating. She continued to study painting with Knaths for three years.

Clark and Mairi spent the Christmas of 1933 in Toronto with Mairi's family. Clark's most vivid recollection of the visit was of Christmas morning when the whole family gathered in the living room and Father Fraser turned on the radio to hear King George's Christmas message. All of them stood during the entire fifteen minutes of the speech.

Early in 1934 Clark's parents drove up for a visit. As Clark's apartment was small, another apartment in the same building was rented for his parents. They arrived earlier than expected and Clark had to explain that they were having a Negro architect for tea.

His Mother immediately said, "Well. I won't shake hands with him and I won't call him 'Mr.'."

So Clark said, "Look, you don't have to come but if you do you will have to be as polite to Mr. Robinson as if he were President Roosevelt."

"Then I won't come." snapped Mother.

But she did. Promptly at tea time they all arrived. Mother shook hands with Mr. Robinson and called him "Mr.". They had a very pleasant unstrained conversation. Afterwards Clark had the impression that his Mother was very pleased that she had carried it off. Mr. Robinson never knew of the crisis in the family his visit had caused.

Clark's mother was the first to predict Mairi's pregnancy. Even while her doctors were assuring her that it was only indigestion his mother said, "It's a baby!" Clark and Mairi figured later that Shelagh had been conceived on Christmas; she was born on Yom Kippur in a section of Baltimore that was all closed down when Clark went out to get a fan, and she cut her first tooth on Easter.

Clark's speech in Geneva had been published by The New Republic with headlines on the cover page. W. W. Norton asked that it be expanded into a book and Clark brought Michael Ross over from England to help on it. With Michael doing research every day in the Library of Congress and Clark writing at night, the book was soon out. It received very favorable notices in the New York Times and other papers. It was published in England also. Ross and Clark also collaborated on another book, The Consumer Seeks a Way, published by Norton in 1935.

In his job in the Interior Department, Clark urged other departments to take on special Negro advisers and soon there was a "Black Cabinet" which held meetings to discuss the most important issues to stress. One accomplishment in the Public Works Administration was the adoption of a policy whereby contractors had to employ a percentage of skilled Negro labor at least equivalent to the percentage of the Negro population of the city where the work was being done.

After a year on the job Clark went to Secretary Ickes and said that he felt Robert Weaver could perfectly well carry on the work and that he, Clark, should retire. Ickes said that he wasn't prepared to let Clark go and asked him to stay on as a Special Counsel to the Secretary to help primarily with his speeches and a book he had in mind. So Clark stayed on in that capacity. The book was eventually brought out and entitled The New Democracy.

Toward the end of Clark's year as Special Counsel, Edwin Embree wrote that while the Rosenwald Fund had been willing to pay Clark's salary as Adviser on the Economic Status of the Negro he saw no reason why the Fund should pay his salary to write Ickes' books and speeches. When Clark told this to Ickes he agreed but said he was still not prepared to lose Clark and asked him what job in the Department he would like to have.

Clark had done extensive exploration of the work in the course of writing the book and replied, "Of all the jobs under your supervision I think the worst handled is that of applications for public power plants. As of now they are just put on the bottom of the heap as too "controversial". I think you should establish a special division to handle applications for public power loans and that I should be made the head of the division." Ickes agreed and told Clark to prepare an order for his signature establishing such a division.

The few power applications which had been approved were being held up in the courts by suits brought by the power companies challenging the constitutionality of PWA's action. So one of the first jobs was to find an outstanding lawyer to defend the Administration. Clark got Ickes' approval to bring in Jerome Frank who was then more or less in retirement in the Reconstruction Finance Corporation after having been fired by Secretary Henry Wallace from the Agriculture Department. Frank started the cases over and took them to the Supreme Court where he won an outstanding victory for the Administration. In the course of this he was opposed chiefly by Wendell Willkie and Dean Acheson. The resulting publicity was important in the successful efforts of the power companies to get the Republican nomination for President for Willkie.

