Double V in New Jersey: African American Civic Culture and Rising Consciousness Against Jim Crow, 1938–1966

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At the beginning of World War II, black Americans in New Jersey launched a civil rights campaign as significant as the movement led by Martin Luther King Jr. in the 1960s—even though theirs was a scattered, individual, and ordinary protest rather than an organized mass demonstration. African Americans across the country participated in what was popularly known as the Double V, a cool turn of phrase that sealed a link between victory against fascism in World War II and racism, particularly segregation, at home.1

The basic story of the Double V is familiar to most historians, but current textbooks and the monographic literature overgeneralize and rarely venture beyond description. What we know is that the Pittsburgh Courier invented the slogan and initiated some anti-discrimination campaigns, A. Philip Randolph's March on Washington movement resulted in the establishment of the Fair Employment Practices Commission (FEPC), and segregation of the armed forces remained entrenched but contested. What was significant was the huge popular appeal of Double V and its role in reforming liberal democracy by reasserting equal protection. Double V was a profoundly important legal movement as well as another phase of black protest. From the perspective of political strategy, Double V rhetoric dwelled on contradictions between American political ideals and the reality of discriminatory practice. Local leaders instructed black citizens to practice democracy in everyday rituals—to demand that whites observe the letter of the law and the egalitarian spirit of American nationalism—which meant that the government's eventual response to black Americans would originate from the center of American democracy, not only improving treatment of minorities but affirming the general principles of publics reconstructing American political culture.2

The Double V challenged institutions of power in American democracy—associations of privilege—rather than merely demanding reform of so-called customs. As such, Jim Crow in Newark was a matter of public choice and practices. African Americans struggled within and against what is known as a civic culture—by which I mean a public ideology that defined the civil sphere as well as an ostensibly nongovernmental jurisdiction. The rules and rituals of the city comprise the civic culture, as well as volunteer groups, municipal institutions, and essentially private institutions with a public role or purpose. Alexis de Tocqueville famously observed the importance of these associational activities for the livelihood of democracy in the United States because associations fulfilled Americans' desire for popular sovereignty, as opposed to excessive representation or elite hierarchy. What Tocqueville never really bargained for, and what the recent scholarship on civic culture fails to engage, was the extent to which modern associational democracy permitted the subordination of black citizens without regard to the government, even the laws, that it was supposed to guard or sustain. It was associational democracy and civic rituals that were the foundation of segregation, racism, and discrimination during World War II and the 1950s.3

On the eve of the Double V campaign, a resident of Long Branch, New Jersey, wrote to the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), observing this contradiction of democracy that confronted black Newarkers: 'We in New Jersey have a civic problem for which we would like suggestions on how to solve. Negroes in New Jersey are discriminated and segregated in public places in spite of the fact that we have a Civil Rights Bill.'4

In understanding racism's civic foundations, it would be wrong to separate Newark's public culture from the economic conditions more generally. Newark was a moderately successful industrial center until the Great Depression and the state's financial center and leader in the insurance industry.5 In the 1940s, defense industries rejuvenated the sagging economy. By the 1950s, a new generation of manufacturing—foods,
appliances, beer—operated in New Jersey suburbs where whites had resettled. Thomas Sugrue and William Julius Wilson identify suburbanization and deindustrialization as keys to understanding black poverty, even though because of discrimination only a small number of black Newarkers could find employment in manufacturing before 1945. In Newark and throughout the state, residential segregation was deeper than employment discrimination, according to my analysis of census schedules. One example is that approximately 80 percent of black Newarkers were relegated to the city's overcrowded Central Ward until the beginning of white outmigration and public housing relocation in the 1950s. Another example is that demographic analysis of black housing patterns concluded that the overall percentage of substandard housing was 20.8 percent of the general population; the African American rate was 69.5 percent. Since World War II, new measures had portended improvement. Emboldened by the FEPC, which President Franklin Delano Roosevelt authorized to eliminate discrimination, black Newarkers organized against unfair labor practices in wartime industries, meeting in 1943 at the Sojourner Truth branch of the YWCA on Washington Street. But discrimination remained intractable. Black Newarkers were employed in "mortar, small ammunition plants, and foundries, tire plants, cotton mill, ship yards, aeroplane, and tank plants wire and gun factories," but the Newark Urban League reported "segregated departments and plant operations" and the "confinement of Negro workers to distasteful tasks." The FEPC improved employment opportunities. An interesting trend that this article studies is how laws forbidding employment discrimination led to legislation to prohibit discrimination in public accommodations. In any case, the Double V wartime protests quieted by the 1950s, perhaps because employment opportunities for black Newarkers improved; or because white Newarkers migrated to nearby suburbs, relinquishing the city to a rapidly increasing black population.

In relation to political-industrial development, historians have studied the causes of segregation. They ask if it was caused by economic incentives or if segregationist racism operated simultaneously with capitalism. When Newark's economy shifted to a dualistic inner core and outer-suburban-ring model, suburban whites reasserted some forms of segregation. On the other hand, black residents in Newark, but also in smaller towns, challenged public barriers and eventually prevailed in law. Even Levittown, the symbol of affordable suburban housing, which intended to completely exclude black residents, lost its case at the New Jersey Supreme Court and was forced to integrate. In my opinion, the law mitigated capitalist plans for full-scale apartheid in New Jersey; there was no direct causal connection between the development of capitalism and either the rise of segregation or its defeat.

There were two kinds of legal classifications of segregation in New Jersey: _de jure_, which typically characterizes discussion of southern Jim Crow, and _de facto_ in the North, about which historians have surprisingly little to say. As early as the 1880s, when the federal government retreated from the enforcement of equal protection, the state of New Jersey passed legislation (in 1881) that permitted black children to attend all public schools. After the Supreme Court invalidated federal equal accommodations laws, in 1884 the state prohibited discrimination in public accommodations on the basis of race. The problem was that black Newarkers in the nineteenth century were forced to build and fund their own schools, educate black children in segregated classrooms, and were barred from any number of public institutions.

Worse, by the beginning of the twentieth century, many towns in southern New Jersey passed laws that strictly prohibited white children from attending school with black children. During these years, black physicians received licenses to practice, but only one city hospital was integrated. Nor could black college graduates study medicine in Newark until 1956. Although black Newarkers were approximately 15 percent of the population, they represented only 3.5 percent of employed workers. No black candidates were elected in Newark until the charter revision in 1952, even as black population increased to 30 percent. Black Newarkers found municipal employment only by agitation. In 1930, the City Colored Employees Association won five appointments to the Department of Public Affairs in truck driving. By the early 1940s, a population of 42,000 Negro citizens accounted for four police officers, eight school teachers, eleven visiting teachers, nine nurses, five part-time physicians, two recreational leaders, and five relief workers.

Black Newarkers understood that what Newarkers imposed Jim Crow segregation for myriad reasons. Theaters, department stores, restaurants and coffee shops, swimming pools and public baths, hospitals, the downtown YWCA (but not the black Central Ward YWCA) were segregated in New Jersey, despite state equal protection laws. In response to pervasive everyday racism, the movement for equal accommodations was correspondingly a matter of everyday resistance, what historians of social movement would categorize as a grassroots, local struggle. Eventually, the leading _bureaucratic_ organizations such as the NAACP endorsed the Double V campaign, but the NAACP was relatively weak and ineffectual in Newark at this time, hindered by internal personality
conflicts. In my view, the seeds of the movement were planted by the black press and its print culture, which helps to explain why Double V flourished in northern urban centers and why resistance evolved similarly in most towns with major black newspapers. Each week in 1940 an average of 1,276,000 newspapers were purchased; by 1943, 1,643,311; and by the end of the war, 1,809,060. In 1943, the Office of War Information estimated that four million black citizens read the weekly newspaper; given a black population of thirteen million, it would mean that 30 percent of black urbanites were reading in barrooms, barber shops, church socials, and fraternal and political organizations. The literacy rates for African Americans in Newark had climbed steadily since the turn of the century—although black percentages were higher than white native illiteracy, black rates were lower than white immigrants. Of white natives were illiterate, 13 percent of white immigrants, and 5.7 percent of black Newarkers ages ten and over. Black New Jerseys read the Newark Herald and the New Jersey Afro-American (AFRO), both based in Newark.

