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**Hype, Headlines and High Profile Cases: J. Edgar Hoover,  
Print Media and the Career Trajectories of Top North Carolina G-Men,  
1937-1972**

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August 2003**

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Summary:

This thesis examines the relationship between J. Edgar Hoover and North Carolina State Bureau of Investigation directors and their career trajectories from 1937 to 1972 as a result of their public relations practices in high profile case investigations in the print media.

Although researchers argue that leadership characteristics impact law enforcement executives' careers, an overlooked component is the relationship between directors' career trajectories and print media when reporting on high profile cases. This thesis examines the consequences of high profile case investigations in the print media and directors' career trajectories. Namely, J. Edgar Hoover and State Bureau of Investigation directors' career trajectories are examined to demonstrate how directors used the print media to prolong their tenure. This thesis argues that State Bureau of Investigation directors modeled their public relations style in the print media and high profile investigations after Hoover's in order to accomplish a positive career trajectory.

This thesis also argues that career trajectory outcomes of State Bureau of Investigation directors who emulated Hoover's style of using the print media in high profile investigations were distinguished by prolonged career tenures. State Bureau of Investigation directors less efficacious in emulating Hoover's style were characterized with negative career trajectories. In order to better understand this career advancement outcome, the research problem is examined on the basis of a triangular relationship between Hoover's public relations practices, the State Bureau of Investigation's public relations practices that were modeled after Hoover, and print media's coverage of high profile case investigations from both agencies.

This thesis concludes that there is a direct correlation between law enforcement directors' career advancements and their public relations practices related to print media coverage of high profile cases.

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## Preface

This thesis examines the relationship between J. Edgar Hoover and North Carolina State Bureau of Investigation (SBI) directors and their career trajectories from 1937 to 1972 as a result of their public relations practices in high profile case investigations in the print media.

Although researchers argue that leadership characteristics impact law enforcement executives' careers, an overlooked component is the relationship between directors' career trajectories and print news media when reporting on high profile cases. This thesis examines the consequences of high profile case investigations in the print media and directors' career trajectories. Namely, J. Edgar Hoover and SBI directors' career trajectories are examined to demonstrate how directors used the print media to prolong their tenure. This thesis argues that SBI directors modeled their public relations style in the print media and high profile investigations after Hoover's in order to accomplish a positive career trajectory. Furthermore, it argues that SBI directors who were less successful in using Hoover's public relations style produced a negative career shift that resulted in a declining career trajectory. Although SBI directors modeled themselves after Hoover and his use of the print media, none of the SBI directors achieved a comparable prolonged tenure like Hoover.

This thesis argues that career trajectory outcomes of SBI directors who emulated Hoover's style of using the print media in high profile investigations were distinguished by prolonged career tenures. SBI directors less efficacious in emulating Hoover's style were characterized with negative career trajectories. While this research demonstrates that SBI directors experienced short-term career trajectory consequences compared to Hoover, both Hoover and SBI directors' career advancements were directly impacted by print media coverage of high profile cases. In order to better understand this career advancement outcome, the research problem is examined on the basis of a triangular relationship between Hoover's public relations practices, the SBI's public relations practices that were modeled after Hoover, and print media's coverage of high profile case investigations from both agencies.

This thesis concludes that there is a direct correlation between law enforcement directors' career advancements and their public relations practices related to print media coverage of high profile cases. The consequence of SBI directors misunderstanding the significance of the media in high profile investigations limits the length of the director's career tenure. Additionally, frequent changes in law enforcement administration as a result of diminished career tenures are likely to have administrative repercussions on impending law enforcement executive leadership.

## Acknowledgements

I would like to express my gratitude to my supervisor, Dr. D. R. Bewley-Taylor, whose guidance and assistance have been invaluable throughout my research and composition of this thesis. During the writing process, as the thesis evolved, Dr. Bewley-Taylor's insight and encouragement enabled me to accomplish this long-term goal.

Also, I am greatly indebted to Dr. Jon Roper and Dr. Phil Melling, University of Wales, Swansea; Dr. Cecil Willis and Dr. David Evans, University of North Carolina at Wilmington, who encouraged me to pursue this research, provided advice and support throughout this project.

My gratitude is also extended to the many SBI Agents and Former SBI Agents, especially Special Agents James Bradshaw, Roger Allen and Doc Hoggard, as well as the numerous retired special agents and supervisors who spent hours recounting their memories of SBI and FBI directors and their case investigations. I am especially grateful to SBI Directors James Coman and Bryan Beatty who kindly gave permission to examine early SBI archived records.

This research could not have been completed without the help from special university staff. The staff in the American Studies Department, university library, admissions office, and international student housing at the University of Wales, Swansea were always available to provide assistance whenever needed. Likewise, I appreciate the librarians at the University of North Carolina at Wilmington who assisted with a colossal number of inter-library loan requests. I am especially grateful to Ms. Louise Jackson, retired reference librarian, at the University of North Carolina at Wilmington. Ms. Jackson who is a storehouse of knowledge was readily available to assist in retrieving documents and resources with efficiency and ease.

Also, I am especially indebted to lifelong friend, Edward Morris, archivist, North Carolina Division of Archives and History, who assisted with retrieving the early records and news bulletins of the SBI. Through his knowledge, expertise, and guidance, he enabled me to retrieve untouched documents and records that had been stored at the North Carolina archives for decades.

And, lastly, I especially thank my devoted wife, Margaret, who provided support, patience, and understanding throughout this research project.

## Introduction

This thesis examines the parallels that existed between the career trajectories of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) Director and North Carolina State Bureau of Investigation (SBI) Directors during the period 1937 to 1972. It shows how, with varying success, both J. Edgar Hoover and SBI directors utilized public relations practices, high profile case investigations, and the print media to promote positive career paths.

During this thirty-five year period, while these factors impacted directors' career trajectories both the FBI and SBI experienced administrative changes that occurred in policing associated with three historical policing eras. The historical eras of policing according to George L. Kelling and Mark H. Moore are compared to Soren Kierkegaard's observation that life is lived forward, but understood backwards. Changing historical patterns in police directors' selection and career tenure, like historical changes in general must be recognized and understood in order to appreciate and understand contemporary directors' career trajectories that occur in police organizations.<sup>1</sup> This premise is used to examine the positive and negative effects that print media coverage of high profile case investigations have on FBI and SBI directors' career trajectories. When Hoover and SBI directors' career trajectories are examined a correlation between print media coverage of high profile cases and the directors' career trajectories is observable.

In research studies of law enforcement administrators' careers in the United States, the correlation between print media, high profile cases and career trajectory has been overlooked. Therefore, the career trajectories of FBI and North Carolina SBI directors were selected for comparison in this research since the FBI directly impacted the formation of the SBI. This thesis also examines print media, high profile case investigations and their impact on J. Edgar Hoover and SBI directors' professional success or failure, namely their career trajectories. Historically, the career trajectory experience or the director's professional accomplishments and failures, indicated a law enforcement agency's success or failure. Consequently recognizing these factors will benefit law enforcement agencies as well as directors.

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<sup>1</sup> Jack R. Greene and Stephen D. Mastrofski, eds., *Community Policing: Rhetoric or Reality* (New York: Praeger, 1988) p. 3.

The methodology for identifying high profile cases included interviewing the investigating agents with personal knowledge pertaining to high profile cases and directors' careers. In order to assess the impact on public opinion, research also included locating articles in statewide and national newspapers that received substantial media coverage. Nevertheless, high profile cases are not necessarily cases that made substantial print media coverage, but are important to the agency. In these important investigations, one principal aspect of a high profile case often involved political interest. Frequently, the victim or suspect was a political figure, someone who had political connections, an important person in the community or a political constituent known personally by the director. The director, a supervisor, or someone of higher rank in the organization made a case important according to the degree of significance that they associated with the case. Although an examination of case investigation documents would have contributed in establishing high profile case investigations, actual SBI case investigation documents are unavailable.

Unlike Federal documents, SBI records in North Carolina are not applicable to the Federal Freedom of Information Act that provides public disclosure of federal government documents.<sup>2</sup> SBI records are permanently sealed as mandated by North Carolina General Statutes; consequently, general access to SBI records and case files are prohibited.<sup>3</sup> SBI records are only available with the director's permission for legal inquiries into case investigations or by court order; otherwise, the research for this study would have included the actual case records.<sup>4</sup> Therefore, since SBI records are not public documents, the method of selecting high profile cases for this research was from two primary sources

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<sup>2</sup> *Guide to Research Materials in the North Carolina State Archives: State Agency Record* (Raleigh, NC: Department of Cultural Resources, Division of Archives and History, Archives and Records Section, 1995) p. 439.

<sup>3</sup> North Carolina Legislature, House of Representatives, *House Bill 195, Chapter 280: An Act to Amend Section 114-15 of the General Statutes of North Carolina Relating to Records of the State Bureau of Investigation* (Raleigh, North Carolina: General Assembly, 1947).

<sup>4</sup> James J. Coman, Personal Interview of Former Guilford County Assistant District Attorney, Former Chief of the Criminal Division of the N.C. Department of Justice, Former SBI Director and Senior Deputy Attorney General, 24 March 2000.

as previously noted. They included the print media and interviews with agents and former directors who had primary knowledge of cases and print media that influenced the directorship during this thirty-five-year period of police history.

This thesis will also cover the historical development of the North Carolina SBI and its directors from Frederick Handy through Charles Dunn whose publicity styles and tenures paralleled J. Edgar Hoover's. The SBI and its appointment policy for directors have not been previously researched. This is the first outside original examination of factors that influenced the appointment process for the SBI directors and their career trajectories.

Throughout the history of American police, the directorship in federal and state law enforcement agencies has undergone significant reform as a result of political and cultural changes to the organizations. Scholars of Harvard University's Kennedy School of Government divided American policing into three eras, political, reform, and community policing. Each has a unique administrative approach to law enforcement operations. Hoover and the SBI directors' career trajectories and the influence of high profile investigations and the print media were examined in the context of these three policing eras.

The first era began in the 1840s and ended in 1929 and is described as the political era due to the relationship between the police and public officials. Communities benefited from police services; however, police directors' allegiance was to the powerful influential politicians. The second period began in 1930 and extended until the 1970s. This period was referred to as the reform era, and is recognized as a period of professionalism. Law enforcement directors concentrated their efforts on investigating major crimes such as organized crime, narcotics, homicide, robberies, and arson. The final era began in the 1970s. This era has been identified as community policing and the agency partners with the community. This era developed from a need to resolve community problems that emerged between the community and police.<sup>5</sup>

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<sup>5</sup> Frank Schmalleger, *Criminal Justice Today: An Introductory Text for the Twenty-First Century* (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall, 1991) p. 180.

Since the origin of law enforcement agencies in America and throughout these eras in police history, law enforcement agencies have not traditionally practiced a standardized method for the selection and tenure of law enforcement directors.<sup>6</sup> Although during these three eras, traditional promotional methods influenced directors' career trajectories this research also indicated that Hoover and SBI directors' public relations practices in print media coverage of high profile case investigations played a salient role in their career outcomes as well.

In 1908, nearly a quarter of a century before the political era in police history ended, the earliest federal law enforcement agency that lead to the creation of the Federal Bureau of Investigation was established. By the 1930s many states soon followed suit by organizing state law enforcement agencies. North Carolina formed the State Bureau of Identification and Investigation in 1937 during the reform era; however, the turbulent political era influenced the director's career trajectory.

When the gubernatorial candidate won the governor's race, the first SBI director was appointed by the new governor as a political favor and worked at the pleasure of the governor. Even during this early period, police directors selected by politicians were aware of the consequences of the print media and avoided any negative print media publicity that may cause their political superiors to question their appointments.<sup>7</sup>

Although politics influenced the tenure of federal and state law enforcement directors, essential to both positions was the impact of high profile case investigations and the print media. Like other state law enforcement agencies throughout the United States, initially, Hoover observed strict hiring standards while the SBI directors determined the hiring criteria for agents. However, multiple internal and external factors influenced the

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<sup>6</sup> David R. Johnson, *American Law Enforcement: A History* (St. Louis, Missouri: Forum Press, 1981) pp. 57-58. According to Johnson, early in law enforcement organizations like New York City, one of the first modern police agencies, personnel recruitment, hiring, and promotion were influenced by political favors since police administrations were elected or appointed by elected officials. Consequently, the first law enforcement officers and directors were often hired and promoted based on their friendship with politicians.

<sup>7</sup> James Bradshaw, Personal Interview of Former SBI Special Agent and Assistant Director, 27 November 1995. Bradshaw recalled the consequences of negative publicity to Powell's position as SBI Director.

selection process for the director. This thesis argues that high profile cases and print media coverage affected directors by strengthening or weakening their career trajectories.

At the state level, particularly with the SBI during this period, two former agents who investigated high profile cases and received extensive positive print media coverage of case investigations advanced and became SBI directors.<sup>8</sup> As directors, they continued their public relations practices that were modeled after Hoover's publicity style and utilized the print media and high profile cases to propel their successful career trajectories. A review of Hoover's publicity style using the print media and the SBI directors' emulation of Hoover will demonstrate the effect of high profile cases and print media on their career trajectories. While political changes in the attorney general's office frequently had an adverse affect on the directors' career trajectories, high profile cases in the print media generally had a positive effect on their career advancement.<sup>9</sup>

Although career advancement in law enforcement has been studied, researchers have not examined print media and high profile cases as variables that impact chief executives' career trajectories in law enforcement. Police executives' career advancement research includes traditional aspects of the promotional process. Among the literature surveyed involving police promotions, none referenced the impact of the print media in high profile cases on police directors' career trajectories. Following are some research studies that examine career advancement in law enforcement.

Police researcher David R. Young described the selection, career advancement, and promotional process by evaluating historical, organizational and philosophical aspects of law enforcement. Young determined that some of the first police agencies' recruitment, hiring, and promotional practices were tainted by political corruption since elected officials appointed police administrators. Young's research did not consider the effect of print

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<sup>8</sup> James R. Durham, Personal Interview of Former SBI Special Agent, Documents Examiner, Supervisor, Assistant Director, and SBI Acting Director, 16 December 1997. Durham noted that Creekmore and Powell became directors prior to 1972.

<sup>9</sup> Dan Gilbert, Personal Interview of Former SBI Special Agent and Supervisor, 18 January 1998.



media in high profile cases on police executives' career trajectory during the political era. His research focused primarily on the political impact of police executives' careers.<sup>10</sup>

Additionally, researchers, Karen Boehnke and Andrea DiStefano, compared traditional law enforcement organizations to military organizations. These two researchers determined that the leader's role in the organization influences the promotional process. Their research also failed to consider the effect of the print media and high profile investigations on police leaders' career trajectories.<sup>11</sup>

August Vollmer, Chief of Police, Berkeley, California; Professor of Police Administration, University of Chicago and the University of California, used research in order to establish appropriate police assignments based on officers' potential. During the time he observed career trends in law enforcement, the Civil Service exam was a commonly used method to make career determinations; however, Vollmer concluded in his research that the Civil Service exam should not be used as a conclusive measure to determine law enforcement personnel's capabilities. Although Vollmer did extensive research in the area of career advancement, there is no indication that he considered the impact of the print media and high profile cases on career advancement or the longevity of directors in positions of authority at the federal or state law enforcement level.<sup>12</sup>

Police management researchers William Melnicoe and Jan Menning incorporated a broad spectrum of instruments in their study that many police management studies include: written examination, oral interview, appraisal boards, social skills tests; service ratings, seniority, peer ratings, and assessment centers. They also discuss two traits that could be closely associated with career trajectories that are influenced by the print media in high profile case investigations. However, these two traits, extroversion and aggressiveness,

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<sup>10</sup> Johnson pp. 57-58.

<sup>11</sup> Karen Boehnke and Andrea C. DiStefano, "Leadership for Extraordinary Performance," *Business Quarterly* 61 (1997): pp. 54-56.

<sup>12</sup> August Vollmer, *The Police and Modern Society* (Montclair, NJ: Patterson Smith, 1971) pp. 225-230.

are not associated in their study with print media in high profile cases on career trajectories of senior administrators.<sup>13</sup>

Dennis R. Baltzley concluded in his study that the Behavioral Assessment Dimension Guided Evaluation (BADGE) is the most effective method to evaluate leadership potential among law enforcement officers. BADGE is a revamp of the oral interview process. The candidate for promotion is required to describe on-the-job situations before an interview board. After interviewing applicants, the board makes a recommendation to the hiring official or the board will be empowered to employ the applicant. Although the oral interview that is a component of the BADGE method has been used to select SBI directors, this study also does not include the influence of print media in high profile case investigations in determining potential SBI director candidates and their influence on directors' career trajectories.<sup>14</sup>

Many surveys conducted by researchers observe promotional practices within the lower ranks of law enforcement. Douglas Cederblom, an industrial psychologist, examined written exams and studied their effectiveness in determining career advancement. His findings indicated that written tests are not a conclusive measure of all qualifications needed for promotion. Cederblom, like other researchers who have studied promotional aspects in law enforcement, makes no mention of print media in high profile cases as a significant factor in career trajectory.<sup>15</sup>

Studies include research pertaining to career advancement ranging from education and training to police psychology and behavior. Researchers make valid recommendations for effective methods in determining police candidates for advancement in their careers. However, none of the research discussed the tenure of senior police executives and factors that heighten or diminish their career trajectories. Furthermore, print media in high profile

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<sup>13</sup> William B. Melnicoe and Jan C. Menning, *Elements of Supervision*, 2nd ed. (Encino, California: Glencoe Publishing Co., Inc., 1978) p. 41.

<sup>14</sup> Dennis R. Baltzley, "Filling the Gap Between Written Tests and Assessment Centers," *The Police Chief* 58 (1991): p. 47.

<sup>15</sup> Douglas Cederblom, "Written Promotional Exams: How Good are They," *The Police Chief* 57 (1990): pp. 27-28.

investigations is not examined as an aspect that decreases or increases directors' career tenures.

Additionally, researchers have not conducted any comparative studies examining state law enforcement directors who emulated Hoover's public relations methods and their consequential impact on career trajectories. Since SBI directors emulated Hoover's public relations style in publicizing high profile cases that affected their career trajectories, the origin and development of the SBI as well as the directors who followed Hoover's print media paradigm are examined.

Traditionally, numerous factors have influenced the promotional process of police leaders: organizational structure, politics, professional associations, unions, federal legislation, training and standards. Law enforcement organizations were structured similarly to military organizations. Leaders of a bureaucratic hierarchy profoundly influenced an organization depending on their philosophy or leadership roles.<sup>16</sup> Furthermore, the relationship between politicians and police administrators influenced the career trajectory of directors. Also, early in the history of police organizations, professional associations and unions formed that played an essential role in the career trajectories of police directors.<sup>17</sup> Although early organizations were not associated with the labor movement, professional organizations and associations emerged that advocated fair standards and practices in the selection and promotional criteria for employees. Namely, the International Association of Chiefs of Police (IACP) supported the formation of civil service for police officers.<sup>18</sup> It also advocated removal of political influence and

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<sup>16</sup> Boehnke pp. 56-64.

<sup>17</sup> Hervey A. Juris and Peter Feuille, *Police Unionism: Power and Impact in Public-Sector Bargaining* (Massachusetts: Lexington Books, 1973) pp. 15-17. The first national organization affiliated with a labor union was the American Federation of State, County, and Municipal Employees (AFSCME). Another early union-like organization, the Fraternal Order of Police (FOP) formed in Pittsburgh in 1915.

<sup>18</sup> Steffen W. Schmidt, Mack C. Shelley, II, and Barbara A. Bardes, *American Government and Politics Today* (St Paul, MN: West Publishing Company, 1985) pp. 454-455. The Pendleton Act, most commonly referred to as the civil service act, was the forerunner of other federal legislation that protects employees and guarantees a fair and nondiscriminatory work environment.

control from the agencies.<sup>19</sup> However, the political process continued to pervade the director's position and it remained a political appointment within the FBI as well as the SBI.<sup>20</sup>

In the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, police professionalism suffered in the United States. As evidence, there were several police scandals throughout the United States that brought national attention to the activities of law enforcement agencies. Consequently, President Herbert Hoover created the national Commission on Law Observance and Enforcement to examine these problems. Named after its chairman, George Wickersham, the Wickersham Commission focused on political corruption and police brutality. Three major recommendations of the commission were to strengthen personnel standards, centralize police administration, and implement the use of technology.<sup>21</sup> Additional recommendations of the Wickersham Commission that resulted in more professional police agencies were to change the police selection and promotional procedures. Also, the commission recognized that state police agencies could offer substantial assistance in the form of expertise and resources to local law enforcement in rural areas.<sup>22</sup> The recommendations of the Wickersham Commission constituted a major reform policy in law enforcement and the reform reinforced positive career trajectory outcomes for law enforcement professionals.

While the Wickersham Commission was being established in Washington, D.C., on the west coast, Vollmer, the researcher previously discussed who did extensive research on law enforcement career advancement, was contributing significantly to the professionalism of law enforcement. According to Vollmer, if untrained and unfit

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<sup>19</sup> Joseph J. Senna and Larry J. Seigel, *Introduction to Criminal Justice* (St. Paul, Minnesota: West Publishing Company, 1993) p 217.

<sup>20</sup> Bryan Beatty, Personal Interview of Former SBI Special Agent, Attorney, Assistant Attorney General, Deputy Attorney General, SBI Director, and Secretary of Crime Control and Public Safety, 16 February 2000. Attorney General Michael Easley appointed Beatty as SBI Director. When Easley was elected Governor, he appointed Beatty to the position of Secretary of Crime Control and Public Safety.

<sup>21</sup> Larry K. Gaines, Michael Kaune, and Roger Leroy Miller, *Criminal Justice* (Belmont California: Wadsworth, 2000) pp. 119-120.

<sup>22</sup> Richard N. Holden, *Law Enforcement: An Introduction* (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall: 1992) p. 68 and p. 85.

individuals were hired in law enforcement, disrespect and distrust by the general citizenry would eventually result in the demise of the law enforcement organization.<sup>23</sup> Vollmer utilized postsecondary educational institutions for police training, was the first to incorporate vehicles for police patrol, and employed scientists to assist in evidence examination. Vollmer was instrumental in the development of the first criminal justice training program in the United States.<sup>24</sup>

Another contributor to police reform was O. W. Wilson. Wilson, a protégé of Vollmer, developed a style of policing known as the professional model. This model advocated the use of a bureaucracy for efficiency in the police organization, the incorporation of new technology and the elimination of politics from police work.<sup>25</sup>

While police researchers like Vollmer, Wilson and officials of the Wickersham Commission made recommendations, a modernization process transpired across the United States in police agencies. Some of the first changes of this modernization process involved restructuring the department by promoting ethical supervisors and establishing selection standards for new recruits. The objective was to deter future internal corruption among law enforcement officers.<sup>26</sup> Consequently, early hiring standards, even though rudimentary at best, were developed to hire qualified candidates to fill police positions and promote competent, ethical officers to supervisory and administrative ranks within police agencies. Professional developments at the entry level had the potential to impact the senior administrative and directorship positions when recruits who were hired based on the minimum training and standards criteria eventually advanced to the director's position.

However, not only did traditional factors that influenced the overall selection and promotional process in police organizations potentially impact directors' career trajectories, additional factors influenced the directors' career trajectories who had direct

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<sup>23</sup> Vollmer p 216.

<sup>24</sup> Gaines pp. 120-121.

<sup>25</sup> Gaines pp. 120-121. Wilson's professional model involved the creation of police units such as traffic squads, vice squads, and investigative units that had citywide jurisdiction.

<sup>26</sup> Gaines p. 120.

and indirect involvement in high profile case investigations that received print media coverage. Although many changes occurred in police organizations during Hoover's tenure, he maintained his position as FBI director as a result of information he obtained as well as high profile investigations and his publicity style. In addition, the career trajectories of SBI directors' who emulated Hoover's publicity style were directly impacted by their actions while professional changes in policing occurred.

Modernization and professional developments continued and throughout the United States police organizations adopted minimum standards and training for police officers.<sup>27</sup> North Carolina was consistent with other states across the nation. Initially, the SBI director selected, interviewed, hired, and promoted agents based on the director's criteria. However, like other police agencies that were challenged to become more professional, the SBI adopted a standardized hiring and promotional process influenced by the state's minimum training and standards council.<sup>28</sup>

As states adopted minimum standards guidelines, the professional environment in law enforcement agencies strengthened and as a result, the career trajectories of law enforcement directors were either reinforced or jeopardized. Not only was print media coverage of high profile cases important to the director's career trajectory, but also as a result of the professional developments that came about as a result of minimum standards, the director's professional involvement in high profile investigations were more closely scrutinized by the print media.

The primary purpose of the minimum standards and training council was to establish minimum training standards. However, three law enforcement associations, the IACP, National Organization of Black Law Enforcement Executives (NOBLE), and the National Sheriff's Association (NSA) promoted promotional procedures. Ultimately, accreditation was established to promote professionalism in the agencies.<sup>29</sup> Each law

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<sup>27</sup> Charles R. Swanson, Leonard Territo and Robert W. Taylor, *Police Administration: Structures, Processes, and Behavior*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (New York: Macmillan Publishing Co., 1988) p. 30.

<sup>28</sup> Albert Coates, *The Beginning of Schools for Law Enforcing Officers in North Carolina* (Chapel Hill, NC: Professor Emeritus Fund, 1983) p. 143.

<sup>29</sup> Martin I. Kurke and Ellen M. Scrivner, eds., *Police Psychology Into the 21<sup>st</sup> Century* (Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Publishers, 1995) p. 32-33.

enforcement agency could not decrease the minimum standards training topics or lecture times. The police selection process varied throughout the United States, and individual state training and standards councils generally determined the minimum standards for entry-level positions

Although FBI and SBI directors were both appointed through the political process, some directors advanced from within the ranks of the law enforcement agency. Historically, the law enforcement director's selection and career trajectory was determined by political favoritism. However, additional factors increased agents' career trajectories and influenced the attorney generals who appointed directors. Those factors included high profile cases reported in the print media. Agents who investigated high profile cases reported in the print media were perceived as leaders. Therefore, the perception of agents by political leaders and professional hiring criteria at the entry level influenced directors' career trajectories. Even though SBI agents were initially hired based on the director's judgment, eventually agents were required to have a college degree.<sup>30</sup>

Also, examined are the comparable characteristics between the FBI and the SBI, the use of high profile cases reported by the print media and the consequences they had on Hoover and SBI directors' career trajectories. More specifically, it will be argued that high profile cases augment the length of career tenure for directors who use publicity to advance their public image thereby influencing public perception as well as politicians who appointed them. Conversely, disparaging print media coverage of high profile cases decreases the length of career tenure if the media denigrates or distorts the directors' actions or image. Therefore, the effect of print media coverage of high profile cases is analyzed by examining the Federal Bureau of Investigation and the North Carolina State Bureau of Investigation.

After careful examination of the literature on Hoover, his publicity style and its relationship to his career trajectory, research indicates that the relationship between his career trajectory and the print media in high profile case investigations has not previously

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<sup>30</sup> Stephen R. Jones, Personal Interview of Former SBI Latent Print Examiner and Special Agent, 30 September 1998. Jones said SBI Directors Anderson, McBryde, and Dunn would not allow him to transfer from the lab to the field as an investigative agent since he did not have a baccalaureate degree.

been studied. Therefore, these factors are examined in this thesis in relationship to his influence in the law enforcement community and the power he exercised over the FBI, constituents, politicians, and print media. J. Edgar Hoover made an indelible impression on the law enforcement community and especially SBI directors who emulated his publicity style. However, although SBI directors emulated Hoover's print media practices, none of the SBI directors experienced long-term successful career trajectory outcomes like Hoover.

Two main differences between Hoover's FBI at the national level and the SBI at the state level were the availability of resources and national jurisdiction. Hoover had extensive resources and federal law that gave him jurisdiction to collect information on citizens. This included sensitive information on political leaders and important people throughout the nation.<sup>31</sup> On the other hand, the SBI did not have the resources or the legal authority to collect information on citizens. Therefore, the SBI directors had less political advantage than Hoover to control their career trajectories. Hoover was able to use this information along with high profile investigations and the print media to maintain his career trajectory.

Chapter one examines historical periods of policing in America in which the major eras are identified as well as discusses their influence on police organizations. Also, included are the affects of the political era on policing and the formation of the FBI and SBI during a period of political turmoil and corruption. This chapter presents the gradual addition of increased hiring standards for law enforcement officers and the development and implementation of professional training for officers entering the profession and the potential for these factors to impact directors' career trajectories. In addition to traditional promotional procedures, high profile cases are defined and illustrated to demonstrate their effect on the professional success or failure of law enforcement agency directors during the early historical periods of policing. This thesis defines professional

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<sup>31</sup> Melissa August, Elizabeth L. Bland, Janice Horowitz, Roy B. White, and Rebecca Winters, "27 Years Ago in Time," *Time*, 159:24 (2002): p. 23.



success or failure as the positive or negative outcome of FBI and SBI directors' career tenures and is referred to as career trajectory.

While there is a shift from political to professional emphasis in the selection process of law enforcement directors during the policing eras, the impact of directors' exploitation of print media coverage of high profile cases on their careers is also examined. In addition, the origin of the FBI and J. Edgar Hoover's utilization of high profile cases and the print media are detailed and examined in order to establish their relationship with Hoover's career trajectory. Hoover controlled the release of information in high profile case investigations and that became identified as his style of reporting news to the print media. This style benefited him and became the model for SBI directors who successfully imitated his news release method of high profile case investigations.

In the early 1930s when the FBI was newly formed, Attorney General Homer Cummings successfully established and promoted a positive relationship with the print media.<sup>32</sup> Cummings fostered the public relations strategy that Hoover implemented and cultivated. Once law enforcement directors, especially J. Edgar Hoover, realized the significance of developing congruent relationships with the print media, they gained professional empowerment and achieved advances in their career trajectories.

Chapter one examines Hoover's publicity methods and his rising career trajectory with the FBI. Hoover diverts print media attention away from the criminal and redirects it in order to venerate the FBI as well as himself. The outcome was a favorable reflection on Hoover's character and reputation as a leader. As the head of the FBI, Hoover used all types of media and especially the print media to broadcast his ideal of America's most wanted image of the FBI and himself. Director Hoover became entrenched in the mind of the reader as an arch nemesis crime fighter as a result of the print media.

While Hoover established and reinforced his command and control of law enforcement and the print media at the federal level, the state of North Carolina initiated a state law enforcement agency, the State Bureau of Identification and Investigation (SBI & I); later the agency name changed to the State Bureau of Investigation (SBI). The origins

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<sup>32</sup> Anthony Summers, *Official and Confidential: The Secret Life of J. Edgar Hoover* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1993) pp. 100-101.

of the SBI, its first two leaders and promotional developments under their leadership are examined in this chapter. Director Frederick Handy, the first SBI director, studied selected local, state and federal law enforcement agencies in the United States and subsequently created an agency similar to the FBI. Not only did Handy model the SBI after the FBI, but through discussion of the print media's coverage of high profile case investigations, like Hoover, Handy also made the news releases and bolstered the agency's image by using publicity to generate political and public support for the fledgling state law enforcement agency. In view of this, print media coverage of high profile cases benefited the director professionally in his political ambitions and his career trajectory.

This chapter will show that directors were recognized for their leadership abilities when their agents conducted high profile case investigations that reflected a favorable image of the agency. An account of the agents' tireless efforts in investigating a high profile case illustrates the direct career trajectory impact that agents have on directors' positions in law enforcement agencies. Although Handy modeled the SBI after the FBI, his position as director did not prevail for decades. However, agents acknowledged that the organizational structure of the SBI was similar to the FBI and credited Director Handy with that accomplishment.<sup>33</sup>

In addition, this chapter examines the correlation between the SBI and the FBI, and it is evident from the administrative structure of the SBI that Handy's blueprint originated from the FBI.<sup>34</sup> Like Hoover, Handy's career trajectory was positively influenced by the way he handled the print media in reporting high profile crimes investigated by agents under his direction. When Handy retired he recommended Thomas Creekmore to lead the SBI and the attorney general concurred. There is a lack of high profile case investigations reported in the print media during Creekmore's limited tenure but his tenure is steeped in political connections. SBI directors who succeeded Handy and Creekmore emulated Hoover's public relations practices in reporting high profile case

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<sup>33</sup> Bradshaw 2 December 1995.

<sup>34</sup> John B. Wemyss, Personal Interview, Former SBI Special Agent, 7 November 1998.

investigations to the print media and discussions of their career trajectories are included in the subsequent chapters.

Chapter two shows an increase in directors providing high profile case investigation information to the press throughout the post war years. While the print media coverage expands during this period, directors' career trajectories continue to reflect the impact of the print media reporting news stories related to high profile case investigations. Also, chapter two includes an examination of studies conducted during this period that were designed to assess professionalism, promotional practices and the implementation of the findings in these areas in an effort to counteract corruption in law enforcement. At the same time these studies prompted changes in police administrations, the ongoing influence of the print media and high profile case investigations on directors' career trajectories continued to occur. This time of change in police history came to be known as the reform era. During this period, organizations emerged that revolutionized the philosophy of police administration and public relations styles. They were interested in reforming police administration practices through collecting, studying, standardizing, and summarizing factual data to promote professionalism in law enforcement and facilitated mutual cooperation between agencies. Prior to this period in police history, directors experienced challenges in promoting a positive image through the print media due to the popularity among the print media to report corruption and scandals. Chapter two illustrates the consequences of positive print media reporting of high profile case investigations on directors' career trajectories during this period of reform. Although none of the SBI directors maintained their positions as director as long as Hoover, the SBI directors' who emulated Hoover's public relations style benefited with increased tenures. In the early 1940s, the print media exposure was primarily negative because corruption was prevalent during the previous political period in law enforcement agencies at every level. Chapter two shows that while organizational reform had an impact on the professionalism of police organizations, print media trends also reformed and began to report on high profile case investigations with a more positive emphasis toward police leaders.

Chapter two introduces the shift from the political to the reform era as evidenced through training and education for law enforcement personnel. As a result of this shift, the SBI experienced the advantage of training provided by the agency that it was modeled after. Noted is Hoover's first step toward reform in North Carolina law enforcement. He released one of his FBI training agents to assist with training at the Institute of Government in Chapel Hill. Training and education fostered a more professional agency equipped to promote better relations with the print media thus advancing directors' career trajectories. Although more in depth print media reporting of high profile cases occurred during the beginning of the reform era, even more occurred during the mid to late 1940s.

Chapter two examines, in particular, research focusing on traditional and non-traditional leadership attributes and their effect on directors' careers. In a study conducted by Melville Dalton, his research findings are relevant when applied to the career outcomes of directors' who supervise investigators who work high profile cases.<sup>35</sup> This chapter illustrates that investigators of high profile cases enabled their directors to receive additional print media recognition through their association with the investigators. Additionally, this chapter illustrates that while agencies continued to adapt their promotional standards, the use of print media in high profile cases continued to play an important part in the director's tenure.

Chapter two relates how Hoover remained steadfast in the political arena and maintained his position as director. Despite investigations that could potentially cause some directors' career trajectories to plummet, Hoover championed his position through the print media when investigations involving the espionage, Communism, and organized crime ensued. In contrast, it will be shown that two of the SBI directors, Anderson and Powell, were unable to endure political pressure despite the fact that they emulated Hoover's print media practices and temporarily experienced promising career trajectories. Anderson and Powell had different administrative management styles and philosophies, but they both experienced positive career trajectories because of their practices utilizing the print media in reporting high profile case investigations. Although they experienced

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<sup>35</sup> Melville Dalton, "Informal Factors in Career Achievement," *American Journal of Sociology* 56: 5 (1951): pp. 407-408.

positive career trajectory benefits from print media coverage of high profile cases, the two SBI directors' potentially long-term benefits were short lived due to changes in the political climate at the state level.

As the reform era continued, chapter three examines the consequences of technological changes that emerged during the 1950s and 1960s. Print media options expanded. For example, the AP provided a more global audience, and directors took advantage of the worldwide dissemination of high profile investigations using this advanced print media. They reported such high profile case investigations as organized crime, Communism, counterintelligence, Civil Rights, local politics, and corruption that not only benefited their career trajectories but also in some instances devastated their career trajectories. This chapter discusses the decline in public and political support following newspaper reports of two high profile investigations involving an SBI agent and a state college basketball team scandal. We see in this chapter that unlike Hoover who is never defeated by negative print media, SBI directors cannot overcome the effects of negative print media on their career trajectories. In the print media, Hoover's public position always put national security and interest first; therefore, he is perceived as the defender of American ideals. SBI directors discussed in this chapter did not have state issues that affected voters as much as Hoover did at the federal level; therefore, they remained at the mercy of the politicians not the voters.

Moreover, chapter three illustrates how political leaders not their constituents determined directors' career outcomes based on the print media and high profile investigations. At the state level, we see how Jimmy Powell's career trajectory as SBI director waned because the Attorney General was dissatisfied with Powell's leadership. Consequently, print media reports developed that lead to an internal high profile investigation of Powell's effectiveness as SBI director and eventually lead to this dismissal. Anderson replaced Powell and Anderson's appointment to a second term to the SBI is a classic example of a master politician at work. Anderson was resourceful and

knowledgeable pertaining to party politics.<sup>36</sup> However, this chapter also demonstrates that negative print media coverage of high profile case investigations contributed to the decline of Anderson's career trajectory. It is shown that decisive factors in the failure of Anderson's administration were the consequence of the print media in the investigation of high profile cases.

This thesis concludes in chapter four with the concept of community policing and continues to explore the relationship of high profile case investigations in the print media on the career tenures of Hoover and SBI directors during this era. The community-policing era is representative of innovative technology and modern reform in police leadership styles. Examples of how Hoover and SBI directors used technology and criminal justice philosophy are discussed in reporting high profile case investigations associated with civil and social unrest. Even though these changes affected the directors of the FBI and SBI, they continued to use the print media in high profile cases to maintain positive career trajectories.

In some instances, the print media was used to describe innovative changes that reflected positively on the directors. It is demonstrated in this chapter by Hoover's continued use of the "Ten Most Wanted List" and print media to publicize and assist in tracking down America's most wanted criminals. The central theme that high profile cases reported in the print media impacts directors' careers is reinforced throughout this chapter. Just as high profile case investigations impacted Hoover's career trajectory early in his career, they continued to play a key role in Hoover's final years as FBI director. This chapter notes the details of the Martin Luther King's assassination and social unrest investigations that appeared in the print media. As a result, Hoover's reputation was reinforced as the successful number one national crime fighter. SBI Director Charles Dunn's tenure and his emulation of Hoover's public relations practices that benefited him much like Hoover are discussed. That is to say, he was the beneficiary of public and political support that promoted his career trajectory as SBI director.

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<sup>36</sup> Warren W. Campbell, Personal Interview of Former SBI Special Agent and Supervising Agent, 26 October 1997.

## Chapter 1

### Career Trajectories of FBI and SBI Directors: Agency Evolution and Publicity Impact Top Administrators, 1937-1946

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#### Eras in Policing

Trends in police leaders' career advancement are fundamentally founded in the evolution of police organizations as they developed during the changing periods in police history. However, before J. Edgar Hoover became FBI director, no police leaders utilized the print media in high profile case investigations to advance their career to the extent that he did during any period in 20<sup>th</sup> century police history. While the periods in police history evolved, Hoover became a role model for state law enforcement directors, particularly for the directors of the North Carolina State Bureau of Investigation.

Researchers have identified three periods in police history using corporate analysis and organizational strategy as a model to examine past and present police conditions. They identified these periods as the political, reform and community eras. In this organizational analysis and evaluation, seven fundamentals are used to classify the three eras. They are authorization, function, organization, demand, environment, tactics and outcomes.

Police researchers, George L. Kelling and Mark H. Moore, characterized the first period in policing as the political era, and the seven fundamentals were assessed in their study of police. It was determined that locally controlled municipalities with no central controlling authority over the agencies authorized local law enforcement.<sup>1</sup> Consequently, the police obtained both power and resources from political leaders. Furthermore, a strong bond between the two groups emerged, and to some extent a symbiotic relationship developed. In other words, the police relied on the politicians and the politicians relied on the police.

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<sup>1</sup> Jack R. Greene and Stephen D. Mastrofski, eds., *Community Policing: Rhetoric or Reality* (New York: Praeger, 1988) p. 3.

During the political era, police agencies served numerous functions such as assisting with community services involving the homeless and assisting emigrants with occupational needs generally at the direction of politicians. The organizational structure of early agencies was quasi-military in style and decentralized. For example, during the political era in New York City, a captain was assigned to each precinct and independently controlled precinct operations. The expectation may be that a quasi-military style organization is highly centralized; yet, the New York City Police Department at that time was not. They operated from a precinct or ward controlled by a politician. When citizens in the community including the politicians needed police service they made requests directly to the uniformed officer although the officer's response was most often determined by political influence in the precinct. Like routine police operations, advances in career trajectories during the political era relied on the relationship between police and politicians.

Police tactics throughout the political era included foot patrol and detectives. The foot patrol officer customarily exercised any means necessary to carry out the politician's wishes and did not expect to suffer any repercussions. During this period investigative divisions were in their early development, and it would be years before detective divisions earned today's prestigious reputation in solving cases. Draconian methods and informants were employed to collect information and solve cases. In addition to solving cases with the information collected, frequently politicians benefited personally or politically from the information obtained. Unlike modern times, during the political era, the use of technology was limited; call boxes and automobiles comprised the most advanced technology at the time. Despite limited resources, police were expected to maintain order and respond to complaints in an emerging society. The most important goal for the police was to satisfy the politicians in power. Crime prevention was not a primary concern. Consequently, directors could expect to receive politically influenced promotions by being subservient and loyal to the political powers in their precinct or ward.

Following the political period, Kelling and Moore identified the second era in police history as the reform era. This period began in the late 1920s and continued through the 1970s. The impetus for change in law enforcement resulted from the efforts



of two police administration pioneers, primarily O. W. Wilson and his protégé, August Vollmer. Wilson's fundamental objective was to advance police professionalism through the elimination of corrupt political influence and practices. At the same time that J. Edgar Hoover was orchestrating organizational reform in the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), Wilson was promoting and supporting reform in all police agencies throughout the United States.<sup>2</sup> It was also during this period that the North Carolina State Bureau of Investigation (SBI) was created and the first director examined other law enforcement agencies to use as models in establishing a modern professional state investigative agency.<sup>3</sup>

### **J. Edgar Hoover Appointed as FBI Director**

When Hoover became director of the Bureau of Investigation approximately twenty-five years after the bureau originated, he was charged with eliminating malfeasance that had become so prevalent in the agency. He initiated changes to restore the agency's reputation. Since the FBI originated during the political era, it was embedded in political corruption. During that era dishonest political practices were all too prevalent and had tarnished the bureau's image.<sup>4</sup>

Corruption and scandal were at their pinnacle when William J. Burns, the director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation was in office. Before becoming director of the FBI in 1921, he was Secret Service director until his retirement from that agency in 1909. After he retired from the Secret Service, he embarked on his privately owned investigative company, the William J. Burns National Detective Agency. His reputation for illegal entry and questionable investigative methods were apparently recognized as investigative

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<sup>2</sup> Greene pp 9-17.

<sup>3</sup> Myron McBryde, Personal Interview of Former SBI Director, 19 December 1997. McBryde was a special agent with the FBI prior to becoming SBI director. He left the FBI to attend law school and was a practicing attorney when he received the appointment as director of the North Carolina SBI. As the chief executive of an agency modeled after the FBI, McBryde's knowledge of the FBI's structure and administration was useful in his role as SBI director.

<sup>4</sup> Don Whitehead, *The FBI Story A Report to the People* (New York: Random House, 1956) pp 66-69.

strengths rather than weaknesses until Attorney General Harlan Fiske Stone took office. The new Attorney General Stone searched outside the agency for someone who had a distinctly contrasting and different character from Burns to fill the director's position but was unable to find a satisfactory candidate.<sup>5</sup>

Herbert Hoover, who was not related to J. Edgar Hoover, recommended Hoover, a single attorney in his late twenties who worked in the Justice Department. When Attorney General Stone offered young Hoover the job, he responded, "I'll take the job, Mr. Stone on certain conditions.... The bureau must be divorced from politics and is not to be a catch-all for political hacks."<sup>6</sup> Furthermore, Hoover emphasized that only the attorney general should maintain control over the bureau. J. Edgar Hoover was hired May 10, 1924 and began cleaning out one of the most corrupt agencies in federal government at the time by firing employees who had been involved in unlawful activities.<sup>7</sup>

Hoover did not refer to his actions as reform, but future police researchers recognized Hoover's action as the turning point in police history. Due to the history of scandals in the bureau throughout the administrations that preceded Hoover, his initial goal was to promote an image of professionalism within the agency and not to seek personal publicity. Despite his lack of interest in publicity initially, he eventually discovered the power of the media. Through media manipulation and high profile case investigations, Hoover was the first FBI director whose career trajectory surged upward as a result of using the media in his powerful position. He became one of the most highly publicized crime-fighting figures in America. Consequently, fledgling state investigative agencies recognized Hoover's commitment to develop and maintain a professional law enforcement organization and fostered professional growth at the state level as they emulated Hoover and the FBI.

For example, North Carolina's first SBI director, Frederick C. Handy sought to develop a professional state law enforcement organization by replicating many of Hoover's successful innovations and public relations style. Also, just as Hoover was

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<sup>5</sup> Sanford J. Ungar, *FBI* (Boston: Little Brown and Company, 1976) p. 45.

<sup>6</sup> Ungar pp. 48.

recognized nationwide, Handy was recognized statewide for developing a professional state law enforcement agency equipped with modern technology and staffed with educated agents of impeccable integrity.<sup>8</sup> Handy, like Hoover utilized the print media at every opportunity to promote the newly formed agency and in so doing he garnered recognition for himself as well; however, Handy's tenure as SBI director was short in duration compared to Hoover.

Through clever utilization and control of the print media, Hoover successfully maintained his position for over forty years without jeopardizing his appointment despite the fact that it was politically motivated. To better understand Hoover's accomplishments as the highest police investigator in the nation, it is important to examine the background of crime detection at the federal level and the corruption within the Bureau of Investigation that led the agency to hire a director of his character.

Before the Bureau of Investigation, federal crime detection and investigations were the responsibility of the attorney general that served at the pleasure of the President. On September 24, 1789 during the first United States Presidency, Congress passed a law creating the first official federal law enforcement office in the nation, the Office of the Attorney General. For approximately one hundred years, the attorneys general did not have investigators at their disposal. If any case investigative work was required, it had to be done by the attorney general.

As the nation grew, criminal activity increased and the attorney general needed assistance in enforcing federal laws. Consequently, the Department of Justice was authorized by an act of Congress June 22, 1870 to enforce newly enacted federal laws. In less than a year after this congressional act was passed, the long trend that involved the

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<sup>7</sup> Ungar pp. 39-41.

<sup>8</sup> John B. Wemyss, Personal Interview, Former SBI Special Agent, 7 November 1998. Wemyss was among the few original agents who was hired with expertise in a specialized area, photography, and had obtained education beyond high school. He attended Louisburg College, Wake Forest, North Carolina and was a newspaper photographer with the Fayetteville Observer prior to joining the SBI. When he was employed with the SBI, he worked as a special agent in the Raleigh, North Carolina office and periodically Director Handy commuted to work with Special Agent Wemyss. Wemyss's expert knowledge in photography lead to his position in charge of the photographic laboratory and periodically, he assisted agents in the field by photographing major crime scenes. On occasion, Agent Wemyss' photographs that involved SBI activities and high profile case investigations were released to the print media.

attorney general working alone was about to change. March 3, 1871, congressional funding was appropriated that provided \$50,000 solely for the purpose of federal crime detection and prosecution. For the first time in the history of the attorney general's office, employees in other federal agencies, namely the Secret Service, could be hired to work for the attorney general when needed.<sup>9</sup> Some of the funds were used to employ part-time investigators with the Pinkerton Detective Agency but Congress intervened in 1892 and stopped the practice.

Limited resources, political influence and corruption during the political era slowly eroded the integrity and respect the federal crime detection agency had held at one time. In 1905, President Theodore Roosevelt took the first initiative to create a central federal authority responsible for enforcement of federal laws. He was outraged that large tracts of government land were being taken from the government, but when he tried to put a stop to it, his efforts were unsuccessful. He instructed his attorney general, Charles Joseph J. Bonaparte to intervene but Bonaparte did not have the investigative resources to do the job and could not employ agents from the other two federal branches with investigators to help him. The only departments that had investigators at the time were the U.S. Post Office and the Treasury Department. Bonaparte employed some investigators from the Treasury Department but the opposing political constituents convinced Congress to intervene and prohibit Bonaparte from using the Treasury Department's investigators.

In 1907 still under the Presidency of Roosevelt, Attorney General Bonaparte requested Congress to approve a small number of highly qualified, special investigators, some of whom were Treasury Department employees, to be designated as agents for the Department of Justice. Apparently, some of the same agents chosen by Bonaparte had successfully investigated a land fraud case that resulted not only in the indictment but the conviction as well of several congressmen. Consequently, Congress responded with

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<sup>9</sup> J. Edgar Hoover, introduction, *The Story of the FBI: The Official Picture History of the Federal Bureau of Investigation*, Edited by Look editors (New York: E. P. Dutton & Co, Inc., 1947) pp 9-10.

legislation prohibiting the use of Treasury agents by the Department of Justice.<sup>10</sup> On May 27, 1908, the Sundry Civil Service Bill passed which barred secret service agents from working for the Department of Justice. A month later, Bonaparte ordered that any Department of Justice investigative concerns be assigned at Chief Examiner Stanley W. Finch's discretion to a special agent.

Bonaparte's tenure ended when William Howard Taft was elected as President and a new attorney general replaced Bonaparte. Though the new President was about to take office and the end of Bonaparte's tenure was eminent, Bonaparte left his mark on the federal investigative agency. When Bonaparte prepared his annual report at the end of 1908, he emphasized the importance of the attorney general's control over the investigators and recommended the investigators report directly to the person holding that office. In the year that followed, President William Howard Taft appointed George W. Wickersham as Attorney General. The new attorney general agreed with his predecessor's recommendation. The unit named by Wickersham, Bureau of Investigation, became widely accepted.