One of the first visitors to the office of the Director of the Power Division was Lyndon Johnson, newly-elected Congressman from Texas who wanted help for the Lower Colorado River Authority. Clark found Lyndon a very active and ambitious young man. He told Clark that his wife stayed at home every Tuesday afternoon as Congressmen's wives were supposed to receive callers but no callers had come. He asked Clark if he would ask his wife to call. Mairi did and she and Lady Bird became quite friendly. When Mairi asked Lady Bird if she liked Washington, she replied, "No. There's too much cement."

Senator Norris of Nebraska was very much interested in Nebraska irrigation projects approved by the Power Division and a number were approved. In a few years there existed no more private power companies in Nebraska.

In about five years after the Power Division had been created, over 500 million dollars had been loaned and granted for cities and divisions of states for their own public power plants. The fact that several of the big cities in the Tennessee Valley got the money for their own plants enabled them to connect up with the TVA and that demand was important in those years before World War II caused a greater demand than could be supplied by the new dam.

In 1936 the World Power Conference met in Washington. As Director of the Power Division Clark had to participate. The high spot of the Conference was the grand banquet. In 1936 the only hall large enough to accomodate such a large gathering was the Union Station. All the benches and shops were moved out so the guests could dine (the men wearing white tie and tail coats). After the Conference a special train took those who chose on a trip to the big hydro-stations of Canada and then to the western part of the United States. They visited Grand Coulee Dam, the Skagit power development at Seattle, then on down to San Francisco, Los Angeles and to the dedication of Boulder Dam.

In June of 1937 the doctor who was to perform the Caesarian section on Mairi told her that he had to be out of town at the best time and she had to choose whether to set the date ahead or wait until he got back. Influenced somewhat by sentimental reasons Clark and Mairi chose June 4th, Clark's father's birthday, which was ahead of schedule. A good thing too, as wee Joan Fraser, as the baby was named, had become detached from the placenta and was quite blue when born. She soon recovered, however, in an oxygen bed. After Mairi came home from the hospital they occupied the Strong house near Rock Creek Park as their guests while the Strongs were at Gibson Island.

One afternoon soon after they moved into the Strong house Clark passed Shelagh carrying her little vanity basket about a block away. In reply to his question she said she was going to visit Violet in the country. Knowing Violet was an imaginary friend, Clark persuaded Shelagh to postpone her visit and come hime with him.

By 1938 the legal battles had been won and the demand for public power about satisfied. President Roosevelt sent for Clark to come to his office. When he got there President Roosevelt was very cordial and told him that he did not want Senator Walter George re-elected in Georgia and wanted his advice as to the best person to defeat him. The President said he had the promise of support from Governor Rivers. Clark told him that he had been out of the state so long he was not in a position to give him good advice but that he would be glad to do anything in his power to defeat Senator George who had consistently opposed the President's New Deal program. He also told him that he did not think the President could rely on Governor Rivers. The President said he felt sure he could. Clark said he thought it very important for the government to get out a short pamphlet telling about the New Deal and what it meant to the South as the people were not getting the word because of the opposition of the politicians and the press. He said it sounded good to him and that Clark should talk with his son James and with Lowell Mellett, the head of the National Emergency Council. The President also said that the pamphlet should confine itself to an exposure of present conditions and not suggest remedies.

James Roosevelt was unresponsive but Lowell Mellett was enthusiastic. He asked Clark to undertake and edit it. With the aid of a number of Southern-ers in various Departments the work got underway. Clifford J. Durr of the

Reconstruction Finance Committee, Alger Hiss of the State Department and Arthur (Tex) Goldschmidt of the Interior Department among others gave valuable assistance.