The newspapers accounted for the initial emphasis on the war. Black newspaper editors convened at Hampton University in 1940 to attend a conference on the “Participation of the Negro in National Defense,” and the conference announced that the “sound morale among Negroes can only be maintained by a fresh crusade to remove the inconsistencies between democratic theory and practice.” As is often noted, editors at the Pittsburgh Courier invented Double V in 1942—the actual slogan suggested by a twenty-six-year-old cafeteria worker at the Cesna Aircraft Corporation. Pittsburgh Courier stationery advertised the slogan with brightly colored print on its borders, and the editors suggested Double V stickers for windows and automobile windshields, and distributed posters or flyers. Leading black intellectuals, including Rayford Logan and Charles Wesley, added their support to the newspaper campaign. During the war years, more than 150 interracial groups organized symposia on racism and discrimination in line with the general thrust of Double V rhetoric.

Finally, in addition to examining segregation and wartime mobilization, this essay reconstructs the creation of black consciousness, speculating on the dynamics of historical drama—performed at the local municipal level, the national stage, and in wartime Europe. As outlined above, my first objective is to explore the persistence of a kind of racism that historians are only beginning to understand—civic racism. Second, because the overt policies that Double V activists attacked were obviously unfair, historians assume that their protest reflected a natural or

an instinctive reaction; they assume anger spontaneously hatched resistance. Instead, black consciousness was affected by historical conditions, a complex, evolving black consciousness was shaped by events and interpretation—operating dynamically. Then black Newarkers were pushed to the point of demanding change. Beyond politics, the historical question of this essay is that although black self-help institutions were investigating discrimination of all kinds during the Depression, it was at some later point when the fight against segregation sharply escalated. When and why and how?

The National Stage

Before A. Philip Randolph’s March on Washington movement located the capital as a strategic site to protest segregation or discrimination, a black woman dramatically played up key symbols of equality in the federal (or national) government, lodging them in African American consciousness. It was the elegant spectacle on Easter Sunday, April 9, 1939, in Washington, D.C., of the famous contralto Marian Anderson performing “God Bless America.” Invoking the broken promise of Reconstruction, Anderson performed on the steps of the Lincoln Memorial after she was barred from singing in Constitution Hall.

Marian Anderson was born on Webster Street in South Philadelphia and lived with her grandmother, mother, and father. She published her memoir in 1956, a tale of a black woman’s rise to fame. Authenticating her humble origins to impress us with the steepness of her climb, Anderson recounts an impoverished childhood but a respectable family background. Perhaps to protect her respectability, which she prized above all else, Anderson evades the question of the influence of her father and his role in the family (which was probably marginal). Like Newark, Anderson’s Philadelphia was reinvented by gender and consumption in the 1920s and 1930s, a moment when even the black submerged tenth (from which Anderson distinguished herself) emerged to participate in the pleasures of leisure and shopping in downtown areas. When preparing for a debut, Anderson remembered that she “needed shoes. When mother and I went downtown, we discovered that the shoes were more expensive than we imagined.” Then the couple entered “Wanamakers, where I saw a dress I liked. It was white trimmed with rolls of cording… We were told the price and were appalled to hear that it cost fourteen ninety-eight.” Her budget was the amount of money that church elders had raised to sponsor the promising young performer, $17.
Advertisements for clothes, jewelry, furniture, and beds were located in the same section of the black newspapers each week. As desire to purchase these items motivated black women to enter the downtown malls, the black newspapers complicated the promise of the advertisements, for consumers read news stories warning that black New Yorkers had been excluded from department stores and restaurants. In the nineteenth century, black women—from Ida B. Wells and numerous less famous women—tested interstate transit statutes on trains; desegregation was led by ordinary black women who were ejected from the so-called ladies’ car. Modern black women’s resistance to Jim Crow was still necessary for securing, in Victorian terms, female respectability.

In a strikingly understated sketch, Anderson admits to passing during a Jim Crow inspection on a train. When a conductor entered, “he glanced at Billy [her accompanist], who is a Negro and I don’t know what he thought. Then he turned to me and said, ‘Are you a Negro?” Anderson admits: “I uttered some sound, but they did not count as words.” The conductor advanced to the next passenger, allowing Anderson to remain seated in the white car. She had passed.

Finally, Anderson achieved incredible success in Europe, particularly Scandinavia, where, like Nella Larsen’s character in Quicksand, Helga Crane, she discovered a secret refuge from American prejudice. Anderson was invited to perform in 1930 for German fans. After she tentatively agreed, Anderson writes: “There was only one other question—was Marian Anderson one hundred percent Aryan? My manager replied that Miss Anderson was not one hundred percent Aryan.” Proudly, Anderson remembers that she declined the concert and did not consider passing.

Anderson’s journey toward the historic concert began in February 1939. The Daughters of the American Revolution rejected several written requests from the Music Department of Howard University for Anderson to perform in Constitution Hall, which they had built in 1929 for their annual congresses (and was otherwise available for community use in the capital). The hall was neither busy on the requested date nor was Anderson’s application improper, but the policy of the organization was to rent to “whites only.” It is a matter of conjecture as to why the DAR rejected Anderson exactly, since the organization later invited the performer during the war without amending the charter. And before, the famous black singer Roland Hayes had received permission from the DAR to perform. In any case, after the refusal several Howard University officials requested a room at Central High School in Washington, D.C., and the school board rejected her application. Back in New Jersey, the Newark Herald reported that the legal strategist Charles Hamilton Houston organized a picket of the school board; the Marian Anderson Citizen’s Council was formed, with 1,500 members. Black New Yorkers received news of every turn in the plot of the DAR-Anderson controversy. “The Daughters of the American Revolution barr'd Miss Marian Anderson from giving a recital in Constitution Hall in Washington, D.C., is by any line of civic reasoning, downright foolish, ludicrous and vulgar.” Years before American involvement in World War II, the paper then referred to the DAR as “fascist.” A black Newark politico, Irvine Turner (who was later elected the first black city council member), announced in 1945 the first organizational meeting of the Daughters of the American Revolution—but an “improved,” separate black organization. The founders were ex-slaves, “Newark descendans of slaves who fought in the days of 76.”

When the controversy peaked, the federal government strategically responded without alienating southern segregationists. Protest on the safer terrain of maternalist politics, the first lady challenged the DAR—Mrs. Roosevelt resigned from the organization, as did more than 200 members that year. Anderson was then invited to sing at a special concert on the capital mall, sponsored by the federal government. Therefore, government legitimated Anderson’s right to perform but did not directly challenge the DAR’s leasing policy; the Justice Department, for example, did not file an equal protection case. On April 9, 1939, Easter Sunday, the concert was glorious; remembered by Anderson simply as “the crowd stretched in a great semicircle from the Lincoln Memorial around the reflecting pool.” In the beginning Anderson planned to perform German opera at Constitution Hall, in response to 1930s Jim Crow, she sang the national anthem, in effect upstaging even the DAR with her patriotism and nationalism. (Ironically, black activists boycotted Anderson when she performed for segregated audiences in the South in 1951. Anderson then agreed to sing only at integrated auditoriums.)