From 1908 when the Bureau of Investigation was organized until May 1924, controversial investigative activities by the Department of Justice investigators included: unfair treatment of suspected communists, Palmer Raids; mistreated draft dodgers, Slaker Raids; collusion with organized criminals; union activity interventions; wiretapping; and unlawful entry.<sup>11</sup> The nature of the cases being investigated required strict hiring guidelines to ensure qualified agents were employed to detect and investigate federal criminal cases.

The FBI was organized under the United States Department of Justice with the director appointed by the U. S. Attorney General and is analogous to the SBI being organized under the North Carolina Department of Justice with the director appointed by the N. C. Attorney General. Originally, the SBI came under the control of the governor; however, on July 1, 1939 the North Carolina General Assembly enacted a law that placed

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<sup>10</sup> Ungar pp. 39-40.

<sup>11</sup> Ungar pp. 40-41.

the SBI under direct control of the North Carolina Justice Department. The SBI director no longer reported to the governor but to another elected official, the state attorney general.

In 1939 when the SBI was removed from the governor's control, the degree of political influence diminished but was not completely eliminated when the agency was transferred to the state attorney general's office. The frequency that high profile case investigations were reported in the print media influenced the constituency's perception of law enforcement under the control of the attorney general. Consequently, SBI directors' career trajectories were impacted by the attorney general's popularity among the voters based on their reaction to high profile case investigations reported in the print media.

In 1939 the print media was a primary source for news and information to the general population. Therefore, the print media provided an excellent source of information and documentation for the analysis of high profile cases reported by Hoover and SBI directors. While radio and television became increasingly popular, the print media continued to be a dominant force in the transmission of news and information. According to Dr. Ted Curtis Smythe, professor emeritus, School of Communications, California State University-Fullerton, the number of newspaper circulations per urban dwelling in the United States ranged from 2.36 to 1.33 from 1930 to 1970. Smythe acknowledged in his research that the print media "influences American society, economics, politics, and culture..."<sup>12</sup> Articles that appeared in the print media pertaining to both the FBI and SBI demonstrate how SBI director Handy and those who followed him as director emulated Hoover's utilization of the print media in high profile case investigations and the consequences on their career trajectories.

Unlike the FBI, the SBI did not originate from corrupt political practices within an existing law enforcement agency. On the other hand, the SBI originated from the political ambitions of Clyde R. Hoey, gubernatorial candidate. Hoey sought to win voter support by establishing a police retirement fund; thereby, he hoped to win votes from constituents in the law enforcement community in all one hundred North Carolina counties.

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Additionally, an aspect of the SBI that mirrored Hoover's reforms was the SBI's hiring standards that reflected the FBI's hiring standards. The SBI emphasized hiring educated and qualified agents with specialized training to investigate criminal cases at the state level. In some cases the SBI was unable to fill positions with college graduates but hired experienced police investigators, some of whom were graduates of the FBI national academy.<sup>13</sup>

Throughout Hoover's career as director, the FBI had limited original jurisdiction in specific areas of federal law, and the SBI had limited original jurisdiction in North Carolina state law much the same as the FBI. Congress determined the jurisdiction for the FBI and the jurisdiction for the SBI was determined by the General Assembly. The territorial area of the FBI was in the United States, and the territorial area of the SBI was in North Carolina. Both FBI and SBI provided a forensic science laboratory service to local law enforcement agencies for the analysis of physical evidence. Since the territorial jurisdiction of the FBI was national, they accepted physical evidence from any law enforcement agency in the nation. The SBI accepted physical evidence from any law enforcement agency in the state of North Carolina. Both agencies provided local support by assisting investigators with investigations and provided laboratory services for the analysis of physical evidence.<sup>14</sup>

Two primary objectives of both agencies were the detection of crime and apprehension of offenders.<sup>15</sup> In order to accomplish these, each agency had three main divisions: support staff, field agents and laboratory agents. The FBI and SBI collected and maintained similar types of records such as criminal histories, investigative files, and

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<sup>12</sup> Ted Curtis Smythe, "The Diffusion of Urban Daily, 1850-1900," *Journalism History* 2 (2002): pp. 73-95.

<sup>13</sup> Warren W. Campbell, Personal Interview, Former SBI Special Agent and District Supervisor, 26 October 1997. Campbell was a police investigator for the City of Goldsboro, North Carolina. After completing the FBI National Academy, he was hired as a special agent with the North Carolina SBI.

<sup>14</sup> Robert W. Pope, Personal Interview, Former FBI and SBI Special Agent, 28 February 1998. After college and serving in the Korean War, Pope joined the FBI. Pope was employed with the FBI for approximately two years before being hired by the SBI where he worked for six years before pursuing his law degree.

crime statistics. Each agency published a crime newsletter in order to apprise the agents of current criminal investigative activities. In order to prepare an elite law enforcement organization, both agencies implemented internal training for their personnel and external training for local law enforcement officers. The agencies also trained investigators to assist local authorities with minimum interference from supervisory personnel.<sup>16</sup>

Also, the bureaucratic organizational structure of the FBI and SBI shared commonalities. Neither of the agencies had uniformed officers. Their agents were plain clothed investigators. Just as the FBI had a central headquarters with field offices that were responsible for specific territorial jurisdictions, so did the SBI. Although both agencies had large jurisdictions each agent was assigned a specific area to work and was only responsible for that assigned area. FBI and SBI agents used the same type of investigative techniques and tactics to conduct criminal investigations even though the FBI had more resources than the SBI.<sup>17</sup> In addition to the organization being very similar, SBI directors modeled Hoover's public relations style when making news releases to the print media.

Notwithstanding the many similarities there were a few differences. One major difference between the agencies was that the FBI had responsibility for internal national security; however, the SBI never had a similar role. Conversely, the FBI never provided the security for the President; yet, the SBI provided personal security for the governor.

### **Selection, Training and Career Advancement**

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<sup>15</sup> J. Edgar Hoover, Federal Bureau of Investigation, "Annual Report of the Federal Bureau of Investigation," (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1938) p. 5.

<sup>16</sup> J. P. Thomas, Personal Interview, Former SBI Special Agent, Supervising Agent, and Assistant Director, 10 April 1998. In addition to Thomas' SBI duties, he also taught at the SBI Training Academy, conducted in-service training for all bureau agents, and provided workshops and seminars for local law enforcement. One of Thomas' investigative specialties was safe robbery investigation.

<sup>17</sup> Robert D. Emerson, Personal Interview, Former FBI and SBI Special Agent, 24 January 1998. After college and serving in the Navy as a Naval intelligence officer, Emerson became a special agent with the FBI. Subsequent to his experience with the FBI he joined the SBI. Although Emerson's experience with the FBI was limited, he was immediately aware of the similarities between the two agencies.



Early hiring guidelines in the Bureau of Investigation constitute the foundation and beginning of the reform era and very few modifications have been made throughout the years since their adoption in 1924. Agents had to be graduates of a recognized law school or college; age limits were 25 to 35 years of age for law graduates and 25 to 40 years of age for accountants. It was recommended that preferential consideration be given to applicants who graduated with a degree in law.<sup>18</sup> Contrary to the political era when political connections were emphasized during recruitment, political consideration was not a widely popular criterion for employment during the reform era.

Mirrored in the modern hiring requirements are the same expectations and requirements of an agent in the days when Hoover became director of the bureau. Special Agent W. Mark Felt described the modern hiring process for new agents as "very demanding and very thorough" yet, the basic requirements are very similar to those adopted in 1924.<sup>19</sup> The basic hiring standards still require that the applicant have a law degree with three years of experience. The employment application also asks detailed questions about every aspect of the applicant. If the applicant progresses to the next level, someone in the administrative division conducts an interview. The interviewer determines if the applicant is serious and career orientated.

After the interview, the applicant is required to pass a legal examination. The exam consists mainly of analyzing factual case situations to determine if a violation has occurred. At this stage the applicant is required to have a physical examination. In the meantime, the agency conducts a background investigation, checks educational records, employment records, and interviews references. It takes approximately two months from the time the application is filed before an applicant is offered a job.<sup>20</sup> Hoover developed these strict hiring guidelines during the reform era in order to prevent political patronage within the agency that led to the corrupt practices early in the history of the bureau. As Felt indicated, they have undergone few changes.

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<sup>18</sup> Hoover, *Story of the FBI* pp. 13-14.

<sup>19</sup> W. Mark Felt, *The FBI Pyramid from the Inside* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1979): p. 19.

Initially, the SBI did not have the same minimum qualifications as the FBI; however, the SBI raised its entry requirements over a period of years to require applicants to have a college degree. Additionally, the original agents brought specialized skills with them from their previous occupations like fingerprinting, photography, handwriting and documents examinations, firearms, and tool marks. However, the SBI gradually implemented specialized training for new special agents. New agents who lacked specialized training in forensic areas received training from senior agents. In addition, early SBI training included senior agents mentoring new agents in apprenticeship type roles. The mentoring agent determined the training period for each agent. The training process became more structured as the SBI expanded.<sup>21</sup>

Traditionally, from the beginning of the reform era when hiring guidelines were widely adopted, hiring standards at all police organizations ensured that every new agent entered with the same qualifications. Considering this, every investigator had an equal opportunity to advance with the agency; however, factors outside the promotional process such as print media and high profile cases often affected investigators' rates of advancement and their potential to become director.

During the reform era, print media became increasingly popular in publicizing high profile police investigations. Hoover was among the first who realized this and took advantage of the power the print media afforded investigators and investigative agencies to advance his career trajectory.

### **FBI Director, Public Relations and Use of Media**

Hoover accepted the helm of the Bureau of Investigation with the intention of allowing Stone to make all the decisions and not be influenced by outside politicians. However, within a few years of becoming director, Hoover controlled the bureau, not the attorney general. Also, shortly following his appointment, when Hoover realized the

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<sup>20</sup> Felt p. 20-21.

power and benefits of public relations that resulted when the bureau worked high profile cases, he wanted complete control of bureau news release responsibilities. J. Edgar Hoover is an example of how the media played a salient role in his career trajectory by keeping a law enforcement officer at the pinnacle of his career.

Jack Alexander with the *New Yorker* did a series of articles on J. Edgar Hoover in the thirties in which he suggested Hoover did not directly seek publicity. To the contrary, he said Hoover actually declined requests for information by writers and moviemakers. However, crime was so rampant in the mid-thirties, even though he initially sought attention for the agency not himself, Hoover received a significant amount of media attention. As the spokesperson for the bureau, he decided to take a proactive approach and become an anti-crime crusader through the print media. As director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, Hoover realized he could use his position to fight crime by diverting the print media's fascination and attention from the criminals to the FBI. Instead of the print media glorifying the criminal, his intent was to have them place the emphasis on eliminating crime and increasing awareness of the crime-fighting bureau, the FBI. However, the actual outcome was that Hoover received the attention thereby reinforcing his own position with the bureau and promoting his career trajectory.

In 1968 Drew Pearson, a columnist, wrote an article in *True* magazine detailing the events that removed Hoover from behind the closed secure doors of the bureau and thrust him into a very public life representing the federal crime detection agency. In Drew's article he detailed how Jack Alexander, the *New Yorker* magazine writer who wrote about Hoover in the thirties, did not exactly portray Hoover's desires for the limelight truthfully. According to Pearson, when Hoover communicated some FBI publicity concerns to the attorney general, the attorney general invited a group of reporters to a dinner to inquire about how to improve the bureau's image.<sup>22</sup> In a period of just a few days following the dinner, the attorney general hired Henry Suydam, the Washington chief correspondent for

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<sup>21</sup> Haywood Starling, Personal Interview, Former SBI Special Agent, Supervising Agent, and Director, 28 November 1997. Starling worked as a fingerprint identification expert for the City of Wilmington Police Department prior to joining the SBI in 1946.

<sup>22</sup> Anthony Summers, *Official and Confidential: The Secret Life of J. Edgar Hoover* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1993) pp. 100-101.

the *Brooklyn Eagle* and later chief of the Washington bureau for *Life Magazine*, as a public relations specialist for the bureau. Suydam and Hoover became responsible for promoting the image that the attorney general wanted portrayed for the FBI.<sup>23</sup>

Within a year, Hoover, a man who was virtually unknown by anyone with the exception of only a few bureaucrats, became a legendary crime fighter for all Americans, and his name as well as the term G-men became household words. The term G-men was popularized by the print media to refer to government law enforcement agents and eventually appeared in North Carolina newspaper headlines as a result of SBI agents emulating their FBI role models.<sup>24</sup> Magazine articles, newspaper stories, and movies all featured stories of how Hoover's G-men solved cases. Some politicians were the first to criticize the Hoover publicity campaign. Senator Kenneth McKellar of Tennessee and George W. Norris of Nebraska, both critics of Hoover and his publicity tactics suggested that Hoover compromised the FBI's ability to solve cases by revealing their methods. Their negative reactions did not discourage Hoover; he continued his publicity campaign. Hoover soon discovered he not only enjoyed the limelight but also the association with celebrities. He even did an autograph signing session with Shirley Temple.<sup>25</sup> Hoover's exaggerated sense of self-importance and his career trajectory were successfully on the upswing.

Attorney General Homer Cummings produced a media blitz in 1933 and 1934. He sought to bolster the FBI's image as America's elite in the war on crime. Under the direction of Cummings, Hoover accomplished this by arresting or eliminating criminals like John Dillinger, Machine Gun Kelly, Pretty Boy Floyd and Baby Face Nelson. In late July 1933, the agency already had the media on its side because of its earlier gang busting exploits that made front-page news. In all of those front-page stories, Hoover played the

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<sup>23</sup> Curt Gentry, *J. Edgar Hoover: The Man and the Secrets* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1991) pp. 178-179.

<sup>24</sup> "State G-Men Add Science to Policing: Sleuths Encounter Comic Along with Tragic," *News and Observer* 26 April 1942.

<sup>25</sup> Richard Gid Powers, *G-Men: Hoover's FBI in American Popular Culture* (Carbondale, IL: Southern Illinois University Press, 1983) pp. 97-98.

supporting role to Cummings. When Suydam was replaced, Hoover's role moved to the forefront in the publicity and the attorney general took a back seat. Suydam's replacement was Louis Nichols.

Louis Nichols was in charge of Crime Records and Communications. The purpose of the office was strictly for producing FBI propaganda "and devoted to the greater glory of Edgar.... Edgar succeeded at self-advertisement like no comparable public figure...."<sup>26</sup> This section was primarily responsible for developing public messages for the FBI and Hoover. The messages bolstered Hoover's reputation and centered on what Hoover wished to tell America. Saving America from destruction and Hoover's ability to prevent and protect the fall of America through the FBI were the general themes. Hoover also used the messages from this department as a forum to bash political enemies.

The media events that brought Hoover center stage in 1935 were the radio stories, television shows, and print media that followed from popular sensational accounts of real criminal cases and the "G-men." "Hoover's emergence as the symbolic leader of American law enforcement was a vivid demonstration of public opinion's power to reshape political realities in the United States, and the popular arts' power to determine what the public believes."<sup>27</sup> After successful radio and television programs, the newspapers continued to carry the message, "Hoover's F.B.I." According to Tom Wicker, a *New York Times Magazine* writer, "J. Edgar Hoover wielded more power, and wielded it longer, than any man in American history."<sup>28</sup>

Courtney Ryley Cooper, a free-lance writer who specialized in crime stories, was the first writer to organize FBI activities into a story instead of developing individual episodes as stand-alone-pieces. In 1933 *American Magazine* assigned him to write about the bureau but had reservations about the prospect that he would find enough material to write a good story to capture their readers' interest. However, he found more than

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<sup>26</sup> Summers p. 51.

<sup>27</sup> Summers p. 51.

<sup>28</sup> Summers p. 51.

enough material. In a period of seven years, he wrote twenty-four stories, three books, and four screenplays adapted for the movies.

Cooper always connected each story to the next in an easy episodic style that hooked his audience who was interested in the real aspects of fighting crime. His ability to link each criminal episode back to the FBI agency and its mission not only made his stories interesting but credible. Cooper's writing formula included always having a hero who would carry the reader "on fantastic flights of ego-projective identification" and Cooper's hero was J. Edgar Hoover.<sup>29</sup> In other words, he knew the importance of the reader's mental participation in solving the crime and his writing allowed readers to project themselves into the heroic role in the story. Hoover, himself, used Cooper's style as a blueprint for speeches, books and articles that he had prepared or edited by the bureau.<sup>30</sup> Hoover continued to bolster his position and reinforce his job security while he maintained control of his career trajectory by taking advantage of print media opportunities that came his way.

### **Hoover's Image and George "Machine Gun" Kelly**

In July 1933 with Hoover's relationship well founded with the media, he was about to investigate a high profile kidnapping case that influenced his career trajectory and positioned him to enjoy continued popularity among the public as well as politicians. The FBI had just been authorized by Congress to carry weapons and investigate kidnapping cases.

July 23, 1933 a high profile kidnapping case took place in which J. Edgar Hoover applied his skillful ability to manipulate the media to his career advantage. The highly publicized case involved George "Machine Gun" Kelly, his wife, Kathryn, and their gang who kidnapped Charles F. Urschel, a wealthy oil businessman from Oklahoma.

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<sup>29</sup> Powers, *G-Men: Hoover's FBI* p. 99.

<sup>30</sup> Powers, *G-Men: Hoover's FBI* p. 99.

Although the kidnapers warned Mrs. Urschel not to contact the authorities, she immediately contacted the police, and they arrived at Urschel's home shortly after the call. Because of the victim's wealth, Hoover realized this was going to be a high profile case and draw extensive media attention but he assured Mrs. Urschel that her husband's safe return was the bureau's first concern.

Mrs. Urschel described the intruders and the events of the evening in detail to the FBI. She explained that the Urschels and two friends were playing bridge that night in the screened area of Urschel's residence when two strange men abruptly entered with weapons and demanded to know their identity. Urschel and his friend, Jarrett, soon stood up and were directed to proceed to a waiting vehicle with the abductors. Urschel and Jarrett were led out of the house and placed in the back seat of an awaiting vehicle. The frightened women described to the FBI that the captors left them behind while they fled the scene rapidly with the kidnapped victims, Urschel and Jarrett.

While Mrs. Urschel contacted and waited for the police to arrive, Machine Gun Kelly and his gang who were ten or twenty miles from the Urschel's residence on an unpaved road in a rural area. The captors stopped, took both men out of the vehicle and searched them. They checked the victims' wallets, identified Urschel; however, they released Jarrett with the warning not to divulge the direction the vehicle was traveling, or they would return and take care of him later.<sup>31</sup>

The Urschel kidnapping was the first high profile case in which Hoover exercised his control of the print media and initiated the groundwork for making him a legend. Consequently, Hoover's career trajectory with the FBI benefited from the print media attention he received when reports documented how well prepared the bureau was to solve cases like this high profile case. It not only illustrated how well the bureau was prepared in the early days to solve crime through the use of scientific methods, but it also illustrated how Hoover and his publicist used inside information to represent the bureau as well as Hoover in roles of superiority. They left nothing to chance.

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<sup>31</sup> John J. Floherty, *Inside the F. B. I.* (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1943) pp. 167-172.

While one group of FBI agents were working on the Urschel case and following leads based on Urschel's abduction, another group of FBI agents were investigating leads in another part of the United States. It had been reported in Fort Worth, Texas that Kathryn Kelly approached a local detective and asked him to help kidnap a wealthy banker. The detective refused Kathryn and went to the FBI with the story. Based on this information, the Kelly gang members were suspects as soon as Urschel was kidnapped. Later, Kathryn contacted the detective again to inquire if anyone suspected them in the kidnapping and again the detective informed the FBI. However, this information was not released when Urschel's abduction was reported.

Hoover did not want the public to think any of the FBI's work was based on luck. It was more important for the public to believe that through investigative skill and deductive reasoning, the FBI agents were able to determine investigative leads based on Urschel's detailed observation such as the recollection of a storm, airplane flight patterns and schedules. Hoover released only the deductive reasoning version as the official version of the investigation, portraying the FBI agents as super sleuths and his agency as invincible.<sup>32</sup> This deductive reasoning version was more valuable to Hoover and his career trajectory than acknowledging that Machine Gun Kelly's careless wife drew attention to the gang. Therefore, Hoover did not release the information to the print media that he obtained from the detective in Texas who was approached by Machine Gun Kelly's wife, Kathryn.

When the FBI identified a farm where Urschel had been held captive, they raided it and arrested Harvey Bailey. Unfortunately, Albert Bates, Machine Gun Kelly and his wife fled the scene before the FBI arrived. The FBI agents pursued the three escaped gang members across six states after the ransom money was paid. During the pursuit of the gang, Machine Gun Kelly scoffed at Hoover by sending him letters criticizing him and calling FBI investigators his "sissy college boys."<sup>33</sup>

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<sup>32</sup> Richard Gid Powers, *Secrecy and Power: The Life of J. Edgar Hoover* (New York: The Free Press, 1987) pp. 187-188.

<sup>33</sup> Powers, *Secrecy and Power* pp. 187-188.



Eventually, when the agents located and confronted Kelly and his gang, it is alleged that the nickname "G-Men" was first given to the FBI agents. According to bureau accounts, Kelly and his gang cried out "Don't shoot, G-men! Don't shoot."<sup>34</sup> Kelly and his gang used "G-men" as a shortened name for "Government Men." At the time other police officers gave a different account of the events, but the press made the "G-men" story famous to Hoover's satisfaction.<sup>35</sup>

From the time Kelly was arrested until his trial ended, Hoover reveled in retelling the story of Kelly's arrest concomitantly strengthening the success of his career trajectory. Hoover's account always included the fictional "G-men" scenario. Federal agents were referred to as "Feds," but Hoover told the "G-men" story with such zeal that the print media popularized the expression although Hoover contrived the story. Every time Hoover retold FBI arrests stories, his reputation was strengthened and reinforced; moreover, the newspapers liked to print the stories.<sup>36</sup>

According to Detective Sergeant W. J. Raney of the Memphis Police Department in Tennessee, the true account would not impress Hoover's print media hounds. However, Hoover wielded enough control over information released to the print media to never allow Raney's version to reach the press. According to Raney, he, not the FBI agents, covertly entered the residence of Kelly while Memphis police and FBI agents waited outside as back-ups. Once in the residence, he quietly crossed the front room. As he stood in front of the bedroom door, it suddenly opened. Kelly stood there. He put a shotgun to Kelly's stomach and ordered Kelly to drop his weapon. Kelly dropped his automatic weapon, smiled and said, "I've been waiting all night for you" and Raney responded, "Well, here we are."<sup>37</sup> Nonetheless, the media accepted Hoover's accounts of

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<sup>34</sup> Summers p.69.

<sup>35</sup> Summers p.69.

<sup>36</sup> Jay Robert Nash, *Citizen Hoover: A Critical Study of the Life and Times of J. Edgar Hoover and his FBI* (Chicago: Nelson Hall, 1972) p. 36.

<sup>37</sup> Nash pp. 37-38.

the high profile Urschel kidnapping investigation not Raney's, and Hoover continued to reap the benefits in his career trajectory.

While Hoover established the precedent involving high profile cases, the print media, and career advancement, Handy followed suit. For example, Handy also initially utilized the print media to gain recognition and approval. In a straightforward news release to the *Raleigh Times* newspaper, Director Handy sought to achieve additional political and public support.

"In my opinion, the main achievement of the SBI during the past year has been the winning of the respect and confidence of enforcement authorities and the general public throughout the State. The general public had a vague notion at first that we were a bunch of amateur detectives who had a desire to be a small-scale FBI and law officers of the State...thought we would try to steal all the credit and glory from them. But we finally convinced most of them...that we're only too glad to help them to the extent of our abilities without seeking or asking any credit."<sup>38</sup>

Within a three-month period, Handy routinely made news releases to the print media pertaining to high profile homicide, rape, and bombing investigations that were circulated regionally and across the state.<sup>39</sup> Also, like Hoover, Handy not only gained recognition for the SBI but gained professional recognition and popularity in his position as director. Much like Hoover who used the print media in the Urschel kidnapping case at the national level, Handy exercised the same public relations tactics involving high profile cases at the state level. Discussed in more detail in the SBI's High Profile Cases section of this chapter is one high profile case that involved the disappearance of a mother and

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<sup>38</sup> Frederick C. Handy, "SBI Gains Recognition in N. C. Law Enforcement," *Raleigh Times*, 30 December 1939.

<sup>39</sup> Frederick C. Handy, SBI news releases to *News and Observer* and *Raleigh Times*, "State Investigators Ordered to Granville: Four State Bureau of Investigation Men Will Probe Fatal Case Shooting," *News and Observer*, 15 August 1939; "Camden Murder Investigated," *Raleigh Times*, 28 August 1939; "SBI Traces Youth to Honolulu Post: State Bureau Presses Plans to Extradite Boy Charged with Rape," *News and Observer*, 26, September 1939; "SBI Agents Get Murder Mystery: Identity of Man Shot to Death in Yadkin Puzzles Investigators," *News and Observer*, 30 September 1939; "SBI Agents Investigate Dynamiting," *Raleigh Times*, 7 October 1939; "North Carolina's Own G-Men: State G-Men Enemies to Criminals," *Raleigh Times*, 30 October 1939.

daughter in eastern North Carolina. Handy made numerous news releases in this case which benefited his career trajectory.

### **Melvin Purvis and the High Profile Dillinger Case**

From the next famous FBI investigation after Kelly, the infamous Dillinger case, Hoover garnered a tremendous amount of print media coverage. The search for John Dillinger was one of the most prominent high profile cases of the FBI. John Dillinger's spectacular crime rampage started in the spring of 1934 and continued for about a year. By a sheer stroke of luck for Hoover, it unfolded as an unstructured news event that reinforced Hoover's image and was one of the many high profile cases that advanced his career trajectory. Dillinger was as legendary as Jesse James, and Attorney General Homer Cummings wanted to use the Dillinger case as a benchmark to illustrate how effective the FBI was in bringing in a fugitive of his notoriety. It would be a political achievement for Cummings and support his anti-crime message to Congress as well as the country. It would also be important for Hoover in his career trajectory as FBI director.

When Dillinger crossed the state line with a stolen vehicle, he violated the 1919 Dyer Act, interstate auto theft. Now the FBI had official jurisdiction in the case.

Cummings used Dillinger's escape from Crown Point to lobby for the passage of his anti-crime bill before Congress. His crime bill proposal would include federal jurisdiction for interstate racketeering, robberies of federally insured banks, and murder of federal officers.<sup>40</sup>

Melvin Purvis, good friend of Hoover and special agent in charge of the Chicago FBI office, received a lead in April indicating that both Dillinger and his gang were in an area of northern Wisconsin at a resort known as Little Bohemia. Acting on the tip, Purvis and a group of agents chartered a plane from Chicago and flew to Wisconsin. Another group of agents from St. Paul pursued Dillinger as well. Hoover notified a select group of print media representatives and had them meet him at his office. He told them that

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<sup>40</sup> Powers, *Secrecy and Power* p.189.

Dillinger was trapped this time and could not escape the FBI agents and the reinforcements who were on their way to put an end to Dillinger's criminal activities.

In the meantime, while Hoover prepared the media for the impending raid in Wisconsin, FBI agents were approaching the resort for the capture. As the agents moved through a wooded area, dogs started barking and alerted the gang. Both agents and gangsters fired anxiously at each other. Regrettably, an innocent hotel guest was killed during the escapade and Dillinger and his gang made another back door escape. The raid was a disaster and Purvis later described the Little Bohemia fiasco in his memoirs as an embarrassing incident for the bureau, Hoover as well as himself.

Despite the fact that Dillinger was never believed to have killed anyone, now Hoover portrayed him as a result of his high profile criminal activities to be public enemy number one and began an all out effort to apprehend him. Despite the alluded arrest, the unfortunate circumstances surrounding Dillinger's apprehension justified Cummings' need to get his legislation through Congress. The incident provided Cummings with an opportunity to ask for another 200 agents, armored vehicles and airplanes for the bureau. He got the political support he needed when on May 19, 1934 six of Cummings' first crime bills became law after President Roosevelt signed them.<sup>41</sup>

Through unconventional print media channels, the bureau was strengthening its position to fight the criminal element. There were Dillinger sightings all over the country. Newspapers and magazines were ridiculing the FBI's unsuccessful efforts to capture Dillinger but at the same time the publications brought more attention to the high profile case. *Time Magazine* published a story paralleling the FBI efforts in a board game called "Dillinger Land." A dotted line marked the reported route Dillinger's crime spree had taken him throughout the country. Everywhere a law enforcement officer was killed, whether associated with Dillinger or not, a skull marked the unfortunate spot on the game board. When Dillinger was definitely seen in a particular location, for example, Little Bohemia, question marks radiated from the known location indicating possible places

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<sup>41</sup> Powers, *Secrecy and Power* pp. 190-191.

where he could be hiding. Public pressure to apprehend Dillinger was escalating steadily. Cummings issued an order "Shoot to kill, then count to ten."<sup>42</sup>

Dillinger's days of roaming the streets of America were waning. Purvis had an informant in Chicago who was willing to inform on Dillinger in exchange for favors from the FBI. She was the famous "Lady in Red," Anna Sage. Ms. Sage ran a brothel in East Chicago and the immigration officials were trying to deport her. If Purvis would help with her immigration matter as well as give her the reward money, she was willing to help capture Dillinger. Purvis agreed to her conditions. She told him that she and another female were supposed to go to the movies with Dillinger the next day.

Purvis briefed his agents and told them if Dillinger escapes "it will be a disgrace to our bureau." In the meantime, Hoover was being updated every few minutes by phone in Washington. In Chicago, Purvis's agents surrounded the Biograph movie theater. When the movie ended about 10:30 in the evening, Dillinger exited the theater, and Purvis approached him from behind and ordered him to surrender. Dillinger ran and the FBI agents began firing. That night, July 22, 1934, the most notorious and high profile gangster ever sought by the FBI at the time died from multiple gunshot wounds inflicted by FBI agents and police officers.

Details of Dillinger's death made newspaper headlines across the nation. Newspaper reporters were not sure who actually killed Dillinger but they were giving Purvis the credit. Although Hoover was pleased that Dillinger was no longer prowling the streets, he was unhappy that he and the FBI were not receiving the attention that Purvis was receiving from the media. Hoover contemplated ways to distance Purvis from the media's attention so they would redirect their attention to him. Like the Urschel case, Hoover had his own version of the Dillinger arrest.

Hoover's version of how Dillinger was captured failed to mention the fiasco in Little Bohemia as well as the fact that information was obtained from the informant, the "Lady in Red," and the arrangements she made with Purvis. Hoover chronicled the case to the print media based on the bureau's scientific method of detection and stressed how

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the bureau's involvement was derived from the auto theft at Crown Point. He noted the theft of the sheriff's car was the turning point in the case that led the bureau to Dillinger's location.<sup>43</sup>

With Dillinger's death, Hoover, not only added another high profile case investigation that empowered him even more and strengthened his career trajectory advancement, he increased his personal macabre collection. One of Hoover's prized possessions in his museum-like outer office was a death mask. It was a plaster casting made of Dillinger's face shortly after his death. Hoover proudly displayed artifacts from famous high profile cases, and the visitors he received in his office were allowed to gaze upon authentic crime artifacts while Hoover looked on with pleasure at his trophies.<sup>44</sup>

The two main lessons Hoover learned in the Dillinger case were that the media glamorize the police official whom they perceived as being in charge of an investigation and reporters associated success with the highest-ranking official who makes the news release. After the Dillinger case, Hoover made it known to all bureau agents that he was to be acknowledged as the person in command in every important case, and he was to be the one making the news releases.<sup>45</sup> Therefore, Hoover became the spokesperson to the media and as a result his career trajectory continued to travel along a path of success when he released high profile case information pertaining to cases that occurred in the years following Dillinger's death. Publicity followed criminals who were labeled by the FBI as public enemy number one.<sup>46</sup> Following the high profile Dillinger case, two more high

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<sup>42</sup> Powers, *G-Men: Hoover's FBI* pp. 121-122. The game board named "Dillinger Land" is cited from *The Weekly Newsmagazine*. Time, Inc. is now the copyright holder of *The Weekly Newsmagazine*.

<sup>43</sup> Powers, *Secrecy and Power* pp. 189-193.

<sup>44</sup> Neil J. Welch and David W. Marston, *Inside Hoover's FBI: The Top Field Chief Reports* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday & Company, Inc., 1984) pp. 18-19.

<sup>45</sup> Powers, *Secrecy and Power* pp. 193-194.

<sup>46</sup> Charles E. Whitman, Personal Interview, Former SBI Special Agent and Supervising Agent, 2 October 1998. He was also a former FBI fingerprint examiner. Whitman worked special assignment on tour duty of FBI Headquarters where he conducted tours that included informing the public about gangsters the FBI had investigated, arrested, or killed during the early years of the FBI such as John Dillinger, Ma Barker, and the Rosenbergs.

profile cases, Pretty Boy Floyd and Baby Face Nelson, gained print media recognition and impacted Hoover's career trajectory.<sup>47</sup>

In an effort to continue to control his career trajectory, Hoover exercised his tactics to project himself into one of the most highly publicized crimes in the United States. "No kidnapping in American history achieved more notoriety or produced more public clamor than the abduction of the Lindbergh baby."<sup>48</sup> Charles Lindbergh, the first transatlantic aviator and American hero, and his wife were victimized when intruders entered their home, kidnapped their young son and demanded ransom for the safe return of him. However, the deceased child's remains were located about two months later. At the conclusion of the Lindbergh kidnapping case in September 1934, although the Treasury Department agents solved the case, Hoover boldly interjected himself into the publicity associated with the high profile case. He immediately flew to New York and met with Police Commissioner John F. O'Ryan when Bruno Richard Hauptman was arrested. Hoover relished the opportunity to have press photographs taken with the police commissioner afterwards. In a matter of days, pictures of O'Ryan and Hoover were appearing in newspapers throughout the nation.<sup>49</sup>

When the Lindbergh case first occurred, the FBI did not have jurisdiction; however, the FBI was requested to assist in the case. By the conclusion of the case and arrest of Hauptman, Congress became alarmed at the number of kidnapping crimes and passed legislation making it a federal crime to send a ransom demand or kidnapping threat through the mail. This period represents J. Edgar Hoover's rise to popularity.<sup>50</sup> In 1935 following the years of so many highly publicized investigations like Urschel, Dillinger, and

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<sup>47</sup> Athan G. Theoharis and John Stuart Cox, *The Boss: J. Edgar Hoover and the Great American Inquisition* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1988) pp.122-123.

<sup>48</sup> Carl Sifakis, *The Encyclopedia of American Crime*, (New York: Smithmark Publishers, Inc., 1992) p. 429. The Federal Kidnapping Statute is also referred to as the Lindbergh Law.

<sup>49</sup> Powers, *Secrecy and Power* pp.193-194.

<sup>50</sup> Ovid Demaris, *The Director: An Oral Biography of J. Edgar Hoover* (New York: Harper's Magazine Press, 1975) pp. 54-56.

Lindbergh cases, the official name of Hoover's investigative agency changed to the Federal Bureau of Investigation.<sup>51</sup>

According to William W. Turner "The post-Dillinger reputation of the FBI has been sustained largely by 'front page' crimes such as kidnapping and bank robbery, coupled with statistical 'achievements' that give the impression of relentless efficiency."<sup>52</sup> This is not to say that the FBI has not had an astonishing record of crime fighting achievements, but media coverage contributed in part to the image of the FBI and specifically Hoover's long tenure as director. William C. Sullivan, a colleague and contemporary of Hoover discussed Hoover's image management in his book, *The Bureau*. Sullivan remarked, "From the beginning, I was intrigued by the FBI's public relations operation, and by the time I held senior staff positions I realized that J. Edgar Hoover had created a public relations miracle."<sup>53</sup>

Hoover exploited both print media and FBI publications to promote him and advance his career. The Law Enforcement Bulletin in 1932, a magazine that started as a publication for wanted suspected criminals, became a magazine that brought "Bureau views--or rather Edgar's--to every policeman in the land."<sup>54</sup> By 1937-38 it had a circulation of 11,000 and many law enforcement agencies throughout the United States and some foreign countries were receiving the bulletin.<sup>55</sup>

Throughout the history of Hoover's tenure as director of the FBI, even though he rarely became directly involved in investigations, he used the high profile cases investigated by his agents to promote and enhance his career trajectory through skillful media manipulation. The affect high profile cases had on Hoover's career as the top crime

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<sup>51</sup> U. S. Department of Justice, Federal Bureau of Investigation, *Your FBI: FBI Facts and Figures* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1999) p. 2.

<sup>52</sup> William W. Turner, *Hoover's FBI: The Men and the Myth* (New York: Dell Publishing Company, Inc., 1971) p. 245.

<sup>53</sup> William C. Sullivan, *The Bureau: My Thirty Years in Hoover's FBI* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1979) p. 15.

<sup>54</sup> Summers p. 50.

<sup>55</sup> Hoover, "Annual Report" 1938 p. 14.



investigator in the United States had a positive outcome. He remained in office as FBI director from 1924 until his death in 1972. Had his administration lacked substantial positive print media coverage, the humble beginnings of the FBI would no doubt have been drastically altered as well as Hoover's career trajectory.

As Hoover and the FBI rose to popularity among the American public for their widely publicized crime-fighting expertise in the 1930s, North Carolina lawmakers were considering the possibility of establishing their own state investigative agency. The origin of the FBI and the North Carolina State Bureau of Investigation are very different. Unlike the FBI that evolved from an existing federal office, the office of the attorney general, the SBI originated from legislation passed by the North Carolina General Assembly. As previously discussed, the North Carolina SBI was established during the reform era; however, some law enforcement agencies were still philosophically operating in the political era. North Carolina was included among them due to the political appointment process for the director's position and the political circumstances that prompted the legislation that established the SBI.

### **Origin and History of North Carolina SBI**

Through the efforts of three key people, Governor Clyde Roark Hoey, Representative Cyrus Conrad Johnston, and Malcolm Seawell, the North Carolina State Bureau of Investigation began in 1937. During Hoey's gubernatorial campaign in 1936, Mr. Hoey advocated the idea of a state and local law enforcement retirement fund. His intent was to gain the support of police officers and sheriffs throughout the state. When he introduced the concept to the General Assembly, his colleagues in the Legislature supported the proposal of a law enforcement retirement fund. Several explanations concerning the origin of the SBI have been suggested; however, one young attorney may most likely be credited as one of the most instrumental founders of the state law enforcement agency.

Malcolm Seawell, who worked at the Institute of Government, developed a proposal for a state investigative agency during the summer of 1936. Seawell envisioned a

state agency that would assist local law enforcement officers in the investigation of crime. In the process of drafting a legislative bill at the request of gubernatorial candidate Hoey for a law enforcement officers' benefit fund, Seawell included provisions for the creation and funding of the State Bureau of Identification and Investigation.<sup>56</sup> In the year that followed, the General Assembly enacted Seawell's proposal into law, and he maintained an avid interest in the bureau throughout his career in state government. While serving as North Carolina's Attorney General, some years later, he demonstrated his continued interest by following some of the high profile criminal investigations undertaken by the bureau he helped create.<sup>57</sup>

During Clyde Roark Hoey's tenure as governor, 1937-1941, Representative Cyrus Conrad "Con" Johnston of Iredell County, Chairman of the House Roads Committee, introduced House Bill 393 in the 1937 North Carolina General Assembly. When Representative Johnston introduced House Bill 393 to create the State Bureau of Identification and Investigation, Malcolm Seawell's efforts from the previous year formalized. On March 22, 1937, the ratified bill resulted in the State Bureau of Identification and Investigation's creation, and the agency was included among the other authorized state government departments in North Carolina. According to the original bill, the governor's office exercised jurisdiction over the SBI & I, thereby establishing the political precedent that influenced SBI directors' career paths from the onset of the agency. In addition to political influence, the print media and high profile case investigations also contributed to directors' career trajectories that practiced Hoover's public relations style utilizing the news media in high profile case investigations.

As specified in Section 10 of House Bill 393, the State Bureau of Identification and Investigation could not begin until sufficient funds were collected and paid to the State Treasury for the bureau's budget. Included in this bill, legislation provided agents with statewide power of arrest. Also at the request and by the authority of the Governor, the director had authority to authorize special investigations. Local law enforcement

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<sup>56</sup> "SBI, Organized in 1937, Has Had Stormy History," *Winston-Salem Journal* 11 December 1966.

agencies such as sheriffs, police, solicitors, and judges originally initiated these requests. Additionally, at the Governor's direction, the bureau provided investigative assistance to the North Carolina Parole Office. The bureau was to collect records and provide laboratory facilities for analysis of evidence. The original bill provided that any scientists, doctors, or state employees were directed to render assistance to the bureau when requested. Also, the state radio system was made available to the bureau for their use in investigations. The conditions of the original legislation provided a foundation for the organization and gave investigators some statutory authority to conduct investigations.

House Bill 393 provided that there be an increase in court costs for guilty defendants in criminal cases. As specified in the bill, allocated funds that resulted from the collected revenues of criminal case convictions supported two entities, the SBI & I as well as the Law Enforcement Officer's Benefit Fund. The SBI & I's portion was fifty cents per case. That seems like a minimal amount of money; however, it generated enough revenue within the first year to fund the agency and hire a director.

At the Governor's discretion, the bureau became operational on March 15, 1938, and the Governor appointed Frederick C. Handy to become the first director of the North Carolina Bureau of Identification and Investigation.<sup>58</sup>

As directed by Governor Hoey, Mr. Handy, spent several weeks in Washington, D. C. studying the Federal Bureau of Investigation's organization. Handy's purpose for observing Hoover and the FBI was to model the North Carolina SBI's investigative law enforcement agency after Hoover's agency.<sup>59</sup> Reported in the FBI's 1937-38 annual report, the year Handy observed their operation during his personal visit, the FBI had forty-two field offices throughout the United States. Each office was routinely subject to inspections to improve the efficiency of the FBI and to identify employees who were possible candidates for promotion. Handy's objective as he surveyed administrative and

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<sup>57</sup> "SBI, Organized in 1937," 11 December 1966.

<sup>58</sup> "Handy to Direct New N. C. Agency," *Wilmington Morning Star* 5 March 1938.

<sup>59</sup> Leroy David Corbitt, ed., *Addresses, Letters and Papers of Clyde Roark Hoey: Governor of North Carolina 1937-1941* (Raleigh, N. C.: Council of the State of North Carolina, 1944) p. 423.

organizational structures at FBI headquarters and other police agencies was to develop his findings into a prototype for the State Bureau of Identification and Investigation.<sup>60</sup>

Also, according to the FBI's annual report, the primary types of criminal activities investigated by the FBI during the year of Handy's visit included: violations of the National Stolen Property Act, Federal Bank Robbery Act, National Bankruptcy Act, White Slave Traffic Act, War Risk Insurance, National Motor Vehicle Theft Act, antitrust crimes, kidnapping and extortion. Criminal investigation statistics for these crimes included sixty-seven convictions for kidnapping, 103 convictions for extortion, and twenty-four convictions for violations of the National Stolen Property Act that involved cases of over \$5,000 dollars each in value. In addition, there were 110 convictions for the Federal Bank Robbery Act, 127 convictions involving the National Bankruptcy Act, 576 convictions involving violations of the White Slave Act, 2093 convictions for violations of the National Motor Vehicle Theft Act, and seventy-three convictions for the Antitrust Violations. Although the FBI's annual report made no specific reference indicating the number of FBI agents on staff in 1938, North Carolina needed agents with equivalent skills in the SBI & I to implement similar statewide criminal investigations.

For any appointed state law enforcement director, the FBI's conviction rate of 95.93 percent of 5420 cases brought to trial in 1938 would have been an impressive number and Handy would have been no exception although he was a newly appointed director. Additionally, the FBI had an impressive record in operating cost justification for an administrator who would have budgetary concerns. Besides the FBI cases investigated, the agents located 1,923 federal fugitives. As well as the value in fines, recovered stolen property was more than \$47.5 million. Compared to the value of the items recovered, Hoover's operational agency cost was approximately \$6.2 million, which was 14 percent of the recovered property value and fines for that year.

Knowledge of a relatively new function of the bureau that was contributed to voluntarily by law enforcement agencies, the FBI's National Stolen Property File, aided Handy in his organizational planning for the SBI. To assist in investigations, the FBI

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<sup>60</sup> "Handy to Direct" 5 March 1938.

established this section on April 1, 1936. The section functioned as a repository for information submitted by local agencies describing stolen property and designed so stolen property could be cross-referenced when suspicious property was identified in subsequent cases. The SBI & I developed a similar system to identify stolen property from various local jurisdictions throughout the state and published a newsletter listing stolen property in major and high profile cases.

Foremost in Handy's plan for a state investigative agency was the creation of a state crime laboratory to assist local jurisdictions with analyzing physical evidence.<sup>61</sup> He observed the FBI's laboratory operation that was implemented six years before on September 1, 1932.<sup>62</sup> At the time of Handy's visit in 1938, the FBI's crime lab had conducted 5,994 examinations. The crime lab Handy formed for North Carolina incorporated similar crime laboratory sections as the FBI's into the SBI & I's crime lab. The FBI's forensic laboratory included: chemical, toxicological, firearms examinations, footprint comparisons, and other similar types of forensic examinations. Though the state crime laboratory was not as large as the federal laboratory, it provided essential laboratory services that would aid in the investigation and detection of crime. Furthermore, Handy established a fingerprint identification section in the SBI similar to the FBI; however, the two agencies were vastly different in the volume of prints they classified and filed in 1938. When the FBI's identification division began in 1924, approximately 810,000 sets of fingerprint records from the National Bureau of Criminal Identification, an organization formed by the International Association of Identification and the fingerprint records at Leavenworth Penitentiary were combined and transferred to the FBI's new fingerprint section.<sup>63</sup> When Handy met with FBI administrators, the FBI's identification division had grown to about 9 million prints. In order to serve urban and rural law enforcement agencies throughout the United States, it was operating 24 hours a day. The Single Fingerprint Section conducted examinations in 5,910 cases. Also by 1938, within six

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<sup>61</sup> "Under the Dome: Director Frederick C. Handy New Methods in Crime Detection and Prevention," *News and Observer*, 13 June 1938.

<sup>62</sup> Hoover, *Story of the FBI* p. 15.

years of the beginning of the FBI's International Fingerprint Exchange, it had agreements with eighty-four countries to use fingerprints to identify criminals attempting to elude detection.

The same North Carolina law that created the SBI & I required the agency to report crime statistics to the state attorney general before Handy went to Washington, D. C. Although, Handy had to make his report to the state attorney general, the FBI's system that was authorized by Congress in 1930 would have been a good model for Handy to study.<sup>64</sup> Like the FBI's initial monthly crime report, Handy upon return to North Carolina eventually adopted the same schedule for the SBI's crime report. The FBI collected and compiled crime statistics for the United States and the SBI for North Carolina.<sup>65</sup>

The FBI was responsible for initiating the practice of collecting crime statistical data compiled and published in the FBI's Uniform Crime Reports. This section of the FBI collected crime statistics on the number of crimes committed, number of persons arrested and case dispositions, and the number of convictions. In 1937-38 there were 3,723 local and state agencies contributing statistical information to the UCR that was 292 more agencies than had reported the previous year. Also, after Handy's firsthand observations of the FBI's administration, he eventually formulated a similar system to the FBI's Uniform Crime Report to collect crime statistics and in order to disseminate information to other law enforcement agencies. During Handy's administration as well as today, unless the SBI had original jurisdiction, they did not report the crime to the FBI.

To have professional agents, paralleled having a professional organization, and in order to accomplish this goal, it meant employing agents with excellent qualifications and backgrounds in specialized areas. The FBI's training standards of 1938 were an exceptional model for Handy. During the same year that Handy was at FBI headquarters gathering information for structuring the SBI, the FBI reported that they conducted a

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<sup>63</sup> Hoover, *Story of the FBI* pp. 13-14.

<sup>64</sup> Frederick C. Handy, North Carolina State Bureau of Investigation, "Report of the Director of the Bureau of Identification and Investigation to the Attorney General for the Period: March 15, 1938 to July 1, 1940" (Raleigh, N. C.: North Carolina Department of Justice, 18 October 1940).

fourteen-week training academy for its new agents. Although the training academy had only been in operation since July 29, 1935, it gained police recognition throughout the United States.<sup>66</sup> Because media coverage of high profile investigations promoted Hoover's successful federal investigative agency, local police agencies sought to have their officers trained by the FBI. According to the 1937-38 FBI annual report approximately 108 police officers participated in training at the FBI National Academy. The sessions were limited to thirty-six officers in each session.<sup>67</sup>

Since North Carolina was only one of a few states during this time to establish an investigative agency, in addition to studying the Federal Bureau of Investigation's operations, the new director visited a limited number of other states to determine how large law enforcement agencies were structured.<sup>68</sup> He also examined police organizations in Boston, Massachusetts; Providence, Rhode Island; Mineola, Long Island, and Nassau County, New York.<sup>69</sup> The year Handy examined these law enforcement agencies, a change in the hiring philosophy ensued throughout the United States as the reform era gradually replaced the political era. Applicants were being hired and promoted based on their qualifications not their political contacts. When Handy met FBI agents, he was impressed by their professional appearance and conduct.<sup>70</sup> After three months of intense observation of the five agencies, Handy returned to North Carolina and formulated his guidelines for the bureau. These included educational criteria and professional qualifications.<sup>71</sup>

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<sup>65</sup> Hoover, *Story of the FBI* p. 14.

<sup>66</sup> Hoover, *Story of the FBI* p. 19.

<sup>67</sup> Hoover "Annual Report" 1938 p. 4.

<sup>68</sup> Corbitt p. 423.

<sup>69</sup> "Under the Dome: Director Frederick C. Handy" 13 June 1938.