Clark remembering his father's often quoted remark of Ben Franklin to the effect that you could accomplish a lot more if you didn't worry about the credit, suggested to Lowell Mellett that the President appoint a committee of distinguished Southerners to sponsor the report. Mellett accepted the suggestion. Clark asked Professor Howard W. Odum of the University of North Carolina and a strong advocate of regional planning to be the chairman. Odum was still a Hoover Republican and declined. He then asked Frank P. Graham, the President of the University of North Carolina and he accepted.

A meeting of the Members of the Conference on Economic Conditions in the South was called for a government auditorium on July 4, 1938. The draft which had been prepared was submitted to the members for review and criticism. Fortunately they insisted on very few changes for when they adjourned for lunch several members left their copy on their desks. A reporter must have sneaked a copy at that time because to their great surprise the complete text appeared in the New York Times the next day. Later other papers in the South carried the entire text. In addition about a million copies of the pamphlet were distributed by the government.

Lowell Mellett needed a new man to head the Georgia office of the National Emergency Council. When he offered it to Clark, he accepted. His father was a little concerned about his coming into such open confrontation with the power forces in Georgia but he loaned Clark and Mairi his house for the summer while he and Clark's mother were in Highlands.

Clark did not take an active part in the political fight, but he did give a broadcast every morning on what the New Deal was doing for Georgia, ending each broadcast with "Georgia marches on with Roosevelt."

While Clark was in Georgia, a big reorganization took place in Washington, and the Federal Works Administration (FWA) was established, and John Carmody was appointed administrator. PWA was transferred to the FWA. Soon after Clark returned to Washington, the Defense Housing Division was established, and he was transferred from Director of the Power Division to Director of the Defense Housing Division. The job here was to see that adequate housing was provided for workers in industries important for defense. The Defense Housing Division had direct control of the housing, as distinguished from the United States Housing Authority, under Nathan W. Straus, which by law had to work through the local housing authorities. The authorities frequently were subjected to political influence in the selection of architects and other matters. The USHA as well as the Defense Housing Division was under the direction of John Carmody. Carmody set up the management schedule, and required various agencies to report progress directly to him at weekly meetings. Impatient with the slowness of the housing authorities, he decided to try to see if he couldn't get better results through the Defense Housing Division. He asked Clark to select the best architects in the country, and give them the job in various places to see if they couldn't develop some new ideas and better plans for defense housing. Clark chose about thirteen architects, including William Wooster, Alfred Kastner, Walter Gropius, Marcel Breuer and Frank Lloyd Wright. Wright was the only one

who declined, writing back rather haughtily that he wasn't interested in building "skyscrapers lying on their sides." Clark answered him to the effect that the reason they were asking him was their desire for new ideas, and new plans for meeting the housing shortage. Wright replied with a telegram, saying when he was arriving in Washington. After being assured that their only requirement was the minimum standards for health and safety, which they had required of all projects, plus the limitations established by Congress when it passed the law providing for defense housing, which were largely financial, Wright agreed to participate. The first opportunity arose near Pittsfield, Massachusetts. Talbert Wegg, accompanied Wright to Pittsfield, the mayor was delighted with the idea of having Wright, and Wright found a sight which pleased him. He designed a beautiful project which met all the qualifications. He never got a chance to have it built, however, as there was a great deal of opposition from architects in Boston, who didn't want Wright to have any project in the state. They got Attorney General Biddle to intercede with Clark on their behalf.

At this same time a housing project for Detroit, to take care of the needs of Negro workers in a defense industry there was approved to be called the Sojourner Truth Project. The Mayor of Detroit submitted a number of sites which he felt were suitable for the project. They approved one of those sites, but there was immediate opposition from the Polish Catholic community some distance from the site. Their congressman objected strenuously to Clark, but he replied that the Mayor had suggested the site and there was great need to speed up the project, which a change of site would delay. This was just after our entry into World War II, and Congress was considering a bill to extend the Defense Housing Program. After Clark was ousted as Director, the Detroit project was changed by the Federal Government to serve white people instead of Negroes. This immediately brought on a tremendous protest from the Negroes in Detroit, and the project was changed back to serve Negroes. By this time some white people had already moved in, when the Negroes started moving in one of the worst race riots in the history of the county developed - the so-called Sojourner Truth riots. It was felt by many that the riots were the indecisiveness and vacillation of the Federal Government.