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**Gallup Poll: Resignation of Mrs. Roosevelt from DAR**

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Yet the reality of everyday segregation persisted in New Jersey. In 1939, Anderson decided to shop for a residence for her mother, attending showings in Pleasantville, when the *New Jersey Afro-American* reported that the Ku Klux Klan vandalized the property and protested "in an attempt to prevent Marian Anderson, internationally famous contralto singer, from buying a house." The estate, the "Stebbing and Collins property on Dougherty Road," was to be a "home for her mother." According to the paper, "years ago Pleasantville was a center for KKK activities . . . and the traditional burning of the fiery cross was a common occurrence."40

Local Patriotism

Whether it was Marian Anderson's domestic challenge or the Joe Louis knockout of Max Schmeling, the origins of the so-called Double V campaign lie in these dramatic black-and-white spectacles that captured the political imagination of ordinary black Americans. "I've been waiting a long time for this night, Joe Louis, world heavyweight champion, told all . . . last Wednesday night at Yankee Stadium," when he defeated the German. The *Newark Herald* featured on the same page a story that foreshadowed the sort of contradiction that structured the politics of Double V. The reporter explained that "the Chicago Urban League has appointed a committee to investigate the situation of black and Jewish antagonism, referring to 'allegations that certain Jewish merchants have been taking advantage of Negroes.' It warned of the danger when events "set one oppressed group against another by stirring up anti-Semitism among Chicago Negroes."42

The local Urban League in 1940 referred to "the irony of American criticism of Hitlerian racial concepts ... [when] the Negro's plight is unchanged."43 For example, the Essex County prosecutor's office represented a black physician who complained that he was refused a cup of coffee at a local Jewish-owned restaurant, Kriegl. Dr. Hilton charged that on November 10, 1941, the waiter, Lester Kuritzman, told him, "I have orders. I won't serve you because you are colored." The paper noted the contradiction of Jewish racism—"Jews should be the last to practice discrimination on any other group," said the district attorney." The plaintiff was awarded $100 in damages and $40 in counsel fees. Where at one time racist refusal of service went unremarked, now there was a new context; it was reported that "this is not Germany but America."44

Like Marian Anderson's assertion of black American citizenship when questioned if she possessed an Aryan background, the newspapers discovered intrinsic anti-Hitlerism in the construction of black racial identity.45 The *Pittsburgh Courier* proclaimed "Hitler's Mein Kampf" discriminated against Negroes.46 Black newspapers picked up a speech delivered by the former U.S. ambassador to France, William C. Bullitt:

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*Fig. 1. Black newspapers featured illustrations that compared segregation in the United States to Nazism in Germany. New Jersey Afro-American, 1946.*
By every test known to man ‘racism’ can be proved wrong; but it is strong because it is rooted in all that is bestial in human nature. It draws its strength from human cruelty, bred . . . . Hitler learned to explore these brute traits in man.”8 These protests compared fascism and racism; they bordered on exaggeration—justifiably so, however. In 1948, black activists wrote to Actors Equity and reported their ongoing protest against segregation of theaters in Baltimore; black men and black women picketed the establishments daily “in protest against the Hitlerian technique.”8 Or when a group of young black Americans travelled from Chicago to Racine, Wisconsin, and were refused service at a local restaurant, their overblown rhetoric summoned the Double V ideology: “We speak for the masses of Negro Youth . . . before we go out on Foreign field to fight the Nazis of our day, we want to get rid of all Nazis around us.” Implying that racism was the same as Hitler’s anti-Semitism locked the comparison and contradiction of Double V into U.S. political discourse.8

Comparison between American ideology and Nazism dwelled on the evil of racism but also compared the methods and practices of U.S. white supremacy with analogues in Germany, such as racial classification. The Newark Herald regularly published a “Jim Crow Guide to U.S.A.,” to “bring forcibly to the attention of the nation a few of the essentially fascist limitations on human freedom which exist in America today.” Notice how close the paper comes to substituting racism for fascism; race classification, the columnist reported, was exported and adopted by fascists: “These American laws and customs which parade under the banner of white supremacy were adopted by Nazi Germany in 1935 . . . . The abominable Hitlerian code classified half-Jews and one-fourth Jews as ‘mislings’ (mongrels) of the first and second degree respectively and forbade either Jews or ‘mongrels’ to marry ‘Aryans.’”8

Overseas, German armed forces understood the contradictions of U.S. racism and exploited them against black POWs. Germans taunted black soldiers and challenged them to justify their loyalty. Why should black soldiers protect U.S. military secrets? Two 332nd Fighter Group pilots told black New Yorkers that “Nazis use the Race Problem, [making] numerous references to the American race problem . . . . trying to induce them to divulge valuable military information. All refused to let the cunning and inhumane acts shake their patriotism.”81

With victory against the Axis powers in sight, the perception of Germans as pure evil, an image that saturated U.S. propaganda discourse, was exposed as highly ideological by African American writers when German racism appeared less severe than U.S. racism. When the director of the YMCA reported on the 6,000 U.S. prisoners in Germany, it was noted that though “Germany [is] accused of race prejudice against Jews, it houses colored and white war prisoners together.”82 At the same time, however, German prisoners of war who were held in the United States were integrated with white prisoners but set apart from black prisoners. African American nurses in camps of “Nazi Prisoners [suffered] humiliation . . . in the presence of German prisoners as a result of discriminatory orders issued by an officer in the POW camp hospital in Florence, Arizona.” The NAACP filed a formal complaint because “American army nurses are forced to eat in a separate dining room at the hospital. They feel especially humiliated and degraded . . . . Even in the uniform of the U.S. Army they were set apart under the very nose of German war prisoners who served as cooks and waiters in the hospital officers’ mess.”83 Perhaps because of a shortage of space, many camps lacked Negro sections: “The colored workers in a POW camp have been forced to eat with German prisoners.” The black soldiers protested that separation was humiliating because “all this was done in the presence of white employees seated on their side of the cafeteria.”84

By 1946, Americans’ hate of Hitler was distinguishable from the German nation as a whole. Black soldiers were marrying German women, and many of those women birthed “brown babys [sic].” The New Jersey Afro-American reported on a “brown baby parade”; the “former Third Reich got off to a start here last week when the first colored child was born to a German fraulein, the son of a soldier with . . . the first Negro U.S. Army troops.”85 Though “Berlin [was], a onetime citadel of race hatreds, Negroes are living in a new world of social equality. Hitler called them ‘semi-aped,’ but German frauleins find Negro GIs likeable and human.” The October issue of Ebony featured photographs of the interracial families in Germany.86 Even compared to Britain, black-and-white married couples received better treatment by Germans.87

Black soldiers had sweated black pride, but a pride that was bruised by daily news of the indignities of Jim Crow.88 When reporting to the local Newark draft board (NC), black soldiers were passed over because of a shortage of housing facilities for them.89 By the end of the war, black enrollment in the military was more than 700,000 serving in the army, with 5,000 officers, and 74,000 men in the navy. The marines were last to enlist a small number of African Americans, and about 4,000 black Americans served in the Coast Guard; 24,000 black soldiers served in the merchant marine and proudly navigated segregated ships.90 All in all, under the selective service act, three million African Americans registered for service, though the rate of rejection of black Americans was
more than twice the rate of rejection of white candidates. It was reported at one point that at least 2,000 black New Jerseyans graduated from training and served overseas. Anger at the segregation of military troops flared at home when soldiers were denied the same rewards as white soldiers, such as equal entertainment or USO facilities or canteens. At home, for example, news of a segregated USO in Newark drew crowds of picketers, who won various concessions, including an integrated staff for a future facility. The Red Cross, notorious for its policy of segregating black plasma, also sponsored segregated recreational facilities in Africa, Italy, and, though they denied their plans at first, in Washington, D.C. Responding to black protest, the U.S. Armed Forces in 1945 prohibited Jim Crow entertainment facilities. In this regard, southern army camps resisted and retained segregation; Fort Dix, New Jersey, housed soldiers in separate barracks and mess quarters. By the time of reconsent, it was reported that returning black soldiers enjoyed access to the New Jersey Naval Hospital, but they were assigned separate Atlantic City hotels and separate recreation.