<sup>70</sup> Norma Neville Crosswhite, Personal Interview, 14 January 2000. Mrs. Crosswhite is the daughter of Laura Jones Neville who was Frederick Handy's secretary. Mrs. Crosswhite said she remembered going to SBI parties as a little girl with her mother. Mr. Handy would be present and all the SBI agents would be neatly dressed in suits. The events were very formal. She remembers her mother remarking that the agents always wore suits to work like they wore to the parties. The FBI's dress code was adopted by the SBI.

Although Handy expressed concerns relating to hiring guidelines, the need for promotional standards would have been premature during his tenure as director because the fledgling agency had so few agents. However, based on interviews with SBI agents when the agency was in its formative years, there were no promotional boards, tests, or assessments used to promote agents. As more agents were hired and supervisory positions became available, promotions in the early years resided strictly with the director's appraisal of the agent.<sup>72</sup>

Consequently, SBI investigators who worked high profile cases that were publicized in the print media received recognition from the senior bureau administrators. Understandably, the director was partial to agents who investigated high profile cases especially when those cases resulted in positive publicity for the bureau and the director. In view of this, high profile cases and the print media played a salient role in promotions.<sup>73</sup> While high profile cases in the print media made an impact on Handy's promotional decisions, Handy also integrated the observations he made at the FBI into the SBI's policies.

Handy advocated that each agent should have a college education or at least be a graduate of the FBI academy. In addition to educated recruits, when Handy concluded his police survey of the police agencies, his objectives for the SBI included that it be equipped with the most up-to-date police technology and that it would provide investigative expertise like the agencies he had visited.<sup>74</sup>

Upon return from his travels and visits to the police agencies in the northeast, Director Handy compiled his findings and published a brief summary of his objectives for the bureau in the 1938-39 *North Carolina Sheriffs' Directory* based on his observations. The objectives included establishing hiring guidelines for experienced agents who would

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<sup>71</sup> Dick Brown, "The SBI: Its Times and Crimes," Unpublished Paper, pp. 12 and 19.

<sup>72</sup> James Bradshaw, Personal Interview of Former SBI Agent and Assistant Director, 27 November 1995.

<sup>73</sup> James Bradshaw 28 December 1997. During a second interview, Bradshaw discussed SBI administration and promotions.

<sup>74</sup> Brown p. 13.



be required to assist in criminal and crime scene investigations anywhere in the state.<sup>75</sup> Included among the services were the that bureau provided adequate equipment and personnel for the development and processing of latent fingerprints, examination of firearms evidence, handwriting, typewriting and questioned documents. Other services provided by the new bureau included testing for the presence of blood, semen, or other stains.<sup>76</sup> Handy found expanding services provided by the SBI was prohibited by one major obstacle, funding.<sup>77</sup>

While speaking to a civic organization in March of 1938, State Treasurer Charles M. Johnson suggested that the 1939 General Assembly appropriate funding from the state budget to operate the State Bureau of Identification and Investigation. Furthermore, Mr. Johnson indicated he would like to see all the revenues collected from the new court assessments go toward the officers' benefit fund.<sup>78</sup> It took at least three years before legislation changed the funding based on court fines when the Legislature added the SBI budget as part of its annual appropriations in 1941.<sup>79</sup>

Initially, the State Bureau of Investigation and Identification reported directly to the Governor's Office, until the General Assembly passed an Act July 1, 1939 establishing the State Department of Justice directed by the State Attorney General.<sup>80</sup> At that time, the name was changed to State Bureau of Investigation and control of the bureau was transferred to the Department of Justice where it came under direct control of the State Attorney General's Office.<sup>81</sup> Formerly, the governor appointed the SBI's director;

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<sup>75</sup> Sheriffs' Association of North Carolina: *Official Directory of Law Enforcement Officers and State Officials in North Carolina, 1938-1939* (Raleigh, NC: Sheriffs' Association, 1940) p. 40.

<sup>76</sup> "State G-Men Add" 26 April 1942.

<sup>77</sup> "The Formative Years SBI," *Popular Government* (Raleigh, NC: Summer, 1987): p. 21.

<sup>78</sup> "Handy to Direct" 5 March 1938.

<sup>79</sup> "State's SBI Celebrating 20<sup>th</sup> Birthday On Job Catching of Super Crooks," *Raleigh Times* 11 October 1958.

<sup>80</sup> "Changes Voted in Justice Bill: Senate Committee Contracts Scope of Bill Setting Up Department of Justice," *News and Observer* 17 March 1939.

however, that responsibility shifted to the Attorney General, another elected official. The SBI's director now would work at the pleasure of the State Attorney General.<sup>82</sup>

Prior to the bureau's transfer to the Department of Justice, Director Handy made monthly reports to the governor pertaining to crime statistics involving the bureau's assistance. These local newspapers published these reports and following are some of the statistics included in them. During fiscal year 1938-39, the agency investigated 289 cases.<sup>83</sup> There was an increase in the number of cases in which the SBI & I received requests for assistance that indicated a growing acceptance of the bureau by many agencies. In the December 1939 report, Mr. Handy acknowledged that the agency had been successful in its efforts to work with local law enforcement agencies in fighting crime, and with funding more stable, Director Handy hired four additional investigators.<sup>84</sup>

In 1939 sixty-two out of one hundred sheriffs' departments requested assistance from the SBI, and SBI agents investigated a total of 425 cases. Twenty-five to thirty firearms cases were investigated and eleven were successfully identified. Twenty questionable documents out of forty to forty-five questioned documents were identified. Convictions were obtained in nine fingerprint cases. Though the number of cases investigated and the convictions obtained demonstrate the initial success of the agency, Mr. Handy expressed the agency's challenge "was to convince the general public in North Carolina that we were worth our salt, and to gain the goodwill and confidence of the sheriffs and police departments of the state."<sup>85</sup> In other words, become recognized.

The demands were great on the agents and required them to work thousands of man-hours in overtime without extra compensation. In addition to working criminal cases, the agents were involved in presenting lectures to local civic groups throughout the state. At the time, the agency was not very well known and these presentations

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<sup>81</sup> Handy, North Carolina State Bureau of Investigation, "Report of the Director of the Bureau of Investigation to the Attorney General," (Raleigh, N. C.: N. C. Department of Justice, 1940): p. 4.

<sup>82</sup> Handy, "SBI Gains Recognition," 30 December 1939.

<sup>83</sup> "State's SBI Celebrating" 11 October 1958.

<sup>84</sup> Handy, "SBI Gains Recognition," 30 December 1939.

<sup>85</sup> Handy, "SBI Gains Recognition," 30 December 1939.

introduced the bureau, its agents and mission to the community. Mr. Handy remarked the agency “made crime a little less attractive in North Carolina” and that the agency’s efforts “in the future will serve not only to solve crimes but also to deter criminal practices.”<sup>86</sup>

As Handy made more news releases to the print media, his name and the role of the SBI became more familiar. The SBI “will not interfere with local officers but seek to lend aid or information when requested and coordinate their efforts in dealing with mutual crime problems.”<sup>87</sup> Early in Handy’s career as SBI director, newspaper reporters began to refer to him as “Handy man” because his agency was represented as an assisting agency. Also, Handy’s new nickname soon lent itself to SBI agents as well. It was not unusual for reporters to also refer to them as “Handy men;” however, the name was not popularized because there are very few references in later newspaper articles citing the agents as “Handy men.”<sup>88</sup> Nor do the agents who worked for Mr. Handy indicate that the nickname ever became widely accepted.<sup>89</sup>

From early news releases beginning in 1939 through the early 1940s, reports indicated that the bureau received approximately thirty-five to sixty cases each month. Some months Director Handy cited the number of cases solved and the number of cases pending in newspapers. Some figures were given for laboratory services such as the number of blood tests, fingerprints, firearms, documents, handwriting, and microscopic examinations. On April 8, 1943 the monthly report that appeared in the *News and Observer* included additional technical services such as photography and polygraph tests with the other case reports. The format varied and in some releases the types of crimes and victims’ names were given and sometimes they were not. During the first three years, approximately 1200 cases were accepted and investigated by the bureau. Of these, a final disposition was made with the bureau’s assistance in more than 625 cases. The remaining cases were either still under investigation or pending trial. In addition, the bureau

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<sup>86</sup> Handy, “SBI Gains Recognition,” 30 December 1939.

<sup>87</sup> “Under the Dome: Director Frederick C. Handy” 13 June 1938.

<sup>88</sup> “State’s SBI Celebrating” 11 October 1958.

<sup>89</sup> Bradshaw 27 November 1995.

processed approximately 800 additional miscellaneous requests for technical assistance for fingerprinting, handwriting, firearms examinations, and so on.<sup>90</sup>

As mandated by the 1937 North Carolina General Assembly, the State Bureau of Identification and Investigation prepared required biennial and annual reports to the Governor in addition to the voluntary monthly reports Handy released to the print media. Both the biennial and annual reports included statistical tabulations of investigative activities for the SBI.<sup>91</sup> According to the State Bureau of Investigation's first published annual report in 1940, the crime lab included the following five sections: chemical analysis, photography, fingerprints, firearms identification, and questioned documents. This report also indicated that the majority of requests for services for the SBI came from police departments and sheriffs' offices. There were 228 requests from sheriffs' offices in the state and 147 from police departments. Other requests came from solicitors, judges, the Highway Patrol, and the coroners' offices. By 1942 Director Handy estimated that about one-third of the requests came from sheriffs' departments throughout the state, one-third from police departments, and the remaining one-third from North Carolina State Highway Patrol, judges, prosecutors, coroners, and executive governmental departments.<sup>92</sup> After the bombing of Pearl Harbor and the onset of World War II, among the cases that SBI assistance was requested in included subversive activities. Although the FBI investigated high profile espionage and sabotage cases prior to 1941, the SBI investigated some of its initial sabotage cases in 1942.<sup>93</sup>

Originally, the working relationship between the SBI and these many local agencies initiated the foundation for favorable career opportunities for investigators. When investigators did meticulous and comprehensive case investigations on behalf of the bureau for local agencies, agency officials attributed the excellent investigative work to

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<sup>90</sup> "State G-Men Add" 26 April 1942.

<sup>91</sup> Handy, North Carolina State Bureau of Investigation, "Report of the Director of the Bureau of Investigation to the Attorney General," (Raleigh, N. C.: N. C. Department of Justice, 1942) p. 1.

<sup>92</sup> "SBI Reports Little or No Decrease in Crime," *News and Observer* 29 December 1942.

<sup>93</sup> "SBI Investigates Sabotage Cases: Director Fred Handy Says Serious Cases are Under Investigation," *News and Observer* 12 August 1942.

good leadership and commended the supervisors as well as the director, thereby, advancing the director's career trajectory. Consequently, the director recognized and rewarded agents who professionally and conscientiously carried out their investigations.

### **SBI High Profile Cases**

High profile cases were considered important within the organization; therefore, agents who worked these cases were in a position to receive recognition and accolades from the director when the print media publicized an investigation positively. Positive print media in high profile cases conveyed the perception of success. Consequently, in order to prolong their career trajectories on a positive path, successful directors relied on maintaining an effective relationship with the attorney general and positive print media in high profile cases contributed toward that goal.

The importance of high profile cases is evident in the 1939-40 annual report. The report emphasized major and important cases. Summaries of eight major cases and seventeen important miscellaneous cases were reported in more detail in the annual report to the attorney general. Additionally, in the 1939-40 annual report, crime statistics were reported according to crime types and county. Of the 450 cases investigated in 1939-40, eight solved major cases received attention from senior SBI administrators and state officials. Even though these cases were given special mention in the annual report, like major solved cases, unsolved major cases received not only substantial attention within the bureau, they attracted a considerable amount of media attention.<sup>94</sup> Most often the attention was favorable for the investigator as well as the director in both major solved and unsolved high profile cases. This phenomenon was observable among the first investigators with the SBI.

When Handy concluded in December 1939 that the agency was more stable than it had ever been, he employed four new agents. One of these agents was James Bradshaw. Bradshaw was hired as an investigator with the bureau based on his specialized expert

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<sup>94</sup> Handy, "Report of the Director" 1940 pp. 15-28.

qualifications. His law enforcement knowledge and fingerprint skills earned him recognition with local SBI investigators. Even though Bradshaw was a North Carolina Highway Patrolman, he often assisted the Wayne County Sheriff's Department in Goldsboro, North Carolina, with fingerprint cases. His first contact with the SBI resulted from a murder investigation he assisted the SBI with while in Goldsboro.<sup>95</sup>

James Bradshaw was asked to join the State Bureau of Investigation in 1939 as a special agent. During the early reform era, political influence often continued to have an effect on hiring and promotion; however, the trend was changing. For example, when James Bradshaw was hired during the early days of the SBI, reform is evident because experienced and knowledgeable agents like Bradshaw were more readily being recruited to fill the limited available positions.<sup>96</sup>

According to Bradshaw, his caseload was always heavy, and he worked ten cases among the many he investigated that made news headlines from 1939 to 1940. These were among the numerous important and high profile cases he investigated that had an affect on his and the directors' career trajectories.

Bradshaw's case investigations that were reported by a newspaper with statewide circulation included his expertise in fingerprinting and interrogations. Within the first four months of his employment with the bureau, Bradshaw was assigned cases that became headline investigations. They brought positive attention to the SBI, its director and to the young agent.

In September 1939 Bradshaw solved a series of post office robberies by identifying latent fingerprints.<sup>97</sup> Two months later he investigated a burglary in which two suspects were incarcerated by the local sheriff. The SBI investigation uncovered fingerprint and handwriting evidence that exonerated the two accused and convicted the guilty party in the case. Not only was this case listed as one of important major cases in the 1939-40 annual report to the North Carolina Attorney General, it also received statewide print

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<sup>95</sup> Bradshaw 27 November 1995.

<sup>96</sup> Bradshaw 27 November 1995.

media coverage. Bradshaw's expert investigative skills were once again emphasized in an article that ran in the same newspaper as the previous articles. He successfully investigated a stolen weapons case in which guns were taken from a Roxboro and Kings Mountain store.<sup>98</sup> Several days later confessions were obtained and arrests were made in the weapons case.<sup>99</sup> Also, in December 1939, he successfully investigated a case involving robbery and assault with intent to kill a Burlington man.<sup>100</sup> He obtained confessions from two suspects in two robbery cases in January of 1940.<sup>101</sup> In February 1940, Bradshaw was reported as investigating a homicide case in Hampstead involving the death of William Hudson.<sup>102</sup> Within a week of Bradshaw's initial investigation, George Millis confessed to killing William Hudson.<sup>103</sup> Of the ten cases that received more extensive media coverage than Bradshaw's other case investigations, one case received widespread print media coverage. The director and Bradshaw received a considerable amount of publicity even though the case remained a mystery. It involved an unsolved missing persons case in Carolina Beach, North Carolina and was one of the highest profile cases that Bradshaw was assigned to investigate.<sup>104</sup>

This case involved an investigation that began a few months before World War II and continued until after the war ended. The case that involved a missing mother and daughter from Carolina Beach was never solved but Director Handy, special agent Bradshaw, and other agents worked for years on this case. Mr. Bradshaw said they did

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<sup>97</sup> "SBI Fingerprinting Men Trace Robbery Series: Director of State G-Men Reveals Identification in Local Crimes," *News and Observer* 20 September 1939.

<sup>98</sup> "Two New Cases Due SBI Investigation," *News and Observer* 6 December 1939.

<sup>99</sup> "Greensboro Negroes Confess Gun Theft: South Boston Pick Up Couple Responsible for Roxboro Crime," *News and Observer* 12 December 1939.

<sup>100</sup> "SBI Investigates Burlington Case," *News and Observer* 15 December 1939.

<sup>101</sup> "Confessions Close Two Robbery Cases" *News and Observer* 10 January 1940.

<sup>102</sup> "SBI Aid Requested on Pender Murder," *News and Observer* 9 February 1940.

<sup>103</sup> "Man Confesses Pender Killing: S. B. I. Head Says George Millis Admits Killing, Robbing 'Best Friend,'" *News and Observer*, 11 February 1940.

<sup>104</sup> Bradshaw 27 November 1995.

everything possible to solve it. Director Handy was involved in the investigation to a limited extent. He attempted to obtain resources for the agents working the case, and there were periodic meetings in Raleigh to update Director Handy on the progress of the case.

Mrs. Lelia Bryan, a thirty-six-year-old mother, and her four-year-old daughter, Mary Rachel, left home at 9 in the evening on Saturday night, May 10, 1941, to go to the grocery store. When she did not return home in about two hours, her husband notified the Carolina Beach Police Department and then he began looking for his wife and child. Mr. Bryan went to the grocery store; however, upon questioning the clerk and owner, he discovered his wife and child never arrived. The Carolina Beach Police Department searched the area for two days but was unable to find the pair. At that time the police department requested assistance from the New Hanover County Sheriff's Department and the State Highway Patrol. Those three agencies continued to search the area, but they too were unable to find the missing woman and her child. Several days lapsed when the Carolina Beach Police Department requested that the Federal Bureau of Investigation and State Bureau of Investigation assist in the search.<sup>105</sup> The case was a complete mystery and the impact on the local beach community was devastating, but the agencies involved persevered in the search.

The next day, Sunday, local law enforcement authorities conducted a foot, vehicle, and air search for the missing couple between Carolina Beach and Wilmington. During this time there was a significant undeveloped forested area between the two towns.<sup>106</sup> One week later a \$100 reward was published in the local paper. No trace of the couple or the 1935 Ford coupe had been seen since their disappearance. Authorities dragged the nearby Cape Fear River in downtown Wilmington on May 16, 1941 in an effort to locate the vehicle. Some believed it may be somewhere along the riverbed.<sup>107</sup> However, they did not find any evidence of the vehicle in the Cape Fear River.

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<sup>105</sup> Bradshaw 27 November 1995.

<sup>106</sup> "Officers Search for Wife, Child: Foul Play is Feared in Strange Disappearance of Couple at Wilmington," *News and Observer* 13 May 1941.



Approximately three weeks after Mrs. Bryan and her daughter disappeared, Director Handy requested two hundred soldiers from Camp Davis to assist in the search for the couple.<sup>108</sup> However, a general in the War Department in Washington D. C. denied Handy's request for use of federal troops in the search for the missing couple. The general simply said he, "regretted that the war department cannot authorize the use of troops."<sup>109</sup> The next day Director Handy was in the Carolina Beach area to personally direct the search operations.<sup>110</sup> In July, as the high profile case builds, Handy made arrangements with the Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC) to have 150 of their men search the swampy woodlands in the surrounding area.<sup>111</sup> The amount of area searched was two miles wide and seven miles long, but they too were unable to find any trace of the missing pair.<sup>112</sup> Although the search for the missing mother and her daughter continued for months, Director Handy's persistent dedication to solve this high profile case impacted his career as director of the fledgling state agency.

Multiple media sources were used to publicize the missing pair. Photographs of the mother and daughter with their physical descriptions were published in the *American Journal of Nursing*. Descriptions of the young woman and child were sent to the FBI and were published in the *FBI Bulletin*.<sup>113</sup> The agency exhausted every possible source in solving the case. In addition to posting descriptions of the pair locally, statewide, and nationally, the agency contacted everyone who knew or had contact with Mrs. Bryan in

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<sup>107</sup> "Foul Play Feared In Case of Missing Woman, Child: Wide Search is Made," *Wilmington Morning Star* 17 May 1941

<sup>108</sup> "Soldiers Ready for Bryan Hunt: Army Men Stand Prepared to Join Search Upon War Department Approval" *Wilmington Morning Star* 25 June 1941.

<sup>109</sup> "Missing Couple Believed Alive: New Evidence Modifies Suspicions of Foul Play Against Woman and Child" *News and Observer* 27 June 1941.

<sup>110</sup> "Bryant Hunt Is Pressed Anew: Police Check Columbus County Report That Pair Seen There," *News and Observer* 28 May 1941.

<sup>111</sup> "CCC Camps to Furnish Manpower for Search: 150 Men from Three Eastern Camps Ready to Seek Missing Couple" *News and Observer* 1 July 1941.

<sup>112</sup> "SBI Picks Territory to Search for Couple" *News and Observer* 4 July 1941.

<sup>113</sup> "SBI Still Hopes to Find Couple: New Hanover Disappearance Most Baffling Case in SBI Experience," *News and Observer* 4 July 1942.

the last few days before she disappeared. The high profile investigation included investigative interviews with the missing woman's husband.

Eight years after the couple disappeared in 1941, the case remained unsolved and more headlines ran featuring the mysterious case. Vivid accounts of investigative techniques were reprinted in an effort to find anyone who knew something or would be encouraged to talk to the SBI. "Detailed descriptions of the mother and daughter were flashed to neighboring states. Every State Highway Patrolman in North Carolina was alerted for the 1935 Ford coupe bearing license number 219-056."<sup>114</sup> The search was expanded to routes between Carolina Beach and Bladenboro to determine if Mrs. Bryan and her daughter went to visit relatives. All gas stations were checked but no one reported seeing Mrs. Bryan and her daughter. The Sheriff of New Hanover County assigned a deputy to work on the case full time, the Highway Patrol assigned a State Highway Patrol trooper to work the case full time and the director of the city and county identification bureau devoted much time investigating the case. The serial number of the vehicle was sent to every motor vehicle bureau in the nation but not one trace of the missing vehicle was ever found.<sup>115</sup>

On August 25, 1949 District Solicitor Clifton L. Moore requested the return of a 22-year-old Florida prisoner named Daniel Webster, alias Robert Anderson. Webster was also wanted for escape from the New Hanover County Prison Camp, but Moore was interested in Webster for another reason. Webster confessed to the murder of the Carolina Beach couple that took place eight years-before.<sup>116</sup>

Once back in New Hanover County, Bradshaw brought him to the vicinity of the crime to search for the bodies. While on the search he told Bradshaw his confession was a hoax, he just wanted to get back to North Carolina. Webster wrote the *Star News* newspaper and said that his confession was a "fantastic lie" to get out of the Florida State penitentiary where he was being mistreated. Again, the lead ended with the wrong

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<sup>114</sup> "What Happened to Coastal Mother, Daughter?" *News and Observer* 13 March 1949.

<sup>115</sup> "What Happened" 13 March 1949.

<sup>116</sup> "What Happened" 13 March 1949.

conclusion, no arrest.<sup>117</sup> “Today, the case remains unsolved and stands as one of North Carolina’s major mysteries of all time.”<sup>118</sup>

Fifteen years later the Bryan case came to life. New Hanover County law enforcement officers from the Carolina Beach area called the agency and Bradshaw’s attention to the Bryan case again. On April 10, 1956 George Tregembo, a zookeeper, found two skeletons near Carolina Beach by on a section of Carolina Beach road in the Fort Fisher area. After interviewing Tregembo, Bradshaw delivered the skeletal remains he collected from Tregembo to Dr. Joffre Coe, anthropologist at the University of North Carolina in Chapel Hill, for evaluation. According to Director Powell “the case has remained one of the most baffling mysteries in the SBI’s files. Through the years it has stood as a challenge to every SBI agent.”<sup>119</sup> Bradshaw described the case as “one of the most unusual and sensational ever to come out of North Carolina.”<sup>120</sup>

Dr. Coe, director of the department of anthropology released his findings April 24, 1956; however, it was dismal news for the investigators. After examining the skeletal material, he determined that the remains were not the missing pair from Carolina Beach. The high profile investigation was once again at a dead end.<sup>121</sup>

The missing mother and daughter from Carolina Beach was a highly publicized unsolved case. When Handy retired, the Carolina Beach case remained one of the unsolved cases the SBI investigated extensively during his tenure. While Handy was director, he managed the print media pertaining to this high profile case to his career advantage like Hoover did with so many high profile cases. Evidence of Handy’s favorable relationship with the print media was evident in the reports that conveyed the

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<sup>117</sup> “Double Murder Confession Repudiated at Wilmington,” *News and Observer* 8 September 1949.

<sup>118</sup> “What Happened” 13 March 1949.

<sup>119</sup> “Skeletons Found at Carolina Beach May Be Clues In Tar Heel Mystery,” *News and Observer* 11 April 1956.

<sup>120</sup> “Bones and the Bryan Mystery: Million-to-One Shot, Sheriff Says,” *News and Observer* 15 April 1956.

extraordinary efforts that Handy and the bureau displayed in their search for the missing Carolina Beach mother and child. The mutual respect that Handy and the media shared for one another resulted in favorable press for Handy and the bureau and benefited Handy's career trajectory with the agency until his retirement. Also without the support of the governor and Attorney General, Handy could not have continued the investigation for the length of time that he did.

Even though the lead investigative agent, Bradshaw, was never able to solve the case, he and the director received recognition for their efforts in investigating the high profile case. By the time the 1956 articles appeared in the newspaper, Handy had retired after a successful tenure as director, and Bradshaw's career trajectory with the SBI had taken a positive turn. Bradshaw had become the State Bureau of Investigations' assistant director.

The SBI would like to solve every case; however, the high profile Carolina Beach case remains unsolved. Nevertheless, as more local law enforcement agencies requested the SBI to provide investigative assistance, unsolved cases did not slow the SBI's growth and changes that were occurring. Handy mirrored Hoover's publicity style, in that, he successfully managed the media in the missing pair investigation. Also, as the first director of the SBI, Handy set a precedent in media relations for future SBI directors to emulate him as well as Hoover.

The SBI continued to expand its investigative services and hired new agents as its funding and caseload increased. Additionally, during the SBI's early history, investigators and their caseloads were not generally subject to political pressures. However, the political process affected SBI directors because they served at the attorney general's pleasure. In addition to the political impact on SBI directors' careers, media coverage of cases, like the unsolved high profile Carolina Beach case, played an important role in directors' career trajectories. For example, no conflict between the media, the SBI and Director Handy occurred despite the fact that the case was never solved. Negative publicity not only could have damaged Handy's career trajectory, it could have damaged

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<sup>121</sup> "New Hanover Bones Not Those of Missing Mother and Child," *News and Observer* 25 April 1956.

the image of the fledging SBI. Handy remained as director until he decided to retire. He successfully held his position as director under two gubernatorial administrations that had authority over his position.

### **Creekmore Appointed as SBI Director**

Upon Handy's retirement, Thomas L. Creekmore was appointed director.<sup>122</sup> This appointment did not come as any surprise to Director Handy since Attorney General Harry McMullan, head of the State Department of Justice, had discussed it with Handy six months or more prior to Handy's decision to leave office.<sup>123</sup> McMullen conferred with Governor J. Melville Broughton, and Broughton approved McMullen's recommendation to appoint Thomas Creekmore as the new Director.<sup>124</sup> Since the SBI began in the Governor's Office, it would not have been unusual for the attorney general to confer with the Governor for the appointment of a new SBI director even though the appointment was the sole responsibility of the attorney general. Through the use of the media and high profile cases, Handy created a positive image for himself and the SBI, and he maintained a successful career trajectory until his retirement. Even after retirement he returned to the SBI headquarters to provide assistance.<sup>125</sup>

In 1939, at the age of 54, Creekmore began his employment with the bureau as a legal advisor and special investigator. Later in the same year he became the assistant director. When he became assistant director, Handy commented, "Tom Creekmore is a capable man, and I am happy to announce his appointment..."<sup>126</sup> It is apparent from this

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<sup>122</sup> "Creekmore Named to Post" *News and Observer* 17 November 1953.

<sup>123</sup> "Fred Handy's Resignation As SBI Chief Accepted: To Stay as Agent; Creekmore to be Director, Gatling to Head Agents," *News and Observer* 7 October 1943.

<sup>124</sup> "SBI Head Quits Post in Raleigh: F. C. Handy to be Succeeded by T. L. Creekmore, December 1," *Wilmington Star News* 7 October 1943.

<sup>125</sup> William S. Hunt, Jr., Personal Interview of Former SBI Special Agent and Training and Research Supervisor, 31 May 1999. Hunt was the SBI training director for the academy and personally knew many of the early agents. Hunt is knowledgeable regarding much of the SBI's unwritten history.

quote and Creekmore's professional background that he earned his appointment through political connections rather than through investigative experience since he was promoted in less than a year to the position of assistant director. Creekmore, who was a political era remnant, had limited experience in criminal investigations and no high-profile cases that were identified in the media, yet he was appointed assistant director of the SBI.<sup>127</sup> Unlike Bradshaw who later became assistant director, Creekmore's successful career trajectory cannot be attributed to his investigative skills with high profile cases.

Creekmore graduated from William and Mary College in 1908 and George Washington University with a degree in law in 1908.<sup>128</sup> Prior to joining the State Bureau of Investigation, Creekmore practiced law for eighteen years in North Carolina and was associated with Seaboard Railroad's legal department for ten years.<sup>129</sup> Creekmore was a native of Wake County and in 1923 served as an enrolling clerk of the State House of Representatives. In 1925 he was elected as Wake County's Representative to the North Carolina General Assembly and elected again in 1927.<sup>130</sup> His educational, professional and political background provided him with a solid foundation for public state service.

At the end of 1943, Director Creekmore predicted an increase in crime as millions of Americans returned from World War II. However, compared with crime statistics of past years, the ratio of crimes remained about the same. Approximately one-third of the bureau's investigative requests were burglaries, one-third were homicides and embezzlements, and one-third were assaults and robberies. The requests were also equally divided among the police, sheriff, and state law enforcement agencies. Creekmore indicated in his first annual news release that there were more laboratory requests from local agencies in the following areas: identification of poisons, examination of bloodstains,

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<sup>126</sup> "Creekmore Named Acting SBI Assistant," *Raleigh Times* 3 December 1939.

<sup>127</sup> "Creekmore Named Acting," 3 December 1939.

<sup>128</sup> "Creekmore Named Acting," 3 December 1939.

<sup>129</sup> "Creekmore Out at SBI: Anderson Gets Position," *News and Observer* 19 March 1946.

<sup>130</sup> "Creekmore Named to Post" 17 November 1953.

and other types of microscopic tests. The number of requests for firearms examinations, fingerprints, and documents also increased.<sup>131</sup>

New interest in police training and standards reflected evidence of police reform during Creekmore's administration.<sup>132</sup> The bureau reported that it investigated approximately 500 criminal cases. Among these were organized burglary gangs in which arrests were made. During this time, more citizens became interested in serving as auxiliary police, and it was believed that this effort contributed to crime prevention and increased arrests in local communities and cities.<sup>133</sup> Additionally, Creekmore recognized the Institute of Government at Chapel Hill and the bureau's role in law enforcement instruction. The Institute and the SBI, though he described the SBI's contribution as modest, collaboratively offered law enforcement training that Creekmore attributed to more effective and professional law enforcement.<sup>134</sup> Through the media Creekmore's promotion of professional training affected his career trajectory with the agency. His political position was strengthened with his desire to professionalize law enforcement careers, and he used the print media to promote, articulate and reinforce his position on professionalism.

The bureau continued to investigate old unsolved cases in 1945 along with all the new cases that occurred. There were approximately 350 new cases added to the SBI caseload annually. Some of the 1945 requests were outside the SBI's jurisdiction and were referred to the appropriate agency for investigation. In 1945, the bureau also continued to receive laboratory requests for the examination of physical evidence.

Between March 1946 when Creekmore resigned from the SBI and November 1953 when he was employed with the North Carolina Department of Motor Vehicles, he

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<sup>131</sup> "SBI Chief Gives Review of Year: Creekmore Says Increase in Crime Will Be One of Post-War Problems," *News and Observer* 23 December 1943.

<sup>132</sup> "Instructors of Law Enforcing Schools," *News and Observer* 1 September 1944.

<sup>133</sup> "Best Antidote for Crime Is Fine Law Enforcement: In Enforcement as in Everything Else, Public Gets What It Orders," *News and Observer* 22 December 1944.

<sup>134</sup> "Police Institute Planned at UNC: Faculty Members Named for Law Enforcement School Opening October 22," *News and Observer* 20 October 1944.

worked in six different government jobs ranging from a prosecutor for the U. S. Department of Justice investigating war criminals in Japan to the head of the Financial Responsibility Section of the Motor Vehicles Department. As Creekmore prepared to take his last position with the State of North Carolina, a newspaper editor described him as “a man who’s popped in and out of State government like a political jumping jack...”<sup>135</sup>

Although Thomas L. Creekmore’s rise in state government is a compelling example of political favoritism so prevalent during the political era, his interests and support of professionalism in the state law enforcement agency illustrates the prevailing trend of reform during this period. At any rate, supporters of Creekmore recognized that he had the educational background and experience to make rational, philosophical decisions concerning a newly organized police agency.<sup>136</sup> Well-trained agents insured the future success of the agency and like Handy, Creekmore’s objective was to create a professional state investigative agency.

## **Conclusion**

The promotional process in state law enforcement continues to undergo changes, but none have been greater than those experienced when police administrators and citizens sought to overcome corrupt political influence. Police promotions in the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries were deeply rooted in a system of political corruption, the spoils system. Rewards were expected and given for political party affiliation and support. State leaders were aware of the corruption scandals in the federal government that evolved over a period of approximately two hundred years. During the 1930s, they recognized the consequences of the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century flaws in the promotional process in federal law enforcement agencies that were based on the philosophy of the spoils system and did not want to repeat those experiences at the state level.

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<sup>135</sup> “Under the Dome: Creekmore,” *News and Observer* 10 November 1953.

<sup>136</sup> “Under the Dome: Creekmore,” 10 November 1953.



Even though Handy studied the FBI and other large metropolitan police departments as models for the SBI, those agencies had already undergone reform, especially Hoover's FBI. Hoover dealt with politics and corruption while working with the Department of Justice and understood that in order for an agency to be professional, it could not be based on the spoils system. In the case of the FBI, at least in the upper echelon of FBI administrators, J. Edgar Hoover personally chose his senior administrators. To parallel this in the North Carolina state law enforcement agency, Handy was given authority to select and employ his investigative team though it was small. At this time, formal minimum-hiring standards had not been developed for the North Carolina State Bureau of Investigation. Also, professional police organizations had not developed agency standards for agency accreditation. The hiring process was based on the director's assessment. Handy supported educational standards for investigators and Creekmore actively promoted bureau participation with the Institute of Government in conducting police training.

Hoover used the print media in the beginning without realizing its impact; however, within a very short period, he realized its significance and consciously engaged the print media to promote himself and the FBI. Director Handy was much more conservative in his use of the media when compared to Hoover. However, when he did take advantage of the print media in case investigations, SBI agents not the director often received the media attention. As a result, skilled investigators became well known across the state in association with high profile cases, much like Hoover became well known in the many high-profile cases that he publicized. The favorable recognition that the agent received impacted the director's career trajectory positively.

The career trajectories of J. Edgar Hoover and SBI directors were influenced disproportionately by high profile cases reported by the print media compared to other career factors. Though their use of the print media progressed at different rates, Hoover, Handy, and Creekmore effectively used the print media to build a positive image for the agency as well as promote their professional career goals. Although the high profile case that involved the missing mother was not solved, on a state level it was equivalent to Hoover's federal investigations involving the Urschel and Dillinger cases. Like Hoover,

Handy's career trajectory received positive reinforcement from the print media's broad coverage of the high profile case. However, unlike Hoover, there is no documented evidence that Handy nor Creekmore used the print media as skillfully to their advantage as Hoover employed it to his benefit. Since Handy organized the SBI to be comparable to the FBI and adopted the same image-building techniques that Hoover employed, similarities between the two agency leaders' career trajectories are observable. Although Creekmore's tenure with the SBI as director was short in duration, Creekmore continued Handy's positive image of the agency and added his contributions by advocating training for investigative agents.

In addition to the directors' direct involvement in high profile investigations and print media coverage of these investigations, there are often high profile case investigations that indirectly affect the directors' career trajectories. Moreover, when James Bradshaw received print media attention for the fingerprint analysis that he did on cases, his career trajectory was not only affected but the director's career trajectory was affected as well. The positive articles about the agent's investigations that appeared in the print media reinforced the political support that the director needed in order to extend his appointment as director and promote his career trajectory.

Prior to World War II limited positions existed for promotions in the formative years of both the FBI and SBI, but the initial leaders ambitiously explored every resource to promote their career trajectory and to create investigative agencies comprised of qualified professionals. On the state level, hiring, training, and promotional criteria occurred several years after the agency was formed; nevertheless, outside factors influenced the careers of the early directors. Namely, high profile case investigations played a significant role in the promotional process regardless of whether they became high profile as a result of print media attention, political magnitude, or were significant to the bureau or a senior administrator. Chapter two will examine the effects of professionalism, promotion and the influence of the print media on law enforcement directors' career trajectories after World War II.

## Chapter 2

### Professionalism, Promotion and the Influence of Print Media During the Post War Years, 1947-1956

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#### Law Enforcement Organizations and Training

Police reform continued to gain momentum during the 1940s and 50s as law enforcement officers pursued their interests in unions and organizations that represented law enforcement officers and their career development. During the early reform era, professional organizations were limited. However, professional police organizations like the National Conference of Police Associations (NCPA) began to emerge as the reform era ensued. The NCPA was the product of a meeting in Detroit, Michigan in 1953 that was comprised of law enforcement representatives who sought cooperative practices between law enforcement organizations across the nation. The purpose of this organization was “to collect, study, standardize, summarize, and to disseminate factual data for the purpose of promoting the professionalization of the police service and to stimulate mutual cooperation between law enforcement agencies.”<sup>1</sup> Furthermore, in order to professionalize law enforcement, police agencies throughout the United States started enrolling their officers in specialized training. Not only were the SBI and FBI conducting specialized training, police organizations were also conducting special police seminars nationally. Consequently, the emphasis on police training reinforced the concept of professional police organizations and contributed to police reform throughout the United States.

In addition to professional organizational reform, police executives pursued efforts to reform the trends in print media exposure of law enforcement agencies. Prior to law enforcement officials' attempts to reform law enforcement, print media exposure was primarily negative since the print media exposed corruption in law enforcement agencies at every level. While police organizations experienced professionalization as a result of reform in law enforcement, positive trends increased in the print media.

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<sup>1</sup> Hervey A. Juris and Peter Feuille, *Police Unionism: Power and Impact in Public Sector Bargaining* (Toronto: Lexington Books, 1973) p. 18.

Furthermore, as law enforcement organizations implemented professional practices and standards, the system of patronage and political corruption subsided. By the late 1940s, organizational and leadership trends were developing which led to the end of the political era and the reform era began. Collaborative efforts between state law enforcement and the FBI were among the first steps taken by North Carolina toward these goals. J. Edgar Hoover released his top FBI training agent, Edward Scheidt, to assist Dr. Albert Coates in establishing the Institute of Government in Chapel Hill for law enforcement training. Hoover also sent ten FBI agents to Chapel Hill to teach North Carolina law enforcement officers selected to attend the special training at the Institute of Government. Hoover applauded Dr. Coates' leadership efforts in developing police training in North Carolina.<sup>2</sup> By the late 1940s, police training in North Carolina was voluntary for local agencies but required for some agencies like the North Carolina State Highway Patrol. For officers who received training, it was approximately eight weeks in length; however, by the 1950s it had become a twelve-week training program.<sup>3</sup> Additional specialized training, separate from basic training, emerged and generally improved the professionalism of investigators' investigative activities. However, an advantage for investigators included the impact the training had on their career trajectories. Professional training was one of the factors that influenced investigators' career trajectories because it prepared personnel at the investigative level to advance to administrative positions, namely the directorship.

During the reform era, the cumulative number of training credits or seminars completed at the time of promotion became criteria traditionally accepted for promotional decisions by police administrators and brought about changes in state law enforcement directors' career trajectories. Moreover, as professional standards became established, a minimum number of training hours were traditionally required by most law enforcement agencies in order to apply for promotion. Although, law enforcement organizations experienced professional reform that had a positive influence over the corrupt practices of the political era, professional requirements during the reform era were not independent factors in the promotional process. Promotions continued to hinge on outside factors. High profile case investigations in the print media influenced the state law enforcement directors' career trajectories.

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<sup>2</sup> Albert Coates, *The Beginning of Schools for Law Enforcing Officers in North Carolina* (Chapel Hill, North Carolina: Professor Emeritus Fund, 1983) pp. 14-17.

<sup>3</sup> Coates p. 116.

For example, during the postwar years, Melville Dalton, an American researcher, identified traditional hiring attributes as being qualified, trustworthy, and compliant. However, he also recognized there were nontraditional factors that influenced employee selection and the nontraditional factors sometimes negated the traditional criteria for promotion. The nontraditional factors he documented included socialization with the agency hierarchy as well as having similar political ideologies, religious affiliations, and similar ethnic backgrounds to those of the administrators. In other words, whether or not an individual performed a job as well as another candidate, the traditional factors did not influence the selection process as much as the informal factors according to the study by Dalton.<sup>4</sup> The aspects discussed in Dalton's study are consistent with directors' careers when they supervise investigators who work high profile cases. Namely, directors who supervised investigators investigating high profile cases provided directors more opportunities for print media recognition that resulted from their association with the case through the investigator. Furthermore, high profile case investigative activities promoted socialization and fraternization between investigators and administrators resulting not only in advances in career trajectory opportunities for investigators but for directors as well.

In the law enforcement promotional process, agencies attempt to identify officers who possess leadership qualities for promotion. In one early leadership study, physical characteristics attributed success or failure based on height. This study concluded that tall people made better leaders than short people. However, Hoover, not considered a tall man, among other researchers, would have disputed the findings of this study since Hoover was a very successful FBI director and leader. Other studies examined intrinsic attributes like intelligence, persuasiveness and intuition only to find that there was no precise way to define or quantify some of these attributes, especially intuition. One major criticism of these research findings was that identifying successful leadership qualities in one occupational group did not necessarily apply to another occupational group. For example, a highly successful chief executive officer of a successful corporation most likely would not be an effective chief of police in a large metropolitan police department or even in a small city.

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<sup>4</sup> Melville Dalton, "Informal Factors in Career Achievement," *American Journal of Sociology*, 56:5 (1951): pp. 407-408.

However, although researchers have been unable to identify universal leadership traits, before abandoning half of a century of research, one researcher, Ralph Stogdill, decided to take a different approach to the study of leadership. He examined three hundred studies and found there were some traits common to leaders compared to non-leaders. The traits of a good leader according to this study included being goal-directed, venturesome, self-confident, responsible, tolerant of stress frustration, and capable of influencing others. If a person possesses only a couple of these traits, it is not a valid predictor of leadership. Nevertheless, if the person was self-confident, was goal-directed and possessed some of the other traits, these traits represent a personality type appropriate for leadership responsibilities. If one argues that people cannot learn or acquire these traits, it seriously undermines the need for leadership training based on a system of enhancing and developing these traits.

In contrast to the traditional approach of examining the positive attributes of leadership, John Geirer, another researcher, devised a reverse set of leadership traits published in 1967 that identified candidates' deficient leadership characteristics. He found these reverse traits to be significant in evaluating leadership capabilities in candidates and promotional boards and committees neglected candidates who demonstrated these traits for promotional consideration. Specifically, he established in his study that evaluators eliminated candidates who exhibited specific negative traits from recruitment for potential leadership positions. Gerier's reverse traits included the following characteristics: "uninformed about issues important to the group, a very low participator, or very rigid in thinking."<sup>5</sup>

Illustrated in these studies are many of the traditional promotional principles that were accepted and recognized as part of the promotional process during the reform era, and the SBI and FBI retain some of these same promotional principles today. Hoover reinforced the reform movement that initiated restructuring and promotional change among contemporary police administrators in many United States law enforcement agencies. The FBI and its agents became role models among the law enforcement professionals, specifically for the SBI, because of Hoover's leadership, hiring standards and high expectations for his agents.

Other law enforcement officials as well as the public admired FBI agents even though their jobs involved difficult working conditions and demanded lengthy hours investigating cases.

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<sup>5</sup> Paul R. Timm and Brent D. Peterson. *People At Work*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (St. Paul: West Publishing Company, 1986) pp. 119-120.

Although, the job circumstances were not always pleasant, very few agents left the FBI to take less demanding jobs that would have paid them more. In 1955 less than one-half of one percent left their jobs with the FBI to take jobs outside the agency.<sup>6</sup> Although the majority of the FBI agents were not seeking employment outside the agency, the director was seeking job security in federal government and practiced a publicity style to main his career trajectory. The same was true with the SBI. The agents were not seeking employment outside the agency but the SBI director was seeking job security. With very little turnover among agents in both the federal and state agencies, it contributed to a stable bureaucratic organization. While agents benefited from the stability and reforms occurring in promotional practices, directors' career trajectories benefited from factors such as high profile cases in the print media. Even though Hoover was responsible for initiating reforms that were emulated by the SBI; nonetheless, external factors affected the SBI directors and Hoover's career trajectories. Hoover advanced his career trajectory by exploiting print media attention from high profile cases that ranged from gangsters with Mafia connections to international spy rings such as the Rosenbergs. Likewise, SBI directors also benefited similarly to Hoover from high profile homicide cases like the Phillips case in which a husband murdered his wife to the high profile Tung investigation that involved Asian diplomats. External factors such as high profile cases in the print media were critical to directors' career trajectories although Hoover was instrument in initiating law enforcement reforms.

The initial reforms created by Hoover in the hiring process as well as advancement remained in place throughout Hoover's tenure as director and shaped the bureau's image for decades afterwards. Not only did Hoover maintain high standards when Attorney General Harlan Fiske Stone initially appointed him as director, he maintained high standards for the duration of his tenure. In the beginning, Hoover hired agents who had college and advanced degrees as well as those who had military backgrounds in addition to their educational degrees. "Hoover's first move was to fix high standards of personal conduct for his agents. Then he began to get rid of the political appointees who couldn't measure up to these standards. They were replaced by young men with training as lawyers and accountants."<sup>7</sup> Hoover was not only concerned about the

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<sup>6</sup> Don Whitehead, *The FBI Story: A Report to the People* (New York: Random House, 1956) p. 16.

<sup>7</sup> Whitehead p. 14.

agents' qualifications but also about the Bureau's image projected by the agents. "Procedures were set up for checking on their conduct and performance."<sup>8</sup>

Hoover's idea of professionalism involved rigorous training, adherence to strict dress codes, an impeccable code of conduct, and internal inspections. His basic organizational objectives included collecting and classifying intelligence and the application of scientific investigative principles.<sup>9</sup>

In addition to having high expectations of the agents who worked for him, Hoover had high personal expectations, and he cleverly employed his abilities in order to continue to promote himself. It was not uncommon for him to devise methods to gain favor from the attorney general as well as the President. Nor was it unusual for him to use the bureau, agents, and high profile investigative case activities during the reform era to advance his career trajectory goals and seek higher, more important positions in federal government than the position of FBI director. Though he promoted professionalism among his agents, Hoover did not hesitate to occasionally engage in *quid pro quo* negotiations to ensure the rising momentum of his career trajectory.

### **Hoover and President Harry Truman**

In 1945 with the death of the United States' thirty-second President, Franklin D. Roosevelt, Hoover attempted to secure support from the new President, Harry Truman. Even though Hoover had created an impeccable reputation for himself, Presidential support guaranteed his career trajectory with the FBI. Since each President personally selected the attorney general who would serve during his presidency, Hoover knew with the appointment of a new attorney general, the attorney general could appoint a new FBI director as well. So when Truman became President, Hoover circulated a message among his agents, that if anyone knew a friend or relative or anyone who had a connection to the President that they should let him know because he needed a personal envoy to deliver a message to the President. Eventually, Hoover learned there was an agent in Missouri named Marion Chiles, III, whose father had been a childhood friend and playmate of the President. Hoover summoned Chiles and explained his assignment. Chiles did

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<sup>8</sup> Whitehead p. 14.

<sup>9</sup> Claire Bond Potter, *War on Crime: Bandits, G-Men, and the Politics of Mass Culture* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1998) p 35.



not embrace the assignment with enthusiasm; however, he realized that if he did not appease Hoover, his career trajectory with the bureau would be stalled or halted.<sup>10</sup>

Chiles went to Truman and after some casual conversation, the President asked him the purpose of his visit. Chiles told the President that he had a personal message from Hoover. Hoover wanted him to know that the FBI and Hoover were at his personal service anytime. Truman smiled and said; "...anytime I need the services of the FBI...I will ask for it through my attorney general."<sup>11</sup> Chiles had the unpleasant task of relaying Truman's message back to Hoover. The foiled attempt of Hoover to win Truman's favor set the tone for Hoover and Truman's relationship in the years that followed. They remained at odds throughout Truman's presidency. This was one of the few times that Hoover's career trajectory was threatened throughout his tenure as FBI director. While Hoover seldom experienced political pressure from the President that threatened his position as director, political pressure was somewhat commonplace among the SBI directors. Maintaining their position and their positive career trajectories was a challenge after every election. Unlike Hoover, the SBI directors during this period in police history had not amassed enough support to take some of the same risks and political liberties as Hoover.<sup>12</sup>

Subsequent to Chiles' visit as an unsuccessful emissary, Hoover sought ways to undermine Truman's administration. In 1948 Harry Dexter White was accused of giving aid to Communist spies. White was President Roosevelt and Vice President Truman's most trusted economic advisor. To take revenge on Truman, Hoover seized the opportunity and testified before a congressional investigation against White. However, in order to discredit Hoover, Truman referred to the congressional inquiry as a "red herring" which incensed Hoover even more.

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<sup>10</sup> William C. Sullivan, *The Bureau: My Thirty Years in Hoover's FBI* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1979) p. 38.

<sup>11</sup> Sullivan p. 38.

<sup>12</sup> James R. Durham, Personal Interview of Former SBI Special Agent and Acting SBI Director, 16 December 1997. Durham was sworn into the SBI on May 15, 1948. He estimated that in his forty-one-year career with the SBI he examined documents in more than 10,000 cases. The directors assigned many of the cases, and some involved high profile investigation of election law violations and political candidates. Durham said that although the investigations sometimes revealed sensitive information about politicians, the SBI directors did not use the information for political purposes to advance their careers.