Clark had previously antagonized southern congressmen on the race issue, and on the question of public power, with the support of his new enemies in Detroit and Massachusetts, they were able to block his continuance as Director of Defense Housing. They would not have been able to get away with it had Carmody still been administrator, but he had been transferred and a general appointed to take his place. The ultimatum he had received from the House Committee was that there would be no more money for Defense Housing if Clark Foreman were the Director. He gave in, and asked Clark if there was any other job that he would take instead. Clark asked him what he had in mind, and he said he was thinking of post-war planning for public works. As that was December, 1941, Clark said he wasn't even sure there would be any post-war public works, and that he was not interested in a sinecure. Clark presumed that he would have no difficulty in finding another job where he could be useful. There was much talk about the government's need for more people with executive ability, and his civil service record had always been "excellent". But as time passed, and he got no offers of other jobs, Clark went in to see the Personnel Director of the PWA, who had always been very friendly. He told Clark confidentially that he had been to the Civil Service Commission and inquired about him. The Director found that there were two marks against Clark: one was the assertion that he really was not a Ph.D. as he had never received his doctorate; the other was that he pretended to be a Christian although in fact he was a Jew. Clark told him it would be easy enough to get the confirmation of his doctorate from Columbia, but as to

the other, his parents had both always been Christians to the best of his knowledge and belief, and as we were in a war with Hitler at that time it seemed to him too irrelevant to make an issue of it. The Director said when Clark got the confirmation from Columbia, he would see to it that his record was changed accordingly, but it usually took the Civil Service Commission about six months to act on such revisions.

Although Clark never was able to prove it definitely, the fact that the head of the Civil Service Commission was a strong political ally of Senator George, made him suspect that the inclusion of the two charges in his record was no accident, but a deliberate plan to keep Clark from getting another Federal job.

About this time, Frank Lloyd Wright came to Clark in Washington, saying that he would like to give him some testimonial of his appreciation of Clark's work in the Housing Division. Clark told Wright that the best thing he could give him would be a design for a house which he hoped to build on some property he and Mairi had bought overlooking the Potomac River. Wright said he would be glad to do it, and in fact did send Clark a beautiful set of plans. Clark had specified that the cost of building the house should not be more than \$12,000. Every builder who saw the plans seemed to think that the cost would be much higher. Clark finally told Wright that he would give him \$15,000. for the finished house. He wrote back saying he was interested and would take it only as he thought he would be building something else in the vicinity. He never did, and the whole project fell through when the government ordered that no house costing more than \$6,000. should be built. Clark and Mairi then got a very nice young architect named Bernt Wagner to design them a small house on a corner position of their property. That house they build for less than \$6,000. When Frank Lloyd Wright first took an interest in the project, he came to see them in a little house they had rented on MacArthur Boulevard, because it was the only thing they could find near the building site. It was a simple, bare little house, and when Wright saw it he said, "This is not the kind of house I expected to find Clark Foreman living in." That was quite a different reaction from Bull Wooster's when he came to see them. He said, "I like this house, I'm tired of taste." Clark supposed it added up to about the same thing.

When Clark and Mairi introduced their eight year old daughter Shelagh to Wright, she asked him, "Are you as great as Bach?" Clark doesn't remember what he answered, but he took quite a liking to Shelagh, and invited her to come to Taliesin the following summer.

In 1942, Clark's old friend Francis Bitter, then a professor of Physics at M.I.T., was asked by the Navy to organize a group of civilian scientists to help analyze some of the problems which confronted it. He asked Clark to join the group which consisted of von Neumann and Alexander of Princeton, and about ten others. Clark was delighted to have this way of helping to win the war, and accepted.