During and after the war, the black press not only created a black public sphere for civilians that linked home with Washington, D.C., and America across the Atlantic, but the press aided black soldiers as best they could. Soldiers wrote to the Pittsburgh Courier, Chicago Defender as well as the New Jersey Afro-American as civilians might complain to the NAACP. A man stationed at Sioux Falls, South Dakota, reported “very Jim Crow,” and pleaded that his statement “gets into the AFRO and all the colored papers right away. It may just be the very thing to help us.” Cpl. Russell Banks requested help from the AFRO. “We have no convenient place to eat out dinner, no decent latrine. We would appreciate it very much if you would put this to the proper authorities. Please send a reporter to city of Newport News, Virginia.”

Before their involvement in World War II, black editors increasingly intervened on behalf of victims of segregation. In 1938, a housing association was formed in Fayson Lake and one of the owners planned to rent his property to Negroes. White residents objected. The flames of race were further inflamed last Saturday night when the Ku Klux Klan burned its fiery cross at Fayson Lake, because a Negro family had moved into a white neighborhood. Responding in turn, the black editors announced that the charred KKK cross burned “two weeks ago is on exhibit in one of the windows of the Newark Herald offices, 172 W. Kinney Street, this week.” In towns where the black population was increasing due to wartime migration and employment, the response to white violence escalated to the point of a show of black defense. When a cross was burned in front of a newly purchased home, a black radio engineer telephoned friends, “bringing a crowd of more than twenty-five armed Negroes from surrounding towns to his defense.”

Isolated incidents of anger at the hypocrisy of World War II and racism decisively turned up black consciousness. It was ongoing trends of black urbanization and economic growth that moved the dialectic forward and enlarged the protest for integration. During the war years, rather than austerity, the nation trumpeted consumption for black Americans as well as for white, and, for the first time, black wages began to climb with employment in wartime industries. Newark's black women followed Anderson's example by protesting segregation in a place that rightfully belonged to all residents of the city, namely the department store. The major East Coast department store chain, Bamberger's, had employed black sales personnel since the 1920s, but Broad Street, a major downtown center, randomly observed Jim Crow segregation. Many stores refused to extend to blacks the usual courtesy of allowing patrons to try on garments before buying them. In any case, one day in June 1938 protesters gathered in front of the local Grand Five-and-Ten-Cent Store on Springfield Avenue. A local observer told reporters, “The Negro at last is dropping his slave psychology and is seeking to do something for himself.” This kind of protest reflected the Depression-era legacy of labor activism as much as anti-segregation. Similar protests led by Colored Clerks Circle against employment discrimination had started in St. Louis, Missouri, against Kroger Stores. In 1939, the success of United Grocery Store at 122 Spruce Street in Newark was celebrated for employing ten full-time and more part-time workers—the only chain store in the area staffed completely by members of the race.

In Newark at the height of Double V, department stores were probably the easiest places to integrate because the pressure to constantly increase sales probably suspended if not eliminated this or that Jim Crow convention. The range of stores in Newark spanned the A & E Department Stores, B. Altman & Co., Altman’s Department Store, and Bamberger—these were among eleven major retail establishments in 1947. The segregated stores included the Kresge Department Store and the S.S. Kresge Five and Ten Cent Store. A subtle line in the S. S. Kresge Five and Ten Cent Stores, located at 151 Market Street, was revealed here last week on the eve of the Christmas shopping rush when three young Newark socialists sought to eat in the luncheonette of the store. After moving to a “reserved section,” “the three seated themselves at a table... when a waitress came over and said, ‘You can’t sit down.’ Like the Jewish waiter who refused to serve a cup of coffee, the
waitress blamed her superiors for the policy (either truly or lying from embarrassment). Miss Bridges, the customer, told the waitress that they had been served before. When the manager appeared he denied he had issued an order not to serve colored. After the incident, the newspaper printed: “Downtown Color Bar Revealed.”

It was a question of service that remained resistant to integration rather than the routine of shopping and actually purchasing goods. When the New Jersey Afro-American intervened and sent reporters to test Kresge’s policy the following week, “she a black AFRO reporter seated herself at the tables and was ignored.” Later she was “seated at a table again and was served promptly.” When the assistant manager was interviewed on Monday he admitted that they had served all customers but encouraged “colored to use the counter service in preference to table service.” Kresge’s in Newark posted signs demanding that African Americans sit only at the counters, as “the manager stated that bankers, office workers and downtown workers ate in the luncheonette whether they shopped in the store or not.” It is felt that for the good of all they should be discouraged from seeking table service. Most restaurateurs simply refused service to black customers or asked that they take their orders of food away from the premises. By the mid-1940s, an increasing number of stories reported that black victims of discrimination filed charges with local or state agencies in protest. The most famous was the black celebrity Lena Horne, who in 1949 sued Caruso’s Restaurant, located on the predominantly Italian north side of Newark, for refusing to seat her racially mixed party; Horne responded with a $500 lawsuit.

In other words, from the beginning of the Double V, the challenge to segregated troops and the growing impatience of black Newarkers with any sort of slight in places of consumption fostered a growing sense that segregation was not the American way. Thus a multifaceted black consciousness achieved relief from several levels of government. In response, by 1948 President Truman issued Executive Order 9981, which outlawed racial and ethnic discrimination in the armed forces. And the local black struggle registered at the state level. Dr. Frank S. Hargraves, an African American legislator from Essex County, introduced legislation to create the Urban Colored Commission, charged with investigating the health and living conditions of black residents. The Hargraves bill allocated $30,000, and was followed by Asa Stackhouse’s (Burlington) bill based on FEPC regulations that prohibited discrimination in defense industries. Drawing from both, Hargraves introduced the anti-discrimination law in 1945. The establishment of the division against discrimination was therefore initially located in the Urban Colored Commission in downtown Newark; the Commission recorded a rising number of complaints of accommodations discrimination as early as 1942 (including 46 by Negroes and 2 by Jews). Although the legislation passed in 1942 was based on FEPC recommendations, the commission stated forcefully that “no phase of discrimination directed against the State’s urban colored population has a wider or more dangerous influence than discrimination in public places.” Some black politicians opposed the extension of the Omnibus Civil Rights Act in 1949, which added specific language concerning public accommodations to the statute provisions regarding employment discrimination, also known as the Freeman Bill, because it could hinder the division’s capacity to monitor employment discrimination. But most black New Jerseyans recognized the historic significance of legislation that extended equal protection and enforced mutual obligations across the state. In the ensuing decades, the division would record complaints, investigate violations, and, most important, enforce the laws by regularly bringing suits— it won a string of sweeping decisions in the New Jersey State Supreme Court.

The rising winds of democracy from Allied victory blowing across the ocean sustained the renaissance of democracy in New Jersey. In 1947, the state held a constitutional convention in New Brunswick and passed the first amendment prohibiting the segregation of students in education, which was introduced to the floor by the only black delegate, Oliver Randolph. A year before the Truman administration introduced a radical civil rights initiative, a representative from New Jersey, Albert Hawkes, attempted to advance Double V democracy with a proposed federal measure to ban lynching.

Civic Racism in New Jersey and the Route of Black Consciousness

As the federal government monitored the integration of the armed forces and state laws fell into line with African American protest, it is worth returning to several sites of civic conflict again to examine from several different angles the new direction of popular protest among ordinary citizens. What sort of racial barriers continued to be defended—where, how and why? What strategies succeeded in lowering barriers, and what were the apparent routes of black consciousness?

Before the rise of Nazism, social scientists such as Franz Boas had discredited the argument, leveled by southerners since the heyday of American ethnologists, that blacks were biologically inferior. Then

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the generalized repulsion against Nazism convinced every persuasion of intellectual and broad sections of the public to repudiate most scientific distinctions based on race. Even southern white supremacists downplayed biology and instead espoused ideas of black intellectual inferiority. Yet one last bastion continued to divide black and white Americans—that is civic culture.  