There were other instances when Hoover became preoccupied with situations when the outcomes were contrary to his viewpoint. Former FBI agent William Sullivan recalled an incident in which Hoover became obsessed with advancing in the Masonic organization. One of Hoover's most trusted colleagues, Louis B. Nichols, Assistant Director in charge of public relations, summoned Sullivan to the office and asked if he were interested in helping the director with a very sensitive assignment. Nichols explained that someone in the Masonic Order was secretly casting a vote to prevent Hoover from becoming a thirty-third degree Mason. Since Sullivan knew Congressman Joseph E. Casey, Nichols explained that he wanted Sullivan to speak with Casey who was friends with Truman because Hoover believed that Truman was preventing him from advancing in the Masonic Order.<sup>13</sup> Although Hoover attempted to revert to the *quid quo pro* tactics that had been so popular during the political era, these tactics were unsuccessful for him, and he was never popular with President Truman. Despite the political challenges he experienced in Washington, D.C., his public relations style using the print media in managing high profile investigations gave him an advantage among constituents. Therefore, he maintained his political prestige and FBI directorship while keeping his career trajectory on a positive course.

In addition to initiating attempts to advance his career trajectory through his tactics with his superiors, Hoover's ambition was to become Attorney General or receive a Supreme Court Justice appointment. He joined political friends in a plan that would enable him to achieve his goal provided their political ambitions were successful. If all went as planned, he would revel in Truman's defeat.

Hoover and two of his closest associates, Clyde Tolson and Louis Nichols, contacted Presidential contender Thomas Dewey and offered the bureau's assistance to him during his campaign. They anticipated that Dewey would win the nomination and defeat Truman. If Dewey became President, Hoover would become Dewey's attorney general and Nichols would become the FBI's next director. Hoover would carry Tolson with him as his assistant and Tolson could oversee Nichols' FBI operation.<sup>14</sup>

However, the unpredictability of politics resulted in failure of his political patronage aspirations when President Harry Truman won re-election. Although Harry Truman did not

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<sup>13</sup> Sullivan pp. 38-39.

<sup>14</sup> Sullivan pp. 41-45.

remove Hoover from office, Hoover did not reap the rewards of political favoritism during any of Truman's administrations to the extent that he had in past administrations. In the earlier part of Hoover's career, he relied on publicizing high-profile cases in the print media involving investigations of organized crime figures and spies, which clearly worked to his advantage as FBI director. In addition to high-profile cases, he also used *quid pro quo* to accomplish his goals. Despite his efforts, he did not achieve the political rapport with the President that he would have preferred. Hoover experienced repeated political failures with Truman similar to his failure to maneuver his acceptance into the Masonic Order. Comparatively, some SBI directors, namely Jimmy Powell, experienced similar failures in their career trajectories; however, the SBI directors were unable to overcome the adverse effect on their career trajectories.<sup>15</sup>

Although Hoover had established a strong hold on his position and managed to control his career trajectory, he was not comfortable in his relationship with Truman and the new attorney general, Tom C. Clark. Regardless of Hoover's efforts, he received little to no encouragement or support from President Truman. Although Hoover did not gain any support from his tactics aimed at Truman, through print media in high profile investigations of communism and espionage, he maintained control of his career trajectory.

Therefore, he pursued political alliances from members of Congress, specifically from the House Un-American Activities Committee. As an investigator of espionage for the Department of Justice before his appointment to the FBI, an opportunity to investigate espionage once again presented him with another chance to acquire even more political prestige. "In March 1946, Hoover advised Attorney General Clark that he was going to 'intensify [the bureau's] investigations of the Communist Party activities and Soviet Espionage cases'.... When he recalled how attacks from such liberal and civil libertarians...had nearly destroyed him during the Palmer days, he decided that he and the Bureau had no alternative but to treat the Truman administration as a potential enemy and to seek new political alliances."<sup>16</sup> Since he could not

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<sup>15</sup> Dan E. Gilbert, Personal Interview of Former SBI Special Agent and SBI Supervisor, 18 January 1998. Gilbert commented on the dissention between Powell and Attorney General Patton. He noted that Patton disliked Powell's Hoover-like behavior. Gilbert said that an agent would double park in front of the Justice Building, wait for Powell, and open the door for Powell that made Patton angry every time he observed this behavior from his second floor office window. Former SBI Agents Ray Garland, James Bradshaw, and James Durham have corroborated details of this same information.

<sup>16</sup> Richard Gid Powers, *Secrecy and Power: The Life of J. Edgar Hoover* (New York: The Free Press, 1987) p. 284.

depend on Truman and his cabinet to support him and propel his career trajectory in the process, when two high profile investigative activities, espionage and communism, threatened national security, Hoover seized another opportunity and attempted to use these investigative activities to his career advantage and the bureau's advantage. In an effort to bolster his relationship with congressional members who would be important to his career trajectory and the welfare of the bureau, he solicited their support for his high profile investigative activities. "Some skeptics suggested that Hoover's well-publicized alarm over the national well-being emerged most emphatically whenever he was asking Congress for...appropriations.... The Director undoubtedly believed—and he seemed to be right—that the public had an insatiable appetite for news about their G-men."<sup>17</sup> If the FBI was fully funded, Hoover had the guarantee that his high profile investigative interests and the programs that he advocated in the bureau would continue. Also, through the assistance of the print media in high profile investigations and with congressional support, Hoover reinforced his own career trajectory with the FBI.

Unlike the Truman administration, when Eisenhower became President, Hoover once again used the patronage system to his advantage and enjoyed the benefits of *quid pro quo*. Unlike Truman who turned Hoover away when Hoover offered his services to Eisenhower, he not only accepted, but also enjoyed secret, privileged communications known only between him and Hoover. When Hoover divulged important information, the President acted on it; however, he treated much of it as gossip with no reaction or response.<sup>18</sup>

Although *quid pro quo* practices among politically influenced law enforcement organizations like the FBI were still occurring, by this time in the FBI's organizational history, trends in law enforcement had begun to change. Law enforcement agencies were adopting professional standards and guidelines throughout the United States at national and state levels. In addition to changes resulting from reforms in the hiring and promotional practices taking place, nontraditional factors continued to influence the promotional process as well. Namely, during the reform era, as previously mentioned, the print media and high profile case investigations contributed to the career trajectories of the FBI and SBI directors during the political era. Hoover continued to use high profile criminal investigations during the beginning of the Cold War

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<sup>17</sup> Sanford J. Ungar, *FBI* (Boston: Little Brown and Company, 1976) p 382.

<sup>18</sup> Sullivan p. 45.

period; however, he also utilized the print media in high profile investigations of espionage and communism to promote and maintain his career trajectory with the FBI.

### **Hoover and Ten Most Wanted List**

During the onset of the Cold War, one of Hoover's more successful programs for exposing criminals was the "Ten Most Wanted Fugitives." The FBI created the list in March 1950 when a reporter for the International News Service, the predecessor to the United Press International, asked the FBI to identify the most notorious criminal it wanted.<sup>19</sup> "Give me your 10 worst, asked an International News Service reporter in 1950, a list of the toughest guys hunted by the FBI. The story he published provided so much good publicity that Director J. Edgar Hoover decided to make the list an official program..."<sup>20</sup>

The first person named on the list was Thomas J. Holden, nicknamed "Tough Tommy," on May 14, 1950. The FBI described him as a train robber, wife murderer, and escapee. Holden was not apprehended right away, but in a few days the third person named to the "Ten Most Wanted Fugitives List" was captured. He was William Nesbit, convicted murderer and escapee. After newspapers reported that Nesbit was living in a cave near St. Paul, Minnesota, a group of teenage boys recognized his picture in a local newspaper. Newspapers gave the following account of Nesbit's apprehension. The boys went out to the cave with slingshots, Boy Scout knives and a toy atomic ray gun. They filled the cave's stovepipe with snow and sure enough smoked out Nesbit. Then they ran to the police with their information. The local police apprehended Nesbit. The story released in a ten most wanted list history captured readers' attention. Consequently, with Hoover's "Ten Most Wanted List" in the print media, his career trajectory was enhanced with every apprehension of one of the high profile criminals after the published list appeared in the print media.

On June 23, 1951 Holden, the first criminal listed among the criminals on the FBI's most wanted list, was finally apprehended by the FBI in Beaverton, Oregon by someone who

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<sup>19</sup> Gordon Witkin, "45 Years of Bad Guys on the Run," *U.S. News & World Report* 118:10 (1995): p. 15.

<sup>20</sup> Jeff Glasser, "In Demand for 50 Years: The FBI's Most Wanted List: Good Publicity and a History of Success," *U.S. News World Report* 128:11 (2000): p. 60.

recognized him from a picture that was published in the *Portland Oregonian*.<sup>21</sup> The ten most wanted list's success was two-fold, agents apprehended criminals, and Hoover received print media recognition through the program. Hoover used the program that received national print media publicity throughout the remainder of his career. Again, the print media brought attention to the cases, making them high profile, and the attention increased the probability of successful arrests. Citizens and law enforcement officials recognized fugitives' photos and stories like Omar A. Pinson and Orba Elmer Jackson. Pinson, number five on the Ten Most Wanted List, was apprehended five months after the FBI included him on the list. An automobile salesman recognized Pinson and alerted the police. On March 21, 1950, Jackson, the seventh fugitive listed, was apprehended the day after his name appeared on the list. "The list's publicity drew the attention of a local resident...he confirmed his suspicion when he read a story and saw a photograph of Jackson in a local paper."<sup>22</sup> Subsequently, arrests as a result of the Ten Most Wanted Program publicity augmented the director's career trajectory.

### **Hoover and House Un-American Activities Committee**

Additional high profile activities investigated during the early Cold War period by the FBI included the threat of espionage and Communism. In fact, with the gangster era diminishing, the FBI placed its primary emphasis on the fight against Communism.<sup>23</sup> The House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC) first formed in 1938 to investigate subversive activities and Communist Party members.<sup>24</sup> In addition to the Communist threat, however, the bureau still had to contend with increasing crime in the United States. Although criminal activity was a major component of the bureau's investigative caseload, American sensitivity to communism provoked outrage when international spying was exposed and initiated a response at the national level. Hoover capitalized on America's outrage as he did during the gangster era. He used the bureau

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<sup>21</sup> Mark Sabljak and Martin H. Greenberg, *Most Wanted: A History of the FBI's Ten Most Wanted List*, (New York: Bonanza Books, 1990) pp. 29-30.

<sup>22</sup> Sabljak pp. 33-36.

<sup>23</sup> Whitehead pp. 15-16.

<sup>24</sup> Ungar p. 85.

to promote his career trajectory by highly publicizing in the print media the threat of Communism and espionage cases in the United States.

“One crucial element in the Bureau’s image-building was the material turned out over the years under the Director’s name.”<sup>25</sup> The FBI produced and distributed an extensive collection of literary materials under Hoover. Not only were there articles written for law reviews, magazines, and newspapers, the agency published the book, *Deceit: The Story of Communism in America and How to Fight It*. The lengthy book defined Communism and enlisted every reader to perform their patriotic duty by reporting any Communist activities and espionage they were aware of to the bureau.<sup>26</sup>

Hoover’s colleagues seemingly supported his political ambitions but one individual was openly critical, Assistant Director William C. Sullivan. In one of his final letters to Hoover, he expressed how time and again Hoover willingly assisted anyone who was powerful and held an influential position in government. According to Sullivan, if it served Hoover’s interests or career advancement goals, Hoover eagerly took whatever measures were necessary to promote himself and achieve his ambitions at the taxpayer’s expense with help from anyone in the bureau that he needed to help him.<sup>27</sup> Namely, books portraying the hero, J. Edgar Hoover, and his bureau like *Masters of Deceit* and *A Study of Communism*, were written for Hoover “on public time, during the day at taxpayer’s expense.”<sup>28</sup>

As Sullivan pointed out, Hoover, who was concerned with his professional image, cleverly manipulated not only the press but many politicians as well during the perceived threat of Communism in America. With a resurgence of Communist activity after World War II in the United States, the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC) became active in the investigation of Communist activities again. The second HUAC inquiry began March 8, 1951 and continued for a year and a half. This committee emphasized Communist infiltration in the Hollywood motion picture industry.<sup>29</sup>

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<sup>25</sup> Ungar p. 380.

<sup>26</sup> Ungar pp. 380-381.

<sup>27</sup> Sullivan p. 276.

<sup>28</sup> Sullivan p. 268.

<sup>29</sup> Gerald Mast, ed., *The Movies in Our Midst: Documents in the Cultural History of Film in America* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982) p. 550.

HUAC hearings targeted Hollywood celebrities and important members of the movie industry. The committee called witnesses that were sympathetic and friendly to the committee's interests and subpoenaed nineteen others they considered communists or unfriendly. The committee actually called eleven people to testify before the committee and only one of those, Bertolt Brecht, answered questions for the committee. Brecht, a German playwright, denied being a Communist but after he testified, he returned to East Germany. The remaining ten refused to testify before the committee and did not answer any questions. Each one claimed their Fifth Amendment rights. Unfortunately, for them the committee did not recognize the use of their Fifth Amendment rights before the HUAC committee. Consequently, they received six to twelve months of imprisonment for their refusal to testify. The print media coined the name "Hollywood Ten" for the ten who refused to testify. Included in this group of ten people were one director and nine screenwriters. After the ten appeared before the HUAC, fifty Hollywood executives had a secret meeting and agreed to suspend them without pay. The Hollywood movie industry blacklisted them. Major movie producers would not hire them nor purchase their work; however, some produced and marketed work under pseudonyms.<sup>30</sup>

Despite the fact that the FBI was supposed to be an impartial investigative agency, it pursued any radical or liberal and worked closely with the HUAC and the Subversive Activities Control Board (SACB). Anyone who agreed with Communist issues was a suspected Communist. They could be investigated by the FBI or brought before both committees to testify.<sup>31</sup> Hoover exercised his position of authority and this committee to gain general support from the American citizens who were afraid of Communist infiltration into American society. The investigation of Communist activities was high profile because of the uncertainty of the introduction of a foreign government whose principles were vastly different. Hoover exploited this fear and the print media to secure his career as FBI director. Nationally circulated newspapers, specifically *The New York Times*, quoted Hoover's threatening descriptions of Communist and Communist sympathizers while he was championed in the articles over the evils of Communism. For example, "Mr. Hoover said, internal security problems were growing

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<sup>30</sup> Jeanine Basinger, *American Cinema: One Hundred Years of Filmmaking*, (New York: Rizzoli International Publications, Inc., 1994) pp. 240-241.

<sup>31</sup> Ungar p. 128.



steadily... and declared: the need...is paramount to control the dangers that are inherent in communism.”<sup>32</sup> Also, “...Hoover warned Senators...that unprecedented numbers of Communists were seeking United States atomic, military and industrial secrets.... He said the F.B.I. must... ‘preserve our internal security’ in the event of emergencies.”<sup>33</sup>

### **Julius and Ethel Rosenberg Case**

Hoover recognized the importance of the Communist issue in American politics and foresaw its impact on his career trajectory. He wanted to be among the winners and the climate was not leaning in Truman’s favor or the Democrats’. Therefore, Hoover, anticipated a “Republican victory in the 1946 congressional election and that the Republicans were going to win the Presidency in 1948. Political expediency dictated that he move over to the winning side.”<sup>34</sup> With the defeat of the Democrats in mind, Hoover avidly pursued exposing Communism in the United States and built his alliances among politicians and the public taking advantage of high profile investigations, the print media and his position as FBI director.

Following the war, the FBI investigated Julius and Ethel Rosenberg in an espionage case that was one of the highest profile cases the FBI investigated during the late 1940s and early 1950s. The court convicted them of espionage, and they were executed for their role in spying.<sup>35</sup> The United States government accused the Rosenbergs of stealing atomic bomb secrets from the United States for the Soviet Union. As the investigative leads were corroborated and confessions obtained, Hoover hyped the Julius and Ethel Rosenberg case utilizing the print media as the crime of the century and had enough evidence to try it as one of the most renowned cases of the 1950s.<sup>36</sup>

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<sup>32</sup> “F.B.I. Calls Spy Fight Greater than in War,” *New York Time* 27 January 1950.

<sup>33</sup> “U. S. Reds Go Underground To Foil F. B. I., Hoover Says: 540,000 Communists and Followers Seek Our Atomic, Military, Industrial Secrets, He Tells Closed Senate Unit Session,” *New York Times* 9 June 1950.

<sup>34</sup> Powers p. 287.

<sup>35</sup> Oliver Pilat, *The Atom Spies* (New York: G. P. Putnam’s Sons, 1952) pp. 291-292.

<sup>36</sup> Ungar p. 110.

When the Soviets tested a nuclear bomb in 1949, the print media overwhelmingly supported the apprehension of the traitors responsible for giving away atomic secrets to the Communist enemy. Hoover participated in the investigation and publicity that ensued. In 1950 following the arrest in England of Klaus Fuchs, a former Los Alamos, New Mexico employee and informant to the Soviets, the Rosenberg case developed. Hoover used the high profile espionage case as an opportunity to promote his viewpoint against Communism utilizing the print media. Reports revealed that officials working with the United States government intercepted and decoded some of Fuchs' messages to the Soviets. As a result, he was arrested, confessed, and named his American courier, Harry Gold.<sup>37</sup> As a result of the chain of confessions that followed Gold's arrest, the Rosenbergs were implicated in the high profile case.

In 1944 when United States Army Intelligence Corps' top-secret program, code name "Venona," intercepted a communiqué between the Soviet Consul in New York and Moscow, the message could only be partially deciphered. Four years later in 1948, the Army Signal Intelligence Service, the National Security Agency's predecessor, decoded the 1944 communiqué. With the deciphered message available, the FBI had more than circumstantial evidence to piece the case together. Even though they had no intent to use the communiqués in court, gradually, the message that could only partially be deciphered for years led FBI agents to confirm leads in the high profile espionage case. As the momentum of the high profile investigation accelerated, Hoover took advantage of print media opportunities while he ardently searched for more Communist supporters. For example, in an article that appeared in *The New York Times* May 1944, he expressed his outrage at the probability that Communism was infiltrating youth movements. Something that no American family would want, "He charged that 'alien-minded and un-American forces' are now 'endeavoring to inject their sinister poison into the veins of our American youth.'"<sup>38</sup> Hoover's fight against Communism was a fight for freedom in every American family.

Among the articles that appeared in *The New York Times*, one occurred in 1945 in which Hoover spoke against Communism and in defense of American institutions. Hoover described Communists as "panderers of diabolic destruction who are concentrating their efforts to confuse

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<sup>37</sup> Jacob Cohen, "The Rosenberg File," *National Review* 45 (1993): pp 48-53.

<sup>38</sup> "Wider Aid to Youth Urged by Hoover," *New York Times* 5 May 1944, p. 1.

and divide by applying the Fascist smear to progressive police departments, the FBI and other American institutions to conceal their own sinister purposes.”<sup>39</sup> In addition to gaining public support with fervent words published in newspaper articles, the print media also evidenced that Hoover sought and received political support using the print media. For instance, in *The New York Times* article, “Senators Hear F. B. I. Chief, Favor Plea for More Agents,” Hoover requested additional FBI agents from Congress to fight Communist. “A Senate appropriations subcommittee was understood tonight to be ready to recommend an expansion of the staff of the Federal Bureau of Investigation.”<sup>40</sup> With every newspaper story on Hoover fighting Communism in American society, he advanced his career trajectory and built public as well as political support.<sup>41</sup> Following the Venona break in the espionage case, through continued print media support against Communism, Hoover’s fight against communism culminated with the arrest and conviction of the Rosenbergs.

However, despite Ethel’s involvement in the high profile case, Hoover opposed her execution. Although the authorities were unable to decode the messages until the late forties, the messages exposed Julius’ activities that included operating a spy ring and providing the Soviets with information. It was not proven at that time that the transmissions involved atomic secrets; therefore, they did not implicate Rosenberg’s wife.<sup>42</sup> When Julius and Ethel were convicted, Hoover was opposed to executing Ethel because of the investigative and prosecutorial techniques used as well as adverse public opinion. However, during and after adjudication, Hoover never intervened.<sup>43</sup> The Rosenbergs were executed in June 1953 in the electric chair at Sing Sing Prison.<sup>44</sup>

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<sup>39</sup> “Major Crime Wave Due, Says Hoover,” *New York Times* 11 December 1945, p. 26.

<sup>40</sup> William S. White, “Senators Hear F.B.I. Chief, Favor Plea for More Agents,” *New York Times* 8 February 1950.

<sup>41</sup> Myron McBryde, Personal Interview of Former FBI Special Agent and Former SBI Director, 19 December 1997. McBryde recalled when he was a special agent with the FBI, Hoover placed high priority on espionage investigations.

<sup>42</sup> Walter Schneir and Miriam Schneir, “Cryptic Answers,” *Nation* 261 (1995): pp. 152-154.

<sup>43</sup> Cohen pp 48-53.

<sup>44</sup> Herbert Romerstein, “Venona Intercepts Confirm Rosenbergs’ Guilt,” *Human Events* 51:30 (2000): pp. 10-12.

After the arrest and trial, zealous Rosenberg supporters questioned his guilt. In 1995 the National Security Agency (NSA) released some of the decoded Soviet messages that were transmitted from 1943 to 1947 between the Soviet consulate in New York and the KGB in Moscow. The U.S. Army's top-secret program, Venona, was used to intercept the wireless communications during the Rosenbergs' activities that were used to implicate them. The FBI and CIA officials made the decision to keep Venona a secret from the public and restricted knowledge of its existence to others within the government. Because Truman and Hoover had different philosophies on Communist activities in the United States, Hoover definitely did not want the President to have knowledge of the Venona program.

Since the relationship between President Truman and Hoover was one of distrust, Truman believed any communications he received from Hoover involving Soviet espionage were exaggerated. Truman suspected Hoover's actions were motivated by self-serving political ambitions.<sup>45</sup> Truman's suspicions were not unfounded. Communist propaganda and the Rosenberg case benefited Hoover's career. Through print media coverage associated with these two high profile investigations, he retained political and public support as well positive control over his career trajectory.

Prior to the Rosenberg trial, when the House Un-American Committee invited Hoover to testify before them, he initially declined. Hoover suspected the committee members were allies of Truman's administration who were seeking to have Hoover disclose the Bureau's investigative practices that would result in extinguishing their sources for Communist information. However, one of Hoover's colleagues, Louis Nichols, delivered the following message to Hoover from the committee chairman, J. Parnell Thomas, "HUAC knew 'the Director had been under wraps for years, that the Administration favored Communists.' Hoover could use the committee as a 'sounding board...a grand opportunity' to 'say anything he wanted to say.'"<sup>46</sup> So Hoover decided to accept HUAC's invitation. When he spoke before the committee, he "told HUAC its mission was to rally the public against Communism.... I feel that once public opinion is thoroughly aroused as it is today, the fight against Communism is well on its way."<sup>47</sup> Gaining

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<sup>45</sup> John Earl Haynes and Harvey Klehr, *Venona: Decoding Soviet Espionage in America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1999) p. 15.

<sup>46</sup> Powers pp. 286-287.

<sup>47</sup> Powers pp. 288-289.

support from Congress through HUAC, Hoover obtained the status he had been seeking. He perceived himself as a national leader.<sup>48</sup>

The outcome of the Rosenberg case fortified Hoover's position on Communism and espionage in America during this period. He contributed to the successful prosecution of Julius and Ethel Rosenberg for their role in stealing atomic secrets and brought print media publicity to himself and the bureau. Hoover would "turn public events into moral lessons, and use controversy to increase public support for the central values of society."<sup>49</sup> Not only did Hoover champion public support for the issues at hand, he received even more recognition and his credibility was reinforced. All of which ultimately served him well as the director of the FBI while his career trajectory continued along its successful path.

### **Hoover and the Mafia**

One of Hoover's major oversights occurred while he was preoccupied with Communism. However, he managed to overcome potentially damaging consequences and completely reversed the outcome to his benefit. In 1950, Senator Estes Kefauver from Tennessee chaired a senate crime committee when the committee discovered the existence of the Mafia. The committee found widespread police corruption and police involvement that circumvented the vice laws.<sup>50</sup>

Communism was first and foremost on Hoover's mind and he did not believe the Mafia existed. On November 14, 1957 there was a meeting of the "Mob Bosses" in Apalachin, New York at Joseph Barbara, Sr.'s home. Local police and state troopers raided the meeting and some of the fleeing guests were apprehended. The legend of the Mafia's existence became a reality. The Apalachin raid caused Hoover considerable embarrassment because he had so adamantly denied that the Mafia existed. Hoover immediately established the "Top Hoodlum Program" and asked each of his chiefs to send FBI headquarters information on the top ten gangsters in their territory. He also instigated an extensive wiretap program to gain further intelligence regarding

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<sup>48</sup> Powers pp. 289-290.

<sup>49</sup> Powers pp. 289-290.

<sup>50</sup> Charles D. Edelstein and Robert J. Wicks, *An Introduction to Criminal Justice* (New York: McGraw Hill, 1977) p. 100.

their organization and activities. In 1958, Hoover played catch-up to the activities of organized crime.<sup>51</sup> In doing so, he shifted the emphasis from investigating Communism to investigating organized crime. The FBI produced a two-volume report documenting the existence of the Mafia; unfortunately the report established that the Mafia had been in existence as long as Hoover had been in office.<sup>52</sup>

### **Anderson's SBI Administration During the Postwar Era**

While the FBI continued to investigate federal criminal cases, it also focused investigative efforts on national security issues; whereas, the North Carolina SBI continued to concentrate its efforts on the investigation of state criminal cases. The national security issues investigated by the FBI included Communist activity and espionage that were perceived by many, especially politicians, as a national threat. However, during this same time, a lack of reported Communist activity in North Carolina indicated there was very little evidence of Communism that required the assistance of the State Bureau of Investigation.

During the post war era, structured promotional procedures in the SBI slowly replaced political favoritism. Although SBI directors did not attempt to gain political favors to promote themselves like Hoover was doing during this same period, directors continued to be politically appointed and worked at the pleasure of the state attorney general. While their careers were dominated by the will of political authorities that had power and control over their positions, their careers were also influenced by high profile investigations reported in the print media.

In the SBI, favoritism continued to frequently be used for promotions because there were no formal promotional procedures in place and promotions were at the director's discretion.<sup>53</sup> Nonetheless, it was during this period, 1947-1957, that training was high on police

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<sup>51</sup> McBryde. McBryde worked as an FBI special agent in Kansas City, Missouri and Chicago, Illinois field offices. Some investigative activities out of these field offices included using informants to collect information on organized crime figures.

<sup>52</sup> Michael D. Lyman and Gary W. Potter, *Organized Crime* (Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1997) p. 28.

<sup>53</sup> Max Bryan, Personal Interview of Former SBI Special Agent, Supervisor of Organized Crime Control Division (OCCD), and Director of Governor's Security, 4 December 1999. Among the SBI Special Agents, Bryan was one of Anderson's loyal supporters and was promoted to supervisor at SBI headquarters in Raleigh as well as given special assignments by Director Anderson.

administrators' agendas. For example, between 1947 and the late 1950s, the basic training school for the North Carolina State Highway Patrol increased from eight weeks to sixteen weeks. By the early 1950s, training for local police and sheriffs increased from three days to four weeks. Also, the FBI was active in assisting local officers with basic police training during this period.<sup>54</sup> However, with the onset of increased training opportunities, favoritism or *quid pro quo* continued to influence promotions but gradually the promotional process became more professional.

According to one special agent, when Anderson promoted investigators, the predominant quality he recognized was loyalty to the organization and the director.<sup>55</sup> Furthermore, during Anderson's tenure, there was a shift in the political structure of the SBI described as an authoritative structure. Anderson was a strict authoritarian who demanded loyalty from his agents. His leadership style was similar to J. Edgar Hoover's since they both required extremely loyal subservient employees especially from their upper management positions.

Unlike the FBI's continuous leadership by the same director, partisan politics affected the director's position with the North Carolina SBI. When Anderson was appointed as the SBI's third director, his appointment was based purely on political favoritism and it was publicly reported in the *Raleigh News and Observer* newspaper. The newspaper released an article that stated, "Governor Cherry offered Anderson the directorship of the State Highway Patrol, but Anderson...declined.... Governor Cherry kept looking for a new job for his friend... Attorney General Harry McMullan got word from the Governor's Office that Cherry was going to appoint Anderson as SBI chief."<sup>56</sup> At the governor's recommendation, McMullan appointed Walter Anderson to become director of the State Bureau of Investigation on April 1, 1946.

When the SBI initially formed, the governor appointed the first SBI director; however, when the General Assembly transferred the SBI agency to the attorney general's office, selecting and appointing the director became the attorney general's responsibility. However, in Anderson's case, the governor actively contributed to his appointment. Even though Anderson received his appointment through political favoritism, he promoted professionalism among the agents and also

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<sup>54</sup> Coates p. 55.

<sup>55</sup> Haywood Starling, Personal Interview of Former SBI Special Agent, Supervisor, Deputy Director and Director, 28 November 1997. After more than ten years of loyal service to the SBI, Anderson promoted Starling in 1958 to Supervisor. Starling said this was his supervisory job with the SBI.

<sup>56</sup> "Poor Policy Hounds SBI," *News and Observer* 15 December 1946.

encouraged police training.<sup>57</sup> In fact, Anderson was an instructor for the FBI and routinely traveled to Washington, D.C. to teach in the FBI National Academy.<sup>58</sup>

Unlike the directors who preceded him, Walter Anderson was the first SBI director who had practical experience in law enforcement. He served as police chief in Charlotte, North Carolina and was a well-known law enforcement officer at state and national levels.<sup>59</sup> In addition to teaching in the FBI National Academy, in 1947 he was elected as the president of the FBI National Academy Associates.<sup>60</sup> Also, while active in prevention and control of juvenile delinquency, U. S. Attorney General Tom C. Clark appointed Anderson as chairman for the committee on the role of police in juvenile delinquency matters.<sup>61</sup> During this same time, Anderson was named as the fifth Vice President of the International Association of Chiefs of Police and was honored at the convention in Mexico City.<sup>62</sup>

When Anderson became SBI director in April 1946, his foremost goal for the agency was to hire four agents to fill the vacant positions. He retained one of the positions for Special Agent James Powell who was serving in the military.<sup>63</sup> The remaining three positions were available to be filled at Anderson's will. Little is known about the hiring criteria during Anderson's first administration. At that time no specific hiring guidelines had been developed and agents were hired at the director's discretion.<sup>64</sup>

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<sup>57</sup> William S. Hunt, Jr., Personal Interview of Former Special SBI Agent and Training Academy Director, 31 May 1999. Hunt recalled that the Democratic Party asked department heads to secure contributions from employees during elections; however, Anderson never asked the agents for contributions. Hunt believed that Anderson made personal contributions to the Democratic Party and never discussed political issues with agents.

<sup>58</sup> Warren Campbell, Personal Interview of Former SBI Special Agent and Supervisor, 26 October 1997. Campbell first met Anderson when he attended the FBI National Academy in Quantico, Virginia. While Anderson was SBI director he was a guest instructor at the academy. During Campbell's enrollment there, Anderson encouraged Campbell to apply with the SBI after completing the training.

<sup>59</sup> "Creekmore Out at SBI: Anderson Gets Position," *News and Observer* 19 March 1946.

<sup>60</sup> "Anderson to Attend Washington Meeting," *News and Observer* 19 November 1946.

<sup>61</sup> "SBI Chief Appointed Committee Chairman," *News and Observer* 14 November 1946.

<sup>62</sup> "Anderson and Hatcher Honored at Convention: State SBI and Highway Patrol Chiefs Elected to Offices in Association." *News and Observer* 27 September 1946.

<sup>63</sup> "SBI Post Held Open for Man in Service," *News and Observer* 5 April 1946.

<sup>64</sup> Robert D. Emerson, Personal Interview of Former FBI Special Agent and SBI Special Agent, 24 January 1998. Emerson said that when he applied to the SBI, Anderson interviewed and offered him the position as Special Agent at the conclusion of the interview.



Anderson like Hoover was a popular law enforcement leader. He frequently spoke before civic organizations and religious groups. Frequently articles referencing SBI Director Anderson's speaking engagements appeared in local newspapers across North Carolina. Like Hoover's utilization of the print media, Anderson also used the print media. Although he was unable to overcome the unpredictable political changes in the attorney general's office, the print media reinforced his popularity among political leaders and constituents for more than twenty years while he served the State of North Carolina.<sup>65</sup> As newspaper records illustrate, when the opportunity to promote himself and the SBI before civic groups or any organization occurred, he took advantage of these occasions to use the print media to his career trajectory advantage. Building positive public relations through public speaking engagements was a key strategy he used for political and public support in order to advance his career trajectory among the political leaders who controlled his appointment.

In addition to Anderson generating attention for himself and the SBI, print media coverage of high profile case activities also heightened the public's awareness of Anderson, the agency and its agents. The Phillips murder case in the early 1950s received substantial print media attention making it a high profile case and it was the catalyst in the career advancement of Special Agent Powell who testified as an expert witness. This agent's masterful investigative skills and the media attention the case received had a direct impact on the successful career trajectory of Anderson's position as director as well as Powell's.

### **High Profile Murder Case Impacts Future Director's Career Trajectory**

While Anderson was SBI director, the Governor of North Carolina, Robert Gregg Cherry, requested that the SBI assist in a rural investigation that escalated into a high profile case, the Charlie Phillips murder trial. Anderson assigned special agent Powell, who would later become SBI director, to the case. Powell demonstrated his skills as an SBI agent and expert witness although his testimony was controversial. Before the Phillips case, Powell's duties did not generally take him beyond the confines of the SBI laboratory.

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<sup>65</sup> Hunt. Hunt recalled that Anderson was appointed by Governor W. Kerr Scott in 1951 to serve as State Prisons Director between SBI Director appointments.

When Anderson assigned Powell to the Phillips case, Powell was an experienced agent with the State Bureau of Investigation. He joined the SBI in 1938 as one of the first four original special agents hired by Director Frederick Handy.<sup>66</sup> Powell served as the agency's handwriting, firearms, and polygraph specialist during the time he was a special agent. However, a two and a half-year tour of duty in Europe interrupted his tenure with the bureau during World War II where he was a military intelligence officer and reached the rank of major by the time he was discharged in December 1945.<sup>67</sup>

When Powell returned from the war, he resumed his duties with the SBI. His training and experience in Army intelligence were additional areas of expertise that he could offer the bureau.<sup>68</sup> While in Army intelligence, he also mastered a useful criminal investigative skill, locksmith techniques.<sup>69</sup> The SBI routinely investigated burglaries and illegal safe entries that made Powell's training as a locksmith valuable in these types of investigations. As well as specialized training as a locksmith, Powell's army training and professional discipline were assets to him as an SBI agent and expert witness when he testified in the Phillips case. Powell's specialized background and his behavior captured the attention of the reporters covering the trial. Newspaper reporters noted that his demeanor was impressive when he testified and even though his testimony was controversial, Powell received no negative publicity from the print media.

### **SBI and FBI in the Phillips Murder Case**

High profile cases did not always begin with extensive print media coverage. The Charlie Phillips murder case when it was first tried received minimal print media coverage. However, with the discovery of additional evidence, a chain of events propelled this seemingly typical murder case into a high profile case. Three factors lead to the development of the Phillips case becoming high profile. Namely, they were: 1) potential for the miscarriage of justice if an innocent man was executed, 2) editorial decision to report feature articles and extensive

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<sup>66</sup> "Under the Dome," *Raleigh Times* 18 July 1951.

<sup>67</sup> "Powell Named SBI's Chief," *News and Observer* 20 July 1951.

<sup>68</sup> "State's New SBI Director Begins Duties," *News & Observer* 1 August 1951.

<sup>69</sup> "Powell's Sacking Ends 19-Year-Old Career," *Raleigh Times* 26 June 1957.

newspaper coverage and 3) the lack of newsworthy events in North Carolina to compete with coverage of the story.

Print media interest was piqued when Phillips' sister discovered additional evidence that resulted in the governor granting a stay of execution within twenty-four hours of Phillips' scheduled hour of death. The Phillips case is an example of a media frenzy developing in a criminal case that initially they found uninteresting. Consequently, as the print media's interest escalated, it contributed to the case becoming a high profile case.

Originally, in 1946 when Phillips was tried for murdering Etta Mae Phillips, his wife, the SBI was not requested to assist in the investigation. However, with the discovery of new evidence, a suicide note, not only did the SBI become involved but SBI special agent Powell participated in a prominent role as an expert witness. At the time of the Phillips' trial de novo, Powell's areas of specialization included handwriting and documents analysis for the SBI. The discovery of the suicide note not only interrupted Phillips' impending execution but also brought about a second trial and discovery of the note also generated print media interest in the case that was absent the first time Phillips was tried. However, reporters are trained to be suspicious and never assume that new evidence is true simply because it is new evidence.<sup>70</sup> As a result of the discovery of evidence and pursuing their curiosity in writing their reports, reporters emphasized aspects of the second Phillips murder trial that contributed to elevating the case to a high profile status.

Circumstances surrounding the retrial of Charlie Phillips prompted the print media to take particular interest in the story because the possibility existed that an innocent man was nearly executed. "It is not easy to second-guess a jury or judge. However, some defendants do get railroaded and by re-examining the facts, journalists might be able to right a wrong."<sup>71</sup> With this objective in mind, the print media, whether consciously or unconsciously, propelled this case into high profile status by chronicling the daily case developments. It appeared in the Phillips murder trial with the discovery of the suicide note, that there was possibly a miscarriage of justice.

Throughout the case, captivating headlines appeared regularly. For example, one of the first headlines in the print media that brought this case into notoriety was "Suicide Letter May

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<sup>70</sup> Steve Weinberg, *The Reporter's Handbook: An Investigator's Guide to Documents and Techniques*, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. (New York: St. Martin's Press, Inc., 1996) pp. 239.

<sup>71</sup>.Weinberg p. 239.

Save Life of Harnett Farmer: New Trial Sought for Man on Death Row Awaiting Execution for Wife Slaying” and was published by a newspaper with statewide circulation, the *News and Observer*. The newspapers’ reporting techniques and role in making this case a high profile case are examined in the following detailed analysis and discussion of Charlie Phillips’ second murder trial as portrayed in newspaper articles.

In addition to the possibility that the convicted husband had actually been victimized by being wrongfully accused, the newspapers also dramatically reported the involvement of the highest official in the state, the governor, to heighten interest in the case. Without delay, newspapers immediately released reports revealing the details involving the governor. When the SBI was requested to examine the evidence in this high profile case, Anderson and Special Agent Powell were poised to garner positive attention. As the case gained recognition with each report that appeared in the print media, their career trajectories benefited.<sup>72</sup> Reporters did not overlook reporting any details once the governor requested the SBI to become involved in examining handwriting exemplars to justify a retrial. As the newspaper accounts of the case appeared, public and political interest mounted. With every newspaper article that appeared, the high profile status of the case continued to escalate.<sup>73</sup>

Following the reprieve, a local newspaper reporter submitted his account of the case to the Associated Press. Subsequently, Phillips’ name began to appear in newspaper headlines across the United States, and one local newspaper reported, “Discovery of the suicide letter and its revelation by Salmon has put Harnett County on the front pages of the nation’s newspapers in all sections of the country.”<sup>74</sup> Headlines like this and the widespread coverage of the story reinforced the high profile nature of the case.

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<sup>72</sup> Newspaper articles by Hoover Adams in *The News and Observer* detailed the high profile activities associated with the retrial of the Phillips Murder Case. Anderson and the SBI agency received positive recognition for their contribution in the high profile investigation. “Suicide Letter May Save Life of Harnett Farmer: New Trial Sought for Man on Death Row Awaiting Execution for Wife’s Slaying,” 14 May 1947; “Phillips Ruling Expected Today: Court Scheduled to Get Motion on New Trial for Harnett Man on Death Row,” 19 May 1947; and “Attacks on Suicide Note Offered at Phillips Trial: SBI Agent Says Writing Appears Authentic; Defendant Cross-Examined,” 3 August 1947.

<sup>73</sup> James Bradshaw, Personal Interview of SBI Special Agent and Assistant Director, 27 November 1995. Bradshaw joined the SBI in 1939 and was a special agent under Director Anderson. He recalled that Anderson was a skillful politician and took advantage of every opportunity to advance his career.

<sup>74</sup> Hoover Adams, “Burgwyn to Hear Phillips Motion: Salmon Invites Solicitor to Examine Suicide Letter in Phillips Case,” *News and Observer* 17 May 1947.

When the story was reported, the details read more like fiction than nonfiction. The melodramatic details of the high profile case were what the reporters wanted to quote for the press. For example, newspapers recounted in detail summaries of the Phillips story. Newspapers released stories that indicated initially Phillips was accused of shooting his twenty-eight-year-old wife.<sup>75</sup> He was arrested and after a seemingly short trial that ended approximately one month after the death of his wife, the jury found thirty-six-year-old, Charlie Phillips, guilty of first-degree murder. He was sentenced to receive the death penalty. Phillips remained on death row at Central Prison in Raleigh, North Carolina approximately seven and a half months.

The case that might have gone unnoticed became the topic of conversation when newspaper accounts began appearing day after day. The print media rapidly aided in transforming Phillip's name and the case into a household word when less than a year before few people outside Harnett County, North Carolina knew anything about him or the crime. With every headline and newspaper story, the case gained widespread recognition.

Prior to the second trial, a new jury was chosen, and reporters were present to record the jury selection process. Reported in the print media were accounts of question after question that each potential jury member had to answer as the trial progressed. During the voir dire examination of venire men, the defense asked, "Would you give more credence to the testimony of an agent from the Federal Bureau of Investigation than you would to that of another witness, such as an SBI agent?"<sup>76</sup>

The defense did not want the jurors to believe the FBI expert testimony over the expert testimony of the SBI because the SBI testimony would tend to exonerate Phillips. On the other hand, the FBI testimony would tend to incriminate him. The preliminary proceedings of the second trial were reported with precision that also contributed to the high profile significance of the case as it progressed through the trial process. After the jury selection was determined, the second trial began.

While the print media reported details of the proceedings leading up to the second trial, not only did Powell's career trajectory receive a boost, but Anderson's did as well. Anderson was

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<sup>75</sup> Adams, "Saved from Death, Harnett Man Expects to Beat Murder Charge," *News and Observer* 27 July 1947.

<sup>76</sup> Adams, "Nine Jurors Are Selected as Phillips Trial Opens: State Testimony in Harnett Wife-Slaying Case Expected to Start Today," *News and Observer* 30 July 1947.

well known among the SBI agents as a politician. For example, in an interview with former SBI agent James Bradshaw, he remarked that, “Anderson was strictly a politician.” When the SBI received positive print media reports based on Agent Powell’s professionalism as an expert witness in the trial, Director Anderson also benefited since he was Powell’s supervisor and the SBI’s chief administrator. This was subsequently reflected in the consequent career advancement of Special Agent Powell and longevity of Director Anderson in state service.

The Phillips case that received minimal print media recognition during the initial trial illustrates how a case escalated into a high profile case when alleged exculpatory evidence surfaced. Any murder case involving capital punishment is significant because no one wants to execute an innocent person. So when the print media published details pertaining to exculpatory evidence the public’s attention became focused on the details of the case.

Historically, in an effort to increase sales and circulation, newspapers often placed emphasis on stories that appealed “to the common people with extensive, flamboyant coverage of crime...”<sup>77</sup> Law enforcement leaders like Hoover and Anderson used this to their advantage in providing high profile case information to the print media. For example, journalists reporting criminal cases featured explicit facts like those in the Phillips murder case during the second trial. Journalists took advantage of the explicit and often startling testimony to compile sensational newspaper stories. As they reported the Phillips murder trial proceedings, reporters emphasized the emotional testimony that had a sensational appeal to newspaper readers. Specifically, heated arguments, testimony from children, dramatic outbursts, meticulous crime scene descriptions, and explicit extramarital affairs were among the emotional testimony reported. Through the course of the trial, the print media provided extensive coverage of the Phillips murder trial. Specifically, following are court testimony highlights as reported that illustrate the significance the print media played in advancing the prominence of the case. These excerpts illustrate how a typical murder case becomes high profile when the print media systematically chronicles testimonial minutiae in a case.

One of the first sensational excerpts printed from the trial included quoted profanity. The south is generally conservative in the use of printing profanity especially in the Bible belt states

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<sup>77</sup> John Morton, “Don’t Worry, It Will Go Away,” *American Journalism Review* 19 (1997): p. 52.

like North Carolina. Nonetheless, the press exercised no censorship in revealing Mr. Phillips' unscrupulous attitude and remarks directed toward his wife.<sup>78</sup>

As the case proceeded, tensions inside the courtroom continued to build and newspapers reported the specifics of the trial. The tension added to the print media's intrigue making it characteristic of a high profile case as they continued to report the daily trial activities.<sup>79</sup> Increasing drama and tension inside the courtroom continued to provide the media with sensational copy for their stories.<sup>80</sup> Additionally, when law enforcement officials testified as they did in this case, newspaper quotes from the officers intensified the high profile status of the case.<sup>81</sup> While newspapers played an instrumental role in elevating the interest in the trial, they continued to advance the high profile status of the case and that directly benefited SBI Director Anderson since the SBI was involved with the trial.

One of the critical pieces of evidence in the trial to be reported was one of the most sensational aspects in the case, the suicide note. Newspaper reporters recounted the controversial testimony that came from Phillips' sister, Mrs. Rosa Lee Hayes, during the second trial.<sup>82</sup> This

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<sup>78</sup> Adams, "Witnesses Say Phillips Threatened to Kill Wife," *News and Observer* 31 July 1947. Testimonial details captured and reprinted by the print media contributed to the high profile status of case investigations like the Phillips Murder case. During the second trial, Phillips' landlord, Mrs. Harvey Stephenson, testified that she heard him threaten his wife just a few days before Mrs. Phillips' death. Mrs. Stephenson overheard him say, "I am going to knock your [expletive] teeth down your [expletive] throat. I am going to kill you and I mean it."

<sup>79</sup> Adams, "Raleigh Girl Brought to Court on Stretcher to Testify Against Harnett Man," *News and Observer* 1 August 1947. Newspaper accounts of the trial indicated that a friend of the Phillips hired a private prosecutor to assist the prosecution that was unusual in a routine trial. Phillips' attorney attempted to portray the individual as a prejudicial witness, and at one point the judge ordered the jury out of the courtroom due to a terse exchange between the prosecutor and witness.

<sup>80</sup> Adams, "Suicide Note Read to Court; Daughter Testifies Against Father at Trial," *News and Observer* 2 August 1947. Newspapers delivered the drama and tension from the courtroom to the readers by including details from the trial. For example, the print media reported details of conversations Phillips' daughter had with her father on the day of the murder.

<sup>81</sup> Adams, "Hooks Will Fight Motion For New Phillips Trial," *News and Observer* 16 May 1947. Reporters contributed to the high profile status of the trial by reporting on its sensational aspects including the testimony. Accounts according to Constable Alton Cobb and Policeman Henry Smith's testimony revealed the victim did not have any powder burns on her hands, supporting the state's theory that the injury was probably not self-inflicted. However, conflicting evidence indicated the position of the entry wound through the right arm and chest was consistent with the theory that Phillips took the gun away from his wife during an argument and shot her.

<sup>82</sup> Adams, "Saved from Death, Harnett Man Expects to Beat Murder Charge," *News and Observer* 27 July 1947. Testimony at the hearing revealed evidence that resulted in the governor requesting SBI assistance. SBI Director Anderson assigned Special Agent Powell to examine the alleged suicide note found by Mr. Phillips' sister.

was the instrumental evidence that led to a stay of execution by the governor and attracted print media attention to the Phillips murder case. When this new evidence was introduced, the governor also requested assistance in the case from the SBI.

Somewhat like the sensational penny press of the nineteenth century, the newspapers in the mid twentieth century believed in printing verbatim murder trial details in the news.<sup>83</sup> The local papers in North Carolina were following the same format in the Phillips murder trial. With all the newspaper reports, the citizens were ambivalent about Phillips' guilt.<sup>84</sup> Journalists included the specifics of Phillips' extramarital affair and repeated his vicious comments in news stories knowingly exciting the public and sensationalizing the case.<sup>85</sup> Reporting specifics about the case was considered a socially responsible practice in reporting news.<sup>86</sup> While the print media fulfilled the public's penchant for news, Anderson and Hoover were familiar with print media practices and employed their techniques to their career benefit when opportunities availed themselves, especially print media reports pertaining to high profile cases.

Although it was reported that handwriting experts, who examined the suicide note, arrived the first day that Phillips testified, they did not begin their testimony until the next day.<sup>87</sup> The newspapers reported that SBI Agent Powell qualified as a handwriting expert. It was also reported that Powell testified that he had examined the suicide note in this case and in his opinion Etta Mae Phillips was the author. Conforming to the responsibility to report accurate, credible facts of the trial, newspapers published portions of the suicide note despite divulging and publishing this type of case evidence was unusual.<sup>88</sup> As a result of thoroughly informing the

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Mrs. Hayes said she was going through Mrs. Phillips' effects when she discovered the note in a pair of wrinkled slacks, the slacks worn by Mrs. Phillips on the day of her death. She claimed that she found the note on March 26, 1947 but did not tell her brother about it until almost two weeks later on April 6.

<sup>83</sup> Michael Schudson, *Discovering The News: A Social History of American Newspapers* (New York: Basic Books, Inc., Publishers, 1978) p. 23.

<sup>84</sup> Adams, "Burgwyn to Hear," 17 May 1947.

<sup>85</sup> Adams, "Raleigh Girl Brought to Court," 1 August 1947.

<sup>86</sup> Jeremy Iggers, *Good News, Bad News: Journalism Ethics and the Public Interest* (Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1999) pp. 93-95.

<sup>87</sup> Iggers pp. 93-95.

<sup>88</sup> Adams, "Suicide Letter May Save Life of Harnett Farmer: New Trial Sought for Man on Death Row Awaiting Execution for Wife's Slaying," 14 May 1947.





public of all the sensational evidence and testimony, the Phillips murder case continued to gain recognition throughout the region increasing in magnitude as a high profile case.