Before getting Francis' invitation, there had been quite a pro Foreman agitation in the Negro press. The Pittsburgh Courier had a story with a

banner headline, "He lost his job for us." A group of leading Negroes sent a telegram to Roosevelt urging him to rectify the situation. Mrs. Roosevelt invited Clark in to tea, at the White House and discussed the problem of his employment. Clark told her as he had the PWA Administrator, that he wasn't interested in a sinecure and unless there were something important that needed to be done, he would prefer not to be in the government. After this there was a kind of a feeler by one of Secretary Perkins' assistants, who invited Clark and Mairi to dinner, but in the course of the conversation Clark expressed himself as no great admirer of hers. Clark never got another offer.

In the Navy Department the unit of scientist reported to a captain, and all went well. One of Clark's first assignments was the writing of a booklet on submarine warfare for the use of the group. After several months in Washington, it was decided that the group should go to London, and work there in the Admiralty, with their civilian operational scientists under Patrick Blackett; he has since been awarded the Nobel Prize. Before being sent overseas, it was decided that they should receive commissions and go in uniform so that if captured by the Germans, they would not be treated as spies. When the commissions were handed out, however, Clark was turned down on the grounds of color blindness. He never could understand what that had to do with anti-submarine warfare, and suspected that Senator George's friends were still getting even with him for the Georgia election. Francis Bitter told Clark that his captain had assured him that he had read through Clark's whole record, and found nothing that should have prevented him from being commissioned.

Even though not in uniform, Clark was sent along with the rest of the group to London, and worked there in the Admiralty, reporting to Patrick Blackett, but also to Lieutenant Commander Gregory Haines. The work in the Admiralty was interesting, but his part never seemed to be very significant. He made analyses of patterns of submarine behavior, and consequent losses of allied ships. After several months in London, it was decided that he should go back to Washington. Commander Haines asked him if he would mind taking some presents to his daughter, Fione who had been sent to the States for safety. Clark readily agreed, and Haines asked him if he would come out to dinner the following Sunday.

Later when Clark got to know Haines better and called him Grog, he challenged Haines as to why he hadn't paid some attention to him before he found that he could do an errand for him. Haines said he had never thought of Clark as a personality. This is a way of thinking that Clark found common to many Englishmen who really live as if they were acting a part in a play. Grog's wife, Eugenie was born in Canada, and given a liberal education by her grandmother. She was very much more like American in terms of personal relations. Clark's trip to Washington was delayed, and he got to know Grog and Eugenie very well.

Grog arranged for Clark to return to America on a British destroyer that was part of an escort for some merchant ships. They saw submarines, but had no trouble, and as far as he knew they didn't sink any.

Black Mountain College had earlier asked Clark to teach there, and having no other offers in 1943, he wrote to the College and asked if they were still interested. They urged him to come down, and even though the remuneration was very little, Clark sold their house and moved to Black Mountain.

At Black Mountain College Clark was an assistant professor of American History and Politics. He undertook a survey of the thinking of the people in the town of Black Mountain with respect to the purchase of their needs after the war, in connection with the Civilian Defense. This was an effort to bring the College closer to the community, and when the question came up of admitting Negro students Clark ardently advocated it. As a meeting of the Board of the Southern Conference had been arranged to be at Black Mountain in the near future, someone proposed that the opinion of the Board be solicited. They were overwhelmingly in favor of the College admitting Negroes. A number of the faculty were afraid to do this for fear they would antagonize the community too much. After considerable argument among the faculty and the students (the latter overwhelmingly in favor of admitting Negroes), a compromise was agreed upon, whereby one Negro student would attend the Summer Institute of Music that summer. Clark had previously arranged with the Rosenwald Fund to get a scholarship for such a student. The girl was chosen and no difficulties resulted. Before the Summer of '44, Clark agreed to go to New York to work for the CIO Political Action Committee. He went up ahead while Mairi and the children stayed in Highlands. While he was in New York a big controversy arose at the College around the arrest of two of the girl students in Chattanooga, where they were hitch-hiking back to the College. The students were not only disciplined, but their advisor, Frances de Graaff, who had a recently signed contract for a number of years, was dismissed. Clark was urged to come back for the faculty meeting that would decide on Frances' tenure. When he went back, it became clear to him that Frances was only the first of the faculty destined to lose his job. The rest of the group who had voted with Clark for the admission of Negro students were likely soon to be ousted the same way. Clark also found out that although the faculty was all supposed to be equal, Albers and Drier had life tenure and could always block any motion on Drier's interpretation of a Quaker consensus which called for unanimity. It was obviously unfair for the College to fire Frances de Graaff, who had done nothing wrong and had a binding contract. Nevertheless the faculty voted to do so. Clark refused to go back for the following year, and so did a number of the faculty and students. The details are included in the book Black Mountain by Martin Duberman.