The remainder of this article analyzes what I am theorizing as civic materials—in this case, swimming pool water and blood plasma. Swimming pools, as we know them, were first used by the European military, who built pools in which to practice for future campaigns requiring soldiers to swim in or fight along rivers. The French took the lead in bathing and building pools, when swimming was designated a public ritual, performed ostentatiously by the bourgeoisie and aristocracy. Eventually French swimming evolved toward privatization, and swimming pools were reduced by a "process of civic miniaturization" and removed from public view. According to the Encyclopedia Americana, the first official public pool or bath opened in Liverpool, England, in 1848. It was at the height of the Gilded Age that swimming pools as such were introduced to the United States. Coincidently, some of the most famous and glamorous pools were built on New Jersey estates; the most extravagant of them was George Gould's Georgian Court pool in Lakewood. Eventually private builders installed pools in affluent suburban homes, as well as in municipal areas, and private pool clubs were also formed. By 1962 it was estimated the highest density of pools was discovered in Los Angeles; a report published by the Outdoor Recreation Commission noted that in 1947, "there were 11,000 pools in the U.S., while in 1962 there are more than 310,000 pools."  

The sport of swimming was slow to organize in the United States and was primarily promoted in the 1940s by civic organizations, including "athletic clubs, YMCA, YWCA, educational institutions, natural associations for boys and girls, the American Red Cross." "It is a duty to teach personal hygiene, sex hygiene, community hygiene, first aid, and swimming," one guide reported. A 1958 volume of Physical Education published a story "How I Have Included Christian Emphasis on Teaching Young Boys to Swim," by Richard Peterson, who testified that teaching swimming to young boys instilled the virtues of Christianity.  

Since the Progressive era, the city of Newark had administered public bathing facilities for residents without modern plumbing, seven of which remained open in the 1940s. Two of the largest were the Clifton Avenue Baths and the Montgomery Street Baths. During the war, children had used the Morris Street and the Wilson Street pools, which needed repair due to wartime neglect. After the war, Newark's Bureau of Public Baths reported that four new swimming pools had been built, featuring "water safety and learn to swim classes." One pool was named for a Negro soldier: the "Hayes Part West Pool has been named afterreddi French, Negro Mess attendant, who died August 11, 1943, in an effort to save the lives of officers in the south Pacific." The new amusements were popular in the sweltering, humid Newark summers; receipts collected "at the beaches and open air pools from 1945 totaled 19,176."  

Though swimming was a favorite pastime both of black and white residents, as early as 1938 the Herald reported that the "future of the Jersey shore [was] at stake. . . . The last day of the summer season at the shore had passed into history with the Labor day weekend, with old timers here describing it as one of the poorest in many years." Apparently fewer swimmers were turning out for fun because of a recent controversy over segregated sunning areas. During World War II, the medium-size city of Summit witnessed conflicts over the integration of swimming pools. By March of 1945, the AFRO reported that the authorities in Summit were "smarting under protests against drawing the color line at the YWCA's swimming pool." Although it was announced in the local high school, the YWCA issued a statement notifying the colored girls that they would not be accepted in the swimming class, along with an apology because the distinction was not indicated when the invitation was given to the class. Rather than boycotting and withdrawing from public confrontation, black residents knew enough to assert their rights and demanded access immediately. In addition to contacting the black newspapers, the girls turned to the local NAACP, and the branch wrote directly to the national secretary to report the case of discrimination. When the girls and their representatives met with the YWCA board, they did not receive a favorable response and were not permitted to attend classes with white children. When public pools or private swim clubs segregated, black victims appealed to local government authorities. As early as 1936, local black residents won against segregation; a white cashier was sued for refusing to sell tickets to an amusement park and pool to blacks. Yet the conflicts frequently ended in stalemate, with the licenses suspended or the clubs voluntarily closed. Before the new civil rights law was written in 1949, the exact scope of the 1945 discrimination law was contested; in one case the state court ruled that swimming pools were not covered by state equal protection laws.  

During these years, searching through the gray area between public responsibility and private prerogative, white authorities attempted various kinds of quasi-legal exclusion and segregation; in one case their
methods were eerily similar to the Nazi “star system” used to identify Jews and other stigmatized groups. It was reported that Long Branch attempted to segregate municipally owned beaches using permits and actual badges or tags that bathers were required to display; if a swimmer was discovered outside of the area indicated by their official tag, he or she was fined. Although it was justified as a measure to avoid beach congestion, the \emph{AFRO} believed that the plan was nothing less than Jim Crow segregation.\textsuperscript{94} Long Branch was among the first to organize a local NAACP; an indignant member of the branch filed suit to challenge the ordinances after applying to use one of the two beaches reserved for whites rather than all-black Beach Number 1. She prevailed in the Supreme Court of New Jersey the following year, but the court rejected the ordinance on narrow grounds. Combining patriotism with legal integration, black residents planned an excursion to the beach on the Fourth of July, “without fear of being shunted off to some Jim Crow section.”\textsuperscript{95} That year the swimming pool controversy received national attention; the \textit{New York Times} reported that whites in Hackensack, New Jersey, were trying to stall anti-segregation protest; local black residents “charged that the management of the Palisades Amusement Park” practiced segregation.\textsuperscript{96} When three colored boys bathed, their unattended clothes were doused with water by someone. “The act was evidently one to impress their [group], in going in the pool was displeasing to some persons...therefore the recreation commission closed the pool.” Here the black reporters espoused a simple but incisive theory of urban democracy: “Public swimming pools owned and operated by the public have, from time to time, been the source of so-called ‘racial difficulties.’ The difficulties arise as long as some selfish, ignorant, bigoted individuals will try to use the property of the public, as if it were their individual property.”\textsuperscript{97} When these difficulties persisted, the NAACP suggested that black victims write to the black press, raising consciousness across a broader public arena.\textsuperscript{98} By the mid-1940s, youth groups influenced by the Double V campaigns, such as American Youth Democracy, challenged pool segregation in Paterson. When black children were discovered swimming in the Circle Pool, the manager ordered them to leave, threatening to call the police. The students decided to file a legal case, for they believed that a challenge here would radiate across Paterson. “We would not only open the gates of ‘Circle Pool,’ but end discrimination in many other places around Paterson where it exists.”\textsuperscript{99}

On the one hand, black youth were obviously inspired by Double V consciousness and patriotism; in addition, their rising consciousness was matched by increasing black population. Between 1940 and 1950 the black population of Newark increased to the point of crossing the threshold, surpassing passive accommodationism, from 45,760 to 75,657, from 10.7 percent of the population to 17.2 percent of the population. Each subsequent decade the black population increased by 50 percent or more, while the white population was actually declining as a total percentage of the population; the crucial decade was during World War II, when after years of steady increase the foreign-born population declined by almost 20,000, from 90,346 to 70,662.\textsuperscript{100} Now there were enough black people in the city to support one another when individuals challenged the prevailing order of things. When “a group of colored citizens was organizing to go down to the pool on Sunday,” a contingent of “100
Negroes went on the pier overlooking the pool to lend more support as well as to allay any fear on the part of those who donned bathing suits to bathe. The Herald cheered that "thirty colored bathers took to the bluish waters of the beautiful pool and enjoyed a full day of bathing." Several weeks afterwards, however, it was noted that "trouble occurred at the pool last week, the result of white children splashing water at two colored girls. The colored children shouted taunts at the white girls but were then admonished by the lifeguard for their rudeness, the lifeguard apparently unaware of the initial infliction on the part of the white girls." The two black girls left the scene and returned with "a large group of young men and women." Fortified with supporters, the black children bathed. Over the years, as suburbanization drew white residents out of Newark and municipal finances dipped, the public pools were closed, according to the 1964 Newark Directory.