Newspapers reported a comprehensive analysis of the handwriting experts since the evidence in chief was primarily based on a suicide note found after Phillips' indictment. According to the American Society of Newspaper Editors, collecting and distributing news provided information to the public that permitted them to make informed decisions reference their daily concerns in their community.<sup>89</sup> As reporters collected and wrote articles pertaining to the Phillips murder case, readers' interest was piqued and they unofficially participated in the trial process. In a similar manner, Hoover also engaged the public by releasing details of investigations so the readers, his public supporters who were also voters, could follow the latest developments in the investigation. Reporters had the same access to information when a federal case went to trial as reporters had in state cases. For example, the Phillips case like the high profile Rosenberg case provided reporters detailed information to report during the trial process.

As Powell testified and gave his analysis of the note, the print media recorded his testimony for their news stories.<sup>90</sup> Even though Agent Powell testified that there was no sign of forgery, the newspaper stories noted that the prosecutor did not cross-examine Powell at the conclusion of his testimony. Powell was an exceptional witness for the defense and was cited as giving "clear and concise answers."<sup>91</sup>

An event that rarely occurred in the early days of the SBI took place in the Phillips trial. The SBI's expert witness, Jimmy Powell, presented his testimony; nevertheless, the FBI's expert witness rebutted Powell's findings.<sup>92</sup> Routinely, in criminal litigations, experts disagree in some

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<sup>89</sup> Iggers p. 116.

<sup>90</sup> Adams, "Attacks on Suicide Note Offered at Phillips Trial: SBI Agent Says Writing Appears Authentic; Defendant Cross-Examined," *News and Observer* 3 August 1947. In this newspaper article, Powell indicated there were similarities in the following letters: "D, E, F, K, T, S, T, Y, W, and groupings of 'CHA' and contractions such as don't. He cited the words 'today' and 'tomorrow' and referred to the proportions and slant of the letters."

<sup>91</sup> Adams, "Attacks on Suicide," 3 August 1947.

<sup>92</sup> Adams, "Experts Differ on Note in Phillips Case Trial: Handwriting Testimony Heard in Trial of Harnett Man on Murder Charges," *News and Observer* 5 August 1947. In this article, the FBI's handwriting expert testified that suicide notes were generally not lengthy like the note in the Phillips case, and he was of the opinion that the writing in the alleged suicide note was inconsistent with the exemplars. Nonetheless, on cross-examination, the FBI expert testified, "there was enough similarity in the handwriting to cause disagreement among experts."

cases that include handwriting evidence.<sup>93</sup> However, it was unusual for Powell and an expert from the FBI to disagree especially since SBI Director Anderson maintained such close ties with the FBI. Powell and the FBI's expert witness each had an additional handwriting expert who corroborated their testimony.<sup>94</sup> Even though the handwriting was significant in the case, other evidence disproved the possibility that a suicide note could even exist.<sup>95</sup>

As the second Phillips trial approached closure, it was reported as being "the most colorful, most dramatic, most sensational, and most eagerly followed trial in all of Harnett County's history...publicized all over the nation.... Crowds have filled the courthouse to overflowing at nearly every session. It is the main subject of conversation throughout a wide part of the state."<sup>96</sup> The second guilty verdict "brought to a close the longest, most sensational and most vigorously contested case in Harnett's history."<sup>97</sup> When the judge looked at the defendant and asked what he had to say for himself, he responded, "Not guilty."<sup>98</sup>

Although Powell's testimony along with another expert witness for the defense contradicted the findings of the other two expert witnesses, it did not alter his public popularity or decrease the benefits of professional respect he received from his peers in the law enforcement community.<sup>99</sup> When Powell presented his testimony regarding the genuineness of the handwritten

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<sup>93</sup> Richard Saferstein, ed., *Forensic Science Handbook* (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall, 1982) p. 674.

<sup>94</sup> Adams, "Experts Differ on Note," 5 August 1947. The second handwriting expert, Mr. Harold J. Gessel, Veterans Administration, took the stand and corroborated Dr. Miller's testimony from the FBI regarding the notes' authorship. A third handwriting expert who was a lawyer from Washington, D.C., testified that in his expert opinion, Mrs. Phillips wrote the suicide note.

<sup>95</sup> Adams, "Witness Claims No Slacks Found in Woman's Effects: Phillips Case Expected to Reach Jury, Thursday; Handwriting Experts Heard," *News and Observer* 6 August 1947. In this article it was reported that Mr. E. C. Mangum, the trustee who settled the estate in February following Mrs. Phillips' death contradicted the handwriting evidence. Mangum testified that there were no slacks in the suitcase. Mr. Charlie Rambeau, was present when the property was released and he corroborated Mr. Mangum's testimony.

<sup>96</sup> Adams, "Trial of Phillips Into Seventh Day: District Attorney, Defense Counsel Confident of Winning Case," *News and Observer* 4 August 1947.

<sup>97</sup> Adams, "Phillip Convicted Again of First Degree Murder: Jury Disregards Suicide Note With Quick Verdict; Death Sentence Passes," *News and Observer* 8 August 1947.

<sup>98</sup> Adams, "Phillip Convicted Again," 8 August 1947.

<sup>99</sup> "SBI Will Make Second Check Into Death of Chinese Here: Governor Scott Directs Probe in Raleigh Case at Request of Father," *News and Observer* 21 March 1951. In this article, it was reported that the coroner requested Powell's assistance in analyzing a suicide note. The coroner relied on Powell's expert opinion even though he had been previously involved in a controversial case involving a suicide note.

note, he impressively supported his testimony with scientific analysis. Unwaveringly with professionalism, he stood by his expert opinion. Before this trial de novo, Powell received limited publicity; however, Powell's role and the events in the Phillips' murder case that became a high profile case during the second trial not only exposed him to the public through the print media but the media exposure proved to benefit his future SBI career. At the time of the highly publicized case and trial, not only did Powell's career trajectory gain momentum, but the widespread print media attention given to Powell enhanced Director Anderson's career trajectory as well. Although Anderson did not possess Powell's expert skills and was unable to participate as a primary witness, Anderson received the political benefits of supervising an agent popularized by the print media. Unlike J. Edgar Hoover, Walter Anderson allowed agents under his command to have complete access to the print media. When an investigator received positive print media attention, the agency received positive attention and in turn so did Walter Anderson.

Although Phillips was found guilty, the outcome of the Phillips case did not lessen anyone's confidence in Powell's credibility. In fact, within months after the Phillips case, Powell's career trajectory had excelled, and he had advanced in rank among the few SBI agents according to a 1951 newspaper reference. When his expertise in handwriting was requested in another high profile murder case, the print media referred to him as second in command at SBI headquarters.<sup>100</sup> Although he was referred to as a senior administrator, nonetheless he remained the SBI's principal handwriting identification examiner.

### **SBI and James T. Tung Investigation**

In need of a handwriting expert, the Raleigh Police Department requested the SBI's assistance in the investigation of a high profile death investigation. James T. Tung, a Chinese student in textiles at North Carolina State University, was found in a stream near Pullen Park in Raleigh, North Carolina in 1951. While searching the student's room, the local investigators found a suicide note and requested SBI assistance in the investigation. Powell was assigned to examine the note in order to determine if Tung wrote it. After careful analysis of the handwritten

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<sup>100</sup> "SBI Will Make," 21 March 1951.

attention in newspapers, political leaders like the state attorney general recognized his leadership potential and acknowledged it when Anderson left the SBI on June 30, 1951 to become director of the North Carolina Prison Department.

### **Powell Becomes SBI Director**

In a statement to the press, Attorney General McMullan expressed his confidence in Powell, "I am happy to appoint a person who has demonstrated by long service in the Bureau character and capacity for the work this organization such as to fully merit and justify his appointment. I am also happy to appoint an officer who has the endorsement of a majority of the sheriffs and law enforcing officers of the State, as the Bureau of Investigation is dependent upon the goodwill and cooperation of law enforcing officers in the State for its success."<sup>104</sup> Powell, who emulated Hoover in his behavior as well as his publicity techniques involving the print media, was the first SBI director appointed from the ranks of SBI agents. Sworn into office by Associate Justice E. B. Denny, Powell became the fourth SBI Director.

The directors did not usually involve themselves in investigations; however, Powell participated in a murder case that was recognized as a high profile investigation due to the victim's political personal history. In January 1952 a prominent Bladen County citizen, Ulysses S. Page was found murdered at his store near his home.<sup>105</sup> The fifty-six-year-old former state legislator and resort owner was found shot and lying in the doorway of his store. Page was also a former chief of police in three towns, a successful farmer and merchant.<sup>106</sup> "James W. Powell, director of the State Bureau of Investigation, today took a personal part in the investigation of the death of Ulysses S. Page, the former Bladen County legislator who was shot to death. Powell helped Sheriff John B. Allen and other officers question suspects as indications mounted that a definite break in the murder mystery is near."<sup>107</sup>

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<sup>104</sup> "Powell Named," 20 July 1951.

<sup>105</sup> "Bladen Suspects Questioned As Police Probe Page Death," *News and Observer*, 1 January 1952.

<sup>106</sup> "2,000 Attend Page Funeral As Murder Probe Continues," *News and Observer*, 2 January 1952.

<sup>107</sup> "SBI Chief Helps," *News and Observer* 3 January 1952.

note, Powell confirmed Tung wrote the note.<sup>101</sup> This case unlike the Phillips case was considered a high profile case not because it received a great deal of print media exposure but because it involved high-ranking domestic and foreign government officials.

When no additional inquiries were made after Powell examined the note and presented his findings to the local police, the SBI considered that the agency's involvement in the case was completed. However, three months after Powell initially examined the note, the Chinese embassy contacted Governor W. Kerr Scott's office and requested that the state police investigate Tung's death. Consequently, Governor Scott called the SBI director and requested that they investigate the case. Like the Phillips case, the Tung case brought print media attention to Powell, the agency, and the director. "The SBI, meanwhile, acknowledged and...received the Governor's instructions and assigned a top ranking member of its staff, Agent Powell, to the case."<sup>102</sup> Unlike the Phillips case, the FBI was not requested by the local authorities to examine the suicide note and no one disputed Powell's initial findings in the Tung investigation when the local police requested assistance in confirming the handwriting in the suicide note. On the contrary, not only did the local police respect Powell's expert opinion but the director did as well. Anderson was confident Powell was capable of handling this investigation as professionally as he had the Phillips case; otherwise, when the Chinese Embassy requested further inquiry into the case, he would not have assigned Powell to the Tung investigation. He could have assigned the case to special agent Jim Durham who was also a documents examiner for the SBI at that time.<sup>103</sup>

During the Phillips case, Powell's professionalism under great adversarial pressure was recognized and reported in newspapers across the region. Throughout the Phillips case, Anderson's confidence in Powell never faltered. Furthermore, when expert handwriting analysis was required, for example, in the Tung case, Anderson assigned Powell without hesitation to the case with assurance that he would investigate it thoroughly. Through high-profile cases, Powell made a name for himself, not only within the SBI but also among political leaders around the state capital and his career trajectory accelerated. While Anderson was SBI director he was one of Powell's primary advocates. In addition to gaining support from SBI colleagues and widespread

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<sup>101</sup> Jim Rankin, "Notes Explain Suicide Of Chinese College Student: Writing Test Backs Ruling In Death Case," *News and Observer* 2 January 1951.

<sup>102</sup> "SBI Will Make," 21 March 1951.

<sup>103</sup> Durham, 16 December 1997.

The January 12, 1952 headline in the *News and Observer* read "U.S. Page Murder Case Broken; Ex-Tenant in Bladen Confesses." Special Agent James Bradshaw, close SBI associate of Powell and the special agent who received widespread print media recognition for his investigative involvement in the 1941 missing person case, obtained the confession in the Page case.

Bradshaw questioned the suspect, Walter Sawyer and Sawyer confessed.<sup>108</sup> With the assistance of the SBI, Sawyer was convicted.<sup>109</sup> Sheriff John B. Allen publicly praised the SBI and Director Powell for their efforts in the Page investigation.<sup>110</sup>

Both Powell and Bradshaw's career trajectories were directly impacted and benefited from the high profile case involving the murdered politician. In addition to the print media attention Bradshaw received during the high profile investigation involving a missing Carolina Beach pair, as discussed in chapter one, the Page case enhanced his popular reputation among his peers and with Powell. The case also enhanced Bradshaw's career trajectory with the bureau. Two months after headlines featured Sawyer's confession to special agent James Bradshaw and just days before Sawyer's trial concluded, Powell promoted special agent James Bradshaw to supervising agent.<sup>111</sup> Also, Powell's involvement in the case strengthened his position as a competent administrative leader who represented the bureau and the attorney general favorably. Thereby, Powell's successful investigative involvement in the high profile case involving the local politician enhanced his reputation with the attorney general consequently reinforcing his position as SBI director.

## **Bomb Explosion Investigation**

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<sup>108</sup> Norman M'Culloch, "Slayer of U. S. Page Awaits Trial," *News and Observer* 13 January 1952. Details of the confession were included in the print media. He admitted it was self-defense because when Sawyer approached Page at the store, Page went for something in his back pocket. Sawyer also confessed that Page cheated him out of money in business arrangements.

<sup>109</sup> Jay Jenkins, "Tenant Farmer Gets 20-25 Years For U. S. Page Slaying In Bladen," *News and Observer* 21 March 1952. When Sawyer's trial ended, he was sentenced twenty to twenty-five years after pleading guilty to second-degree murder in the Page investigation.

<sup>110</sup> "Twas Big Day for SBI," *News and Observer* 12 January 1952.

<sup>111</sup> "SBI Director Promotes Pair and Adds 2 New Agents: Bradshaw, Scott New Supervisors: Director Powell Names L. E. Allen and Bill O'Daniel as Agents," *News and Observer* 19 March 1952.

While the Page murder investigation was underway in Bladen County, the SBI was also involved in another high profile case in Mount Airy, North Carolina. The Mount Airy case escalated into a high profile case when the heinous criminal act perpetrated against an ordinary citizen outraged the general public. Twenty-four-year-old, William Henry Cochrane, Jr., a high school agricultural teacher was the victim.<sup>112</sup> A bomb connected to his vehicle's ignition system exploded and he was mortally wounded from the blast. The community was horrified by what had happened to the young teacher.

Unlike the Phillips murder case, the FBI and SBI worked together on the Cochrane case. Following Cochrane's death, FBI's assistance was requested the next day. Parts of the bomb were delivered to the FBI laboratory in Washington, D.C. for analysis. Mr. Cochrane's wife, Imogene Moses, told the authorities that they had only been married a few months and she could not think of anyone who might be their enemies. William "Bill" Cochrane was popular with the students and everyone at the high school where he taught.<sup>113</sup>

A few days following the tragedy, Governor Kerr Scott offered a reward for any information leading to the arrest and conviction of the person responsible for the bombing.<sup>114</sup> The SBI assigned three agents to work the case full time.<sup>115</sup> A year after the bombing incident Powell said that the lack of a state statute made it difficult to trace the sale of explosives and may have "hampered the SBI at Mount Airy or in other dynamite cases."<sup>116</sup> Powell strongly recommended that the General Assembly enact strict laws regulating the sale of dynamite and the General Assembly passed legislation supporting his recommendation in the next session.<sup>117</sup> This is a clear indication of the political power Powell came to possess as a result of his reputation that had been well cultivated by the print media and his involvement in high profile investigations.

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<sup>112</sup> "Truck Blast Hurts Surry Teacher," *News and Observer* 1 January 1952.

<sup>113</sup> "Surry Police Enlist FBI Experts To Help Solve Fatal Truck Blast," *News and Observer* 2 January 1952.

<sup>114</sup> "State Offers \$400 Reward In Surry Dynamite Slaying," *News and Observer* 4 January 1952.

<sup>115</sup> "Grieving Father Thinks Case of Slain Son Will Be Solved," *News and Observer* 6 January 1952.

<sup>116</sup> "Need For Explosives Law Seen," *News and Observer* 17 January 1952.

<sup>117</sup> Woodrow Price, "Hopeful Developments By SBI Hint Break in Cochrane Case," *News and Observer* 9 April 1954.

Newspapers chronicled the events leading up to the discovery of a second bomb. Approximately two years after the Cochrane bombing, the SBI was requested to assist in another bombing case. The second case was linked to the high profile SBI investigation of the bombing that killed Cochrane. Combined with the fact that the second bombing incident involved Cochrane's widow who had become engaged to a local politician, and with stepped up efforts to solve the high profile case, it gained even more recognition and prominence within the SBI as well as in the print media.<sup>118</sup>

Powell described the case as being just as "frustrating to his agents as it was shocking to the public."<sup>119</sup> Initially, Powell assigned two agents to this high profile case and sometimes three or four agents investigated the case. According to Powell, approximately two hundred leads were pursued and about four hundred interviews conducted in the investigation. The investigation took agents as far south as Florida, and as far west as Tennessee and north up to Elizabeth City, North Carolina. Powell intimated that "there is no other case on the SBI agenda I'm as anxious to solve as this one."<sup>120</sup> Powell also made a guarded news release in 1952 indicating "that his agents feel they are on the verge of a solution to the case which...ranked as the number one mystery in the SBI files since Cochrane died..."<sup>121</sup> As had been proven with other high profile cases like the FBI's "Tough Tommy" Holden investigation, high profile cases were not always resolved immediately. The high profile Cochrane investigation like FBI's Holden investigation remained unsolved for months. Director Powell used Hoover's news release style in providing information to the print media in the bombing case. He announced to newspaper reporters that the search for the Chatham County bomber was over with the suicide death of George Henry Smith in 1954. Powell said Smith had been a suspect since the Cochrane bombing.<sup>122</sup>

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<sup>118</sup> "Edenton Widow of Bomb-Slain Man Escapes Explosive Trap in Her Car," *News and Observer* 8 April 1952.

<sup>119</sup> "Edenton Widow of Bomb-Slain," 8 April 1952.

<sup>120</sup> "Edenton Widow of Bomb-Slain," 8 April 1952.

<sup>121</sup> Price, "Hopeful Developments," 9 April 1954.

<sup>122</sup> Woodrow Price, "Chatham County Suicide Solves Mystery of Booby Trap Murder," *News and Observer* 10 April 1954.



While the Mount Airy car bombing investigation was underway, another high profile case involving the suicide of a locally elected official, Sheriff Ralph J. Jones of Duplin County, was referred to the SBI for investigation. Circumstances leading up to his death and information pertaining to the investigation also received wide media coverage in the state newspaper like the car bombing case.<sup>123</sup>

In early April 1952 newspapers reported the circumstances that were believed to have contributed to Sheriff Jones' death. After being indicted on embezzlement charges, the sheriff was investigated by the SBI. Apparently the SBI's investigation was more than Jones could endure. He committed suicide. After Sheriff Jones' body was found in his car near Warsaw, North Carolina, newspaper accounts described how SBI agents found a sixteen-page suicide letter and sent it to Director Powell for analysis.<sup>124</sup> Some were concerned that his death was not suicide; however, it was believed that Jones did in fact commit suicide. Director Powell was experienced in investigating high profile cases like the Jones suicide and from 1951 to 1957 the print media frequently made references to Powell about other investigations he was involved with. Powell's involvement in high profile cases when he was director strengthened his position while Attorney General McMullen remained in office.

When the SBI investigated these high profile investigations in 1954, the bureau's resources were comprised of twenty-five investigative staff members. They included seventeen investigators, two agents assigned to narcotics, two agents in the fingerprinting department, one firearms and tool mark examiner, one documents examiner, a chemist, and the director. Two of these agents were certified as polygraph operators. Powell's tenacity in working high profile cases like the Page and Cochrane cases reinforced the need for growth within the bureau, promoted the successful image of the agency, and also ensured his position as director. Focusing his energy on investigations and investigative needs prohibited political jealousy from interfering with his professional relationship with the attorney general during this period in his tenure as SBI director.

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<sup>123</sup> Durham. During Powell's administration, Durham recalled Powell requesting that he also examine the suicide note in the Sheriff Ralph J. Jones case. He believed the case was weak from the beginning in the high profile investigation of the local law enforcement official embezzling departmental funds.

<sup>124</sup> "Duplin County Sheriff Kills Self," *News and Observer* 9 May 1952.

it. If local officers didn't like us, they wouldn't call us in."<sup>126</sup> Although both Powell and Hoover used the print media to their advantage to fortify their career trajectories, Powell allowed local authorities to receive news coverage first in high profile investigations. Powell realized that local agencies would not request SBI assistance if the agency was perceived as a publicity seeker. Statements like Powell's in the press were assured to win him advocates among local law enforcement agencies. Also, not only did Powell gain support for the bureau when statements like this appeared in the press, but he earned recognition among politicians as well. Powell was receptive to print media attention in high profile cases, and his career trajectory advanced as long as the political climate was in his favor.

### **Hoover and Powell Use High Profile Cases and the Print Media**

Like Hoover, Powell took advantage of high profile cases and the print media to advance his career trajectory and maintain his position as director. The use of high profile cases bolstered and promoted Powell's career trajectory with the SBI, however it did not protect him from political changes. In appointed positions by elected officials in North Carolina, the department heads customarily submitted a resignation to any newly elected official who oversees the office. Even though the SBI agency head was a non-partisan position, the director served at the pleasure of the elected official. Powell's dismissal as director resulted when the attorney general disapproved of his conduct as director. Powell's career trajectory that had benefited from his association with high profile cases for so many years was in jeopardy when a newly elected attorney general took office.

One agent reported Powell fell from favor with the attorney general because Powell was acting like J. Edgar Hoover. The attorney general was irritated every time he saw an agent scurry to open a car door for Powell when a bureau vehicle was parked in the street in front of the Justice Building. Something as insignificant as letting another agent open a car door and

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<sup>126</sup> "SBI Kept Busy," 16 December 1955.

One of Powell's accomplishments as director was to provide a rank hierarchy for SBI agents. An overview was included in Powell's 1955 budget report for the SBI that included the promotional guidelines of investigative agents. The special agent positions were divided into three classes. Class III was the entry level for an agent. At this level the minimum requirements included a college education with at least two years of investigative experience or a high school education with four years of police experience. At the Class II level, a special agent was required to complete a minimum of four years as an agent in the Class III level before they could advance to Class II. It is assumed all agents attained this position after four years of employment with the SBI. The third and highest level, Class I, was reserved for supervising agents. To attain this level, the agent was required to work at the Class II level for a minimum of two years. However, there was no guarantee that at the end of two years, an agent would be advanced to the Class I level.<sup>125</sup> Agents promoted to the Class I level were at the discretion of the director and promotional factors were easily influenced by the number of high profile cases worked by agents competing for promotion. Although the rank system did impact the career trajectory of the agents, it did not influence the next director's appointment.

For the duration of Powell's tenure as director, SBI investigative involvement continued to rely on requests from local chiefs of police and sheriffs. Powell's successful career trajectory is reflected in the political climate at the conclusion of several high profile cases involving the agents he supervised. As indicated by the agency's growth during Powell's tenure, the General Assembly approved of the SBI director and the agency since funding for additional agents hired by Powell would have been appropriated by that government body. Also, the agency's growth signified that local law enforcement was taking advantage of the expert forensic services offered by the SBI.

Historically, as indicated previously, some local law enforcement agencies reluctantly enlisted the bureau's assistance due to territorial and jealousy issues; however, the SBI insisted that local agencies receive the publicity in high profile cases. Powell was once asked, "how does the SBI work to keep down the ugly head of jealousy?" He responded, "It is a standing policy of the bureau to let local officers get credit.... When we're due credit, local officers see that we get

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<sup>125</sup> Charles Clay, "SBI Kept Busy Aiding Local Authorities, Running Down Clues in Puzzling Crimes," *News and Observer* 16 December 1955.

chauffeur him around annoyed the attorney general.<sup>127</sup> However, according to newspaper accounts, it was reported that Powell was dismissed due to low morale within the bureau.<sup>128</sup>

According to some agents who worked in Powell's administration, he was best described as a strict authoritative manager who micro-managed the agents. As is the case in many organizations, some agents liked him; some did not. Another investigator described Powell as the most educated and intelligent agent the bureau ever had.<sup>129</sup> Regardless of the agents' professional feelings toward Powell, he played an instrumental role in the history of the SBI and experienced a successful career trajectory with the agency. However, unlike Hoover who remained FBI director until his death, Powell was unable to sustain a lifelong career with the SBI and overcome political changes. Powell's career trajectory declined when he was asked to resign from the prestigious position of SBI director. Powell's inability to build a powerful support base of politicians and information at the state level compared to Hoover's at the federal level was an aspect of their positions that was incomparable.

## Conclusion

Gradually, professional reform took place as police agencies accepted professional organizations' training and standards recommendations. During the reform period, the implementation of these recommendations resulted in a shift from the previously practiced philosophies in an effort to replace the spoils system and political favoritism with professionalism. As one of the primary leaders in reform, Hoover advocated education and training in order to create professional and qualified police organizations. The FBI National Academy was a model training institution and state agencies including the North Carolina State Bureau of Investigation sent agents to take advantage of the training opportunities it offered. Consequently, many local police officers that attended the FBI National Academy advocated training much like they had received. In some cases agents returned to their respective agencies and developed training for their organizations. As more agents were trained, professionalism became more prevalent and

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<sup>127</sup> Gilbert.

<sup>128</sup> George A. Penny, "SBI Chief, Fired By Attorney General, Says Star Chamber Action Used," *News and Observer* 26 June 1957.

<sup>129</sup> Bradshaw, 27 November 1995.

was demonstrated through the adoption of standards that included operating procedures, codes of conduct, hiring procedures, and promotions. Likewise for agency leaders, leadership training provided administrators with an objective foundation when making promotions compared to previous methods of promotions that were characterized by political influence.

Hoover's popularity with the print media during this period stemmed from post war activities such as espionage, Communism and the discovery of organized crime as compared to his notoriety during the gangster era. On the other hand, SBI high profile cases during this period continued to be primarily focused on murders involving political leaders or heinous crimes involving the general citizenry. The SBI had high profile cases at the state level: however, they were not of the same magnitude as the high profile FBI cases due to the jurisdictional differences between the two agencies.

Although Hoover continued to be involved in high profile cases, during this time period, the criminal element had changed. The primary emphasis during the post war years at the federal level was espionage. For example, during the Rosenberg case, Hoover exercised his ability to work the print media so that influential politicians and the American public remained loyal to him and supported his patriotic causes. Rhetorically, what better way for Hoover to win the support of the country than to expose spies that were undermining the nation's security by stealing and selling atomic secrets? Likewise, SBI Director Powell gained political support and benefited his career trajectory when he participated in high profile investigations of murder, suicide, and bombings that occurred in North Carolina.

In addition to espionage during this period, the discovery and recognition of the Mafia in the United States by Senator Estes Kefauver's crime committee was a monumental step in understanding the network of an organized criminal enterprise. Refusing to accept the existence of the Mafia would have devastated the careers of most police administrators; however, Hoover took advantage of the print media to control public perceptions that benefited him when he finally embraced the existence of organized crime. To describe this new type of criminal enterprise, Hoover used terminology from the 1930s and 1940's such as "hoodlums and gangsters" that implied the mafia was not new but had existed decades before. Consequently, Hoover's "Top Hoodlum Program" was his answer to the Mafia's exposure.

Moreover, when Hoover acknowledged organized crime, he authorized his staff to produce a two-volume report documenting the existence of the Mafia. According to the report, the Mafia had existed from the time Hoover became FBI director. The belated discovery and disclosure of criminal activity of this magnitude was likely to have drawn negative criticism not only from the public but also from the print media especially since it had gone unnoticed by the FBI for so long and had become so deeply engrained in American society. However, rather than unfavorable publicity erupting, Hoover engaged his polished public relations skills and long standing good relationship with the press to turn the tables on Senator Kefauver's discovery and suppressed any criticism that may have resulted. Regardless of whether Hoover denied the existence of organized crime or Powell disagreed with the FBI's expert witness, positive print media in high profile investigations benefited both FBI and SBI directors and their career trajectories prevailed.

Ironically, Hoover employed unethical investigative techniques that included wiretapping as a method of collecting information from the illegal activities of the Mafia. Seemingly, a director who once described the bureau as a place for gentlemen to work would not have been involved in invasion of privacy activities. Although, Hoover invaded citizens' privacy, no one attempted to intervene or alter his method of collecting information. Once again the high profile investigations that resulted outweighed the unethical invasion of privacy to collect the information. Through print media attention devoted to the high profile investigations during this period, Hoover continued to safeguard his career with the FBI. On the other hand SBI directors were not threatened by negative publicity associated with wiretapping. When former Acting Director Jim Durham was questioned about wiretapping by the SBI, he categorically denied that the SBI had ever been involved in wiretapping. He emphasized that this would have destroyed the SBI director's career.<sup>130</sup> Also, there was no documented evidence found in the print media pertaining to SBI wiretapping during this period. Therefore, since the SBI did not investigate any wiretapping crimes like the FBI investigated, SBI directors did not receive any print media publicity like Hoover received in wiretapping cases.

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<sup>130</sup> Durham. Durham remembered agents speaking about a service tunnel from the Justice Department to the Capitol. The governor's office was located in the capitol building at that time. Phone lines were located in the tunnel; however, Durham said he was not aware of any evidence of wiretapping by the SBI.

Under the authoritative command of Hoover, his supervisory agents knew the consequences of questioning anything Hoover wanted. Questioning his power or authority would have stalled their careers. So Hoover received full support from his staff whether it involved investigating high profile activities of organized crime like the Mafia or delivering special messages to the President. Although the outcome of his tactics did not unfold as he anticipated, he managed to exploit high profile situations that ultimately benefited him in his career trajectory as well as the bureau even more than his futile attempts to circumvent the political system. Unlike Hoover, SBI directors did not request agents to perform political favors in an effort to influence political leaders on their behalf. However, Directors Anderson and Powell like Hoover maintained control over the agency they managed as well as their career trajectories.<sup>131</sup>

Walter Anderson like Hoover was an authoritative leader and expected extreme loyalty from his agents. Anderson's career success depended on the success of the agents under his command. Those agents who were involved in high profile case investigations reflected a favorable image on Anderson and his administration in addition to elevating the investigators' images. As well as investigations, Anderson exploited the print media at every opportunity to promote his viewpoint just as Hoover. While Anderson spoke at numerous public venues to promote the SBI, he became a popular public speaker and actually advanced himself while maintaining his position with the SBI in the process. Through his public speaking engagements, he created a positive high profile image for himself.

Unlike Anderson, some agents describe Director Powell as a micromanager who involved himself in many investigations. Powell's involvement in high profile case investigations was one of the primary factors that contributed to his prominent image while with the SBI. As a result of Powell's experience as a special agent, his active involvement in case investigations, and releasing information to the print media, he knew first hand not only the need for more resources in the agency but also the need for organizational changes.

During Powell's administration, the newspaper reported publicly SBI job descriptions that were developed during Powell's leadership as director. These job descriptions indicated some

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<sup>131</sup> J. P. Thomas, Personal Interview of Former SBI Special Agent, Supervisor, and Assistant Director, 10 April 1998. "Jim Powell was, very protective and jealous of anybody infringing on anything the bureau had anything to do with. He liked to have things under control." "He [Anderson] had a law enforcement background, but he was not the old briar bush type enforcement that some of them were. He was good at running the bureau and keeping it under his control."

criteria for promotion whereas in the past promotional procedures were unwritten and generally promotions were at the discretion of the director or based on recommendations from other political officials. Although the director's appointment to the SBI came about as a result of political patronage, in order to maintain the director's position, it was important for the director to maintain an impeccable public image that often included emulating Hoover's publicity style in high profile case exposure through the print media.

As exemplified in the Phillips, Tung, Page, and Cochrane cases, the SBI provided either technical assistance or investigative assistance when requested by local police. Furthermore, the preliminary cases were not always high profile, but eventually they escalated into high profile cases as circumstances surrounding them drew print media and public attention. Additionally, these cases are representative of the specialized technical and laboratory expertise as well as expert investigators required in many case investigations that were beyond the capabilities of local authorities. At this juncture in the SBI's history, the agency's resources included specialized equipment and special investigators who were at the disposal of local authorities whenever they needed technical or other assistance with criminal investigations. In the Phillips case, although the expert assistance and testimony of the SBI's handwriting examiner, Powell, did give an accused man a second chance in court, he was unable to convince the jury to spare this man from the gas chamber. The nature of the case made it one of national interest to the print media since it revolved around the discovery of last-minute exculpatory evidence that could have exonerated a man whose life was in jeopardy. During this sensational trial, without any preconceived notion of advancement for himself, the high profile case brought print media attention not only to the SBI but also to Powell. The Tung, Page, and Cochrane cases required both technical and investigative assistance that resulted in significant print media publicity for Jimmy Powell. Powell's involvement with high profile investigations reinforced his position with the SBI and was a significant force in his career trajectory with the SBI and his promotion to director. During high profile investigations, not only did Powell garner the print media's attention, but he also promoted the image of the SBI and Department of Justice. The attorney general recognized Powell's potential as a professional leader and promoted him to become SBI Director.

During this period in the history of professionalization of law enforcement, the movement was away from political favoritism and *quid pro quo* to professionalism in law enforcement positions. Moreover, agents who worked high profile cases or law enforcement leaders who



promoted themselves in high profile situations similar to J. Edgar Hoover rose more readily among the ranks than their peers who did not investigate high profile activities. High profile activities involving communism and organized crime as well as the impact of technological developments in forensic science and investigative techniques continued both at the state and federal levels to be important factors in the tenure of the directors and will be examined in the subsequent chapter. However, Hoover, Anderson and Powell persistently exploited the use of the high profile cases and the print media to positively impact their careers.

better relations with law enforcement agencies in general.<sup>5</sup> The SBI in North Carolina was among the state agencies to take advantage of FBI training offered during this period. Some agents as well as SBI directors continued to attend the FBI's National Academy.<sup>6</sup>

Not only did Hoover benefit from this practice but local law enforcement officers also benefited from training by establishing contacts and a rapport with officers in other police agencies. The relationships that developed between officers from different agencies taking classes together was a secondary benefit to law enforcement training. The training setting motivated and produced professional networking among investigative agents and law enforcement personnel, and researchers identify networking as one of the principal steps contributing to a positive career trajectory.<sup>7</sup>

Also, providing training to local law enforcement agencies produced a *quid pro quo* relationship for Hoover. Police agencies received professional training while Hoover fostered police agency support throughout the United States. During this exchange of training and developing relationships with local police agencies, Hoover continued to build a solid base for himself in his position as FBI Director. As a result of the professional relationships Hoover developed while providing training opportunities to local agencies, he established a network of connections with local law enforcement officials. When cases occurred in their jurisdictions, it provided him with an immediate contact and an opportunity to promote his image whenever possible through the print media resources that had positive working relationships with the local police authorities.

### **Crime News, Print Media and the Associated Press**

While training reform expanded and gained support among law enforcement agencies, the promotional process was also in a gradual state of reform. Although,

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<sup>5</sup> Julie R. Linkins, "FBI Academy," *FBI Law Enforcement Bulletin* 66:5 (1997): p. 12.

<sup>6</sup> Dan Gilbert, Personal Interview of Former SBI Special Agent and Supervisor, 18 January 1998. Gilbert attended the FBI National Academy while he was Assistant Supervisor of Organized Crime Control Division (OCCD). After completing the academy he was promoted to supervisor of the OCCD.

<sup>7</sup> Matt Bud, "The Truth About Networking," *AFP Exchange* 20 (Fall 2000): pp. 144-145.

training and promotional reform influenced directors' career trajectories, high profile investigations of politically prominent individuals, important cases to the agency or its leaders as well as significant newsworthy investigations in the print media continued to be a factor in directors' career trajectories. Also, as indicated previously, the entertainment industry utilized high profile case investigative information from the print media to develop true crime and fictionalized crime scenarios. The entertainment industry not only profited from the print media but also law enforcement leaders like Hoover who willingly exploited the print media benefited from the increased exposure.

However, from 1953 to 1959 Hoover took a hiatus and decreased the use of the entertainment industry to publicize high profile crime investigations and his activities. Rather than focusing on television and the big screen for FBI promotional techniques, Hoover adopted an approach that was more esoterically recognized in order to promote his career goals as well as the fight against crime. He presented numerous lectures, wrote a variety of articles and a bestseller book. In 1958, Hoover's popular book, *Masters of Deceit*, which focused on his obsession with Communism, was released.<sup>8</sup> In addition to these more recognized print media outlets, one popular news organization that Hoover and law enforcement officials benefited from was the Associated Press (AP).

The AP influenced the dissemination of crime stories and impacted public and political opinion of agents and the cases they investigated.<sup>9</sup> Consequently, residual career affects also occurred for investigative agents and law enforcement officials within their agencies. Since its inception in 1848 most newspapers primarily received crime news releases from the Associated Press.<sup>10</sup> Even though the AP emerged during the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, it was during the middle of the 20<sup>th</sup> century that technological changes like electronic photo service, teletype, computerized data terminals, and satellite receivers enabled the service to distribute news stories including high profile crime stories to more

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<sup>8</sup> Sanford J. Ungar, *FBI* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1976) p. 380.

<sup>9</sup> Dennis Staszak, "Media Trends and the Public Information Officer," *The FBI Law Enforcement Bulletin* 70:3 (March 2001): p. 14.

<sup>10</sup> Donald Read, "Don't Blame the Messengers: News Agencies Past and Present," *Historian* 69 (2001): p. 10.

newspapers faster and more efficiently than had been possible previously. For instance, approximately seventeen hundred newspapers and over fourteen thousand other news organizations subscribed to this news service during the 20<sup>th</sup> century. It was the largest news organization of its type in the world at the time. Additionally, during this period in law enforcement professionalism in the United States, local news organizations also disseminated their news through countless regional and local sources such as local publications and newspapers.<sup>11</sup>

With the service's pervasive capabilities to collect and distribute news information on the vast number of crimes committed daily, of the thousands of crime stories collected by the AP, a limited number were considered newsworthy enough to be distributed for extensive release. Therefore, the print media worldwide reported on less than a dozen of select cases out of thousands of cases investigated. Nonetheless, crime stories reported have historically resulted in newsworthy press for the print media, especially high profile criminal cases. As a result of the wide-ranging publicity aided by news organizations like the Associated Press, high-profile investigations impacted public opinion more than cases that received less coverage.<sup>12</sup>

### **The Valachi Case and Organized Crime**

Included in the news stories distributed by the Associated Press, more often than not, when news stories occurred involving cases investigated by Hoover and the FBI, the Hoover stories were released for international circulation. As a result, the continued press coverage that portrayed Hoover as an effective leader and law enforcement administrator reinforced his position as FBI director. Print media coverage of one high profile investigation, the Joseph Michael Valachi case, was pivotal in altering Hoover's philosophy toward organized crime. Consequently, the print media coverage escalated interest in Hoover and his position on organized crime. If the highly publicized Valachi case had not been investigated, Hoover's continued denial of organized crime would have

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<sup>11</sup> Matthew B. Robinson, *Justice Blind? Ideals and Realities of American Criminal Justice* (Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall, 2002) pp. 97-98.

caused him indefensible embarrassment. This would have threatened his position as director.

Prior to Valachi's testimony in 1963, a group of local and state police officers exposed a meeting of organized crime bosses in upper state New York in 1957; nevertheless, the police had no informant with inside knowledge to confirm the structure and operational details of the Mafia.<sup>13</sup> Furthermore, Hoover was reluctant to commit substantial resources to investigate a new type of unconfirmed enemy and especially one he had so adamantly denied existed for years. However, Hoover responded summarily and utilized the print media to bolster his position as a result of the high profile Valachi case although it contradicted his theory on organized crime.<sup>14</sup>

When Joseph Michael Valachi testified before the McClellan Committee in 1962, Hoover seized the print media publicity opportunity. Valachi shocked the nation when he exposed the inner workings of the American Mafia, also known as the La Cosa Nostra.<sup>15</sup> Although Hoover failed to recognize the existence of the Mafia for decades, once Valachi revealed the secret crime organization in a hearing before a Congressional Subcommittee, Hoover was finally forced to acknowledge "that perhaps crime was being committed in a big way by a bunch of gangsters who did not conform to the agency's stereotyping... [such as] Dillinger and Baby Face Nelson."<sup>16</sup>

Circumstances leading to Valachi's cooperation with the FBI occurred when Valachi was arrested in 1962 on a narcotics charge and incarcerated.<sup>17</sup> Rumors circulated among the inmates that Valachi was talking to authorities about organized crime. Valachi felt threatened and wrongfully killed another inmate. After pondering his situation,

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<sup>12</sup> Robinson pp. 97-98.

<sup>13</sup> Ed Magnuson, "Hitting the Mafia; A Wave of Trails Is Putting the Nation's Crime Bosses Behind Bars," *Time* 128 (1986): p. 19.

<sup>14</sup> David Kaplan, "Getting it Right: The FBI and the Mob," *U.S. News & World Report* 130:24 (2001): pp. 24-25.

<sup>15</sup> Jack Kelly, "How America Met the Mob," *American Heritage* 51 (2000): p. 76-77.

<sup>16</sup> Thomas L. Jones, "The Dying of the Light: The Joseph Valachi Story," *The Crime Library: The Mafia, Gangsters, Outlaws and G-Men Archive* (2001) Epilogue.

Valachi decided to cooperate with the FBI and exposed the inner workings of organized crime.<sup>18</sup> The high profile Valachi case was the impetus for the U. S. Marshall implementing the witness protection program in the United States.<sup>19</sup>

When Valachi's testimony confirmed the Mafia's existence, Hoover addressed citizens' concerns related to organized crime through the press and as Hoover had done many times, he exploited print media coverage to announce a new program and reinforce his position as the number one crime fighter in America.<sup>20</sup>

Hoover responded to Valachi's testimony by simultaneously implementing the FBI's "Top Hoodlum" program when the U. S. Marshall's office created the witness protection program. Headlines around the nation carried Hoover's story publicizing the new FBI program. With names and facts from Valachi's testimony, Hoover had more than enough leads to implement the "Top Hoodlum" program with success.

The print media continued to promote Hoover as the leading crime fighter and provided name recognition to the new FBI program. As FBI agents successfully investigated organized crime under the auspices of the "Top Hoodlum" program, Hoover received print media support and positive publicity that sustained his career trajectory. After Hoover implemented the "Top Hoodlum" program, the SBI established the Organized Crime Control Division (OCCD) to collect information on organized crime figures at the state level.<sup>21</sup> In contrast to some criminal activities Hoover investigated that were exclusive to the FBI, organized crime was also investigated by the SBI.

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<sup>17</sup> Peter Maas, *The Valachi Papers* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1968) pp.27-28.

<sup>18</sup> Osborne Elliott, ed., "Whose Thing?" *Newsweek* (23 May 1966): p. 93.

<sup>19</sup> Risdon N. Slate, "The Federal Witness Protection Program: Its Evolution and Continuing Growing Pains," *Criminal Justice Ethics* 16:2 (1997): p. 24.

<sup>20</sup> Myron McBryde, Personal Interview of Former FBI Special Agent and SBI Director, 19 January 1997. McBryde was employed with the FBI in 1951 and worked in Washington, D.C., Kansas City, Chicago, Albuquerque, San Juan, and El Paso. McBryde recalled when Hoover began to place emphasis on organized crime in the early 1960s the special agents were encouraged to use informants to gather intelligence on organized crime figures. McBryde recalled while he was assigned in Chicago, a female informant provided him with investigative leads on organized criminals that he relayed to Hoover at headquarters in Washington, D.C.

<sup>21</sup> Max Bryan, Personal Interview of SBI Special Agent, Supervisor and Assistant Director, 4 December 1999. Bryan indicated that the Legislature abolished funding for the Intelligence Unit (IU) so

While Hoover and the FBI investigated Valachi and organized crime, in North Carolina Anderson and the SBI investigated Rosenthal and organized crime activities. Three of the areas controlled by organized crime in North Carolina were lotteries, sports gambling, and narcotics. Both Hoover and Anderson also received print media coverage for exposing large narcotics operations at the federal and state levels.<sup>22</sup>

Throughout this period in the police promotional process, Hoover and Anderson continued to take advantage of high profile cases and the print media in order to promote their political and public perceptions of their image. When headlines like, "SBI to Bring N. Y. Man Here Charged In State Game Fix" and articles detailing the SBI's role in the basketball scandal investigation appeared in newspapers with statewide circulations, the publicity enhanced Anderson's career trajectory as director.<sup>23</sup> In so doing, as long as they continued to maintain their position of power among the print media, they retained control of their career trajectory.

### **Hoover Exploits Threat of Communism for Political Gain**

In addition to his fight against organized crime, primarily throughout the duration of the reform era, Hoover exploited the threat of Communism as a subterfuge to accomplish his career ambitions. He used deceptive motives and intentions to collect information on the American public and as a result maintained control as director of the FBI. Without high profile investigations that resulted from the threat of Communism during this period, Hoover's powerful source of newsworthy information that promoted his public image by the use of print media sources would have suffered a great deficit. He

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the section was reorganized to create the Organized Crime Division (OCD). The named eventually became Organized Crime Control Division (OCCD).

<sup>22</sup> William S. Hunt, Jr., Personal Interview of Former Special Agent and Training and Research Supervisor, 31 May 1999. Hunt was the arresting Special Agent of Rosenthal.

<sup>23</sup> "SBI to Bring N. Y. Man Here Charged In State Game Fix," *News and Observer* 5 January 1962. Additional articles about SBI investigations of basketball scandal in the *News and Observer* include: "Dixie Classic Game Fixed Jury's Indictments Charge: Wake Jury Charges 10 In Scandals," 10 January 1962; "Accused in Fixes, N. Y. Man Arrested," 20 January 1962; "NCAA Playoffs Linked to Fixes," 23 January 1962; and "Cage Fixing At Charlotte Under Probe," 31 January 1962.

shrewdly manipulated the information to accomplish his desired outcome. The consequences resulted in continued support from political leaders who controlled his appointment.

For example, to illustrate Hoover's preoccupation with the aggrandizement of his career and the influence of the print media on it, Bruce C. Steele, news writer, described Hoover as having "an insatiable ego,... a hunger for fame and power;" as well as "retribution against young male agents who... stole his limelight."<sup>24</sup> Steele went on to say, Hoover exerted "an eternal quest to expose and destroy Communism."<sup>25</sup> Consequently, Hoover's attributes as Steele described them contributed to the successful political basis for sustaining his career with the FBI as director. Namely, he earned the support of influential political leaders and became "an ally of [Roy] Cohn and the secret power behind Senator Joe McCarthy."<sup>26</sup> Undoubtedly, Hoover realized through his career experiences that the outcome of widespread positive print media coverage of high profile investigations like Communism ultimately benefited him in his career trajectory. The extensive coverage on his position against Communism reinforced the positive perception that Hoover desired from politicians and political constituents. When positive reports appeared in the print media that linked his name to successful high profile investigations against Communism, he achieved his objective to advance his career trajectory. Although Communist activities in the 1950s were on the decline, when the National Security Council met and Communism was included on the agenda, Hoover's opportunity to investigate and exploit high profile Communist activities once again impacted Hoover's career as FBI director. The Communist Party of the United States of America (CPUSA) had declined in membership from eighty-five thousand to about twenty-two thousand; however, during this time CPUSA's potential resurgence disturbed many politicians. Since Communism especially disturbed Hoover, the high profile investigation of

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<sup>24</sup> Bruce C. Steele, "When Edgar Met Clyde," *Advocate* (11 May 1999): p. 76.

<sup>25</sup> Steele p. 76.

<sup>26</sup> Steele p. 76.



Communism provided him with print media opportunities to promote his position against it while protecting his career trajectory by winning public and political support.

### **Hoover Spies on America Through the Counterintelligence Program**

Therefore, at a meeting of the National Security Council, Hoover asked and received approval from President Franklin Roosevelt for authority to create a counterintelligence program to conduct the high profile investigations of Communist activity. The extent of the counterintelligence program (COINTELPRO) gave Hoover and the FBI *carte blanche* investigative power. Hoover used COINTELPRO against the CPUSA as well as other organizations.<sup>27</sup> The COINTELPRO activities were kept strictly secret in the FBI, and Hoover approved every operation. The nature of the investigations made them extremely high profile within the political setting of the agency and influenced the relationship the director had with the President and other politicians.<sup>28</sup> During the course of the high profile investigations targeting Communism, Hoover collected sensitive information not only on Communist activities but on private citizens as well.<sup>29</sup> With the information he obtained in these secret high profile investigations, ironically, Hoover was in a position to dominate politicians who politically had control over him. Furthermore, through control of the information he collected, he had the power to protect his career path and maintain his position and authority as FBI director. Consequently, Hoover had the power to destroy political careers of many people and politicians who were unable to compete with Hoover's impressive relationship with the print media to prevent the press from releasing sensitive information that Hoover collected through the auspices of COINTELPRO.

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<sup>27</sup> Patrick Jung, "The Responsibilities Program of the FBI, 1951-1955," *Historian* 59:2 (1997): pp. 356-357.

<sup>28</sup> Douglas M. Charles, "Franklin D. Roosevelt, J. Edgar Hoover, and FBI Political Surveillance," *USA Today Magazine* 128:2652 (1999): p. 74.

<sup>29</sup> Natalie Robins, "Inside the FBI: Attracting the Director's Scrutiny Were Communists, Security Risks, and People Who Made Untoward Jokes," *National Review* 44:9 (1992): p. 46.

COINTELPRO's inter-agency high profile investigations included a range of covert activities.<sup>30</sup> James K. Davis, author of *Spying on America*, described COINTELPRO as "surreptitious entry...safecracking; mail interception; telephone surveillance; microphone plants; trash inspection; infiltration; disorganization and penetration of groups; falsely labeling group members as government informants; using informants to raise controversial issues within groups; encouraging the IRS to investigate target groups; encouraging street warfare between certain groups; using misinformation to disrupt target group activities; mailing anonymous letters to target group spouses in which allegations of infidelity are made; and mailing reprints of controversial newspaper articles to encourage group disruption."<sup>31</sup> COINTELPRO lawfully sanctioned the FBI and Hoover's high profile investigative activities to collect information.<sup>32</sup> Some targeted organizations included the Ku Klux Klan (KKK), Black Panther Party, Nation of Islam, Southern Christian Leadership Conference, free community health clinics, cooperative community newspapers, and arts organizations.