In New York Clark lived in the apartment of Corliss Lamont until Mairi and the children came up from Highlands. Then for a while they stayed at the Winthrop Hotel, until they found a house they could afford on Park Avenue. They shared that with Fritz and Elsa Cohen and Frances de Graaff. While there Clark began receiving a salary from the Southern Conference for Human Welfare and later in 1945 they moved to Washington. In New York Clark was given the assignment by Sidney Hillman, of forming the National Citizens' Political Action Committee, which was to serve as a kind of parallel to the CIO Political Action Committee, to be devoted to the re-election of FDR. After his re-election, the Citizens' PAC was abolished and Clark started giving full time to the SCHW. As Secretary of the National Citizens' PAC he had to make a lot of speeches, the

most important of which was on a tour of the South with Paul Robeson and his accompanist, Lawrence Brown. In Memphis, they were told that the meeting scheduled in the city auditorium could not be held. They announced over the radio that if the authorities would not allow them to use the auditorium the concert would be held in a nearby park. Finally the authorities yielded, and the concert was given to a large unsegregated audience. In Savannah, after the audience had assembled and they were ready to begin the meeting, police appeared, and told them the meeting could not be held until the audience was segregated. Clark got their permission to tell this to the audience, and was explaining this and their reasons for not complying when the loud speaker system was cut off. He continued speaking, but the police lowered the curtain in front of him, so he parted the curtain and went in front to continue his speech until two burly men followed him and lifted him bodily behind the curtains. They arranged for another meeting place two nights later, and cars and loud speakers drove through the city announcing it. They had a capacity audience.

The Southern Conference for Human Welfare was initiated by Joseph Gelders of Birmingham. Gelders was at the time Southern representative of the National Committee for the Defense of Political Prisoners. He had been active in defense of the victims of the violence sponsored by some of the big corporations in Alabama in their effort to prevent the organization of labor. Carrying out his work for the defense of the victims he was himself kidnapped and brutally beaten.

In the course of promoting his idea for a conference which would attract wide attention to the abuses in Alabama he talked with Miss Lucy Randolph Mason who introduced him to Mrs. Roosevelt. She was interested and introduced Gelders to the President. The idea developed to broaden the scope of the conference to include the major problems raised in the Report.

The Conference was held in Birmingham in November, 1938 with the idea of meeting the challenge of the Report "to the total picture" and not just a detached element. It was the first large effort to do so. But although that was the intention, the reactionaries in Birmingham prevented it by insisting on the second day that all gatherings be segregated. That immediately made the race issue paramount. The Conference voted to accept the city's rule rather than disband but not to hold another segregated meeting. And in the ten years of the Conference's life no other segregated meeting was held.

There was a spirited contest for the Presidency of the Conference and Frank P. Graham, President of the University of North Carolina was elected over Judge Louise Charlton who had presided over the organization preliminaries. Clark was elected Treasurer.