A clearer case of the crisscrossing intersection of consciousness between World War II and anti-segregation at home, and profound civic resistance concerns the Red Cross. Of course, blood is densely symbolic. The civic material—Red Cross plasma—here the metonym of the corporeal, the national corps, such as the military, the corporal, and symbolic of the black body that was excluded from the public realm by the civic politics of segregation. Corps, corporal, corpuses, and patriotism—how black American civilians desired to transmit their blood overseas, save injured soldiers, and fortify the struggle to save democracy. Yet that desire was thwarted by a policy that rejected black people's blood. Equally if not more important than the actual plasma were the activities and associations of the Red Cross; it was a major avenue of voluntarism during the war. Italians were among the leading ethnic group of volunteers. Other formerly all-white civic organizations include the Traveler and Aid Society and USO Travelers Aid Service (which eventually included 225 black Newarkers who served in the lounge or acted as junior hostesses at nearby camps).

Founded in the late-nineteenth century to rescue victims of disaster or emergencies, the first Red Cross blood bank was established in England in 1921; a New York blood bank opened on the eve of World War II, before the office moved to Washington, D.C. The African American research physician Charles Drew was hired in New York and headed the blood plasma collection division. Ironically, Drew was seriously injured in an automobile accident in North Carolina after the war, and he was refused medical attention, particularly blood transfusion, when he arrived by ambulance at the emergency room and died from complications.

Before the outbreak of war, the NAACP was negotiating with the national board of the Red Cross, specifically relating to changes in salary. By 1939, the Red Cross announced its infamous policy of refusing to collect blood from African American volunteers. The organization alleged that the army and navy requested the policy, but military personnel denied the Red Cross statement. In response to angry protest letters, the Red Cross reported that it did not have enough time to read them. Eventually it announced that the policy of refusing black American blood, after pressure from black protesters nationwide, was revised to a policy of segregated collection. Despite pleas by black leaders for the integration of plasma, the Red Cross announced that "in deference to the wishes of those for whom the plasma is being provided, the blood will be processed separately so that those receiving transfusion may be given plasma from blood of their own race." The blood issue was controversial enough that it split black Americans, though the majority undoubtedly supported integration. The highest ranking black officer, General B.O. Davis, sanctioned the separate facilities and segregated plasma distribution.

In response to news of the Red Cross ban, black Newarkers organized to protest. In Ashbury Park they reported not only segregation but wholesale refusal of black blood as late as 1943. Black Newarkers volunteered to collect blood through other organizations, such as the Blood Transfusion Betterment Association of Newark. And from 1944 to 1945, a mobile unit from New York visited industrial sites, including New Jersey Bell, Clark Thread Company, and Ballantine Brewery, to collect plasma from black Americans. It was repeatedly asserted that no "factual" basis existed to support segregated plasma, particularly since blood flowed freely between the races in transfusions among civilians.

Leading protesters easily attacked scientific racism that might support segregated plasma—noting that Jim Crow was "absurd and unscientific prejudice." What was urgent, according to the NAACP, was to eliminate the Double V contradiction: "The situation is intolerable at a time when we are fighting Hitlerism with its grotesque race theory, the central item which happens to be in accord with the nonsense about racial blood." Beyond racist civic values, issues of military personnel impeded integration of plasma. Although the Navy denied that it requested either refusal or segregation of African American blood, in retrospect it would seem that the navy wanted to avoid the issue because it intended to limit enlistment of black sailors. Said the Red Cross: "Since
there are very few Negroes in the Navy, the Navy . . . did not desire to have us accept Negro blood." The army also believed segregation reflected the opinion of most white soldiers. Fighting rhetoric with rhetoric, the Red Cross countered Double V arguments with the maxim of democracy that majority will should prevail over a small minority. Writing to the NAACP, the director of the Red Cross counseled patience: "My own feeling is that more progress can be made in the removal of race prejudice and education than by agitation." And the Red Cross attempted to conceal the agitation that was pressuring for integration; for it believed that the American public absolutely preferred that plasma be separate. Conducting a major blood drive in 1945 for 200,000 pints of blood, its publicity hedged on the question of accepting black American blood, sparking protest from black Americans, including letters of inquiry into their blood donor policies. In response to the Red Cross theory of majority rule, Walter White picked up the Double V rhetoric, and pointed out that even the president had announced that he "could not be a party to a . . . doctrine [which] savors more of Hitler's theory of a 'master race' than of a democracy." At stake was not only consistently refuting Nazi race theory; racial liberals linked other favorite issues—inter racial marriage, equal accommodations—to the campaign for the same blood banks to collect plasma from both races.

During the war, the Newark Chapter of the American Red Cross rarely referred to the intense conflicts over segregation; their annual reports celebrated a series of successful blood drives, from which it collected 14,496 pints of blood. The reports featured glossy pictures of Red Cross activities—but only of whites. The one exception concerned the blood collection, where a black nurse was posed next to a white nurse, both donating blood. Undoubtedly the photo was designed to reassure readers that a black nurse was available to take plasma from black volunteers and to maintain blood separation. At the end of the war, Red Cross reports featured a black soldier as well as a dark-skinned child suffering from famine.

The Red Cross was one of the most visible civic volunteer organizations in Newark, affecting numerous facets of the city. The Italian-American newspapers granted the organization free advertisement as a public service, featuring ads in English and Italian. School children prepared albums for the Red Cross and participated in letter-writing campaigns with children in other countries. The essence of the Red Cross was the feeling of connection between local members and the soldiers overseas; the Newark chapter advertised its annual blood drive with the slogan "Your Red Cross is at His Side." During the war, some 9,000 Newark volunteers donated more than two million hours of service and 59,133 pints of blood. So-called Gallon Club members numbered 531. By the end of the war in 1945, black activists had scored a victory against segregated blood similar to that of integrating the armed forces; the practice of Jim Crow plasma was officially abandoned by the Red Cross. And by 1951, the NAACP easily pressured the Red Cross to abandon the practice of labeling blood plasma by race by convincingly demonstrating that this relic of Jim Crow was retained to appease southern members.

A smaller town in New Jersey offers a case of changing black consciousness in tune with Double V via black newsprint culture. The town of Asbury Park prospered during the war, drawing thousands of workers, including a significant number of black migrants. A public-housing project was specifically designated for black residents to meet rising demands of workers. In the midst of economic and residential flux, white residents attempted to impose segregation in housing, the Red Cross, and swimming pools. But the black residents "resent being set apart as does any racial group." A local black resident reported that groups were protesting the operation of a segregated Red Cross plasma center in town, for they had been told "the Red Cross does not welcome colored blood donors. We aren't taking blood from any colored people today." Black residents initially refused to donate blood and later chal-
lenged the segregated policy; by 1947, perhaps in response to rising consciousness during the Double V campaigns, they organized a local chapter of the NAACP.19

After the war, the changing community of Asbury Park had to confront the issue of public swimming. Whites again preferred segregation; in response it was reported that "a hearing was scheduled here last Friday against the owner and operator of the Monte Carlo Swimming Pool ... on charges of discrimination." A black woman was refused membership when the pool used "a membership and application device to deny her admittance. This was the second case of it coming up for a hearing before the DA." When the case came to trial, the district attorney ordered the pool owner to stop discriminating. Another Asbury Park pool owner similarly discriminated against black residents; he claimed that if he operated on an integrated basis, the small town faced the "prospect of Harlem and Philadelphia Negroes coming to his pool by the bus load." Defending himself against the local NAACP's outrage, the pool owner claimed that he received a threatening telephone call from the NAACP demanding a $200 contribution, or the organization would ship black swimmers to his swimming club.