In addition to organizations, COINTELPRO gave Hoover the prerogative to investigate individuals like Martin Luther King, Jr., Malcolm X, and any controversial leaders whom Hoover deemed suspicious. Hoover used Machiavellian means to bolster his power and escalate the course of his career toward the climax of its trajectory path under the pretext of COINTELPRO. With complete investigative power from the President and approval from the National Security Counsel, these organizations and individuals were "targeted, infiltrated and harassed."<sup>33</sup> Hoover had the authority to spy on American citizens while at the same time the liberty to use the information he collected from his high profile investigations to protect his position as FBI director. While Hoover utilized information to his career advantage that he legally collected during investigations

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<sup>30</sup> Karen Juanita Carrillo, "CBC's COINTELPRO Braintrust Urges Compensation for Government Sabotage Victims," *New York Amsterdam News* 91:38 (2000): p. 5.

<sup>31</sup> Bernard A. Weisberger, "The FBI Unbound," *American Heritage* 46:5 (1995): pp. 24-25.

<sup>32</sup> Diane Gordon, "Old FBI Tricks," *The Nation* 246:6 (1988): p. 185.

<sup>33</sup> C. Stone Brown, "Y2K," *Crisis* 106:6 (1999): p. 10.

when wiretaps were used, SBI directors did not use legal wiretaps to collect information on politicians who controlled their career trajectories. Although the North Carolina Attorney General and superior court judges could authorize wiretapping in SBI investigations, SBI directors reluctantly used them as an investigative device. The SBI limited its practice of using wiretaps during this period but some wiretaps were authorized in high profile investigations involving union activity and labor strikes in North Carolina.<sup>34</sup>

### **Hoover and Marshall Target Communist Movement to Promote Careers**

Francis Bacon, the 17th century English philosopher said, "Knowledge is power."<sup>35</sup> No one in the 20<sup>th</sup> century was more familiar with this aphorism than J. Edgar Hoover. Hoover's information base was synonymous with his power as he constructed a substantial information power base that he implemented without hesitation to promote and maintain himself in his career. Hoover exploited his power through his connections with the print media that played a major role in Hoover's political and public success. The threat of releasing sensitive personal information to the print media collected during high profile investigations pertaining to individuals who threatened the success of Hoover's career trajectory or were perceived by Hoover as threatening his career was a sufficient deterrent that prevented anyone from tampering with Hoover's position as FBI director. For example, Presidents and politicians who distrusted Hoover did not challenge him because they knew he had enough critical information about them and that their careers would be destroyed rather than Hoover's.<sup>36</sup>

Consequently, comments made by politicians or in newspaper editorials especially pertaining to Hoover and the agency always piqued Hoover's interest. These editorials

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<sup>34</sup> Max Bryan, 4 December 1999. Bryan recalled instances when telephones were bugged in labor strike investigations in western North Carolina.

<sup>35</sup> Justin Kaplan, gen. ed., *Familiar Quotations: A Collection of Passages, Phrases, and Proverbs Traced to Their Sources in Ancient and Modern Literature* 16th ed. (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1992) pp. 157-158.

<sup>36</sup> Evan Thomas and Walter Pincus, "The Real Cover-Up," *Newsweek* 122:21 (1993): pp. 66-72.

and comments often involved high profile activities that were being investigated by the FBI. In some cases, specifically during the Civil Rights Movement, even comments or criticism made by seemingly minor officials were monitored and deemed significant if they had an audience with the citizens. For instance, in 1956, during one NAACP meeting at a Methodist Church in Maryland, Dr. T. R. M. Howard sharply criticized the FBI; however, the outcome contrary to Dr. Howard's intent became an advantage to Hoover professionally and contributed toward Hoover's career success as FBI director.

When the incident appeared in print, agents immediately sent Hoover a copy and Hoover responded to the criticism in writing. In defiance of Howard, Hoover did not write to the director of the NAACP, he wrote to Thurgood Marshall, the most renowned and significant Civil Rights attorneys of his generation.<sup>37</sup> Marshall, the NAACP's most prominent Civil Rights lawyer at the time, on past occasions had criticized the FBI for not protecting blacks in the South. "Given the sometimes barbed comments that passed between them, Hoover was pleased when Marshall wrote back to agree that Howard wrongly attacked the FBI with 'misstatements of facts.' And in a real stunner, Marshall said he knew the FBI had done a 'thorough and complete job' in the three cases where blacks were murdered in Mississippi."<sup>38</sup>

Marshall like Hoover loathed Communists, and like so many others he also knew how strongly Hoover opposed Communism. He also knew an alliance with Hoover would benefit his political career. Likewise, Hoover, knew if he gained an allegiance with Marshall, it would be to his career advantage. When the two men established a professional relationship with each other they strengthened their political positions that were publicly reinforced through public reports of the agreement between the two unprincipled alliances.<sup>39</sup> Once again the print media carried stories reporting the cooperation between the two unlikely leaders. As a result, the extensive print media

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<sup>37</sup> Adam Cohen, "Thurgood Marshall: The Brain of the Civil Rights Movement," *Time* 153:23 (1999): p. 172.

<sup>38</sup> Juan Williams, "The Strangest of Bedfellows," *Newsweek* 132:37 (1998): p. 33.

<sup>39</sup> David J. Garrow, "Marshall, Hoover and the NAACP," *Newsweek* 128:25 (1996): pp. 37-38.

coverage surrounding the two highly political figures reinforced Hoover's public and political support in turn strengthening his career trajectory.

Hoover and Marshall needed each other to advance their causes and they needed the print media to continue publicizing their convictions and activities in order to increase public support and advance their personal ambitions toward their political goals. Both men had been prominently involved in high profile investigations of Civil Rights or Communist activities that they either adamantly supported or opposed. Each one stood to benefit from continued print media coverage to advance their positions on these issues and one needed the other in order to obtain their career objectives.

With the onset of this alliance between the two, without hesitation Marshall approached the FBI and asked for information to use in his speech at the 1956 NAACP convention on Communist groups who were purportedly using the Civil Rights movement as a front. He asked to personally meet with Hoover; however, Assistant Director Louis Nichols met with him instead. When Marshall met with Nichols, some FBI information was made available to him. Marshall assured Nichols that the source of his information would remain in confidence. "In his mind, Marshall did not consider Hoover's decision to let him see FBI files to be evidence that Hoover was using him. Marshall viewed Hoover's decision as an act of generosity—the sharing of information between like minds. He thought he had manipulated Hoover—Hoover had not manipulated him."<sup>40</sup> Illustrated by the exchange of information with Marshall, Hoover used any available resources to champion his cause whether it was using a Civil Rights activist who released information to the print media or whether Hoover released high profile investigative information directly to the print media.

Hoover sent Marshall a note to congratulate him on his nomination to serve on the United States Supreme Court. Political analysts attributed that Marshall "had caged a lion that could have derailed the civil-rights movement and destroyed his career."<sup>41</sup> Hoover gained an ally by sharing secret information with a high-ranking NAACP official. Through

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<sup>40</sup> Williams p. 33.

<sup>41</sup> Williams p. 33.

his association with Marshall and strategic use of information collected during high profile investigations, Hoover continued to remain firmly in control of his career trajectory by using the high profile investigative information to defend his position against Communist supporters. Furthermore, the symbiotic relationship between Hoover and Marshall aided by Hoover's high profile case investigative activities that were carried out by his agents and the print media coverage they each received benefited the career advancement of both leaders.<sup>42</sup>

### **FBI Investigates Civil Rights Cases**

Eight years after Hoover and Marshall's relationship developed, Hoover engaged in Machiavellian tactics again in order to achieve his career trajectory goals as FBI director in another case that became an exceptionally high profile investigation. Without hesitation, he employed the necessary measures to keep his career trajectory progressively moving upward and consistent with his ambition to remain successful in his position as FBI director. Specifically, in 1964 after all other traditional investigative methods failed in a Civil Rights case that involved brutal multiple murders, Hoover stepped over the line and used illegal methods to obtain a successful closure to the investigation. He secretly ordered his agents to use organized criminals to locate three missing Civil Rights workers.

Consequently, the FBI agents turned to a Mafia informant, Gregory Scarpa, Sr., to accomplish the task. Scarpa traveled to Mississippi and kidnapped Ku Klux Klansman to obtain the information on the whereabouts of the three missing Civil Rights workers. Allegedly, Scarpa threatened the Klansman by putting a pistol furnished by the FBI into the Klansman's mouth and forcefully demanded that the Klansman divulge the Civil Rights workers' location. The tactics employed in this high profile investigation concluded the search for the Civil Rights workers. Within a day of the meeting, FBI agents found the bodies buried seventeen feet deep under an earthen dam. Comprehensive print media coverage of the dreadful discovery appeared in newspapers throughout the nation.

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<sup>42</sup> Williams p. 33.

Although Hoover engaged in illegal measures to solve the high profile murder case, print media accounts credited him and his agency in finding the slain individuals. Thus, he continued to prosper and his position with the FBI was even more secure as a result of the solved investigation although Hoover allowed unlawful interrogation methods to be employed in the investigation.

During this very volatile period of American history when high profile case investigations like the Civil Rights movement occurred, Hoover maintained a strong allegiance among his agents that protected his career.<sup>43</sup> When outside political forces probed into the FBI's investigative techniques in the missing Civil Rights workers, "Former FBI Inspector Joseph Sullivan, who spearheaded the FBI's probe into the slayings, refused to say how the information was obtained."<sup>44</sup> Sullivan denied the use of organized crime figures or any illegal activities used in investigation of the case... "However, a high-level federal official who said he knew of the episode said: 'It happened.' Everyone's going to say, 'Nah, it never happened,' but it did."<sup>45</sup> The high profile case murders of the three civil rights workers generated extensive print media attention. Contributing to the high profile recognition of the investigation following widespread print media coverage, the case was also the subject of four books and one movie, *Mississippi Burning*.<sup>46</sup> This investigation among other high profile case investigations projected Hoover directly in the limelight and that was where he wanted to be. He used every print media opportunity to convey his version of the high profile investigation while he simultaneously appealed to the public, maintained support and successfully advanced his career trajectory toward a positive professional outcome.

During the early 1960s, newspapers reported civil unrest daily. Ku Klux Klan activities were reported in many states, including North Carolina. Director Anderson and

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<sup>43</sup> Susan Rosenfeld, "Doing Injustice to the FBI: The Negative Myths Perpetuated by Historians," *Chronicle of Higher Education* 46:7 (1999): p. B6.

<sup>44</sup> Tom Robbins and Jerry Capece, "FBI's Hoover Hired the Mob to Help Find Bodies of Civil Rights Workers in 1964," *Knight-Ridder/Tribune News Service* 21 June 1994.

<sup>45</sup> Robbins, "FBI's Hoover Hired," 21 June 1994.

<sup>46</sup> Robbins, "FBI's Hoover Hired," 21 June 1994.

the SBI were investigating KKK activity simultaneously while Hoover and the FBI investigated similar civil rights violations.<sup>47</sup> However, although the high profile KKK investigations in North Carolina generated print media attention none of the civil unrest coverage received as much print media attention as the bombing of a church in Alabama in which four Negro girls were killed.<sup>48</sup> Yet again, Hoover and the FBI received national print media attention following a high profile case investigation.<sup>49</sup>

On September 15, 1963, the bombing of the 16<sup>th</sup> Street Baptist Church in Birmingham, Alabama occurred and a high profile investigation ensued.<sup>50</sup> Newspaper reports reverberated throughout the nation with an eyewitness' account of the explosion and descriptions of the perpetrators. The print media released reports and stories as long as they could collect relevant information revealing detailed reports in their column. In the process the print media heightened public awareness and sensitivity to the Civil Rights movement and reinforced the high profile status of Hoover's investigation of the case.

In the 1960s law enforcement officials in Birmingham were inundated with high profile racial violence and the Ku Klux Klan was responsible for some of it.<sup>51</sup> Another problem facing law enforcement in general was the involvement of local police officials in the Klan. "One local Klansman, a former city employee named Robert E. Chambliss, was so active in racial terrorism that he was nicknamed Dynamite Bob."<sup>52</sup> Even though the

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<sup>47</sup> Stephen R. Jones, Personal Interview of Former FBI Latent Print Examiner, SBI Special Agent, and Supervisor of the SBI Latent Print Section, 30 September 1998. Jones investigated and gathered intelligence information on the Ku Klux Klan activities in North Carolina.

<sup>48</sup> "At Long Last: Police Arrest Two Suspects in the '63 Birmingham Bombing that Killed Four Little Girls," *People Weekly* 53:22 (2000): pp. 133-134.

<sup>49</sup> Acel Moore, "Bombing Case Is Closed, But Questions Remain," *Knight-Ridder/Tribune News Service* 4 May 2001 Sec. K.

<sup>50</sup> Rhonda Chriss Lokeman, "Justice Finally Comes After Nearly 40 Years," *Knight-Ridder/Tribune News Service* 9 May 2001 Sec. K.

<sup>51</sup> David J. Garrow, "Echoes of a Klan Killing: Four Young Girls Die in a Brutal Church Bombing and Almost 37 Years Later, Justice May Finally Be Near," *Newsweek* (29 May 2000): p. 32.

<sup>52</sup> Garrow, "Back to Birmingham," *Newsweek* 130:3 (1997): p. 37.



witness identified “Dynamite Bob” as one of the suspects involved in the Birmingham Church bombing he was not investigated until decades after the crime.

Camaraderie is a strong bond among police officers and Hoover realized the consequences of revealing his sources in this case. He refused to divulge any information that would identify police informants in Birmingham and at the same time jeopardize his confidential standing among law enforcement officials not to mention compromise his position as FBI director. At the time Hoover had the power to withhold information and did so without consequence to himself. Hoover’s powerful control in releasing information to the print media in high profile investigations like the Birmingham church bombing remained to be a factor in Hoover’s career security.

While the FBI’s involvement in the investigation brought a substantial amount of print media attention to Hoover, when he refused to divulge information, he protected his investigative resources as well as his position. It was a tragic case and Hoover’s decision to withhold information impeded the arrest of a guilty man.<sup>53</sup> In 1964 the U.S. attorney said “the FBI knows who bought the dynamite, who made the bomb [and] who placed it there.”<sup>54</sup> Hoover was advised by his deputies in 1965 to pursue the case and arrest those involved; however, Hoover declined the advice of his deputies. Hoover was “reluctant to reveal his informants and questionable wiretapping in court.”<sup>55</sup> At the expense of revealing some of Hoover’s illegal investigative tactics, Hoover would have compromised his positive career trajectory and the negative affect on his reputation as an effective director would have been irreversible. If Hoover admitted that he engaged in illegal investigative methods, as director his career trajectory would have been in jeopardy. Despite Hoover’s reluctance to divulge information, “Dynamite Bob” was finally brought to justice in 1977 and convicted of the bombing. “Dynamite Bob” died in prison; however, the other co-conspirators were never brought to justice.<sup>56</sup> Through information

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<sup>53</sup> “Long Time Coming: A Cold, Sober Response to the Birmingham Church Bombing,” *Sarasota Herald Tribune* 4 May 2001 p. A12.

<sup>54</sup> Garrow, “Back to Birmingham.”

<sup>55</sup> Garrow, “Back to Birmingham.”

control, Hoover fortified his position and reinforced his successful career trajectory. The Birmingham and Dynamite Bob cases publicized by the print media exemplified Hoover's manipulation of high profile investigative case information to protect his professional standing among his political peers and superiors and benefited his career.

According to fifth century philosopher, Heraclitus, "There is nothing permanent except change."<sup>57</sup> Throughout Hoover's career, criminal activities were definitely a constant although the nature of it changed decade after decade. In addition Hoover was a constant, as he became a seasoned lawman in his position as director, he was the constant in his changing world. Although constant in his egocentric career motivation, he adapted to the changes taking place around him and manipulated the print media in high profile cases to achieve his professional goals. From high profile cases involving gangsters to the Cold War and civil rights unrest to national tragedy, Hoover ingeniously and with expertise adapted to change and through the print media beguiled those who kept him in power.

### **Hoover and FBI's Role During the Kennedy Assassination**

The national tragedy that became one of the highest profile cases in the history of American law enforcement during the twentieth century occurred on November 22, 1963 when Lee Harvey Oswald assassinated John F. Kennedy.<sup>58</sup> Oswald fatally wounded President Kennedy from the sixth floor of the Schoolbook Depository Building in Houston, Texas as Kennedy rode past him in a motorcade of political leaders.<sup>59</sup>

This historic high profile case during Hoover's tenure as FBI director had an extraordinary impact on Hoover's career. Not only was it a high profile case because it involved the assassination of the President of the United States but three potential motives

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<sup>56</sup> Dahleen Glanton, "Former KKK Member Convicted of Planting Bomb," *Knight-Ridder/Tribune News Service* 1 May 2001 Sec. K.

<sup>57</sup> Bergen Evans, *Dictionary of Quotation* (New York: Delacorte Press, 1968) p. 95.

<sup>58</sup> Michael Beschloss, "The Day that Changed America," *Newsweek* 122:21 (1993): pp. 60-61.

<sup>59</sup> Melinda Beck and Melinda Liu, "The Mind of the Assassin," *Newsweek* 122:21 (1993): p. 71.

heightened the high profile status in the investigation. These motives included Communism, organized crime and civil unrest, all high profile activities that Hoover had investigated at some time during his tenure with the FBI.

As indicated, throughout Hoover's career he was preoccupied with his professional advancement and job security; however, during the Kennedy administration he felt his job security was more threatened than it had ever been during his career. "Although he had been in power for four decades, Hoover was worried about his job."<sup>60</sup> He didn't like the Kennedys and heard from "reliable sources that President Kennedy was thinking of sacking him."<sup>61</sup>

Hoover reputedly used Kennedy information in order to maintain his position as FBI director. During Hoover's many investigations, he collected massive amounts of confidential information pertaining to Kennedy while Kennedy was a Presidential candidate. Kennedy knew Hoover had information regarding his personal life that could jeopardize his election. Consequently, President Kennedy naturally disliked and distrusted Hoover. Nevertheless, in 1960 prior to being elected President, Kennedy announced he would retain Hoover as FBI director.<sup>62</sup>

Although Hoover and Kennedy lacked respect for one another, when Kennedy was assassinated, Hoover was bound by duty to locate and convict the assassin. From the initial investigation of this high profile case, controversial differences surrounded the investigation of the President's assassination and Hoover's role in the investigation.<sup>63</sup> Regardless of these differences, the FBI seized control of the case and Hoover engaged his skillful tactics to elevate his status among his law enforcement colleagues and political superiors. Through the power of his position, Hoover suppressed print media information that he felt would reflect unfavorably on him. When Hoover publicly released information

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<sup>60</sup> Thomas p. 68.

<sup>61</sup> Thomas p. 68.

<sup>62</sup> Mark North, *Act of Treason: The Role of J. Edgar Hoover in the Assassination of President Kennedy* (New York: Carroll and Graff Publishers, Inc., 1991): p 52.

<sup>63</sup> Frank McLynn, "History Isn't Always A Cock-Up," *New Statesman* 128:4454 (1999): p. 27.

regarding the assassination, it was never retracted nor his position altered regardless of additional developments in the assassination.<sup>64</sup>

However, in the process of gathering information as in other high profile investigations, the FBI judiciously pursued all investigative leads. When special agents collected laboratory evidence, it was rushed to the FBI crime laboratory for analysis. With the exception of fingerprint examination results, most of the evidence that was available had been examined. Since he did not want to antagonize the new President who wielded control over his career trajectory, as soon as a definitive determination was made on the evidence, Hoover briefed President Johnson. In the absence of conclusive fingerprint comparisons, he insinuated to President Johnson that Lee Harvey Oswald was the assassin. However, without fingerprint evidence, Hoover could not conclusively identify the assassin.<sup>65</sup>

High profile investigations often encounter dissension between federal and local agencies and this one was no different. Some of the initial conflict Hoover encountered included news releases made by the local authorities in Dallas. Discord between Dallas Police Chief Jesse Curry and Hoover soon erupted. Chief Curry made news releases and projected himself in the print media limelight much to Hoover's disapproval. Predictably, Hoover was furious and resolved the situation by sending the FBI agent in charge of the Dallas office to talk with Curry about his press releases. Subsequently, Chief Curry retracted earlier statements made regarding the case. Curry, although a powerful Texas official, dared not defy the nation's top law enforcement officer, Hoover. By late afternoon, the FBI released information to the print media indicating that traces of nitrates had been found on Oswald's hands. Also his fingerprints and palm prints were discovered on the suspected murder weapon.<sup>66</sup> Newspapers around the nation and world printed stories delivering the up-to-the-minute findings released by the FBI in the high profile investigation.

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<sup>64</sup> Thomas pp. 66-72.

<sup>65</sup> Thomas pp. 66-72.

<sup>66</sup> Thomas pp. 66-72.

Hoover treated the Kennedy assassination case like any other high profile case. As deplorable as the case was, Hoover used it to protect his position as director and project his career trajectory along the path he desired. Since President Kennedy was no longer a threat to Hoover, he moved quickly to use his position as director of the FBI and this high profile investigation to fortify his status and continued to safeguard his career as director. By winning Johnson's approval, Hoover regained a necessary political ally in the White House to ensure his position as FBI director.<sup>67</sup>

In contrast to the lack of confidence in job security that Hoover experienced during the Kennedy administration, he felt reasonably confident about his professional relationship with President Lyndon B. Johnson. Hoover knew how to manipulate President Johnson to his advantage and cooperated with him unless the President made demands on the FBI that would damage Hoover's career.<sup>68</sup> When President Kennedy was assassinated, Hoover's immediate career security worries were eliminated. He resumed exercising his powers to control information and the print media for the duration of the investigation in order to enhance his position and cultivate support from the President, Lyndon Johnson.

In addition, although Hoover's relationship with Johnson was seemingly sound, he didn't want to jeopardize his position. Since his relationship with the Kennedys had never been exceptionally solid, he used his position as FBI director to gain access to the Kennedy family. Through his position as director, he apprised the family of up-to-date investigation information.<sup>69</sup> Calculatedly reinforcing his stronghold on his position as FBI director, he took advantage of opportunities to make inroads with the Kennedys and anyone who held persuasive powers over President Johnson that could lead to beneficial consequences for his career trajectory. He could not risk that others would persuade President Johnson to adopt the same sentiments toward him as President Kennedy. At any

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<sup>67</sup> Hugh Sidey, "Reach Out and Twist an Arm," *Time* 142:25 (1993): pp. 43-44.

<sup>68</sup> Kelly Orr, "The Secret Files of J. Edgar Hoover," *U. S. News and World Report* 95 (1983): p. 51.

<sup>69</sup> Orr p. 71.

rate, whether Hoover's tactics made a difference, President Johnson became a fervent supporter of Hoover.

Evidence suggested that Hoover's career trajectory was on a positive incline with the Johnson administration. Within days of the assassination, President Johnson appointed a panel to investigate the assassination. Chief Justice Earl Warren was appointed to lead the panel referred to as the Warren Commission.<sup>70</sup> In addition to other federal agencies that participated, to Hoover's credit the FBI was the official agency assisting the commission in the high profile assassination investigation.<sup>71</sup>

The commission that investigated the case was comprised primarily of young attorneys from famous Ivy League law schools in the United States. The Warren Commission had a full-time staff of twenty-eight who actually assisted in the high profile investigation for the commission. Suspicions arose as a result of the many agencies involved in the investigation. Some of the commission members were especially suspicious of Hoover who had a reputation of achieving publicity while he promoted his career goals in gathering FBI information.<sup>72</sup> Close Kennedy associates also knew when Kennedy was alive that he distrusted Hoover.

Regardless of suspicions from those who served on the commission and those who knew President Kennedy, in order to collect and compile information in this case, Hoover did not remove himself from the commission. He steadfastly directed the FBI's involvement in the high profile investigation. His agents conducted twenty-five thousand interviews.<sup>73</sup> As a result, the Warren Commission collected depositions from five hundred and fifty-two witnesses and ninety-four testified before the commission. Between Hoover's assistance and members of the commission, in ten months a twenty-seven-volume report of approximately ten million words was produced. The report concluded

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<sup>70</sup> Janet Cawley, "John F. Kennedy," *Biography* 2:11 (November 1998): p. 89.

<sup>71</sup> Max Holland, "The Key to the Warren Report," *American Heritage* 46:7 (1995): p. 51.

<sup>72</sup> William Rubinstein, "Oswald Shoots JFK," *History Today* 49:10 (1999): pp. 16-17.

<sup>73</sup> Richard M. Mosk, "The Kennedy Assassination: Was the Warren Commission Report Credible?" *American Bar Association* 78 (1992): pp. 36-37.

Lee Harvey Oswald acted alone to assassinate Kennedy, and there was no evidence of a conspiracy. Also, according to the investigation, Oswald never met Jack Ruby.<sup>74</sup>

Immediately when Oswald was associated with Kennedy's assassination and arrested by the police, Hoover stood by his personal conviction that Oswald was the sole assassin responsible for Kennedy's death. Hoover never believed there was a conspiracy although many challenged his belief.<sup>75</sup> While Hoover directed his agents who collected information and explored investigative leads in the high profile investigation for the Warren Commission, Hoover accumulated increasingly beneficial information that he could use to elevate his career trajectory and control his appointment.

As long as Hoover maintained ultimate control of the investigative information and released it to the Commander and Chief, he reigned as FBI director. In addition, when Lyndon B. Johnson became President, Hoover gained another Presidential advocate, and his career as FBI director remained unthreatened for the duration of the Johnson administration.

Hoover took advantage of the print media to communicate information whether it was to maintain power over politicians, the public or to control the news reports that appeared in the print media. The Kennedy assassination was no different. He was not remiss to reveal methodical details of the actual shooting that led to the death of the President. Detailed in the Warren Commission Report based on information from Hoover and his agents, the evidence was described with precision. Typical of high profile cases, details of the shooting discovered during the investigation as reported by the Warren Commission were released by the print media in numerous newspapers.<sup>76</sup> Hoover's ability to disclose precise details of the investigation gave the impression that the director was well informed and a competent leader. Consequently, through coverage of high profile investigations in the print media, he continued to advance his position and career as FBI

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<sup>74</sup> Rubinstein pp. 16-17.

<sup>75</sup> Curt Gentry, *J. Edgar Hoover: the Man and the Secrets* (New York: W. W. Norton and Company, 1991) pp. 548-547.

<sup>76</sup> Gregory Curtis, "The Lone Gunman," *Texas Monthly* 26:11 (1998): pp. 146-147.

director by achieving support from the public, politicians and importantly President Lyndon B. Johnson.

Throughout the investigation Hoover's investigative tactics and his egocentric desire to maintain control of his position as FBI director were never questioned. At the conclusion of the investigation and some years following the Warren Commission's investigation, J. Edgar Hoover and Lyndon Johnson were suspected of participating in the conspiracy to assassinate John F. Kennedy.<sup>77</sup> However, it was never proven and definitive answers to this high profile investigation were never successfully resolved.<sup>78</sup>

### **SBI, Professionalization and the Print Media**

Although the SBI was not involved in investigations of assassinations and Communist activities, like the FBI, the SBI was investigating organized crime, civil unrest, and local high profile cases during this period. Like the FBI during this time, the SBI investigated high profile cases that received publicity by the Associated Press even though they were local cases. Hence, those investigations received national recognition. Consequently, national and local print media attention accentuated case investigations that either accelerated or decelerated directors' career trajectories. Comparable to Hoover, SBI administrators were directly influenced by the publicity high profile investigations received in the print media. High profile case investigative activities in hyped print media played a role in promotional practices while developments in the professionalization of the SBI were perceived as the traditional impetus among promotional standards.

Among the developments that professional law organizations advocated and sponsored was training thereby promoting professionalization among local law enforcement agencies.<sup>79</sup> In North Carolina during the reform era, the Police Executives of North Carolina, International Association of Chiefs of Police (IACP), Institute of

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<sup>77</sup> Rubinstein pp.16-17.

<sup>78</sup> James Podgers, "Behind the JFK Records Project," *American Bar Association Journal* 86 (2000): p. 102.



Government at Chapel Hill and the FBI National Academy were among the specialized organizations and agencies that provided special training, seminars, and workshops that promoted professional conduct among law enforcement officers statewide.<sup>80</sup>

With professional support from these groups and the Institute of Government in North Carolina, the promotional process eventually included certification and standards among law enforcement agencies that increased over the course of several years. For example, the police training process through the reform era increased from eight weeks of training for the North Carolina Highway Patrol in the 1940s to twelve weeks in the 1950s. However, the Institute of Government was not adequately funded to train all law enforcement officers in the state of North Carolina. In addition to inadequate funding, lack of suitable facilities prevented the Institute from meeting the training demands of law enforcement officers for the entire state of North Carolina as well. In addition, the Institute of Government also conducted police instructor's training for community college instructors in order to produce enough police trainers to bridge the training gap between trainers and trainees. However, while fundamental training standards were in a developmental stage, high profile case investigations in the print media continued to impact directors' career trajectories. Directors who managed well-trained, professional agents combined with widespread print media coverage of high profile labor union strikes, civil unrest, and politically sensitive investigations championed thriving career trajectories.

While the training process underwent reformation, it also generated professional promotional changes in North Carolina law enforcement organizations. Additionally, Governor Moore requested that Albert Coates, a professor at the University of North Carolina Law School study the training needs of law enforcement in North Carolina. Subsequently, Professor Coates conducted the study and recommended that there should be a twelve-week certificate program for basic training, a two-year degree program and a four-year degree program. All of these were to be administered by the University System

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<sup>79</sup> Linkins pp. 12-15.

<sup>80</sup> William V. O'Daniel, Personal Interview of Former SBI Special Agent, 10 October 1998. O'Daniel recalled he was among several agents who attended training at SBI headquarters when he was hired in 1952. The training lasted approximately four weeks and one of the instructors was Special Agent James Bradshaw.

of North Carolina. Following a comprehensive study and recommendations by Professor Coates of law enforcement training history in North Carolina, training practices changed extensively across the state.<sup>81</sup> While the training process evolved, high profile case investigations carried by the print media continued to be a career trajectory factor when equally qualified candidates were considered for a position.<sup>82</sup>

In order to implement Professor Coates' three-pronged law enforcement program recommendations, in 1966 state leaders requested funding from Law Enforcement Assistance (LEA) in Washington, D.C. Eventually the North Carolina Criminal Justice Training and Standards Council was founded to regulate police training.<sup>83</sup> In addition to police training and investigative activities, local police agencies adopted civil service procedures for personnel selection and promotion. As a result, civil service rankings influenced police recruitment and officer appointments within law enforcement agencies were based on the applicants' knowledge regardless of their political associations.<sup>84</sup> Contrary to professional changes in promotional advancement that were implemented by law enforcement agencies during this period, the Attorney General appointed SBI directors and Acting Directors. SBI agents who attained the top position were agents who were considered to be professional and participated in training but also who had investigated high profile cases that received print media exposure.<sup>85</sup>

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<sup>81</sup> Albert Coates, *The Beginning of Schools for Law Enforcement Officers in North Carolina* (Chapel Hill, North Carolina: The Professor Emeritus Fund, 1983) p. 118.

<sup>82</sup> James R. Durham, Interview of Former SBI Special Agent and Acting Director, 16 December 1997. When the Attorney General dismissed Walter Anderson, Durham was appointed to become Acting SBI Director. Early in Durham's career with the SBI, he had experience as a field agent but was primarily a documents examiner. His educational and law enforcement training background equaled that of his fellow agents; however, his investigative experiences included high profile investigations that received print media coverage. He investigated high profile election law violations, embezzlements, as well as suicide and homicide investigations.

<sup>83</sup> Coates p. 118.

<sup>84</sup> Robert H. Langworthy, and Lawrence F. Travis, III, *Policing in America: A Balance of Forces* (New York: Macmillan Publishing Company, 1994) p. 81.

<sup>85</sup> Haywood Starling, Personal Interview of Former SBI Special Agent, Supervisor, Deputy Director and Director, 28 November 1997. Starling noted that James "Jimmy" Powell was the most

## Director Powell's Tenure, the Print Media and Politics

Political transition persisted in the Attorneys General's office and affected the promotional factors and career trajectories in North Carolina as the reform era continued to develop in the late 1950s. During this period, SBI Director Jimmy Powell's administration abruptly ended on June 25, 1957 as a result of political disharmony between Director Powell and the State Attorney General George Patton.<sup>86</sup> Unlike J. Edgar Hoover's continued control over the FBI, there was no exact model in North Carolina to guarantee that SBI directors could prolong their tenure. Newly elected State Attorneys General determined whether SBI directors' career trajectories ascended or descended based on their perceptions of the director. Their perceptions were influenced by high profile investigations reported by the print media.<sup>87</sup> Political dynamics combined with the print media's portrayal of the agency and the director in their coverage of high profile cases in newspaper reports influenced the director's career trajectory.<sup>88</sup> When the Attorneys General exercised their decision to make a leadership change in the SBI, it negatively affected the director's career trajectory since the director's position was one of the highest positions in law enforcement in the state. There were no comparable alternative law enforcement positions with the same power and prestige.<sup>89</sup>

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professional, knowledgeable, and well trained of all the agents who came up through the ranks and directed the bureau.

<sup>86</sup> George A. Penny, "SBI Chief, Fired by Attorney General, Says 'Star Chamber' Action Used," *News and Observer* 26 June 1957.

<sup>87</sup> James Bradshaw, Personal Interview of Former SBI Special Agent and Assistant Director, 27 November 1995. Bradshaw recalled that in the early days SBI publicity was limited; however, as the bureau became involved in high profile investigations publicity increased. Bradshaw said Attorney General MacMillan understood the political consequence and the importance of nonintervention when the SBI was conducting high profile investigations that received print media coverage.

<sup>88</sup> O. Mac White, "Politics, Personality Issues Argued In Firing of Powell," *Raleigh Times* 26 June 1957.

<sup>89</sup> "A Public Relations Mess," *News and Observer* 27 June 1957.

When Powell was asked to resign, he did not understand why Attorney General Patton dismissed him.<sup>90</sup> Powell, who had been with the SBI for nineteen years, was one of the original four agents hired by Director Handy. Powell's impeccable investigative role, his leadership skills and training background prepared him for the responsibilities as director. Prior to joining the bureau, Powell graduated from Virginia Military Institute (VMI) with a degree in chemical engineering. After graduating from VMI, Powell attended and studied forensic sciences at the Institute of Criminal Science in Washington, D.C. He had exceptional academic qualifications when he applied with the SBI and later proved to be an incomparable director as well.<sup>91</sup>

Powell, whose SBI career had excelled under other Attorneys General, was perplexed by the dismissal because the SBI's performance while he was director was not consistent with Attorney General Patton's justification to dismiss him.<sup>92</sup> The accomplishments of Powell's administration were reported by the print media and portrayed in a positive manner. During Powell's administration, SBI agents and forensic scientists investigated and analyzed more than 6,000 cases. Also, during his tenure, the appropriations from the General Assembly increased by 68% to accommodate the SBI's growth. Although, the legislature refused Powell's request for four additional agents in fiscal year 1957-58, under Powell's administration the SBI grew and employed a total of thirty-four agents, technicians, and staff. There were nineteen special agents, two supervisory agents, five specialists, five clerical employees and one chief clerk. Powell also received credit for breaking up a high profile case in Columbus County involving the Ku Klux Klan. According to the print media, there were thirteen arrests and eleven convictions in the case.<sup>93</sup>

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<sup>90</sup> "Turmoil in the Ranks of the SBI Reveals Patton's Still the Boss," *Raleigh Times* 26 June 1957.

<sup>91</sup> "J. W. Powell Was Former Resident," *Wilmington Star News* 26 June 1957.

<sup>92</sup> Tom Englis, "Powell Fired to Avert SBI Walkout' - Patton," *Wilmington Star News* 26 June 1957.

<sup>93</sup> Ted Ziegler, ed., "Powell's Sacking Ends 19-Year-Old Career," *Raleigh Times* 26 June 1957.

Despite the successful high profile investigations and print media coverage, Powell said “he had been given no specific reason for his firing other than poor morale and public relations ”<sup>94</sup> A newspaper editorial intimated that Powell’s administration was exemplary, “He appeared to be popular with the general public and the press; there was nothing to indicate that he had not been conducting his office in a proper manner, carrying the ball in the right direction.”<sup>95</sup>

The print media gave two speculative reasons for Powell’s termination, discontent among the SBI agents and political motivations centered in the Attorney General’s office.<sup>96</sup> News releases by the print media contained information that supported both reasons. The Attorney General had ordered an investigation of the agency by one of Powell’s supervisors in the western part of the state due to complaints from agents.<sup>97</sup> Powell was a stickler for details and required his agents to perform with diligence and efficiency.<sup>98</sup> However, Powell’s regulations and strict rules caused dissension among a few agents in the bureau. Powell was described as a “very, very efficient administrator who was molding the state organization after the FBI.”<sup>99</sup> The print media reported that most agents were loyal to Powell; however, a few were extremely dissatisfied. To Powell’s detriment, the print media reported one source as saying he “was a man you had to know to like. Not many men really knew Powell.”<sup>100</sup> Finally the Attorney General was reported as saying he terminated Powell because “the SBI chief had an unruly temper, abused his assistants, used profanity, and forced other agents to act as his chauffeur.”<sup>101</sup>

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<sup>94</sup> White, “Politics, Personality Issues Argued In Firing of Powell,” *Raleigh Times* 26 June 1957.

<sup>95</sup> “Turmoil in the Ranks,” 26 June 1957.

<sup>96</sup> “Questions Demand Answers in Firing of SBI Director,” *Raleigh Times* 27 June 1957.

<sup>97</sup> “Refused to Resign, So Was Fired, Says Powell,” *Wilmington Star News* 26 June 1957.

<sup>98</sup> Ziegler, “Powell Says Patton Exaggerated,” *Raleigh Times* 27 June 1957.

<sup>99</sup> A. C. Snow, “Public Investigates Reasons for Discharge,” *Raleigh Times* 26 June 1957.

<sup>100</sup> Snow, “Public Investigates Reasons,” 26 June 1957.

<sup>101</sup> Bob Brooks, “Who’s Head Will Roll Next?” *News and Observer* 30 June 1957.

In fact, former Assistant Director Ray Garland said, “George Patton, the one-armed judge from Franklin, North Carolina, was the one that let Powell go. Attorney General Patton objected to the point of John Boyd picking Powell up every morning, him [Powell] riding in the back seat of the car, and getting out in front of the Justice Building. He [Powell] tried to act like J. Edgar Hoover.”<sup>102</sup>

Consequently, the changes in SBI leadership were based on political decisions made by the Attorney General.<sup>103</sup> The director’s high profile investigative and leadership activities were reported in the print media and influenced the Attorney General’s opinion of the director.<sup>104</sup> Unfortunately, Powell’s widespread print media coverage ultimately resulted in the decline of his career trajectory. Unlike Hoover, Powell did not have the political support to maintain his career trajectory when a new state attorney general took office. Initially, the print media supported Powell’s plight by pursuing the cause of action taken by the Attorney General for his termination. However, prior positive print media reports about Powell’s high profile investigations were insufficient in counteracting newspaper innuendos indicating that SBI agents’ were discontented with Powell. The negative print media reports contributed to the Attorney General’s contempt for Powell.<sup>105</sup>

### **Walter Anderson Returns as SBI Director**

The Attorney General’s solution to the Powell situation was to bring former director, Walter Anderson, back as SBI director.<sup>106</sup> Assistant Director James F. Bradshaw, Jr. voluntarily offered his resignation as a result of Powell’s dismissal but said

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<sup>102</sup> Ray Garland, Personal Interview of Former SBI Special Agent and Deputy Director, 10 April 1998.

<sup>103</sup> Ray Garland.

<sup>104</sup> “Powell Dismissed As SBI Chief,” *Morning Star* 28 June 1957.

<sup>105</sup> “Powell Declares He Acted Because of Bureau Morale,” *News and Observer* 26 June 1957.

<sup>106</sup> “Anderson Takes Over; Bradshaw Resignation Accepted Expected,” *Raleigh Times* 27 June 1957.

he would like to stay on as a special agent under Anderson.<sup>107</sup> However, Anderson's first official act was to accept the resignation of Bradshaw with no conditions to keep him as an agent. Anderson eliminated the position of assistant director.<sup>108</sup> Anderson's management decision to eliminate this position is consistent with Hoover. Anderson like Hoover did not share the top position with others.

Bradshaw, who had an exemplary record with the SBI, had been involved with numerous high profile investigations and had advanced to the position of assistant director. However, with the removal of Powell, his career trajectory was adversely affected because of his association with the director.<sup>109</sup> Powell said Bradshaw was "one of the finest gentlemen I have ever known. He is intelligent, capable, highly qualified and experienced in the field of criminal investigation."<sup>110</sup> Furthermore, Powell said "one of the most disturbing features of this affair is the grave injustice which has been done by ruining his career when he is guilty of no worse sin than being loyal to me."<sup>111</sup> Patton and Anderson limited their administrative authority to dismissing the director and his assistant director, Powell and Bradshaw. No other agents' careers were affected by Patton's reappointment of Walter Anderson to replace Powell.

As demonstrated by the Attorney General's decision to dismiss Powell and reappoint Walter Anderson as SBI director, politics continued to influence state law enforcement leadership despite emerging trends toward professionalism. At the state level, since the State Attorney General continued to appoint the SBI director, strong political influence continuously affected SBI leadership and career advancement.<sup>112</sup>

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<sup>107</sup> "As Bradshaw Resigns Patton and Powell Trade Verbal Blows," *Wilmington Morning Star* 28 June 1957.

<sup>108</sup> Brooks, "Who's Head Will," 30 June 1957

<sup>109</sup> White, "Bradshaw Quits No. 2 SBI Post: Powell's Successor Due Today," *Raleigh Time* 26 June 1957.

<sup>110</sup> Brooks, "New Chief on Job, SBI Row Goes On," *News and Observer* 28 June 1957.

<sup>111</sup> Brooks, "New Chief on Job," 28 June 1957.

<sup>112</sup> "Anderson Is Named SBI Chief; Bradshaw Joins Powell, Quits," *Wilmington Star News* 27 June 1957.

Although, professionalism significantly contributed to career advancement during this period, the impact of high profile investigations in the print media continued to influence career trajectories within the law enforcement profession.

In particular, the print media had a direct impact on Hoover and SBI directors' career successes and failures. Hoover managed to maintain control of his career trajectory through high profile investigations of Communism, civil unrest and political crises while SBI directors only maintained intermittent control of their career trajectories. When negative newspaper reports were released, SBI directors' career trajectories succumbed to the political scrutiny from the Attorney General's office regardless of the extent of previous positive print media coverage of high profile investigations. Favorable representations of directors in the newspaper bolstered their image. Furthermore, the Attorneys General and other political leaders' who determined the success as well as the failure of the directors' career trajectories were influenced by high profile investigations in the print media.

Initially, during the first few years of Anderson's second term, his charismatic personality that was much like Hoover's served him well. The positive print media reports covering high profile case investigations continued to serve his purposes and characterized him favorably. Additionally, the publicity benefited politicians, especially the Attorney General since it reflected positively on a department head that the Attorney General managed.

Although, the print media's positive coverage of high profile case investigations contributed toward escalating the director's career trajectory, negative print media coverage of high profile investigative activities compromised the director's career trajectory. Unlike positive print media coverage of high profile investigative activities potential to escalate the director's career trajectory, negative print media coverage had the potential to impede the director's career path. Anderson's second term as director was detrimentally impacted when a high profile investigation involving an SBI agent's connections in a sports bribery scandal received widespread print media coverage. The relationship between directors' career trajectories and print media coverage of high profile



case investigations were apparent during previous SBI directors' tenures; yet, they were especially discernible during Anderson's second tenure as director.

In addition to high profile cases, Anderson employed a nontraditional technique to elevate himself as SBI director and strengthened his control. At the national level while the FBI director engaged in a crusade against Communism and outwardly displayed control through his information gathering and dispersal techniques, at the local level the SBI director engaged in a personal religious crusade. Anderson was active in the Methodist Church throughout the state and region. Consequently, he engaged employees in religious activities at work. Routinely, he held prayer sessions at the SBI Headquarters and had a following among the employees.<sup>113</sup> Also, he spoke publicly to civic organizations promoting his religious and professional points of view. With his staff's support, his public following and the print media attention that he attracted, he continued to reinforce his position.<sup>114</sup> Anderson's actions like Hoover's were self-serving to advance his career trajectory toward success in his position as director while utilizing the print media to promote himself.

Anderson was an assiduous public speaker who consistently attracted print media attention. His declamatory speeches about crime in public forums were convincing and were published in newspapers across the state. In view of his position on crime and criminal investigations, police leaders in organizations with political standing supported him as a police leader throughout his career. Also, he received political support demonstrated during his second term as director when two Attorneys General reappointed him as SBI director.

### **Print Media Coverage of High Profile Cases and Adverse Career Trajectories**

Unlike beneficial career consequences from positive print media coverage of high profile cases, widespread disparaging newspaper articles resulted in a detrimental career

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<sup>113</sup> Margie Garland, Personal Interview with Retired SBI Administrative Support Staff, 10 April 1998.

outcome in a case investigated by SBI Special Agent John Boyd.<sup>115</sup> The controversial basketball case implicated Special Agent Boyd as behaving in a manner unbecoming to an SBI agent. He received a color television from an organized crime figure and the print media hounds reported the incident in the newspapers throughout the region. The critical publicity demonstrated when high profile cases were reported negatively that an investigative agent's career trajectory experienced destructive consequences as well as the director. Although, no evidence indicated that Boyd engaged in criminal or unethical behavior, the case illustrated how adverse publicity by the print media with respect to an agent's conduct was detrimental.

In addition, the print media's portrayal of the immediate circumstances surrounding Boyd and his actions associated with the color television case created the perception of questionable unethical behavior. Not only was Boyd's career trajectory adversely impacted, the career of Walter Anderson, SBI director whom Boyd served under, also experienced negative career consequences. One agent who worked with the SBI during this period theorized the high publicity that unfolded surrounding Boyd's case precipitated Attorney General Bruton's decision to terminate Anderson as SBI director in December of 1966.<sup>116</sup>

The Boyd color television case was one of the first high profile investigations involving an internal investigation of an SBI agent's misconduct in a high profile case investigation conducted by the SBI. It was during this period that Hoover first admitted the existence of organized crime. The SBI not only recognized it, this case involved organized crime that Hoover had denied existed for years. The complicated high profile case of the color television began with the investigation of organized crime figures paying athletes to alter their plays that affected the final scores of sporting events in North Carolina. John Boyd, Max Bryan and Bill Hunt were assigned to investigate what would become a controversial high profile investigation involving a basketball scandal in 1960. The investigation lasted two years and led investigators to New York and other parts of

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<sup>114</sup> Ray Garland, 10 April 1998.

<sup>115</sup> "John Boyd Quits SBI," *Raleigh Times* 28 January 1967.

the country for interviews with basketball players, local gamblers, and others involved in organized crime.<sup>117</sup>

Like all case investigations, as the investigators probed for details, criminal activities became apparent and the print media promptly exposed as many specific details of the activities as they could to the public through newspaper accounts.<sup>118</sup> The investigators discovered the players involved were not asked to throw a game but to control the number of points they were to win or lose by. The high profile investigation and trial made print media coverage throughout the state and region. In 1962 David Lewis Goldberg and Steve Lekemetros were convicted of bribing North Carolina State University basketball players for point shaving.

Four years later, Goldberg and Lekemetros were eligible for parole for their involvement in the high profile case and Special Agent Boyd took action that would send his career trajectory spiraling downward. He recommended that the State Paroles Board parole Goldberg and Lekemetros.<sup>119</sup> Boyd failed to realize that his forthcoming plea to the State Board of Paroles would make headlines across the state almost every day for a month and that the consequences would negatively impact his career trajectory.<sup>120</sup>

Boyd went to Marvin Wooten, chairman of the State Board of Paroles, to recommend parole for Goldberg and Lekemetros because he learned members of the Raleigh Police Department intended to oppose the parole.<sup>121</sup> Boyd, the special agent in

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<sup>116</sup> Durham, 16 December 1997.

<sup>117</sup> Charles Craven, "Dixie Classic Game Fixed, Jury's Indictments Charge: Wake Jury Charges 10 in Scandals," *News and Observer* 10 January 1962.

<sup>118</sup> "SBI Agent's Disclosures Show Value of Telling Public News," *Raleigh Times* 28 December 1966.

<sup>119</sup> "Gift of TV Figures In SBI Investigation," *Winston-Salem Journal* 24 December 1966.

<sup>120</sup> Snow, "Boyd Had Recommended Parole, Returned Set: Parolee Sent SBI Agent Color TV," *Raleigh Time* 23 December 1966.

<sup>121</sup> Shirley Hayes, "Only Raleigh Police Opposed Parole for 2," *Raleigh Times* 28 December 1966.

charge of the basketball scandal investigation, supported their parole because the two completely cooperated with him during the high profile investigation.<sup>122</sup>

After the parole hearings were concluded, the Paroles Board voted to parole Goldberg and Lekemetros but the order was not written up until May 11, 1966. Three days later they were released, and approximately two weeks after they were released, Boyd received a crate addressed to his wife at their home from St. Louis. Boyd immediately contacted Anderson and told him about the crate and Anderson advised him to open it. The crate contained a color television set. Boyd assumed it was from Goldberg even though it did not have Goldberg's name on the label since he did not know anyone else with a St. Louis address.

During the high profile internal investigation of the Boyd case, Boyd detailed to the SBI's internal investigators specifically the events as they took place concerning the color television.<sup>123</sup> As Boyd explained the details of the high profile case investigation, newspapers unrelentingly reported daily the details of the investigation. As soon as Boyd obtained a shipping crate, he returned the television. The newspapers across the state continued not only to report new information about the investigation but also to repeat previously reported information about the Boyd color television case.<sup>124</sup>

Although not illegal, Boyd's conduct was scrutinized by the print media and negatively reported without censorship.<sup>125</sup> When Boyd talked with Paroles Chairman

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<sup>122</sup> "Police at Raleigh Opposed Paroles," *Winston-Salem Journal* 29 December 1966.