Virginia Durr had abandoned her traditional views what with Clark's arguments, discussions with Joe Gelders and attendance on the hearings of the La Follette Committee at which she witnessed the admission of violence against workers by some of the most respected pillars of Birmingham society, she was active in the organization of the Southern Conference, was elected a Vice President in Birmingham and remained in that office throughout the life of the Conference. She also was instrumental in developing the Civil Rights Committee of the Conference into the National Committee for the Abolition of the Poll Tax of which she was president and which spear-headed the fight to abolish the poll tax until its final abolition by the Twenty-fourth Amendment to the Constitution.

The second Southern Conference was held in Chattanooga in 1940 and at that Conference the issue of the influence of Communists played a dominant role. There was considerable feeling that the presence of Communists in the Conference was fatal. Others felt that the Communists were loyal to the organization and doing a very good job. The mood of the country at that time was so hostile to Communism that the issue seemed likely to be completely disruptive. Several other organizations including the American Civil Liberties Union, The American Jewish Congress and the NAACP had voted to exclude Communists either entirely or from positions of leadership.

Clark's position was that the all embracing character of the Southern Conference was most important and that any efforts towards exclusion would lead to division and perhaps complete destruction. Although he agreed that as the Southern Conference was dedicated to democracy it was not appropriate to include in their midst advocates of dictatorship, no matter what kind. After considerable debate, a motion made by Clark was passed, saying that the Conference should "use their small budget and staff until the next Conference solely to extend civil and political rights in the South and to increase the economic opportunity of all southerners". Pleading the lack of time, Frank Graham resigned as President and Reverend John Thompson of the University of Oklahoma was elected to succeed him.

At the Chattanooga Conference, it was decided that a major effort should be made to end the poll tax, and extend the franchise generally in the South. A Civil Rights Committee was established with Joseph Gelders as the chairman. Gelders with substantial help from Virginia Foster Durr initiated a program which finally eliminated the poll tax as a prerequisite for voting.

In 1942, the third Conference was held in Nashville, Tennessee. There the emphasis was the South's part in winning the war. The issue of Communism was muted not only because most of the more conspicuous Communists had resigned, but also because the Communist Party was ultra patriotic in its efforts to win the war. The Reverend John Thompson felt that he could no longer carry on as President, and the Board asked Dr. Homer P. Rainey, President of the University of Texas to assume the Presidency. Dr. Rainey first accepted, and then had to decline because of pressure from his Board of Trustees. The Southern Conference Board then elected Clark and he served as President for six years, except for the time he was abroad during the war. During that period, Tarleton Collier of Kentucky, was the Acting President.

In the Fall of 1942, a meeting was held in Raleigh, North Carolina, which was called a Win-the-War Rally. It broke precedent in that city, by being completely unsegregated. Other than bolstering morale, there was little the Southern Conference could do to help win the war.

It made more progress in its campaign to abolish the poll tax and other voting restrictions. It initiated a meeting of editors and writers in Atlanta in December, 1944, on the subject of voting restrictions. Before the meeting could be held the Governor of Georgia announced that he was abolishing the poll tax in that state. The meeting, however, was a great success and findings were published in an attractive pamphlet. During the decade of the Southern Conference, the voting of Negroes in the south increased about ten fold, from approximately one hundred thousand in 1938 to approximately a million in 1948.

Increasing interest and support of the Conference was shown by organized labor. The President of the CIO, Phillip Murray, asked Clark to draft a resolution of CIO endorsement of the Conference. At Murray's request, James Carey, the secretary of the CIO introduced the resolution endorsing the Southern Conference for Human Welfare as the natural spearhead of liberal action in the South. Mr. Murray gave the Carey resolution his full support, and it was adopted by the CIO convention of 1944. This resulted in generous contributions from many CIO unions and some of those in the AF of L.

John L. Lewis, President of the United Mine Workers arranged to lend the Conference the services of Mr. Alton Lawrence of the Labor's Non-Partisan League. This loan met a long felt need of the Conference for a competent executive secretary. Later Lawrence was recalled to Labor's Non-Partisan League and Dr. James A. Dombrowski was employed by the Board as administrator.