By the beginning of 1951, the integration movement for equal access to swimming, after successful campaigns in many states, returned to Marian Anderson's original site of contest—public institutions in Washington, D.C. When it was announced that swimming pools in the District of Columbia would operate on an integrated basis during the upcoming summer, conservatives introduced a measure to transfer municipal authority from the more liberal federal bureaucracy to segregationist city officials. In response, John F. Kennedy, then a representative, introduced a discharge petition and successfully downed the transfer measure. Still, when the pools eventually opened to African Americans, it was reported that white hoodlums disrupted the swimmers and, worse, were unrestrained by either local police or the federal park patrol.20

Over the course of the next decade, both state and federal authorities refined as they enforced public accommodations statutes and its culture of equal protection. The distinction between public and private was increasingly a source of conflict as a result. In 1947 the Division Against Discrimination announced that "it was taking steps to remedy conditions in 65 of 66 county businesses in one jurisdiction alone; at the state level, the division received approximately 750 cases annually.21" The obviously public facility, such as a park or a pool, was not really an issue since the State of New Jersey definitively espoused equal protection; restaurants and department stores gradually acquiesced to integra-
tion of public consumption and welcomed customers regardless of race. In fact, privacy was becoming an increasingly smaller shelter with which to elude the 1949 civil rights law. When the owner of a rental hall refused the application of an African American civic group, the Moorestown Civic Club, the issue raised in literal as well as symbolic form the question of discrimination and civic culture with which I introduced this article. The court disputed the owners’ claim to immunity for reasons of privacy because “the rooms which appellant designates as private in nature have in the past been assigned through prior reservation to parent-teacher association meetings, Boy Scout meetings, salesmen’s meetings, post-funeral gatherings, dances.” The rental hall incurred a public responsibility—“by advertising and other forms of invitation induces patronage generally.” It was as if the court in 1950 was looking back to 1939 when Marian Anderson first captured the imagination of black Americans with her dignified response to the humiliation of exclusion from Constitution Hall. “The law is designed to insure that all citizens of this State shall not be subjected to the embarrassment and humiliation of being invited to an establishment, only to find its doors barred to them.”

In the 1950s and 1960s, the crisis of public integration waned in comparison to worsening economic stagnation in Newark, increasing rates of black poverty, and deteriorating living conditions for black residents. It is difficult to believe that as recently as 1966 a white barber would refuse to cut the hair of a black customer. The court promptly ordered him to perform the haircut, his public license did not permit him to refuse service to the black man. When the Levitt brothers, owners of Levittown homes, refused to lease to black buyers, the court reminded them that they received federal housing subsidies and rejected the claim that they operated as a private entity. Haircuts, of course, seemed increasingly less important to the former champions of Double V than finding a solution to economic and municipal subordination, for these problems confounded newspaper campaigns or small demonstrations. But it was not yet obvious to strategists that the ideology of Double V would decline as it did in the 1960s when black nationalists repudiated integration. Before this, at some point in the late-1940s or early 1950s, New Jersey’s original social welfare organization for African Americans, the Urban Colored Commission, received a memo entitled simply “The Third V: What the Negro Citizen Can Do.” The document outlined a new tripartite political campaign; if the first V symbolized victory abroad, the second V over “imported or home grown fascism,” the “third V symbolizes the Negro’s victory over himself.” Many black institutions of historical significance—lectures, sermons, pageants, plays, edi-
emerged from the victory of the Double V during the 1940s and reawakened black consciousness in the summer of 1967—only this time the rising winds had turned to storms of rioting and rebellion.\textsuperscript{38}

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Notes


tions, see Theda Skocpol and Morris Fiorina, eds., The Civic Engagement in American Democracy (New York, 1999); applied historically to urban democracy, Mary Ryan, Civic Wars: The People and the Public in the Nineteenth Century (Berkeley, 1996); on race, ethnicity, and legal definitions of national inclusion; Rogers Smith, Civic Ideals: Confronting Visions of Citizenship in the United States (New Haven, 1997).


5. Paul Steiborn, "Depression and Decline, Newark, New Jersey, 1929-1941" (Ph.D. disser-
tation, Rutgers University, 1982), 8.

6. A New Look at Newark, Newark Economic Program (Newark, 1955); on black sub-
urbanization, see Harold M. Rose, Black Suburbanization: Access to Improved Quality of Life or Maintenance of the Status Quo (Cambridge, Mass., 1975); Holle Jean Myers, Power, Geography, and Black Americans: Exploring the Implications of Black Suburbanization (1988).

7. William Julius Wilson, The Truly Disadvantaged: The Inner City, the Underclass, and Public Policy (Chicago, 1987); Thomas Sugrue, Origins of the Urban Crisis: Race and Inequality in Postwar Detroit (Princeton, 1996). Urban Colored Commission, Annual Report, July 31, 1945, Newark Public Library, the commission was created by Senator Harragreaves from Essex County, by Assembly Bill 184, on February 17, 1941, see Program of the New Jersey Negro Welfare Commis-
sion Report (1941).


10. Economic Development of the Greater Newark Area: Recent Trends and Prospects (New Jersey, 1950), 54-55, 59; in the period from 1947 to 1955, retail sales increased by only 16.9 per-
cent in the core of New Jersey, e.g., Newark, while the ring showed a gain of 95.4 percent.