<sup>123</sup> Laurie Holder, Jr., "Boyd's File Shows Gift TV Returned," *News and Observer* 28 December 1966. The newspaper articles reported that Boyd explained that after opening the crate, he called Goldberg and learned that Mrs. Goldberg sent it as a gift. Boyd "asked Goldberg why he had sent the thing; because he [Goldberg] should have had sense enough to know it would put me in a very embarrassing situation."

<sup>124</sup> "Boyd Proves Bought Own Color TV Set," *Raleigh Times* 28 December 1966. Newspapers reported that since Boyd destroyed the crate during the unpacking process, he needed a crate to return it and attempted to locate another shipping crate. Boyd was unable to locate an inexpensive shipping crate so he went to Stephen's Appliance and ordered a Sylvania color television and used the crate to return Goldberg's set. In Boyd's defense, the print media reported that Boyd produced the serial number of the returned television that was also noted on the check for the shipping charge.

<sup>125</sup> "Silence Would Only Compound the Troubles Within the SBI," *Raleigh Times* 27 December 1966.

Wooten, Boyd knew he would be in violation of the SBI policy to appear before the Paroles Board unless requested by the Board; however, he said he discussed it with Anderson before appearing. In rebuttal, Anderson denied having the discussion with Boyd. The print media had a field day with the high profile case ultimately at Boyd and Anderson's career expenses.

Following the controversial and highly reported case, the SBI conducted an internal investigation pertaining to Boyd's association with the high profile case.<sup>126</sup> Three major North Carolina newspapers, the *News and Observer*, *Raleigh Times*, *Winston-Salem Journal* and other small local newspapers carried the Boyd television internal investigation story and featured detailed reports. Selected newspaper headlines included: *Boyd Affair Gets New Twist, SBI Agent's Disclosures Show Value of Telling Public News*, *SBI Checking on TV*, and *SBI Clears Boyd, Who Then Quits*.

The negative print media coverage of John Boyd's alleged connections with organized crime compromised Boyd's career. The print media's inauspicious portrayal of Boyd's conduct threatened Boyd's job security since the agency and politicians associated with the agency avoided negative publicity at any cost. Consequently, the adverse publicity had a direct detrimental bearing on Boyd's career trajectory. On January 27, 1967, Boyd was cleared of any wrongdoing. However, on the same day Boyd resigned his position as special agent with the SBI without any detailed explanation to the press.<sup>127</sup> Boyd's dilemma set into motion irreversible negative career trajectory consequences for Anderson as well.

### **High Profile Cases Advance Investigators' Careers**

During this period in the history of the State Bureau of Investigation, the basketball scandal was considered one of the most complex and convoluted cases ever investigated by the agency. The *News and Observer*, the state's newspaper with the

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<sup>126</sup> Hayes, "SBI Investigates Color TV Incident," *Raleigh Times* 3 January 1967.

<sup>127</sup> Hayes, "SBI Clears Boyd Who Then Quits," *Raleigh Times* 27 January 1967.

largest circulations, published twenty-nine articles over a nine-month period in 1962 that were related to the basketball scandal. In addition, during Anderson's tenure as director, the SBI arrested Frank Larry Rosenthal in the basketball scandal investigation. The print media was a factor in the investigation becoming high profile. In the basketball scandal, newspaper articles glamorized the case and contributed to the motion picture industry's interest in the investigation that escalated the high profile status of this case.<sup>128</sup>

While the basketball scandal was being investigated in 1962, Director Anderson monitored another high profile investigation, the Brewer-Burch case.<sup>129</sup> Governor Terry Sanford requested the SBI's investigative involvement.<sup>130</sup> Two factors contributed to the high profile status of this case. It involved political contacts associated with the governor's administrative officials and the Governor's direct involvement in enlisting an SBI investigation. Governor Sanford made a news release in early January 1962 that exposed the conflict of interest between a state government office and a private company contracted to produce highway signs.<sup>131</sup> The investigation involved State Highway Department Engineer, Robert A. Burch.<sup>132</sup> After the SBI investigation, Anderson presented the findings to the Attorney General.<sup>133</sup>

### **Politics and Controversial Print Media Lead to Anderson's Dismissal**

The Brewer-Burch case, although a successful high profile investigation conducted by the SBI, lacked enough positive weight with the Attorney General to counteract the

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<sup>128</sup> Hunt. Hunt said that Martin Scorsese directed a movie entitled *Casino* in 1995, based on the basketball scandal investigation and Rosenthal's life in North Carolina when SBI agents arrested him.

<sup>129</sup> Parker, "Governor Fires Engineer, Suspends Sign Firms: Connection Cited With Kidd Brewer," *News and Observer* 8 January 1962.

<sup>130</sup> Roy Parker, "SBI Unable to Contact Burch, Brewer In Probe: Sign Deals Investigated," *News and Observer* 9 January 1962.

<sup>131</sup> Parker, "Kidd Has Connections in Business, Politics," *News and Observer* 10 January 1962.

<sup>132</sup> "Statement Is Issued by Burch," *News and Observer* 11 January 1962.

unfortunate circumstances of the internal investigation of Special Agent Boyd and the director's leadership responsibility during the investigation of the scandal. Like Boyd, Anderson's position with the SBI was compromised. Anderson's dismissal made headlines across the state much like Boyd's investigation and became a high profile incident within the SBI and the Attorney General's office.

Attorney General Bruton refused to speak with newspaper reporters about his investigation. As a result, rumors were mounting and reports in the print media predicted that Anderson was about to lose his job. One account indicated that at least three people went to Bruton to lodge complaints against Anderson.<sup>134</sup> To the contrary, it was reported that out of approximately forty-five agents, twenty-four went to Bruton to express their support for Anderson despite reported accounts of internal dissatisfaction among SBI personnel. These twenty-four men reportedly turned in their resignations refusing to work with the two agents who lodged complaints against Anderson; however, Attorney General Bruton would not accept their resignations.<sup>135</sup> One newspaper reported that Attorney General Bruton was investigating Anderson when the television case was discovered and fired Anderson as a result of it.<sup>136</sup>

Also, it was reported that a secretary who was fired by Anderson in his final weeks as director went to Mr. Bruton and appealed to him for a reversal of her dismissal. Bruton overturned Anderson's decision to dismiss her and told her to go back to her job until his investigation of the agency was completed.<sup>137</sup> On December 8, 1966, Bruton announced he had given Anderson two options effective January 1967, retire or resign, but Anderson refused to do either. When Anderson was asked to comment, he responded, "There's not much comment I can make about it except to say I don't know anything about it."<sup>138</sup> "I

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<sup>133</sup> Parker, "The Burch-Brewer Affair: A Rare State Scandal," *News and Observer* 21 January 1962.

<sup>134</sup> Hayes, "SBI Chief Anderson Reported Out," *Raleigh Times* 7 December 1966.

<sup>135</sup> Hayes, "Rumor Says SBI Men May Quit," *Raleigh Times* 10 December 1966.

<sup>136</sup> "SBI Agent Says He Sent TV Set Back to Parolee," *News and Observer* 24 December 1966.

<sup>137</sup> Hayes, "SBI Chief Anderson," 7 December 1966.

guess you can just say this is my Pearl Harbor Day.”<sup>139</sup> Anderson’s past positive experiences with the press had reinforced his position with the agency; nonetheless, his print media exposure at this juncture in his career proved insufficient to reverse the Attorney General’s decision.<sup>140</sup>

Anderson served approximately fifteen years as SBI director, first from 1946 until 1951 and then again from 1957 until 1966. Anderson’s firing was a mystery to those on the outside. Some believed it was because he refused to disclose Ku Klux Klan information to the former Attorney General Malcolm Seawell, who served on Governor Moore’s Law and Order Committee.<sup>141</sup> Seawell requested the information because he believed these files would have shown the Klan’s activities violated its certificate to conduct business in North Carolina.<sup>142</sup> However, when newspaper reporters questioned Bruton about what prompted the decision, he denied that it resulted from Anderson’s refusal to divulge information about the KKK to Seawell.<sup>143</sup>

Newspaper reporters speculated that the SBI’s low unsolved rate in racial violence cases disturbed the Governor. During the summer of 1965 the Southern Regional Council published a list of thirteen accounts of racial violence in North Carolina. Only three convictions resulted from SBI investigations. There were no records of seven of the incidents in the SBI’s records. Three were still under investigation at the time of the publication. The SBI’s failure to solve numerous racial violence cases under the direction of Director Anderson reportedly displeased Governor Moore.<sup>144</sup>

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<sup>138</sup> David Cooper, “Anderson, SBI Chief Fired by Wade Bruton: Outside Successor Pledged by January 7,” *Winston-Salem Journal* 8 December 1966.

<sup>139</sup> “Anderson Vows He’ll Clear Air,” *The Star News* 8 December 1966.

<sup>140</sup> William A. Shires, “Little Yet Done To Clear the Air In SBI Mystery,” *Raleigh Times* 19 December 1966.

<sup>141</sup> “People Deserve the Full Answer On Why SBI Chief Was Dismissed,” *Raleigh Times* 8 December 1966.

<sup>142</sup> “Fired By Bruton: Anderson Out As SBI Boss,” *The Star News* 8 December 1966.

<sup>143</sup> Holder, “Anderson Fired As SBI Chief; No Reason Given: Success to Come From Outside Ranks,” *News and Observer* 8 December 1966.

<sup>144</sup> “Fired By Bruton,” 8 December 1966.



the salary in order to make the position more competitive and bring in the best candidate possible to fill the position. In addition, he asked for more agent positions and more equipment.<sup>149</sup> Anderson's dismissal received print media attention as the newspapers sought to report the details surrounding his removal from office. However, unlike Hoover who successfully used the print media to his advantage, the print media's negative reports pertaining to Boyd's high profile internal investigation and organized crime were to Anderson's disadvantage.

Over the course of several days several newspaper reporters inquired about Anderson's dismissal. On December 13, Attorney General Wade Bruton prepared to read a statement explaining the dismissal. As he proceeded to read the second paragraph of his release to the press at the North Carolina Department of Justice Building, a fuse was blown and all the lights went out. While Bruton withheld information from the print media and as a figure of speech attempted to keep them in the dark, everyone literally sat in the dark. Unfortunately, the press as well as many people continued to feel Bruton had not given an adequate explanation for the firing of Anderson. In the confusion, someone from Governor Moore's office spoke up and sarcastically said, "Walter Anderson is a fine Christian gentleman, the trouble is, he doesn't ever catch anybody."<sup>150</sup>

In addition to Anderson's perceived performance inadequacies as the chief executive officer of the SBI, his position was tarnished by reports of "personnel problems-favoritism, promotion of the unqualified, and general unhappiness with administration."<sup>151</sup> Some felt Bruton's decision to remove Anderson resulted from apathy among the agents as well as Anderson's lack of leadership in directing high profile investigations. In other words, Anderson was incapable of managing the agents especially in high profile situations like the basketball scandal and Boyd's unfortunate involvement with a parolee in the case.

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<sup>148</sup> "Fired By Bruton," 8 December 1966.

<sup>149</sup> Wallace Carroll, ed., "A Start on the SBI," *Winston-Salem Journal* 9 December 1966.

<sup>150</sup> "Blown Fuses in the Justice Department," *Raleigh Times* 13 December 1966.

<sup>151</sup> "Blown Fuses," 13 December 1966.

Nevertheless, Bruton denied to reporters and politicians that Anderson's firing had anything to do with racial violence cases being unsolved, and he also denied that internal personnel problems influenced the decision. Furthermore, Bruton responded vaguely to newspaper reporters, "I regret the necessity of this decision, but in my opinion this action is necessary for the best interests of the bureau so that it may continue as the most effective arm of law enforcement possible" and when "pressed by reporters, Bruton repeatedly declined to give his reasons for firing Anderson. 'I couldn't go into the details.'"<sup>145</sup> As an elected official, the Attorney General was the chief appointing official over the SBI and could make this decision without consulting anyone, not even the Governor.<sup>146</sup>

Even though Bruton disliked Anderson, there were many local law enforcement officials who respected the SBI director. During Anderson's tenure as director, he once remarked his most difficult task, as director was to overcome jealous local law enforcement officials who feared SBI agents would obtain recognition when crimes were solved. When Wayne County Sheriff Bill Adams, a local law enforcement official learned that Anderson's job as SBI director was threatened, he promptly arranged to personally speak with Mr. Bruton on behalf of a number of sheriffs in support of Anderson, "He's a capable Christian and runs a good department."<sup>147</sup> If any jealousy ever existed between these local officials and the director, at this critical time in his career, they demonstrated their support for Anderson.

Although the majority of the SBI agents and local law enforcement officials defended Anderson's position to remain as SBI director, Bruton continued to make news releases pertaining to Anderson's replacement. He emphasized he would seek to replace Anderson with a "an outstanding figure in law enforcement."<sup>148</sup> He also planned to raise

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<sup>145</sup> Cooper, "Anderson, SBI Chief, Fired," 8 December 1966.

<sup>146</sup> Pat Kelly, Personal Interview of Former SBI Special Agent, 18 January 1999. Kelly discussed SBI administration and history involving political relationships between the Attorney General and SBI director.

<sup>147</sup> Hayes, "At 63 He's 'Too Young to Retire': Ex-SBI Boss Anderson Perplexed at Dismissal," *Raleigh Times* 8 December 1966.

Bruton's decision to fire Anderson and the controversy that resulted placed Bruton in a position of scrutiny. Everyone watched him as he set about filling the position.<sup>152</sup>

The print media continued to contribute to the high profile status of the political events building around Anderson's dismissal. Persistent newsmen would not relinquish in their efforts to uncover Bruton's purpose for firing Anderson. Reporters learned there were two agents named as being difficult to work with when a group of twenty-four agents went to Bruton in a show of support for Anderson. According to newspaper accounts, the twenty-four agents accused John Boyd and Bill O'Daniel of frequently criticizing Anderson and other SBI agents. The group of agents reported to Bruton that Boyd and O'Daniel caused dissension among the agents.

During Bruton's dismissal of Anderson, the internal high profile investigation of Boyd was also ongoing. In a press release the day before Bruton attempted to make the news release, Boyd said his superiors told him not to release all the facts surrounding a television he accepted as a gift. To the contrary, Bruton explained to reporters he was not the superior to whom Boyd referred.<sup>153</sup> Bruton followed the print media coverage of the Boyd investigation as well as the newspaper reports that were being generated about Anderson.<sup>154</sup>

As reporters persisted in their inquiries into the Anderson firing, the press discovered more information about the basketball scandal and the color television investigation. Boyd, who was advised to speak freely to the press by Bruton, explained how he chose to go to the Paroles Board on his own accord to plea for Dave Goldberg and Steve Lekemetros. They, as mentioned above, had been convicted of fixing North Carolina State University basketball scores in point-shaving scandals in 1962. When he went to the Paroles chairman Martin Wooten, the first time, he said he did not talk with

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<sup>152</sup> Durham. Durham was appointed as Acting Director when the Bruton fired Anderson.

<sup>153</sup> "Agents Complain, Bruton 'Listens,'" *Raleigh Times* 28 December 1966.

<sup>154</sup> Robert D. Emerson, Personal Interview of Former FBI Special Agent and Former SBI Special Agent, 24 January 1998. Emerson said he did not want to discuss the Boyd case on tape while being interviewed because he was the agent who conducted the investigation for the SBI. He noted there were numerous newspaper reports covering the Boyd investigation and subsequent dismissal of Director Anderson.

Anderson; however, on his second visit, he talked with Anderson and got his consent. When questioned, Anderson said he did not remember giving his approval for Boyd to talk with anyone on the Paroles Board. When Boyd received a television set, apparently from Goldberg, he told Wooten about it. Wooten advised him to return the television and Boyd did return it.<sup>155</sup> When Bruton discovered the facts of Boyd's involvement in taking a gift from a convicted gambler and going before the Paroles Board, it only lessened Bruton's opinion of Anderson's ability to provide leadership to the agency. Bruton believed Anderson had knowledge of all that had transpired, but did nothing about it. As a result of Boyd's candor with the reporters, Anderson's position with the SBI and Bruton's regard for him was compromised when the two agents complained to Bruton about Anderson.<sup>156</sup>

Bruton never disclosed a specific statement explaining why he fired Anderson. The closest explanation was that "Bruton would give no reason for the firing except to say that Anderson's leaving would make for 'more effective and harmonious administration' in the SBI."<sup>157</sup> Repeatedly, reporters and SBI agents questioned the Attorney General, but he refused to release a reason for Anderson's dismissal and like Bruton, Anderson never offered an explanation to the agents or the print media. Among other factors, Bruton's decision to dismiss Anderson reflected the print media's impact on Bruton's opinion of the director and his professional ability to direct the agents he supervised.

Due to the public's limited contact with the political process, the print media played an important role in determining public opinion. Often the print media was the only contact the public had with politics; therefore, it was an effective available method to gain political support. Furthermore, as demonstrated by Bruton's political decisions and Anderson's career trajectory, forces such as the print media influenced public and political

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<sup>155</sup> Jack Childs, "Boyd Affair Gets New Twist," *News and Observer* 29 December 1966.

<sup>156</sup> Bryan. Bryan and a group of SBI Special Agents met with Attorney General Bruton to support Anderson and determine why Anderson was dismissed. Bryan said the Attorney General met with the agents, listened to their questions, and they never received a response from the Attorney General or any of his staff.

<sup>157</sup> Holder, "Anderson Fired," 8 December 1966.

opinions. "Reporters rely on authoritative sources such as political and criminal justice officials to construct the event."<sup>158</sup> In the event of Anderson's dismissal, the negative print media attention reinforced the lack of support and adversity that existed between the Attorney General and the SBI director that resulted with destructive consequences on the SBI director's career trajectory.

Throughout the history of the SBI, the agency reflected the leadership demonstrated by the Attorney General. "An aggressive Attorney General had an aggressive SBI. A rock-along Attorney General would have a rock-along SBI."<sup>159</sup> However, in comparison, Hoover, maintained a model of constant leadership despite the political changes that occurred in the Attorney General's office. Even though Bruton hoped to achieve harmony and efficiency by firing Anderson, the outcome was just the opposite. Bruton was on a collision course with his own destruction as Attorney General. Anderson, who emulated Hoover's control of information and publicity practices, was unable to persuade the Attorney General to retract his decision. On the other hand, when Hoover met with political dissention his career trajectory benefited from the print media in high profile investigations and his control of information.

There was public concern about the length of time it took to restore harmony and efficiency within the agency. Many politicians believed Bruton's action kept the agency from doing its job since the agents were too busy with internal disharmony to pursue the real business of solving crimes.<sup>160</sup> These politicians considered the prospect of removing the SBI from the Attorney General's management and placing it directly under a commission with members from the North Carolina Association of Police Chiefs and the North Carolina Sheriffs Association.<sup>161</sup>

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<sup>158</sup> Steven Chermak, "The Presentation of Drugs in the News Media: The News Sources Involved in the Construction of Social Problems," *Justice Quarterly: Academy of Criminal Justice Sciences* 14:4 (1997): pp. 688.

<sup>159</sup> "Attorney General Can't Afford To Miss Any More SBI Boats," *Raleigh Times* 31 December 1966.

<sup>160</sup> "Spotlights SBI's Problem," *Raleigh Times* 15 January 1967.

<sup>161</sup> "SBI Revamp Talked," *Raleigh Times* 1 February 1967.

In spite of the political fervor to remove the SBI from the Attorney General's control, relocating control of the SBI never came to fruition. The main argument was that placing the SBI under the control of a commission would remove it from the control of the people. As long as the people controlled the office of the Attorney General by electing that official, they maintained control over the handling of the SBI. Since the SBI was created with a responsibility to secrecy, it was by law a secret agency and by law could not report to anybody except requests made by local officials. It was feared that placing the agency under a commission would compromise the agency's direct responsiveness to the people it was created to serve.<sup>162</sup>

Despite the possibility that organizational changes for the SBI were entertained among political leaders, high profile cases and print media coverage, although negative, were a major impetus in determining the career trajectories of SBI administrators. As illustrated in Anderson's career trajectory during this period, when the revolution of professionalization of law enforcement was a major consideration among politicians, high profile investigations in the print media significantly impacted his career trajectory. The print media divulged negative reports in the high profile investigation that compromised the directors' integrity and resulted with uncontrollable political consequences that destroyed his career.

## **Conclusion**

Professional law enforcement organizations and the FBI National Academy advocated training and professionalism for local law enforcement agencies and these organizations specifically encouraged development of standards for local agencies throughout the United States. The development and implementation of hiring and promotional standards promoted professionalism and improved the political era maladies that had existed in corrupt law enforcement practices. Nevertheless, the process was gradual due to the individual law enforcement jurisdictions.

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Although professional advances occurred among law enforcement agencies during this period in law enforcement history, print media coverage of high profile case investigations continued to contribute to the promotional process and impact administrators' and investigative agents' career trajectories both positively and negatively. For example, J. Edgar Hoover exploited the print media coverage of high profile investigations to promote not only his philosophical viewpoint on Communism and criminal activities, but he used it to advance his professional career trajectory goals as well. During Hoover's tenure, high profile investigations of crime shifted from organized crime to the patriotic struggle against Communism. Throughout this time not only did he utilize high profile criminal investigations to reinforce his position as director of the FBI, in addition, he directed the operation of high profile investigations on the pretext of collecting top-secret information that he availed himself to in order to benefit his professional career trajectory ambitions. Hoover continuously elevated his status among politicians, other law enforcement colleagues, as well as the general citizenry while indulging the print media with high profile investigative news worthy information. Although the nature of the high profile investigations changed throughout Hoover's career, the outcome was always consistent. Although Hoover sought to solve high profile investigations, he also strived in every high profile investigation to employ the various print media sources at his disposal to maintain his position as FBI director.

While Hoover took advantage of promoting himself through the print media's coverage of high profile investigations similar activities continued to take place among the North Carolina's SBI directors. However, during this period the publicity associated with high profile activities compromised the director's position. While Hoover utilized the print media to promote his views on Communism and political issues, Walter Anderson successfully popularized his personal religious beliefs through print media news coverage.<sup>163</sup> However, when the Attorney General perceived failure in Anderson's management abilities, he was unable to prevent the negative career trajectory outcome that ensued. Due to Anderson's perceived poor leadership and the indiscretion of a special

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<sup>162</sup> "People Can Best Control SBI Through the Attorney General," *Raleigh Times* 2 February 1967.

agent, John Boyd, the SBI became the leading high profile investigation covered by the print media. Consequently, the newspaper coverage of the high profile event was an embarrassment to the Attorney General. Dismissing Anderson gave the Attorney General an opportunity to initiate a campaign promise to appoint an SBI director with more professional law enforcement experience.<sup>164</sup>

Chapter four examines the career trajectories of the SBI's first Acting Director followed by two SBI director appointments. One of the appointees was a former FBI Special Agent during Hoover's administration, and the other was a popular journalist with political connections to the Governor's office.

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<sup>164</sup> Warren W. Campbell, Personal Interview of Former SBI Special Agent and Supervising Agent, 26 October 1997. Campbell obtained a copy of Bruton's letter requesting Anderson's resignation. The purpose stated in the letter for Anderson's resignation was, "My recent investigation of the Bureau has reluctantly lead me to the conclusion that the effective and harmonious administration of the affairs of the Bureau require a change in the executive management of the Bureau at this time."



## Chapter 4

### Community Problem Solving Era: Civil Unrest and Conflict 1967-1972

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#### Community Policing Era

The third policing period, the community-policing era, developed in the 1960s. Furthermore, the concept emerged at a time when society was experiencing political, social and economic turmoil. Just as federal and state law enforcement directors took advantage of the media and high profile cases during the past periods in police history, these highly influential law enforcement leaders continued to exercise their authority to manipulate the media and high profile cases to benefit their career trajectories during the community policing era. During this period, however, instead of benefiting career trajectories, the media and high profile cases sometimes did irreparable damage to the directors' career trajectories particularly at the state level.

Although directors risked unpopularity if an investigation was unsuccessful, law enforcement scholars, researchers, and the directors advocated community policing as the potential solution to the rift that had evolved between law enforcement and society. Consequently, law enforcement leaders and researchers embraced community policing as the answer to the rapidly changing society that had become isolated from the police. Furthermore, it permitted law enforcement to develop and utilize a link to the community using a medium that had always been available especially when successful high profile case investigations occurred, the print media.

The federal and state directors' agencies investigated a plethora of high profile cases closely followed by reporters and publicized in the print media. Primarily, these investigations covered the insurgence of leftist groups who advocated extreme liberalism in attitudes and lifestyle, civil and racial unrest, involvement in the Vietnam War, the development and stock piling of nuclear weapons around the world as well as the proliferation of the illegal use of controlled substances. In addition to the extremist movements, political unrest, and experimental drugs during the 1960s and 70s, America was on the threshold of technological developments, and community policing provided

law enforcement agencies with an opportunity to close the gap between law enforcement and the shift in the American society.

Ironically, by the 1960s one technological development that came about at the turn of the twentieth century, the invention of the automobile, contributed to the rift between the public and police. In law enforcement, technological advances like the automobile increased responses to crimes and allowed officers to patrol larger geographical areas. While the amount of geographical area patrolled increased, the amount of interaction time between the officer and the public decreased. Although the automobile was an innovative asset for apprehending criminals, the decreased amount of interaction adversely impacted the relationship between law enforcement officials and the public. The officers became increasingly detached from the people they served. On the other hand, the isolation caused by the automobile also motivated police to examine police programs to re-establish the personal contact with the public. As a result community policing developed in order to restore police and community relations. Consequently, through the community policing philosophy, law enforcement was gradually reunited with the community and efforts to reconstruct a closer relationship developed. Robert Trojanowicz and Bonnie Bucqueroux used the following metaphor to describe the birth of community policing. "Community Policing, therefore, rose up like a phoenix from the ashes of burned cities, embattled campuses, and crime riddled neighborhoods, a positive new response to the chaos of that turbulent era."<sup>1</sup> The new movement began under several different names such as foot patrol, neighborhood policing, neighborhood oriented policing, community based policing and community policing. The philosophy and organizational changes essential to provide the basis for community policing evolved over several decades.<sup>2</sup>

During the evolutionary period of this new policing philosophy, criminal justice scholars researched policing strategies and techniques used in police organizations throughout America. As a result of their research, the period in history came to be called

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<sup>1</sup> Robert Trojanowicz and Bonnie Bucqueroux, *Community Policing: A Contemporary Perspective* (Cincinnati, Ohio: Anderson Publishing Company, 1990) p. 68.

<sup>2</sup> P. J. Ortmeier, *Policing the Community: A Guide for Patrol Operations* (Upper Saddle River, New Jersey: Prentice Hall 2002) p. 76-77.

the community-policing era. One example of the application of police research in this new era is described in an article published by George L. Kelling and James Q. Wilson entitled "Broken Windows." The article illustrates how Kelling and Wilson used the experiment of a renowned Stanford University psychologist, Philip Zimbardo, to explain how declining neighborhoods are susceptible to crime and fear among its residents.

Zimbardo put an abandoned vehicle on the street in a socio-economically deprived area of the Bronx, New York and also placed a vehicle in an exclusive wealthy neighborhood area of Palo Alto, California. The vehicle in the Bronx was immediately vandalized and any salvageable parts were taken. The vehicle in Palo Alto remained untouched until Zimbardo broke one of the windows and then vandals stripped the vehicle. The study illustrated that once a neighborhood begins to decline it attracts crime and places its citizens in fear regardless of the socio-economic makeup of the neighborhood.

Using Zimbardo's sociological experiment with the vandalized vehicle, Kelling and Wilson, the two police researchers, compared the same principle to a declining neighborhood before and after police foot patrol. A visible presence of police on foot patrol reassured the citizens and presented a perception of safety. Therefore, Kelling and Wilson predicted the outcome of community policing would decrease neighborhood crime.<sup>3</sup>

The community-policing era not only fostered a cooperative relationship between the police and community but also promoted the continued professional development of police through training and education and the implementation of programs that would reduce crime and give the citizens a sense of safety.<sup>4</sup> For example, in 1969 the New York City Police Department intensively trained some of their police officers for a special unit to handle domestic calls. All the officers in this unit received psychological training that prepared them to intervene in family crises before they developed into assaults or murder cases.<sup>5</sup> Even though specific training programs like NYPD's

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<sup>3</sup> Edward A. Thibault, Lawrence M. Lynch and R. Bruce McBride, *Proactive Police Management* (Upper Saddle River, New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1998) p. 201.

<sup>4</sup> Thomas F. Adams, *Police Field Operations*, 5<sup>th</sup> ed. (Upper Saddle River, New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 2001) pp. 54-56.

psychological training for officers are classified as community policing programs, community policing has also been described as “more of a philosophy than a set of tactics and is best defined as a collaborative effort between the police and the community to identify the problems of crime and disorder and develop solutions with the community.”<sup>6</sup>

While local police agencies adopted and practiced community policing during this period, state and federal law enforcement leaders, namely SBI directors as well as Hoover, also practiced the community-policing philosophy in an effort to overcome the problems of crime and disorder and re-establish their relationship with the community. Both favorable and unfavorable consequences occurred that impacted the directors' career trajectories as high profile case investigations ensued involving community-policing strategies. As in the previous police periods, high profile investigations were closely monitored and reported by the print media, thereby, print media continued to play a prominent role in the career trajectories of directors of both state and federal law enforcement agencies.

The State Bureau of Investigation accepted the concept of community policing more readily than the Federal Bureau of Investigation. Moreover, community support was reinforced when positive outcomes emerged from community policing strategies, whereas, negative consequences resulted when the agencies failed in community policing tactics. Community policing at the state and federal levels involved programs that changed the public's perception of SBI and FBI directors. For example, with the rise in the number of drug-related, high profile cases, the SBI implemented a drug identification and awareness program in which officers traveled to schools and civic organizations to lecture and present drug prevention programs.<sup>7</sup> In addition to community outreach programs to educate the public concerning illegal drugs, SBI Director Charles Dunn intensified the fight against drugs. “Of all types of drugs...SBI figures showed 550 cases in 1968 and 190 in the first three months” of 1969 that would result in approximately 800

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<sup>5</sup> David Burnham, “Police Seek to Alter Image, Not Operation,” *New York Times* 29 September 1969.

<sup>6</sup> James A. Inciardi, *Criminal Justice*, 6<sup>th</sup> ed. (Fort Worth, Texas: Harcourt Brace College Publishers, 1999) pp. 172-173.

<sup>7</sup> “SBI Planning Mobile Unit in Drug Fight,” *The News and Observer* 4 December 1968.

drug-related cases by the end of 1969.<sup>8</sup> Consequently, during Director Dunn's initial months as director, his use of community policing strategies and leadership of the SBI received positive print media coverage that also reinforced his career trajectory as the chief law enforcement officer of North Carolina.

### **Hoover, Community Policing, and the Most Wanted List**

In the meantime, the FBI's "Ten Most Wanted List" foreshadowed the community-policing concept adopted by local and state law enforcement agencies across the United States in the 1960s. The "Ten Most Wanted List" concept solicited support and input from the community and not only was it immediately successful when implemented in 1950, it continued to be a successful community-policing publication during the community policing era and has been a long-time successful strategy that elicits public interaction in solving crimes. At the onset of the community-policing era, the image of the FBI was at an all time high. Although Hoover and the FBI never practiced community policing to the extent that local and state agencies practiced it, nationally, researchers, political and law enforcement leaders recognized the impact it had on crime as well as the positive perception created by agencies that practiced community policing.

Unlike community policing, Hoover's idea of policing utilized a model that incorporated the use of a scientific detection and apprehension of criminals. With the exception of the "Ten Most Wanted List," the FBI never operated on a mutual exchange of ideas with the community for reducing crime. Consequently, the FBI during this period had a very limited role in community policing. However, Hoover did forge a bridge of public support and trust between the public and the FBI through his continued clever use of print media and high profile cases. Hoover was well known for his ability to manipulate the media, and frequently during this period politicians were quoted who described Hoover's expertise in using the printed word to his advantage. For example, "The late Senator George Norris of Nebraska called Mr. Hoover 'the greatest hound for

publicity on the American continent.”<sup>9</sup> While publicizing wanted criminals in the print media who had been involved in high profile cases, Hoover simultaneously brought attention to himself.

In addition to the “Ten Most Wanted List,” Hoover also founded the National Police Training Academy at Quantico, Virginia that was an outreach police-training endeavor to train local law enforcement officers who in turn could transfer their newly learned law enforcement skills to local agencies and communities across the nation. Although the National FBI Academy was founded in 1934 and provided limited training for local law enforcement officers, in 1965 “Congress appropriated funds to expand the FBI training facility to render greater assistance to local and state law enforcement in the training technical fields.”<sup>10</sup> One police researcher, William J. Bopp, the author of *O. W. Wilson and the Search for a Police Profession* said, “J. Edgar Hoover’s influence, despite his continuing attempt to achieve immortality as the patriarch of law enforcement, was really quite narrow, and not particularly innovative except in the field of training.”<sup>11</sup> As Bopp also noted, Hoover was well known among political circles as well as the law enforcement community for the emphasis he placed on maintaining high educational standards and training rather than community policing. Like Bopp others recognized the importance Hoover tried to achieve and the vehicle he used for this achievement more often than not was associated with high profile case investigations, the press and public recognition. “As some of the men closest to him volunteer, Mr. Hoover’s primary genius might well have been publicity.”<sup>12</sup>

In 1970 publicity involving an exchange between Hoover and Senator Robert Kennedy concerning the differences that occurred between them many years before

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<sup>8</sup> Jack Childs, “Flow of Drugs Increasing In State, SBI Lab Reports,” *News and Observer* 5 April 1969.

<sup>9</sup> Christopher Lyndon, “J. Edgar Hoover Made the FBI Formidable With Politics, Publicity, and Results,” *New York Times* 3 May 1972.

<sup>10</sup> Julie R. Linkins, “FBI Academy: 25 Years of Law Enforcement Leadership,” *FBI Law Enforcement Bulletin* 66:5 (1997): p. 12-13.

<sup>11</sup> William J. Bopp, *O. W. Wilson and the Search for a Police Profession* (Port Washington, N.Y.: Kennikat Press, 1977) p. 132.

<sup>12</sup> Lyndon, “J. Edgar Hoover Made,” 3 May 1972.

surfaced in newspapers across the nation. The rift between Hoover and Attorney General Robert Kennedy involved the minimum hiring standards for FBI agents. Hoover said, "The trouble was that Kennedy wanted to loosen our standards and qualifications to discard the requirement that agents hold degrees in law or accounting... he even wanted to discard the bachelor's degree as a requirement."<sup>13</sup> In an attempt to revise Hoover's hiring requirements for the FBI, Kennedy and his brother, President John F Kennedy, who were sympathetic to the plight of minorities, endorsed the Civil Rights Movement and sought this as a way to increase minority recruitment in federal agencies.

Nevertheless, after spending decades building an agency like the FBI, Hoover knew diminishing standards would be intolerable not only to him but to the public as well. Moreover, when Hoover released his opinion to newspaper reporters on hiring standards, the printed stories cultivated increased support for him and his ideals and kept his career trajectory on a positive course with his public and political supporters. Through experience with the press throughout his tenure as FBI director, Hoover utilized this news medium to his advantage, capitalized on expressing his opinion and was always insightful of the potential positive impact on his political supporters and his public adherents. For example, in an article from the *New York Times* entitled "J. Edgar Hoover Made the FBI Formidable With Politics, Publicity, and Results," the reporter wrote, "Mr. Hoover always understood the subtle currents of power among officials in Washington better than anyone."<sup>14</sup>

It was well known around the capital as well as throughout the law enforcement community across the nation that Hoover's principles were beyond reproach for himself and his organization. In fact, many perceived Hoover and the FBI as equals. "His [Hoover's] story was the FBI story. Its growth mirrored his own.... Hoover had a law degree but not a college degree, a distinction not possible today."<sup>15</sup> Although Hoover did not have a college degree, he would not allow anyone, not the President's brother or the President himself to devalue the FBI by lowering its standards. Any changes not

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<sup>13</sup> "Hoover Reported Describing Clark as 'Jellyfish,'" *New York Times* 17 November 1970.

<sup>14</sup> Lyndon, "J. Edgar Hoover Made," 3 May 1972."

sanctioned by Hoover were perceived as a threat to his bureaucratic organization so he was defensive and unwilling to accept any recommendations from the outside yet readily willing to talk with reporters whom he liked who would support his position, thereby, bolstering his career trajectory accordingly with their news articles in newspapers nationwide.

Through the use of high profile cases and the print media for the duration of Hoover's tenure, Hoover gained the confidence of the people and numerous Congressional members and reinforced his control of his position as an autocrat. As Hoover embarked on one of the highest profile investigations undertaken by the FBI of a prominent Civil Rights leader, the print media was his ally in maintaining public and political support.

### **The FBI and Martin Luther King, Jr.**

One significant high profile investigation during this period involved the Civil Rights Movement. The Civil Rights Movement in America was a complex social movement resulting from the efforts and actions of several charismatic individuals, organizations and institutions that lead to the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964.<sup>16</sup>

Reluctantly, Hoover engaged in one of the more prominent high profile cases of the 1960s involving the leader of the Civil Rights Movement. When President John F. Kennedy first approached Hoover and asked him to investigate Martin Luther King, Jr., Hoover refused. "He insisted that the FBI was strictly an investigative agency, and not a police force with peace-keeping responsibilities."<sup>17</sup> Later Hoover learned that one of King's most trusted advisors and financial backers was Stanley Levison. Hoover knew Levison as a Communist sympathizer. With this information that pertained to the relationship between Levison and King, Hoover pursued King mercilessly for seven

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<sup>15</sup> Clarence M. Kelly and James Kirkpatrick, *Kelly: The Story of an FBI Director* (Kansas City, Missouri: Andrews, McMeel and Parker, 1987) p. 58.

<sup>16</sup> Aldon D. Morris, *The Origins of the Civil Rights Movement: Black Communities Organizing for Change* (New York: The Free Press, 1984), pp. 284-285.

<sup>17</sup> Richard Gid Powers, *Secrecy and Power: The Life of J. Edgar Hoover* (New York: The Free Press, 1987), pp. 367-370.



years. After King's death, Hoover sought to uncover a Communist connection between Levison, King and the Civil Rights Movement. Hoover had agents watching and following Levison almost continuously. The bureau unlawfully entered Levison's home, planted listening devices on his phone, in his home, and searched for any information that would link Levison and King as Communists; thereby, hoping to uncover that the Civil Rights Movement was connected to Communism. In addition to the numerous reports to the President, Attorney General Kennedy, and Congress, Hoover made critical leaks to the media that led to newspaper headlines.<sup>18</sup>

From the early 1960s, the Civil Rights Movement in America led to protest and insurrection throughout the nation. Some states and cities were impacted more than others during this tumultuous period but during this period the FBI collected intelligence on any group or individual that it classified as an internal threat to national security. Although Hoover was hesitant to initiate the investigation initially, the Civil Rights leader, Martin Luther King, Jr., became one of the FBI's primary targets and Hoover authorized his agents to collect as much information as possible on King. "On October 10, 1963, U.S. Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy committed what is widely viewed as one of the most ignominious acts in modern American history: he authorized the Federal Bureau of Investigation to begin wiretapping the telephones of the Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr.... and his order remained secret until May of 1968."<sup>19</sup>

As a result of the covert order sanctioned by the Attorney General, Hoover would ultimately be the one who received criticism. Author, Athan Theoharis wrote, "Hoover's secretiveness and independence created a culture of lawlessness within the ranks of the FBI. FBI agents should have known that they were violating the Fourth Amendment when they illegally entered offices or homes to install bugs or to photocopy documents, and they were acting outside the law when they dismantled information under the Mass Media program or devised proposals to 'harass, disrupt or discredit' radical activist."<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>18</sup> Powers pp. 367-370.

<sup>19</sup> David J. Garrow, "The FBI and Martin Luther King: Martin Luther King Was Never a Communist—Far from It," *The Atlantic Monthly* 290 (July-August 2002): p. 80.

<sup>20</sup> Athan Theoharis, *J. Edgar Hoover, Sex, and Crime* (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee, Inc., 1995), pp. 158-159.

Consequently, when King was assassinated, Hoover and the FBI were investigated because accusations emerged contending that they were co-conspirators in the assassination.<sup>21</sup>

One of the principal individuals requested by the committee to testify was William Sullivan. At one time during Sullivan's tenure, he was given top consideration to be Hoover's successor; however, Sullivan made a fatal mistake that placed his job with the FBI in jeopardy and resulted in wrath from Hoover. "In October 1970...Sullivan told a group of newspaper editors and publishers in Virginia that the Communist party is not in any way causing or directing or controlling the unrest we suffer today in the racial field and in the academic community."<sup>22</sup> "Fear of secret, subversive conspiracies has always played a major role in such paranoid American thought, and the FBI's long-standing obsession with domestic Communist was but one reflection of the widespread popular preoccupation with this same xenophobic fear."<sup>23</sup>

Sullivan's first mistake was speaking directly to the newspapers and secondly speaking to them about a subject that was totally adverse to Hoover's position on Communism and the unrest the nation was experiencing. Hoover's career trajectory was founded on the threat of Communism in America and his utilization of the press to maintain his control of his position. Sullivan's remarks undermined the very premise that propelled Hoover's career trajectory.

During the investigation when William Sullivan, former assistant director of the FBI's intelligence division, testified before the United States Senate Committee regarding the intense FBI investigation of King's activities, the Justice Department began an inquiry to determine if the FBI had any role in the assassination of King. There was speculation in the media as to whether James Earl Ray was acting alone, or whether other

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<sup>21</sup> "King Conspiracy Update," *Time* 149:nl5 (1997): p. 29.

<sup>22</sup> "FBI Aide Resigns in Policy Dispute: W. C. Sullivan Retires After Conflict With Hoover," *New York Times* 3 October 1971.

<sup>23</sup> David J. Garrow, *The FBI and Martin Luther King, Jr.: From Solo to Memphis* (New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 1981) p. 209.

co-conspirators were involved in King's assassination. Sullivan said that King "had been a target of an extensive FBI campaign designated to neutralize him."<sup>24</sup>

Sullivan's testimony revealed that the FBI's campaign began in 1963 to collect any information on Martin Luther King and his activities until King died.<sup>25</sup> Collecting information included details like wiretapping King at Hoover's request for years. Prior to Sullivan's testimony before the Senate Committee, with the exception of a few privileged individuals, Hoover's investigative strategies were left to speculation for individuals outside the FBI; however, after Sullivan testified Hoover's crime fighting tactics, some unsavory, were exposed. These included eavesdropping on King's conversations for years; however, during the lengthy time he employed every tactic and device available to secretly collect information, he was unable to obtain evidence to prove that King was a Communist or Communist sympathizer. Furthermore, Hoover never conclusively linked Communism to the Civil Rights Movement.

Sullivan explained how he tried to arrange a meeting between Hoover and Martin Luther King, Jr.; however, it never materialized. Sullivan who was promoted to administer COINTELPRO suggested that Hoover should meet with King. He felt the Civil Rights leader "could be of great assistance to the bureau in the future."<sup>26</sup> Hoover agreed to the meeting with King as long as DeLoach, the former FBI COINTELPRO supervisor, was present. By this time DeLoach had advanced to the position of FBI liaison to the White House during the Johnson administration. When King was requested to meet with Hoover, he rejected the idea, thereby, infuriating Hoover. Also, when King declined the invitation Hoover perceived King as a Communist. However, although other bureau personnel would not dispute Hoover's belief they "were reluctant to accept Hoover's notion of Martin Luther King, Jr. as a red, but Hoover ran the store, and they

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<sup>24</sup> Gerald L. Posner, *Killing the Dream: James Earl Ray and the Assassination of Martin Luther King, Jr* (New York: Random House, 1998), p. 259.

<sup>25</sup> Posner p. 259.

<sup>26</sup> James Earl Ray, *Who Killed Martin Luther King? The True Story by the Alleged Assassin* (Washington, D.C.: National Press Books, Inc., 1992) p. 244.

knew he could always hire more clerks.”<sup>27</sup> “His [Hoover’s] compulsion to control was extreme.”<sup>28</sup>

Some years later Hoover and King talked by phone and subsequent to the conversation King remarked that Hoover “talks too much.” When Hoover was informed of King’s reference to their conversation “Hoover sicked DeLoach onto King’s case for the rest of the civil rights leader’s life and beyond.”<sup>29</sup>

Just as Hoover’s investigation failed to prove a connection between King and Communism, likewise after a fourteen-month Senate Committee review of the FBI’s investigation involving the FBI closely scrutinizing King, the committee concluded that the investigation of King revealed no evidence that implicated the FBI in the assassination.<sup>30</sup> The consequences of this Senate inquiry were significant for Hoover’s career trajectory. Any involvement or incriminating actions on the part of the FBI would have been disastrous for Hoover, and his career, as director would have been destroyed. However, there was no “credible evidence probative of the possibility that Ray and any co-conspirator were together at the scene of the assassination. Ray’s assertions that someone else pulled the trigger are so patently self-serving and so varied as to be wholly unbelievable.”<sup>31</sup> Although the Senate Committee’s investigation of Hoover and the FBI marked a changing trend in the popularity of Hoover, the committee’s inability to prove Hoover conspired in Martin Luther King, Jr.’s assassination did not sway public confidence in Hoover. His career trajectory continued on a positive path despite political efforts to undermine his ability to continue his leadership as FBI director.

## **The FBI and Social Unrest in the 1960’s**

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<sup>27</sup> Ray p. 244.

<sup>28</sup> Kelly p. 58.

<sup>29</sup> Ray p. 244. The term, “sicked” in this quote is an expression meaning to seek, harass, or to pursue.

<sup>30</sup> Ray p. 259.

<sup>31</sup> Posner p. 259.

Not only were Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.'s assassination and the Civil Rights Movement significant high profile case events that marked a turning point in J. Edgar Hoover's career trajectory, but other high profile cases involving social movements also captured headlines and influenced his career trajectory. For example, Hoover gained the public's attention when the headline, "Rise In Terrorism Feared by Hoover," ran June 1, 1969 in the *New York Times*. Through the print media, Hoover not only conveyed his alarm but also at the same time earned public support for himself and his position against what he perceived to be an uprising New Left groups emerging on college campuses. He announced, "that the nation faced the prospect of increased terrorist tactics by the New Left aimed at the total destruction of the Government."<sup>32</sup>

One of the New Left groups that the FBI investigated without revealing overt information was the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS). In a newspaper account, Hoover reported that the FBI alerted the IRS regarding individuals who made large financial contributions to these groups such as the SDS. Although the information released publicly was limited while the investigation was taking place, Hoover used the press to publicize his position regarding members of the SDS and its supporters.<sup>33</sup> In one newspaper account, he described the Students for a Democratic Society (SDS) as more of an anarchist group than one attempting to accomplish governmental reform through positive change. In the same article, he insisted the Communist Party had managed to gain access into student groups and promulgated dissension among young Americans.<sup>34</sup>

The SDS, a left-wing student organization promoted by Tom Hayden and Mark Rudd, became one of the most prominent high profile activities investigated by the FBI. To Hoover's career advantage, it was not uncommon for newspapers across the nation to often quote his position against these groups. For example, Hoover was quoted as saying "... the mood of these organizations - as typified by Students for a Democratic Society, is a mood of disillusionment, pessimism and alienation. He continued: At the center of the

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<sup>32</sup> "Rise in Terrorism Feared by Hoover," *New York Times* 1 June 1969.

<sup>33</sup> "Big Gifts to SDS Cited," *New York Times* 8 July 1969.

<sup>34</sup> "Hoover Finds Peril In New Left Action," *New York Times* 19 May 1968.

movement is an almost passionate desire to destroy, to annihilate, to tear down... J. Edgar Hoover says that revolutionary stands taken by militant Black Nationalist groups and students of the New Left pose a threat to the nation's security."<sup>35</sup>

A splinter group of the SDS observed closely by Hoover was the Weatherman Underground. Mark Rudd created the group because internal disputes emerged between members in the SDS organization. Some of the members visited other countries like Cuba and Vietnam to participate in their revolution. They learned how to make Molotov cocktails and returned to America to practice what they learned. Rudd proclaimed himself a Marxist and declared anarchy on America. It is reported that the Weatherman participated in about 500 bombings in 1969. The Weatherman were "designed to shock the bourgeoisie and its morality by, for example, killing and eating an alley cat and expressing admiration for the murderous orgies of the Manson family."<sup>36</sup> On one occasion the Weatherman stole some biological warfare material and threatened to contaminate city water reservoirs but never carried out the threat.<sup>37</sup>

These anarchist groups were skeptical and critical of Hoover's outspoken position because they recognized the power he possessed over the public. "...He is our nation's highest law enforcement official," and "...his views are reflected and disseminated throughout the nation—by publicity in the news media."<sup>38</sup> Hoover's remarks to the National Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence in September 1968 drew the attention of a group who was studying the police. The group was incensed by Hoover's comments, "Communists are in the forefront of civil rights, antiwar and student demonstrations, many of which ultimately become disorderly and erupt into violence."<sup>39</sup> The group challenged the police's understanding of their constitutional right to protest. However, Hoover refused to respond, "A spokesman for the FBI declined

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<sup>35</sup> "Hoover Finds Peril," 19 May 1968.

<sup>36</sup> Christopher Dobson and Ronald Payne, *The Terrorist: Their Weapons, Leaders and Tactics* rev. ed. (New York: Facts on File, Inc., 1982) p.60.

<sup>37</sup> Dobson p. 60.

<sup>38</sup> John Herbers, "Political Power of Police Decried: Violence Panel Study Says Militancy Seems Beyond 'Reasonable Bounds,'" *New York Times* 11 June 1969.

comment.”<sup>40</sup> Furthermore, in a subsequent newspaper article, Hoover was reported as saying, “the greatest single challenge to an FBI agent was to uphold the reputation and traditions of a service which I am proud to say has been free from scandal, political influence and always devoted to the best interests of the nation.”<sup>41</sup>

These high profile investigations, Civil Rights and New Left groups, developed into investigations with FBI involvement; however, the degree of FBI involvement was not revealed until after Hoover’s death when Hoover’s role in the investigations was exposed. Although the discovery of these investigations was released after his death, the high profile investigations had a significant political impact on the director’s career trajectory while they were taking place. Numerous high profile investigations of social movements received media attention that extended beyond Hoover’s career as director.