About this time Mary Weitzman persuaded her husband Dan to do something about the theater situation in Washington. Actually there was no legitimate theater, as the old National Theater had closed down when the Theater Guild in New York refused to appear there unless segregation of the races was abolished. Dan Weitzman and a partner had bought the Dupont Apartments. There was a space available for a moving picture theater. Mary urged Dan to put one in there and make it unsegregated. Dan agreed to do this provided Clark would be the manager, which he did. Word got out of their plans to be unsegregated, and considerable pressure from the financial community was put on Dan. He was frightened, but stood firm and after the Dupont Theater showed how harmless it was to have unsegregated audiences in Washington, it became more and more the accepted pattern. (In the case of the National Theater, the Chief of Police of Washington had said it would be dangerous to permit an unsegregated audience.)

The fourth and final Conference was held in New Orleans in 1946. Clark was re-elected President without opposition.

In 1947, Henry A. Wallace had become the outstanding Champion of Roosevelt's thesis that the Democratic Party could stay in power only if it continued militantly liberal. Under the auspices of the Southern Conference, he made a number of speeches in Southern cities. All of these meetings were unsegregated despite the efforts of some municipalities to enforce segregation.

The meeting in Norfolk, Virginia was an important victory in the fight against segregation. The State of Virginia had, and still has, a law which forbids public meetings which are not segregated. The Committee for Virginia, of the Southern Conference was confident that it could not stand up in the courts, and decided to defy it. As the crowd filled the city auditorium to hear Wallace, the city police stood guard on both sides of the platform to see that no one entered onto it. They said they had orders from City Hall not to allow any one on that platform until the audience was segregated by color. With the auditorium jammed, and Wallace expected to arrive at any minute, Clark decided to go to the platform by way of some steps over the orchestra at the end of the center aisle. He called the meeting to order, and informed the audience of the position the police were taking, told them they considered the position unconstitutional, and that they were going to have an unsegregated meeting. If the police made them leave the auditorium, they would hold the meeting outside. At this point Clark called on the chairperson of the Committee for Virginia, Virginia Durr, to come to the platform. She followed Clark's path up the steps over the orchestra. Mrs. Durr first lead the audience in singing the Star Spangled Banner,

and then called on a minister she recognized in the audience, to lead them in prayer. The police apparently bewildered, took no action. The next day, the Norfolk press announced that the Southern Conference had effectively killed the segregation law.

From Norfolk, they went on to Richmond where an unsegregated meeting was held without any attempt on the part of the police to prevent it. Wallace's speaking tour included stops in North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia and Louisiana.

The Truman administration was a sad disappointment to those who had worked in the New Deal. The firing of Henry Wallace offered them a man around whom they could rally. At a dinner party in December, 1947, given by Mrs. Emmons Blaine at her home in Chicago in honor of Henry Wallace, Clark was seated next to Marshall Field, publisher of the Chicago Sun. Field told the group that he had just come from Washington, where he had been told by high officials in the Army and Navy to prepare his readers for an early war with Russia. Wallace announced over the radio the next night that he would run for President in 1948, largely as a peace candidate. There were efforts to form a party structure to support him. Many of the states had onerous requirements for a third party candidate. Angus Cameron, of Beacon Press agreed to be treasurer, but resigned under protest from his business associates. Clark agreed to accept the invitation to take his place. His job was chiefly one of speech making while he lived on his salary as manager of the Dupont Theater.

Living among people, one of whose deepest motivations seem to be their desire to help others; living on top of a mountain with a 10-mile view down to the Carribean; in a house they built to meet their every need; with a garden that provides vegetables winter and summer; visisted frequently by family and friends; Clark and Mairi both feel they have an old age retirement fitting for their lives. Yet both had to agree with the comment of a visitor, "A couple would really have to be in love to be contented with this life."