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15. The Negro in Newark, Commission Report, Part One (1944), Newark Public Library; New Jersey Urban League Annual Report (1944), 16; although black migrants gained in the professions during the 1920s, industrial opportunities declined. Clement Price, “The Afro-American Community of Newark, 1917-1947: A Social History” (Ph.D. dissertation, Rutgers University, 1975), 103-8; for example, Hamden County reported no Negro doctors, despite a large black population. See New Jersey Afro-American, April 17, 1943.
16. On the TWCA, with Dr. William Ward, president of directors, see New Jersey Afro-American, December 22, 1945; the Savoy Theater, for example, reserved the balcony for black patrons, who were forced to wait in separate lines to purchase tickets. See New Jersey Herald, July 11, 1946.
17. The NAACP endorsed the Double V in May 1942; see telegram, May 12, 1942, Box A.2.92, Group II, NAACP, Library of Congress, the NAACP led a membership drive for 5,000 members during the war years, but correspondence suggests that ineptitude hindered the organization’s effectiveness. From Madison Jones to Bert Bland, May 23, 1942, Box C.1.106, file, Newark, 1940-1942, Group II, NAACP, LOC.
20. Illiteracy rates for males and females in 1900 indicated by the census suggest that total illiteracy (who can read but not write, 1,883) number who can neither read nor write, 10,552; by 1920, the urban population of New Jersey, Negro illiteracy was 6.5 and declined to 5.7 percent in 1930; native white illiteracy was 64 percent, and foreign born was 13.4 percent in 1930. See 1900 Federal Census, Fifteenth Decennial Census, vol. 3, part 2, 182.
21. Additional smaller newspapers were published but are not apparently preserved on microfilm or available in archives. They include The Newark Appeal (1902-1910), The New Jersey Observer (1914-1923), The New Jersey Informer (1919-1923), The New Jersey Record (1933-1943), The New Jersey Guardian (1934-1942). See Price, “African American Community,” 133.
24. New Jersey Afro-American, March 10, 1945, 9; W.F. Bayless to Walter White, April 20, 1942, file “Double V,” Box A.2.92, Group II, NAACP.
26. New Jersey Herald, July 25, 1942, on Randolph’s Double V and fascism in the 1940s, see Robert Hill, RACON, 434.
28. Ibid., 30.
29. Ibid., 40.
32. The Daughters of the American Revolution was founded in 1890 by four women. By the late 1890s women were joining at the rate of three, four, and five thousand a year; by 1931 the Daughters were 175,525 strong. Peggy Anderson, The Daughters: An Unconventional Look at America’s Fin Club—the DAR (New York, 1974), 66; Barbara Trumendel, “God, Home, and Country: Folklore, Patrons, and the Politics of Home” (Ph.D. dissertation, Indiana, 1995).
34. New Jersey Herald, February 25, 1939.
35. New Jersey Herald, January 14, 1939.
37. New Jersey Herald, clippings file (7-65), NPL.
39. From Secretary, office of Walter White, to Emory Jackson, January 29, 1951, Box A.18, file “Anderson, General 1951-55,” Group II, NAACP, LOC.
41. Newswest, June 24, 1939.
42. New Jersey Herald, July 2, 1938.
43. The National Urban League of Newark Annual Report (1940), 7.
45. New Jersey Herald, February 22, 1941, the white criticism of Nazi anti-Semitism was not as posted as black Double V rhetoric. See Peter Novick, Holocaust in American Life (Boston, 1999), 24-30, and major intellectuals followed rather than led the newspaper discourse, such as Du Bois’s experience with Nazism during the 1930s, see Werner Sollors, “W.E.B. Du Bois in Nazi Germany, 1936,” American Historical Review 64, no. 2 (1999), 207-222.
46. Pittsburgh Courier, February 15, 1941.
47. New Jersey Afro-American, February 13, 1943.
49. New Jersey Afro-American, February 13, 1943, see signed affidavit, attached, from Thurgood Marshall to Mrs. Bernice Johnson, Chicago, October 6, 1943, Box B.66, file “Discrimination,” Group II, NAACP, LOC.
52. New Jersey Afro-American, October 9, 1943.
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55. New Jersey Afro-American, February 16, 1946.
56. New Jersey Afro-American, September 14, 1946.
58. New Jersey Afro-American, October 12, 1946
62. New Jersey Afro-American, April 1, 1944.
63. On its morale among black soldiers due to segregation, see New Jersey Afro-American, June 24, 1944. "No doubt the average colored soldier is of the opinion that he is the least thought of and the most unappreciated member of our nation's armed forces," on USOs, see New Jersey Afro-American, January 5, 1944, New Jersey Afro-American, April 21, 1945, "Jim Crow Officers Clubs. Expressly Barred by Army. "No officers club, mess, or there similar social organization of officers will be permitted by the post commander to occupy any part of any public building," New Jersey Afro-American, November 20, 1943, 1; see anonymous memo, November 22, 1948, Box A.15, file, "American Red Cross," Group II, NAACP.
64. New Jersey Afro-American, January 12, 1946.
65. New Jersey Afro-American, June 30, 1945, Robert Hill, NAACP, 35.
67. Ibid., 70, reported from New Jersey Afro-American, December 13, 1944, New Jersey Afro-American, October 12, 1946.
68. Newark Herald, July 30, 1938.
69. Newark Herald, August 6, 1938.
72. Price, "African American Community," 145; black employment in retail was increasing in the North in the 1940s, owing to pressure by the National Urban League, particularly in New York, New Jersey, and Boston, see Gordon F. Bloom et al., Negro Employment in Retail Trade (Philadelphia, 1972), 31, 33, Newark Herald, June 11, 1938.
73. Newark Herald, March 18, 1939.
75. Newark Herald, December 24, 1938.
76. When refused service at 125 South Orange Street, two Jersey City residents filed a suit, and the proprietors were "hauled into court." See Newark Herald, December 9, 1944, New Jersey Afro-American, September 24, 1949; the incident occurred on September 16, 1949.
77. On the politics of Truman and civil rights, see Robert Ferrell, Harry S. Truman: A Life (Columbia, Mo., 1994), 305; the South waited against "unnerving miscroegation down their throats.
78. When Truman proposed federal civil rights legislation, southern legislature invoked Rule 22 (passed in 1917 allowing filibusters on civil rights issues), and several proposals were defeated, most notably a permanent Federal Employment Practices Commission. However, by 1950 the armed forces were basically integrated. See Blocks in the United States Armed Forces, Basic Documents, vol. 2, 43.
81. New Jersey Afro-American, August 29, 1953.
82. New Jersey Afro-American, January 18, 1948.
86. The Newark Directory (1947).
89. New Jersey Afro-American, March 31, 1945.
90. See cases in Box C.66, file "discrimination swimming pools, New Jersey, 1945–49," Group II, NAACP, LOC, from Mrs. White, Dr. Richard V. Sums, Jr., to President Mrs. Cassie W. (June 20, 1945), Box C.66, file "discrimination in swimming pools," Group II, NAACP, LOC.
91. NAACP Annual Report (1936), 22.
93. From Clifford Moore, Louis E. Saunders, 28 Concourse East, Jersey City, New Jersey, to Louis E. Saunders (June 17, 1948), Box C.66, file "discrimination in NJ swimming pools," Group II, NAACP, LOC, see the decision on Rosecliff in Valle v. Stengel, New Jersey Law Review 71, no. 3 (June 10, 1948).
94. Newark Herald, June 18, 1938.
95. Annual Report, NAACP (1939), 21, New Jersey Herald, July 1, 1939.
98. See from Madison Jones, campaign director, to Best Bland (May 23, 1942), Box C.110, file, "Newark, 1940–1942," Group II, NAACP.
99. From Foris Berman to Franklin Williams (August 2, 1946), Box B.66, file "discrimination, 1945–49," Group II, NAACP.
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108. "Use of Negro Blood from Blood Banks" (May 16, 1942), Box A.15, "file Red Cross Donor Policy," Group II, NAACP, LOC.
109. From Henry Smith Leiper to G. C. Robinson, Blood Donor Services, American Red Cross (January 15, 1942), Box A.15, file "Red Cross Donor Policy, 1942-44." Group II, NAACP, LOC.
110. From Norman Davis to Henry R. Smith (World Council of Churches) (December 7, 1942), Box A.15, file "Red Cross," Group II, NAACP, LOC.
111. From Roy Wilkins to Norman Davis (February 21, 1944), Box A.15, Group II, NAACP, LOC.
112. See memo (August 10, 1944), Box A.15, file "Red Cross," Group II, NAACP, LOC.
113. For example, see Robert Hill, RACON, 341.
114. Annual Report, American Red Cross of Newark (1946).
118. New Jersey Afro-American, May 5, 1945, on the labeling controversy, from Madison Jones to Marion M. Brittain, Citizens Council on Democratic Rights (July 31, 1950). Box A.15, Group II, NAACP: from Louis Boosheer, Dir. of Public Relations, to Madison Jones (February 5, 1951), Box A.15, Group II, NAACP, LOC.
119. New Jersey Afro-American, March 27, 1943, from A.C. Parlewy, Solicitor to Lucille Black (November 25, 1947), Box C.105, file "Assembly Park," Group II, NAACP.
122. Melvin Evans and John B. Mosswood, Complaints, u. Burt J. Bass, Owner, Independent (55 N.J. Super 266, 1950 A.2d 512), 1-5; on rental halls, see Delia David v. Vesta Cuppy and Henry C. Senger, Jr., John Lowe, Joseph T. Panacci and Mrs. Alfred Dagle (81 N.J. Super 953, 196 A.2d 286; 1963 N.J. Super); also see Clover Hill Swimming Club, Inc. v. Robert F. Goldboro and Division on Civil Rights, Department of Law (47 N.J. 25, 219 A.2d 161; 1956 N.J. Lexis 180); the court ruled that license obligated certain kinds of equal protection. White barbers could not refuse to cut black hair; even in cases when they claimed lack of skills because their licenses indicated skills in cutting all types of hair; and Thomas Peyton Sellers v. Philip Barber Shop and Philip Gotti (45 N.J. 340, 217 A.2d, 121; 1966 N.J. Lexis 259).
123. Levitt and Sons, Inc. v. Division Against Discrimination (31 N.J. 514, 158 A.2d, 177; 1960 N.J. Lexis 249).
124. See "The Third V." Box 2, file 11, Urban Colored Commission, NJBA.
125. Based on: United States Census, 1890-1980; also see Price, "African-American Community," Table 1.1.