Hoover was not alone in this position and his remarks persuaded a wide audience. Hoover influenced the public and politicians every time newspaper reporters published his remarks. Without any hesitation, utilizing the printed media he made his philosophy and views well known regarding the SDS and its activities. When he expressed his views about leftist groups to the press, he was not alone in his position and succeeded in gaining public support that contributed to political backing from leaders who controlled Hoover’s position as FBI director. Political leaders who opposed Hoover took a chance with their political careers and some learned first hand the potential consequences while Hoover took advantage of every opportunity to maintain his public image as the top law enforcement leader by using the press and high profile investigations to promote his image and his career trajectory.

Regardless of the political climate, Hoover, always managed to stay in control of his position while politicians feared losing support from their constituents if they opposed Hoover. In 1969, the United States Congressional Representative from Brooklyn, New York, John Rooney, chairman of the FBI’s appropriation subcommittee, talked with Tom Wicker, writer for the *New York Times* about Hoover’s political standing. Rooney said, “I have never cut his [Hoover’s] budget and I never expect to. The only man who ever

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<sup>39</sup> Herbers, “Political Power,” 11 June 1969.

<sup>40</sup> Herbers, “Political Power,” 11 June 1969.

cut it was Karl Stefan, a Republican from Nebraska who had this job before me. When Stefan went home for election that year, they nearly beat him because he took away some of Hoover's money. When he came back he told me John, don't ever cut the F.B.I. budget. The people don't want it cut."<sup>42</sup> Politicians like Stefan experienced the public's wrath at the polls when he cut the popular FBI director's budget, and politicians like Rooney did not risk their elected positions by offending Hoover or attempting to censor him when he released information pertaining to high profile investigations.

Without fear of retribution from Hoover, in 1970 when former U. S. Attorney General Ramsey Clark was no longer in office, he explicitly denounced Hoover in a book he had written. In Clark's *Crime in America*, Clark sarcastically described Hoover's "self-centered concern for his own reputation and charged that the FBI has so coveted personal credit that it will sacrifice even effective crime control before it will share the glory of its exploits."<sup>43</sup> Clark obviously disliked Hoover but waited until he was no longer in office to frankly disclose his opinion of Hoover. Clark spoke candidly about Hoover's ego and emphasized that Hoover needed to gain personally from the investigations completed by the FBI. As expected, Hoover did not respond quietly to Clark's remarks. He criticized not only Clark but Senator Bobby Kennedy as well. Again, no one censored Hoover. He exercised no restraint in expressing his lack of respect for both Clark and Kennedy without anyone stopping him.

In view of those like Clark who disliked Hoover and lacked any restraint in expressing their opinions of Hoover, an organization was formed to combat criticism of the FBI and J. Edgar Hoover. The group spokesman, Lee Edwards, a public relations advisor was hired. The organization was called Friends of the FBI. Efram Zimbalist, Jr. was the honorary chairman who portrayed Inspector Lou Erskine on the FBI television program. Zimbalist said, "The FBI and J. Edgar Hoover are being subjected to the degradation of an attack by self-serving politicians, their supporting media, and certain

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<sup>41</sup> "Hoover Finds Crime Picture Bleak, Not Hopeless," *New York Times* 28 December 1969.

<sup>42</sup> Tom Wicker, "What Have They Done Since They Shot Dillinger?" *New York Times* 18 December 1969.

<sup>43</sup> "Hoover Reported Describing," *New York Times* 17 November 1970.



radical elements that ultimately seek the destruction of all law and order in the United States....”<sup>44</sup>

Hoover did not condone anyone from outside the bureau and especially his agents, to speak negatively about him or the bureau. An internal personnel issue developed into a high profile press story when reports appeared in the *New York Times* that began in October 1970 and made newspaper stories until June 1971. When a professor at John Jay College in New York criticized the bureau, Special Agent Jack Shaw responded with a letter that he asked the FBI steno pool to type for him. However, while the letter was in the steno pool, it was intercepted by a supervisor and was eventually sent to Hoover. When Hoover read the letter, he was furious and demanded that the author of the letter as well as fifteen other agents withdraw from the college. Unfortunately for Shaw, in the process of defending the FBI he mentioned some of the bureau’s weaknesses. The letter not only led to the agent’s withdrawal from college, but Hoover requested his resignation from the bureau. Shaw’s letter included many straightforward remarks, but unfortunately one remark surely incensed Hoover. “It certainly is no military secret, though I am sure, not widely published either, that adulation of the director in some form or other provides the main catalyst in the process of administrative advancement.”<sup>45</sup> Even though this was a tactic that Hoover employed with political leaders and individuals in positions of power, Hoover discerned the sting of sarcasm when Shaw wrote that Hoover expected the same from his agents. Although Hoover’s political peers and superiors did not censor him, Hoover admonished agents, like Shaw, under his command who indiscreetly expressed himself in a letter to an outsider. Though Hoover exercised his power over Shaw, Shaw did not fear Hoover. Shaw filed a lawsuit against the Bureau and won. Newspapers reported that he filed a civil suit that charged, “He had been the victim of a capricious and vindictive act of personal retribution by Mr. Hoover.... Mr. Wulf [Shaw’s attorney] and Mr. Shaw said they knew of no other case in which the F.B.I. or Mr. Hoover had publicly reversed a

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<sup>44</sup> Robert M. Smith. “Friends of FBI in a Fund Appeal: Gets Excellent Response to Wide Mail Campaign,” *New York Times* 21 July 1971.

<sup>45</sup> David Burnham, “Agent Who Quit F.B.I. Scores Bureau Investigations Discipline and Leadership,” *New York Times* 23 January 1971.

previously established policy or position.”<sup>46</sup> Although Shaw prevailed in the suit, Hoover, once again remained in control when Hoover placed John Jay College on the FBI’s blacklist that was also known as the “no-contact list.”<sup>47</sup>

The “no-contact list” received the same response from Hoover when reporters made inquiries about it as well as high profile investigations, “No Comment!” The list was most often in the form of memoranda or circulars. Included on the list were “usually persons who have spoken critically of the bureau and are in a position to spread public word of any direct contact with the bureau.”<sup>48</sup> Political leaders, college professors and newspapers like *The Washington Post* were included among the contacts to be avoided. Agents were prohibited from contacting anyone on the list and sometimes this policy got in the way of investigations when special permission was needed to contact someone for an interview. Rather than obtaining special permission, agents often avoided the interview. “According to many sources this is a preoccupation of the Bureau’s leadership—the F.B.I. has set up these special procedures.”<sup>49</sup> These special procedures were sanctioned by Hoover to be practiced by all the agents against anyone or any organizations that Hoover could not control.

Public and political support was critical to both Hoover and SBI directors and print media was a resource the directors utilized to promote and protect their agencies while simultaneously advancing their career trajectories. When negative internal investigations like the Jack Shaw investigation in the FBI and the John Boyd case in the SBI, that will be discussed later, erupted, the directors took essential measures and engaged in any necessary tactics to protect the reputation of the bureau and their career trajectories. Whenever Hoover’s career trajectory was threatened he benefited from his publicity tactics and managed to survive, whereas, regardless of the SBI director’s efforts to emulate Hoover’s publicity style, they were unable to redeem their publicity efforts

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<sup>46</sup> David Burnham, “Record Cleared for Ex-F.B.I. Man: Prejudicial Tag Removed from Critic of Hoover,” *New York Times* 18 June 1971.

<sup>47</sup> “The F. B. I. Reconsiders,” *New York Times* 23 June 1971.

<sup>48</sup> Robert M. Smith. “F.B.I. Reported to Have a List of People Agents Should Avoid,” *New York Times* 14 January 1972.

<sup>49</sup> Smith 14 January 1972.

and maintain their position. In contrast to Hoover, they were unable to survive the political assaults on their career trajectories.

### **Decline and Death of J. Edgar Hoover: Legendary FBI Director**

For the duration of Hoover's career with the FBI, his professional relationship with news organizations, columnists and reporters heightened the success of his career trajectory. He used the power of the press to uphold his eminent position as FBI director; nevertheless, he never facetiously mocked the press in order to advance his professional law enforcement position. However, some members of the press like William F. Buckley, Jr., a columnist for the *National Review*, parodied an article on May 30, 1967 irresponsibly reporting that J. Edgar Hoover had resigned as director of the FBI on morals charges. Hoover did not find Buckley's parody humorous and declared that it was a new low in journalism. As a result of Buckley's capricious act, he was removed from the FBI's special correspondents list because he "attempted to be humorous at the expense of the Director."<sup>50</sup> A few years later Hoover was invited to be a guest on *Firing Line* that Buckley hosted; however, he declined. In the margin notes of the correspondence, Hoover wrote, "No. Buckley recently wrote a vicious column on the FBI."<sup>51</sup>

Although some columnists like Buckley and politicians like Senator Joseph McCarthy alluded to Hoover's retirement, Hoover remained steadfast in his position. When Hoover reached and exceeded the compulsory retirement age for federal employees, seventy, two presidents, Johnson and Nixon, waived the requirement for Hoover so he remained in his position as FBI director. However, as Hoover approached his 75<sup>th</sup> birthday, he had some political opposition to him remaining as director of the FBI. Hoover had "tangled publicly with civil rights leaders, and had a caustic exchange with the late Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr."<sup>52</sup> Although Nixon defeated Senator

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<sup>50</sup> Natalie Robins, "Inside the FBI: Attracting the Director's Scrutiny Were Communist, Security Risks, and People Who Made Untoward Jokes," *National Review* 44:9 (1992): p. 42.

<sup>51</sup> Robins p. 42.

Eugene McCarthy in the Presidential campaign, Senator McCarthy's dislike for Hoover was well known. "During the campaign, Senator McCarthy publicly called for his [Hoover's] removal."<sup>53</sup>

Others soon publicly recommended that it was time for Hoover to retire. Former Attorney General Ramsey Clark with whom Hoover had a long-standing acrimonious relationship turned to the print media to express discontent with Hoover's continued leadership as director of the FBI. "I think, perhaps, the time has come when he should retire, both in the interests of his own career, which has been distinguished, and in the interest of the FBI which has been a great investigative agency. His [Clark's] suggestion was the latest in a continuing controversy involving the wiretapping of the Reverend Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr."<sup>54</sup> A controversial climate began to envelope Hoover and his investigative tactics of high profile cases like the Civil Rights Movement and its leader, Martin Luther King, Jr. Moreover, with the passage of time more controversial articles appeared alluding not only to Hoover's decline in his career trajectory, but a decline in the public's opinion of the FBI itself. In August 1970, The New York Times reported "Poll Finds FBI Losing Support."<sup>55</sup> According to the article, while the FBI was recognized as the national leader in law enforcement, liberal groups were noted as criticizing the bureau.<sup>56</sup> Hoover and the bureau were synonymous; one was not criticized without criticizing the other.

Less than two years before Hoover's death when so many were suggesting that Hoover retire, Hoover was recognized as a man of power and control over his position while at the same time an attempt was made by a retired judge to persuade Hoover to give up his position. Retired First District Court Judge Lawrence G. Brooks of Eastern Middlesex, Massachusetts said in a newspaper article Hoover "is 'sitting pretty' to the

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<sup>52</sup> Robert B. Semple, Jr., "Nixon Will Retain Hoover and Helms," *New York Times* 17 December 1968.

<sup>53</sup> Semple, "Nixon Will Retain," 17 December 1968.

<sup>54</sup> John Herbers. "Clark Suggests Hoover Step Out: Comments in Controversy on Dr. King Wiretapping," *New York Times* 21 June 1969.

<sup>55</sup> "Poll Finds FBI Losing Support: 71% in Gallup Study Give 'Highly Favorable' Rating," *New York Times* 9 August 1970.

Rotunda, an honor that had only been given to twenty-one other distinguished persons. Eight of those were presidents or former presidents.

Fred P. Graham, writer for the *New York Times*, described Hoover as a “strong-willed and demanding bachelor [who] molded the bureau in his own image—efficient, incorruptible and rigid. He presided over it from the day—May 14, 1924—when he took over a small, politics-ridden bureau, through the eras of its most famous exploits, ... the Lindbergh kidnapping, the battles against gangsters like John Dillinger in the nineteen-thirties when ‘G-man’ became a byword, the capture of spies in World War II and the campaign against Communists in the postwar period.”<sup>61</sup> While all of these high profile investigations played a major role in Hoover’s career trajectory throughout his tenure with the FBI, his accomplishment in his fight against crime continued to earn him praise and respect among the public, political leaders and the press who were pro-Hoover even after his death. Hoover’s proponents as well as his adversaries often acknowledged that he successfully manipulated newspaper reporters thereby influencing the print media and used high profile investigations to positively affect his career trajectory. However, with the death of Hoover, the FBI would undergo radical changes. Not everyone wanted the FBI to continue as it had under Hoover’s leadership. After Hoover died, “a major political debate about the proper purposes and functioning of the agency which had been accused by critics on the political left in recent years of devoting too much effort to pursuing radicals and alleged subversives and too little to combating organized crime and white-collar offenders.”<sup>62</sup>

Approximately five years before Hoover’s death, Columnist Buckley and Senator McCarthy attempted to embarrass and exert print media and political power over Hoover’s position as FBI director but they failed. To the contrary, at the beginning of that same year while the attempts to derail Hoover’s career trajectory failed, political and print media adversaries of Walter Anderson successfully derailed Anderson’s SBI career trajectory. Anderson was forced to step down and an acting director was appointed to fill the SBI director’s position.

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<sup>61</sup> Fred P. Graham, “J. Edgar Hoover, 77, Dies; Will Lie in State in Capitol,” *New York Times* 3 May 1972.

extent of being virtually sacrosanct. There is an impression that on occasion he cashes in on his situation.... In short, it would seem at the moment that if Mr. Hoover is to retire it will be only on his own initiative.”<sup>57</sup>

Another writer critical of Hoover’s long tenure as FBI director and high profile image in the print media said, “By making himself a household word, Mr. Hoover, has served his own empire building proclivities.”<sup>58</sup> Also, this same writer suggested what could be expected of the next FBI director based on Hoover’s performance as FBI director, “One mission of the next FBI director is to work himself out of an image and into a state of proper obscurity.”<sup>59</sup>

Regardless of those who wanted Hoover, to retire, he persisted in holding onto his position. A week before Hoover’s birthday on January 1, 1971 he remarked, “As for retirement, I have never considered stepping down from my position in the F.B.I. as long as I can be of service to my country and have the health, vigor and enthusiasm to perform my responsibilities in the manner my superiors and the public have a right to expect.”<sup>60</sup>

One year and four months after his expressed enthusiasm for his job, on May 2, 1972 at the age of 77, John Edgar Hoover died in his sleep at his Rock Creek home in the northwest section of Washington, D.C. His housekeeper found him beside his bed at 8:30 a.m. Dr. James L. Luke, a Washington medical examiner, listed the cause of death as hypertensive cardio-vascular disease. Since Hoover had a history of heart disease the medical examiner determined that he died of natural causes; therefore, no autopsy was ordered. The announcement of Hoover’s death was not released to the public until all FBI offices had been notified. When members of Congress learned that Hoover had died, they immediately voted and gave permission for his body to lie in state in the Capitol

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<sup>56</sup> “Poll Finds FBI,” 9 August 1970.

<sup>57</sup> Lawrence G. Brooks, Judge, “J. Edgar Hoover – Time to Retire,” *New York Times* 30 December 1970.

<sup>58</sup> “The Future of the FBI,” *New York Times* 4 May 1969.

<sup>59</sup> “The Future of the FBI,” 4 May 1969.

<sup>60</sup> “Hoover, Almost 77, Declares He Never Thought of Resigning: Says His Health is Excellent-Will Not Relax ‘Stern Discipline’ of the F.B.I.,” *New York Times* 26 October 1971.

## **James R. Durham, Acting SBI Director**

In the last days of Anderson's tenure before Bruton's final assault on Anderson's career as SBI director, Anderson re-established the assistant director position and appointed James Durham as Assistant Director. Durham, the documents examiner for the SBI, was involved in numerous high profile cases that resulted in identifications, arrests, and successful positive outcomes for the agency. At the time Anderson appointed Durham, he did not know he was appointing the man whom he had sworn as an agent in 1948 would soon replace him as acting director.

Durham, whose educational background was in accounting and business administration, was initially a field agent but studied under former Director James Powell to become a documents examiner. In 1951 Durham became the SBI's documents examiner and maintained the singular position of documents specialist for the agency until he retired in 1969. While Durham worked as a field agent and documents examiner, he investigated high profile cases. The documents in the high profile investigations included forged, counterfeited, disputed, and questioned documents.

Two of the high profile cases that Durham investigated involved election violations. Both were high profile investigations in that they resulted in print media coverage across the state and heightened Durham's reputation as an investigator. Another high profile case that Durham investigated involved an insurance fraud case. He received letters of commendation from the Governor of Delaware, one from a Representative for the State of Delaware, and the head of the Delaware State Police.<sup>63</sup>

While Durham's high profile document investigations received print media coverage, his career trajectory advanced and enhanced his political standing with the attorney general and yet again advanced his official status with the bureau. From field

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<sup>62</sup> Graham, "J. Edgar Hoover, 77, Dies," 3 May 1972.

<sup>63</sup> James R. Durham, Personal Interview of Former SBI Special Agent, Documents Examiner, Supervisor, Assistant Director, and SBI Acting Director, 16 December 1997. Durham said he investigated numerous documents cases, however, some became high profile investigations. They included: an election violation case with falsified names in the registration book, illegally marked election ballots, insurance fraud, embezzlement of funds from the North Carolina Department of Public Instruction, and falsified national teachers' exam document.

agent to documents examiner specialist, crime lab supervisor, assistant director, and finally, to acting director, Durham progressed up the career ladder during his tenure with the SBI.<sup>64</sup>

One of the more unfortunate high profile cases previously discussed in chapter three that Durham had to take action on as acting director involved reprimanding John Boyd and resolving the matter of Boyd accepting a gift from a convicted parolee.<sup>65</sup> Although Bruton and Anderson were the direct managers involved with Boyd when the internal investigation took place, Durham had to execute disciplinary measures in the Boyd investigation.<sup>66</sup> Bruton trusted Durham's judgement in handling SBI administrative matters, and he also confided to Durham that he was going to appoint Myron McBryde to replace Anderson with a man who had served directly under J. Edgar Hoover's command.<sup>67</sup>

#### **Former FBI Special Agent Appointed as SBI Director**

Although high profile investigations and activities within the SBI and developments in professionalization among the ranks of the special agents continued to influence agents' career trajectories and promotions, *quid pro quo* practices continued in the politically charged SBI director's position. Attorney General Bruton announced Walter Anderson's replacement was Myron H. McBryde who would become the next SBI director on January 30, 1967.<sup>68</sup> McBryde's experience and education made his background unique compared to the previous directors. Namely, Anderson's background was exclusively in law enforcement. Powell's background included military experience with a scientific education. Creekmore and Handy both had legal educations and

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<sup>64</sup> Walter F. Anderson, "Promotions Announcement," *SBI Weekly Bulletin* (26 July 1962): p. 3.

<sup>65</sup> "SBI Checking Color TV," *Raleigh Times* 12 January 1967.

<sup>66</sup> Hayes, Shirley, "SBI Clears Boyd," *Raleigh Times* 27 January 1967.

<sup>67</sup> James R. Durham, 16 December 1997. Durham met with Attorney General Bruton prior to the appointment of Acting Director and discussed SBI leadership.

<sup>68</sup> Chuck Mooney, "New SBI Chief Takes Oath," *Raleigh Times* 13 February 1967.



involvement in state politics but no law enforcement investigative experience. In contrast to the previous directors, McBryde, a former FBI agent, was the first director to have both practical law enforcement experience as well as a degree in law.<sup>69</sup>

When asked by the print media how he would manage and operate the SBI, McBryde said he would not run the SBI like the FBI, although he would make the organization the best it could be.<sup>70</sup> McBryde had high expectations of the agents. He expected SBI agents to always be mindful of their position. "If an agent worked with the SBI, he must be the SBI where ever he was. We hired him and made him an SBI agent."<sup>71</sup>

McBryde's initial hometown swearing in ceremony commenced with optimistic news releases and print media coverage.<sup>72</sup> He was filled with confidence about his tenure as director; however, his tenure would last less than two years. During the same year as the internal investigation into Boyd's involvement with organized crime figures, McBryde attempted to emulate Hoover's print media utilization of high profile case investigations. McBryde, familiar with Hoover's tactics of publicizing high profile investigations in the print media like the "Top Ten List" that resulted in career trajectory success, used the same approach with local high profile investigations. McBryde launched a print media campaign to focus public attention on a number of unsolved high profile murder cases. Although McBryde hoped the unsolved homicide press release would improve his career trajectory and reputation with the public and politicians, the publicity was ineffective in facilitating a positive career trajectory.<sup>73</sup>

In an effort to publicize the unsolved high profile investigations further, McBryde responded with an additional news release concerning two of the murder cases in question. He reported that breaking news regarding the murder case of the 1965

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<sup>69</sup> "SBI Director To Be Sworn In Rockingham," *News and Observer* 13 February 1967.

<sup>70</sup> "SBI To Be 'Best We Can Make It,'" *Raleigh Times* 13 January 1967.

<sup>71</sup> Myron McBryde, Personal Interview of Former FBI Special Agent, Attorney, and Former SBI Director, 19 December 1997.

<sup>72</sup> Dick Brown, "SBI Director Takes Oath," *News and Observer* 14 February 1967.

University of North Carolina female student, Suellen Evans, would soon be released. McBryde also indicated there were two suspects in the high profile case investigation of Brenda Joyce Holland that the bureau was currently investigating. Holland disappeared on July 1, 1967 while working on the outdoor drama of the "Lost Colony" at the North Carolina Outer Banks. Holland's body was discovered five days later floating in the Albemarle Sound.<sup>74</sup> The high profile investigations had been ongoing for months, and McBryde, like Hoover, attempted to use print media tactics to publicize selected local high profile investigations from the eleven that were included among the unsolved cases reported by the print media. However, although McBryde modelled his publicity tactics after Hoover, he did not achieve the same career trajectory outcome.<sup>75</sup>

In addition to the news releases on unsolved high profile cases, in an effort to use the print media to advance his career trajectory, during the final weeks of McBryde's administration, he announced the SBI's plans to secure a versatile mobile drug unit that could be taken into communities across the state, especially rural areas where facilities were limited or nonexistent.<sup>76</sup> Also, McBryde released public announcements detailing his vision and funding requests advocating the creation of a narcotics division in the SBI.<sup>77</sup> By promoting drug education to the general citizenry and ending illegal use of narcotics, he hoped to gain public support for the bureau as well as political support for his position as director.<sup>78</sup> Like the directors who preceded McBryde, he was unable to accomplish maintaining his position although he emulated Hoover in his print media techniques associated with high profile investigations. Although McBryde attempted to

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<sup>73</sup> Franc Brock, "SBI Director Sees Hope of Breaking Murder Cases," *Goldsboro News Argus* 1 September 1968.

<sup>74</sup> Brock, "SBI Director Sees," 1 September 1968.

<sup>75</sup> Dan Gilbert, Personal Interview of Former SBI Special Agent and Supervisor, 18 January 1998. Gilbert said the SBI had a suspect in the Holland case but they never had enough evidence to make an arrest. The suspect later committed suicide.

<sup>76</sup> "SBI Planning Mobile," 4 December 1968.

<sup>77</sup> "SBI Seeks Narcotics Squad," *News and Observer* 27 September 1968.

<sup>78</sup> Robert W. Pope, Personal Interview of Former FBI and SBI Special Agent, 28 February 1998. After serving with the FBI and SBI as a special agent, Pope attended law school and became an attorney. Pope was one of the first SBI agents to attend the Bureau of Narcotics in Washington, D.C. where he received narcotics training.

promote his image and enhance his career trajectory through positive print media and high profile investigative techniques, the political arena surrounding the top position in the SBI necessitated a change. McBryde, like his predecessors, was not able to achieve public support to maintain his career trajectory as SBI director nor was he able to exert political pressure over politicians who had power to reappoint him when a new Attorney General was elected to office.

### **New Attorney General Morgan Supports SBI Reorganization**

Robert B. Morgan defeated Attorney General Wade Bruton; subsequently, increased professionalization within the SBI was forthcoming. Morgan admitted he did not know what the trouble was, but felt there were two significant reasons that a new director and reorganization was needed. SBI Director McBryde was more involved in politics than Morgan believed he should have been.<sup>79</sup> Secondly, there were a number of unsolved cases that resulted in the public's loss of confidence in the agency. "In any case, Morgan wanted the SBI strengthened and its public image and prestige polished and brightened--as quickly as possible."<sup>80</sup>

During Attorney General Morgan's tenure, the SBI was more actively involved in professionalization. Organizational changes and the expansion of SBI services developed more rapidly during his administration than in past administrations. Many speculated incumbent Attorney General Morgan would make more changes in the bureau than just choosing a new director.<sup>81</sup> However, the first change to make the headlines was in fact the SBI Director MyBryde's resignation.<sup>82</sup>

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<sup>79</sup> Robert B. Morgan, Personal Interview of Attorney, Former Clerk of Superior Court, North Carolina Senator, N.C. Attorney General, U. S. Senator, and SBI Director, 14 January 1998. Morgan believed that McBryde was using FBI tactics to gather personal defamatory information for campaign purposes Morgan who served on the Senate Intelligence Committee while in Congress was familiar with the way FBI agents operated Morgan said, "The FBI under Hoover and even down to this day felt like the ends always justified the means." McBryde felt justified in attempting to collect information for the Attorney General he was serving under.

<sup>80</sup> Shires, "Morgan Seeking Administrator," 16 December 1968.

<sup>81</sup> "Morgan Concerned about Politics and SBI Agency," *News and Observer* 15 May 1968.

Although McBryde's tactics were not publicly announced, his Hoover-like investigative measures may have been to his detriment.<sup>83</sup> Morgan and McBryde met on November 22, 1968. Without delay McBryde submitted his resignation the same day they met. He told Morgan he would step down as director the same day Bruton's term ended.<sup>84</sup> His tenure with the bureau lasted approximately 18 months.<sup>85</sup> When asked if their meeting involved a discussion of political activity, Morgan responded, "I think what we were discussing involved a little more than what you would normally consider political activity."<sup>86</sup> Though he was asked to explain what he meant, he would not discuss it any further at that time.<sup>87</sup> Unlike Hoover who successfully collected information on the politicians with authority over him, McBryde was unable to employ those successful tactics against his new boss, Attorney General Robert Morgan.<sup>88</sup>

When Morgan became the Attorney General, the SBI entered a new era when he appointed Charles Dunn as the next SBI director. Dunn's reorganization of the SBI modernized the state investigative agency that was modelled after Hoover's FBI.<sup>89</sup> Dunn was instrumental in implementing Morgan's envisioned professional changes in the bureau. Morgan advocated an expansion of the narcotics investigative services that resulted in the addition of a narcotics division. He [Morgan] referred to narcotics as, "the most critical crime problem in the state..."<sup>90</sup> At first he believed a two or three-man division would be sufficient, but after more consideration, he strongly believed an eight

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<sup>82</sup> Jim Lewis, "McBryde Resigns as SBI Director," *News and Observer* 23 November 1968.

<sup>83</sup> Morgan. After winning the election, Morgan asked for McBryde's resignation as SBI Director.

<sup>84</sup> "Morgan Expected to Make Other Changes in SBI," *News and Observer* 3 December 1968.

<sup>85</sup> Lewis, "McBryde Resigns as SBI Director," 23 November 1968.

<sup>86</sup> Jack Childs, "Morgan Sees 'No Wholesale Changes in SBI,'" *News and Observer* 6 December 1968.

<sup>87</sup> Childs, "Morgan Sees 'No,'" 6 December 1968.

<sup>88</sup> Myron McBryde. McBryde knew as soon as the election was over that his position, as SBI director would end "He [Morgan] asked me to resign He [Morgan] knew that Wade Bruton was a family friend, a good friend."

<sup>89</sup> William S. Hunt, Jr., Personal Interview of Former SBI Special Agent and Training and Research Supervisor, 31 May 1999.

or twelve-man division was needed in order to tackle the narcotics problems in the state.<sup>91</sup> Dunn's reorganization of the SBI modernized the state investigative agency that was modelled after Hoover's FBI.<sup>92</sup>

### **Charles Dunn Appointed as SBI Director**

In 1968 at the national law enforcement level, Hoover continued to concentrate his law enforcement efforts on what he perceived as threats to national security by political activist groups. While at the state level of law enforcement in North Carolina a new Attorney General was elected, Robert Morgan. Morgan was faced not only with the problems posed by political activist groups in the state, but also with alleviating internal problems in the state's highest law enforcement agency, the SBI.

Furthermore, when Morgan was elected Attorney General in 1968, politicians and reporters alike recognized and acknowledged internal problems among the ranks of the SBI. William Shires, a reporter for the *Raleigh Times*, reported that there had been a history of "problems of internal dissension and low morale within the super secret SBI."<sup>93</sup> Solving internal political conflict within the SBI was an objective that the past elected Attorneys General and previously appointed SBI Directors had shared since the tenures of Attorney General Patton and SBI Director Jimmy Powell. When Morgan appointed the SBI director he hoped to bring about a solution to the long-standing conflict of internal dissention and low morale. Like his predecessors, Attorney General-elect Robert Morgan aimed to resolve problems with a new type of leadership for the top law enforcement agency in the state. Attorney General elect, Robert Morgan, said, the agency needs "leadership, harmony and an elimination of what he called internal politics in the SBI."<sup>94</sup>

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<sup>90</sup> Childs, "Morgan Sees 'No,'" 6 December 1968.

<sup>91</sup> Childs, "Morgan Sees 'No,'" 6 December 1968.

<sup>92</sup> Hunt.

<sup>93</sup> William A. Shires, "Morgan Seeking Administrator to Head SBI," *Raleigh Times* 16 December 1968.

<sup>94</sup> Jack Childs, "Morgan Sees 'No'" *News and Observer* 6 December 1968.

Through news releases to the newspapers, Morgan conditioned the politicians, the ranks of the SBI as well as the media to accept the director he would appoint to the position. Headlines were indicators of the new leader who would take charge of the State Bureau of Investigation and the newspaper stories prepared everyone to accept the change. On December 16, 1968, a *News and Observer* headline announced, "Morgan Seeking Administrator To Head SBI." One day later, December 17, 1968, the newspaper headline read, "Morgan Isn't Sure SBI Needs Lawman." Moreover, newly elected Attorney General Morgan further stated in the article that he was not sure that being the director of the State Bureau of Investigation "requires a lot of experience carrying a pistol or swinging a club."<sup>95</sup> Morgan announced that he was going to appoint the next SBI director as early as the following week. This press release indicated that Morgan, a skilled politician himself, was not only revealing the type of leadership traits that he preferred the next SBI director to possess but he was also supplying information to the media in order to obtain input from his constituents before appointing a director.<sup>96</sup>

By mid December the news of a new SBI director had been leaked to the press. Speculations projected that Charles Dunn would be the next SBI director. In a newspaper article that appeared in the *News and Observer* December 17, 1968, Morgan related to newspaper reporters a conversation he had with Charles Dunn about becoming the next SBI director. Dunn, former administrative assistant to outgoing Governor Moore, had experience as the governor's chief advisor during civil unrest cases that required him to be present at the scene as a representative from the governor's office, and he was a former newspaperman as well. Morgan said, "Years of law enforcement training would be of help to the director...but the job is one that requires many talents to be found outside of law enforcement work. A man for example, must be an administrator."<sup>97</sup> Morgan, again an intelligent politician, used the print media to control information released to the public thus allowing him an opportunity to evaluate public reaction.

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<sup>95</sup> "Morgan Isn't Sure SBI Needs Lawman," *News and Observer* 17 December 1968.

<sup>96</sup> Shires, "Morgan Seeking Administrator," 16 December 1968.

<sup>97</sup> "Morgan Isn't Sure," 17 December 1968.

As stated earlier by the reporter, William Shires, many newspapers and individuals referred to the SBI as a “super secret” agency.<sup>98</sup> The print media labeled the SBI “super secret” because since the early years of the SBI all investigative information about cases were closed by North Carolina general statutes and the internal decisions about the agency were confidential. Despite the secretive nature of the agency, the news media developed limited internal sources for information about the SBI. Undoubtedly, the print media had expectations of enjoying a relationship with the new director like none they had engaged in prior to his appointment. In addition to building camaraderie with the SBI’s investigators, representatives from the print media no doubt also expected to develop a rapport with the new director.

Headlines in major newspapers around the state of North Carolina, proudly announced one of their own who garnered the leading position in the state’s top law enforcement agency. The headline in the local newspaper in Wilmington, North Carolina read, “Former Newsman Heads NC SBI.”<sup>99</sup> Another newspaper headline read, “Dunn to Head SBI for Morgan: He May Please Tar Heels.”<sup>100</sup> The *Goldsboro News Argus* headline read, “Governor Moore’s Top Assistant: Morgan Names Dunn New Director of SBI.”<sup>101</sup> In the history of SBI directors, Charles Dunn’s background as the seventh SBI director was unique. Three of the previous directors’ backgrounds were in jurisprudence, one was in science, and one was in local law enforcement. The SBI director who had experience in law enforcement was appointed twice as director.

Unlike his predecessors, Dunn’s educational background was markedly different from the other directors. Dunn graduated from the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill in 1956 with a degree in political science. After graduating he worked as a reporter for the Hertford County Herald, the Chapel Hill Weekly, and the Durham Morning Herald.

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<sup>98</sup> Shires, “Morgan Seeking Administrator,” 16 December 1968.

<sup>99</sup> “Former Newsman Heads NC SBI,” *Wilmington Star News* 24 December 1968.

<sup>100</sup> Ann McAdams, “Dunn Head SBI for Morgan: He May ‘Please’ Tar Heels,” *Raleigh Times* 23 December 1968.

<sup>101</sup> “Governor Moore’s Top Assistant: Morgan Names Dunn New Director of SBI,” *Goldsboro News Argus* 16 December 1968.

Dunn then left the newspaper business to become a legislative assistant to Congressman Horace Kornegay. In 1964, Dunn at the age of 34, became the youngest political appointee in Governor Daniel K. Moore's administration. Dunn was one of Moore's administrative assistants. As administrative assistant to Moore, Dunn worked with David S. Coltrane, Chairman of the Good Neighbor Counsel, and as a spokesperson for the Governor, Dunn became the Governor's chief advisor during the period of racial unrest in the state of North Carolina during the 1960s.<sup>102</sup> Having a political science degree, experience in journalism and being an administrative assistant to the Governor, provided Dunn with a profile of unique experience never possessed by any former SBI director. Not only did Dunn hold a number of distinctive positions but he also gained respect and admiration among politicians, reporters as well as the citizens in a state plagued by racial turmoil and civil unrest through published newspaper articles in which he articulated his views on human relations and the civil unrest the state has been experiencing. A few weeks prior to Dunn's appointment as SBI director, he expressed his concerns as a human relations advocate that would extend into community policing strategies in the SBI. Dunn said, "Government, on any level, to be effective in the area of human relations, needs to involve more people.... He saw government as a bridge between the past and the future... and called for all citizens to help strengthen programs to help promote a better way of life and to devise new programs to provide greater opportunities."<sup>103</sup>

In the press release, Attorney General Robert Morgan said this appointment "pleases me and I think it will please the people of North Carolina." Dunn as the SBI director "could write a new chapter in the history of the bureau." The SBI cannot "continue to be a stepchild of state government."<sup>104</sup> Although Dunn was recognized as a journalist who had worked for several newspapers, "It was politics, not ink, that really

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<sup>102</sup> "Former Newsman Heads NC SBI," 24 December 1968.

<sup>103</sup> "Dunn: Agencies See Responsibilities," *Raleigh Times* 6 December 1968.

<sup>104</sup> McAdams, "Dunn Head SBI," 23 December 1968.



flowed through Dunn's veins and it was in the political world that he would make his greatest contribution."<sup>105</sup>

Dunn's political background as well as his background in journalism proved to be an asset to the SBI when he became director. In Dunn's acceptance speech as SBI director, he alluded to his relationship with law enforcement and the agency's needs.

It is precarious for newly elected politicians and appointees to request budgetary assistance from the General Assembly early in their administration; however, Dunn was not inhibited by his recent appointment to the position of SBI director nor was he press shy. Within the first month following his appointment, newspaper headlines announced, "Dunn Says SBI Needs More Men, Equipment" and in the article Dunn said, "I've got to figure out how to convince the General Assembly of what we need."<sup>106</sup> Through newspaper articles, Dunn was effectively working toward achieving the outcome he desired from the General Assembly. Dunn's journalistic and political background equipped him with the political tactics that assisted him in attaining the resources the SBI required and benefited him in his role as director. Another headline read, "Manpower Increase Sought for SBI by Director Dunn."<sup>107</sup> Dunn reiterated, "This job is a challenge and a chance to contribute something. The challenge is to make this an efficient and effective assistance agency for local police."<sup>108</sup> At the outset of his tenure as SBI director, Dunn's career trajectory was proceeding along a successful path as he continued to receive positive press coverage that enhanced his political and public support.

Unlike previous SBI directors, Dunn was well known among state capital politicians as a result of his experiences in politics as well as journalism. When Attorney General Morgan and SBI Director Dunn met with Governor Bob Scott in a budget drafting conference they discussed the needed improvements in the SBI, and Governor Scott endorsed their request. Governor Scott said he would request appropriations from

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<sup>105</sup> "Charles Dunn: Achievement and Service," *The Herald-Sun* 7 November 1996.

<sup>106</sup> "Dunn Says SBI Needs More Men, Equipment," *Goldsboro New Argus* 27 January 1969.

<sup>107</sup> "Manpower Increase Sought For SBI by Director Dunn," *News and Observer* 19 February 1969.

<sup>108</sup> "Dunn Says SBI," 27 January 1969.

the General Assembly to assist the SBI in three areas. Those areas included increasing the number of agents, improving laboratory facilities, and the addition of a narcotics division. At that time, the SBI had seventy-one employees including the director. There were forty-one special agents, eight crime lab technicians, nineteen stenographers, two administrators and the director.<sup>109</sup> With the assistance of reporters and their positive coverage in statewide newspapers, Dunn's first term was prosperous as SBI director, and his career trajectory thrived.

Dunn understood the minutiae of lobbying politicians and maximizing the benefits of the print media to accomplish his objectives. Consequently, the 1969 General Assembly approved forty-four employee positions; twenty-eight of those were positions for SBI agents.<sup>110</sup> Also, funds were appropriated for four mobile crime laboratories. The funding enabled Dunn to expand SBI services. He was able to create three new positions and two new field offices. The three new SBI positions included two supervisory positions for the newly created field offices and a position for an assistant director for the crime laboratory.<sup>111</sup>

As a result of the approved funding in 1969, Dunn also formed a narcotics division and the first canine unit with agents specializing in the investigation of illegal drug activities.<sup>112</sup> With every headline, Dunn who was already popular garnered additional popularity among politicians, the public, and the press. His ideas captured newspaper headlines around the state and the articles portrayed the new young top law enforcement officer of the state as an innovative thinker.<sup>113</sup>

Dunn had original ideas and did not resist changing the status quo.<sup>114</sup> When Dunn became SBI director, he made headlines with many "first" time programs and decisions

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<sup>109</sup> Jack Childs, "Scott is Expected to Bolster SBI," *News and Observer* 10 February 1969.

<sup>110</sup> "SBI Adds New Agents," *News and Observer* 29 June 1969.

<sup>111</sup> "Assistant SBI Chief Appointed," *News and Observer* 15 August 1969.

<sup>112</sup> "Expert Trained In Drug Sniffing," *News and Observer* 10 June 1969.

<sup>113</sup> "Training Problem Dogs SBI: SBI Agent P.H. Kelly Puts German Shepherd on the Scent of Narcotics," *News and Observer* 19 August 1969.

<sup>114</sup> "Dunn Makes Promotions in SBI," *News and Observer* 12 January 1969.

that pioneered the way for changes that were taking place at the time and with every headline and article, he reinforced his position as SBI director and made a positive impact on his career trajectory. He employed the first African American special agent in the SBI. Dunn said early after his appointment that he would “actively seek to increase its ranks through recruiting regardless of race.”<sup>115</sup> He also implemented the “SBI Think Tank” which consisted of agents discussing unsolved sensational murder cases in order to find new investigative leads to pursue in these high profile cases.<sup>116</sup>

Like Hoover, Dunn placed a high emphasis on hiring qualified agents and training. In order to train the twenty-eight agents chosen to fill the twenty-eight positions the General Assembly approved funding for during the previous month, Dunn established the first formal SBI training academy. It was held on the campus of University of North Carolina at Asheville and began in July 1969. Seeking the most qualified person to supervise the training, Dunn named, Claude Davis, a former SBI agent with the North Carolina Department of Community Colleges Law Enforcement Training Division to head the academy.<sup>117</sup> Like the previously referenced “first” that Dunn was credited with, the first training academy also received print media attention that continued to strengthen Dunn’s career trajectory as a successful director. According to a *Greensboro News and Record* editorial, Charles Dunn’s “first six –year stint left the SBI with beefed-up facilities and more college graduates in its ranks. The SBI’s image added greater sophistication as well as a high profile – all to his credit.”<sup>118</sup>

To illustrate the significance of the agency’s image to the director there was one cardinal rule taught in the SBI academy that was recommended as a guideline for agents making decisions in official matters. Bill Hunt, the training director under Dunn taught the SBI’s “cardinal rule” and it was, “do not do anything that will embarrass the SBI. From now on when you make decisions in your private or official life that decision can

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<sup>115</sup> “SBI Hires 1<sup>st</sup> Negro Agent,” *News and Observer* 5 April 1969.

<sup>116</sup> Lewis, “SBI Plans Think Tank,” 14 February 1969.

<sup>117</sup> “Academy to Train SBI Agents,” *News and Observer* 29 June 1969.

<sup>118</sup> “Welcome Words Now, Let’s Hope New SBI Director Carries Them Out,” *Greensboro News and Record* 5 November 1991.

affect the agency and your career with the agency.” This philosophy was consistent with Dunn’s philosophy during his administration, and foreshadowed the outcome of Dunn’s career trajectory based on the wrong decision in a tragic law enforcement crisis and ensuing news releases to newspaper reporters.<sup>119</sup>

As one of Dunn’s agents acknowledged, the SBI’s image improved directly as a result of Dunn’s ability to work well with the media. The new director’s rapport with reporters was an important quality that benefited the agency as well as the new director. The agent expressed, “Under Charles Dunn we got a lot of publicity. That was all very positive for us and every time we would have a case of any magnitude, Charles Dunn would be there on the scene. He would be interviewed and give news releases to the newspapers and that was good because it projected a very positive image of the Bureau.”<sup>120</sup> Although Dunn kept the lines of communication open between the newspapers and his office, he was guarded and judicious in his comments in high profile investigations. Dunn emulated Hoover’s use of the print media in high profile investigations to maintain a positive career trajectory more successfully than any of the former SBI directors. According to W. S. Hunt, Dunn’s decisions and changes shaped and molded the SBI into a modern state investigative organization.

## **Conclusion**

During the 1960s while the FBI experienced a positive public image at the onset of the community-policing era, the SBI experienced a decline in its image. Community policing practices were unable to reverse the negative affect of the print media publicity surrounding the SBI’s high profile internal investigation involving one of its own, Special Agent John Boyd. Acting Director Durham was faced with making critical decisions during the interim period between Anderson and McBryde. In addition to other administrative decisions, he was delegated the responsibility of handling the dismissal of

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<sup>119</sup> Hunt.

<sup>120</sup> Gilbert.

John Boyd. Attorney General Bruton chose to replace Durham with Myron McBryde, a former FBI Special Agent, after Durham's limited tenure.

McBryde succeeded in advancing the SBI's professional position among law enforcement agencies by implementing a narcotics division and successfully secured funds to initiate a mobile narcotics training and education vehicle. McBryde successfully directed several high profile investigations that were solved during his administration; however, his effort to solve several unsolved high profile cases with the assistance of the print media near the end of his career did not benefit his career trajectory. The conclusion of McBryde's administration occurred when constituents elected a new attorney general. Although the three SBI directors who served during the reform era emulated Hoover's style of print media coverage of high profile investigations, none of them successfully maintained their position to Hoover's extent. Their publicity tactics were successful on a limited short-term basis. Attorney General Robert Morgan appointed Charles Dunn to succeed McBryde, and Dunn advocated policy reform and agency reorganization during his tenure as director. Charles Dunn, an experienced journalist, demonstrated a publicity style that was more like Hoover than any of the directors who preceded him. Dunn was credited with making organizational changes that had more long-term affects on the agency than any of the SBI directors before him.

Agents like Ray Garland, the 17<sup>th</sup> agent hired with the original SBI, witnessed the growth of the agency firsthand that resulted from Dunn's leadership and his predecessors. He said, when he transferred to Raleigh, he worked under Dunn. Up until 1969, the bureau only had four districts but during Dunn's first tenure as director an additional two districts were created. Garland remembered when the SBI had less than twenty employees.<sup>121</sup> However, "during the time of Dunn's administration the SBI had more than 300 agents and 200 support personnel."<sup>122</sup>

Dunn created a powerful organization of professional agents and his name was tantamount with the SBI agency. Once he became director, Dunn's name was to the SBI much like Hoover's name was to the FBI. Dunn, although never an agent himself,

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<sup>121</sup> Ray Garland, Personal Interview of Former SBI Special Agent and Deputy Director, 10 April 1998.

became a charismatic leader with the support of his agents, politicians, and positive print media. Dan Gilbert, an SBI district supervisor, described Dunn as, “not a good administrator, but an outstanding administrator. He had the knowledge, he had the energy, he had the interest and that was his key trait. He was interested in the organization, loyal and dedicated to staying and getting the bureau operating.”<sup>123</sup> Dunn’s career trajectory was seemingly secure. He had the respect of his agents. He worked well with politicians and newspaper reporters. Both traits benefited the agency as well as fortified his position as director.

Dunn was credited with bringing recognition to the State Bureau of Investigation. Gilbert said, “The SBI was made readily known to the Legislators and everybody else, not only members of the Legislature, but to everybody in the state.... Most people didn’t know what the SBI was. They [the public] had never had any dealings with them [the SBI] and never saw anything in the newspaper about them [SBI]. We got a lot of publicity and some criticism from that standpoint. But more importantly than the criticism was the positive benefit of putting us on the map and bringing us out of the closet and exposed to the citizens of this state. That was the far-reaching advantage.”<sup>124</sup>

Dunn demonstrated a history of using the media with positive results on his career trajectory. Nonetheless, in all the news releases he made, he never made capricious releases; they were always well orchestrated and delivered purposefully. Dunn masterfully used the media to benefit his career trajectory. Dunn’s wife, Martha, emphasized how Dunn always responded to important investigations, “The SBI was his life. He loved it; he would travel anywhere in the state where there was an important case, check on his agents and talk with the newspaper reporters when they were around. It didn’t make any difference what time of day or night it was either.”<sup>125</sup> Dunn frequently would fly to the scene of high profile investigations using the North Carolina Highway Patrol helicopter and make news releases. Not only would Dunn make releases but he

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<sup>122</sup> “Easley Removing Dunn as SBI Chief,” *News and Observer* 2 February 1993.

<sup>123</sup> Gilbert.

<sup>124</sup> Gilbert.

<sup>125</sup> Martha Dunn, Personal Interview of Former SBI Director Charles Dunn’s Wife, 7 August 1999.

would answer question as well. This was a characteristic that added to his success because other law enforcement agency officials would only make prewritten news releases, frequently not answer question from the press or make it their policy to make “no comment” at all to the media.

As a result of Dunn’s directness, Dunn established a rapport with the press that benefited his career trajectory. Charles Dunn was a man of integrity, dedicated to law enforcement and the SBI. Former Attorney General and SBI Director Robert Morgan described Dunn as having a different philosophy from his. Morgan said Dunn had to be at the scene when a major case took place.<sup>126</sup> However, “Pete Batton, a probation-parole officer and friend... said Dunn was able to see the core of the problem. ‘Everyone who works in the criminal justice system understands it’s not a system, it’s fragmented. Charles always felt that if you were able to coordinate the efforts, you could get to kids before they commit the crime and prevent the mistakes.’”<sup>127</sup> Dunn approached high profile investigations using the same strategy. He was dedicated to improving society and sought to be involved in investigations and participate in solving them from the core or from their beginning. Staff writer Ruth Sheehan of the *News and Observer* wrote, “Charles Dunn was known to many as Mr. SBI. Candid and no-nonsense in his approach, he served as director of the State Bureau of Investigation... and is credited with upgrading the agency.”<sup>128</sup>

While Hoover and SBI directors incorporated limited community-policing strategies into police practices, the major influencing factors on their career trajectories continued to include print media and high profile investigations. Hoover resolutely took advantage of the print media to persuade and maintain his following of supporters both public and political. At the state level, although an elected official, the state attorney general, was the primary source of authority over the SBI director’s position, SBI directors’ career trajectories during this period continued to be directly impacted by the newspaper’s published responses to high profile investigations. Positive commentary by

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<sup>126</sup> Morgan.

<sup>127</sup> “Former SBI Director Charles Dunn Dies,” *The Durham Herald Sun* 6 November 1996.

<sup>128</sup> Ruth Sheehan, “Dunn, Twice SBI Chief, Dies at 62,” *News and Observer* 6 November 1996.

the print media was beneficial in reinforcing and promoting directors' career trajectories; however, negative commentary was difficult to overcome and capable of destroying career trajectories.



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- B. Published official documents
- C. Newspapers and news bulletins
- D. Books
- E. Articles and other periodicals
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