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**A. Philip Randolph as a Charismatic Leader, 1925-1941**

William H. Harris

*Journal of Negro History*, Volume 64, Issue 4 (Autumn, 1979), 301-315.

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## JUDGE HASTIE, WORLD WAR II, AND ARMY RACISM

Phillip McGuire\*

From the beginning of America's involvement in domestic and foreign wars, black Americans were faced with exclusion until the need for greater manpower evinced the necessity of their participation. Historically, this practice was nurtured by personal and institutional racism. Blacks were never accepted as military equals to whites. Even as military auxiliaries, insurmountable segregation and discrimination were heaped upon them. Consequently, most blacks were relegated to service and supply units. Just as white Americans devised legal and extra-legal schemes to maintain a civilian servile class of blacks, the United States military apparently accepted and transferred this practice to the armed forces. Thus, Army racism was probably maintained and justified because of its deep roots in the ideology and institutions of an American society unwilling to make the democratic rhetoric of World War II a reality for its black soldiers.

It was unfortunate that the integration and utilization of black manpower became grave questions for the military between 1940 and 1943. It has been unfortunate also that recent scholars writing on the period have either ignored or distorted the significant contribution made by Judge William Hastie.<sup>1</sup>

This study explores, in a selective and abbreviated form, the activities and impact of Judge Hastie as civilian aid to the Secretary of War from 1940 to 1943. It should be noted, however, that most of Hastie's recommendations pertaining to black equality were put into effect after his resignation in January 1943. Those which called for integrated army units or would have had the effect of creating an integrated military were rejected outright or manipulated to maintain segregation. It should also be noted that although War Secretary Henry L. Stimson asked Hastie to be responsible for blacks in all branches of the armed forces and its defense programs, most of Hastie's activities related to blacks in the Army.<sup>2</sup>

The spring of 1940 was crucial for the War Department in making decisions on black participation in the defense of the United States. As blacks continued to agitate for more equality, the ballot, coupled with patriotism and loyalty became powerful forces in black strategy for gaining concessions from the military and from the federal government. Such pressure forced the War Department to appoint Judge Hastie civilian aide to the Secretary of War. Hastie's role, however, would be different from that of Emmett J. Scott, black special assistant to Secretary of War Newton Baker during the First World War. He viewed Scott as an adjuster of racial ills rather than a leading voice for justice and social change.

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## THE FBI, MOWM, AND CORE, 1941-1946

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Recent scholarship has traced the origin of federal political surveillance of citizens by what was then called the Bureau of Investigation to the period of the "Red Scare" immediately after World War I (Williams, 1981, pp. 560-579). This type of spying went beyond the bureau's statutory authority, which includes only the activities of persons in violation of federal laws. In 1924, J. Edgar Hoover stated that "theoretically" the bureau could not get involved in noncriminal activities, but as American participation in World War II neared, Hoover, using recently issued presidential directives as authority, began claiming a much wider scope for the bureau's activities. By 1940, he believed that the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) had jurisdiction over "subversive activities" and other "movements detrimental to the national security" (Lowenthal, 1950, p. 444). Actually, as one scholar and critic of the FBI points out, the presidential directives, issued in 1936 and 1939, authorized investigative work only involving communism and fascism, not "subversive activities and related matters," as Hoover and the bureau later claimed. Armed with the directives, however, Hoover began planning an elaborate program of surveillance that "would focus on domestic political or trade union activities deemed subversive by FBI personnel" (Theoharis, 1976, pp. 649-659; Theoharis, 1978, p. 67). It was also during the World War II period that the FBI began the illegal use of wiretaps under authority from the president, who distrusted some of his associates and wanted information about critics of his foreign policy (Bernstein, 1976, p. 63).



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## BIOGRAPHY, RACE VINDICATION, AND AFRICAN-AMERICAN INTELLECTUALS: INTRODUCTORY ESSAY

By

V. P. Franklin and Bettye Collier-Thomas\*

This Special Issue published in celebration of the 80th Anniversary of *The Journal of Negro History* (JNH) focuses on what African-American intellectuals *do* in general, and what historians and other social scientists have done *best* in the pages of JNH. The Association for the Study of Negro Life and History (ASNLH) was formed in Chicago in October 1915 by Carter G. Woodson, George Cleveland Hall, W.B. Hargrove, Alexander L. Jackson, and James E. Stamps for "the collection of sociological and historical data on the Negro, the study of peoples of African blood, the publishing of books in this field, and the promotion of harmony between the races." The first issue of the JNH appeared shortly thereafter in January 1916, and Carter G. Woodson, the editor, made it clear that this was to be "a quarterly scientific magazine" committed to publishing scholarly research and documents on the history and cultures of Africa and peoples of African descent around the world.<sup>1</sup>

From the beginning Carter G. Woodson knew that the JNH would be important for "race vindication." "When the public saw a well-printed scientific magazine, presenting scholarly current articles and valuable documents giving facts scarcely known," Woodson recalled in 1925, "the students of history and correlated fields highly praised the effort and warmly welcomed the publication." Woodson understood that publishing these articles and collecting these materials was the only way "that the Negro [could] escape the awful fate of becoming a negligible factor in the thought of the world." The activities pursued by the members of the ASNLH would "enable scientifically trained men [and women] to produce treatises based on the whole truth."<sup>2</sup>

In *Living Our Stories, Telling Our Truths: Autobiography and the Making of the African-American Intellectual Tradition*, V.P. Franklin used the life-writings of African-American literary artists and political leaders to demonstrate that "race vindication" was a major activity for black intellectuals from the early nineteenth century. African-American preachers, professors, publishers, and other highly educated professionals put their intellect and training in service to "the race" to deconstruct the discursive structures erected in science, medicine, the law, and historical discourse to uphold the mental and cultural inferiority of African peoples. The autobiographical works written by Alexander Crummell, Ida Wells-Barnett, James Weldon Johnson, Harry Haywood,

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**War as watershed: the East Bay and World War II.** (Fortress California at War: San Francisco, Los Angeles, Oakland, and San Diego, 1941-1945) *Marilynn S. Johnson.*

**Abstract:** The Second World War had an immense impact on the East Bay region of the San Francisco Bay Area. As a result of mass migrations by people looking for jobs in the lucrative defense industry, the demographic makeup of the region was transformed to include more blacks and more southerners. The cultural life of the San Francisco Bay Area was also changed by migrant workers who brought along with them a tradition of country and blues music and devotion to evangelical religion. The political geography of the region was likewise affected, as labor unions and other progressive forces grew powerful enough to elect their own candidates and challenge the owners of industry.

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Since historians first examined the domestic impact of World War II back in the 1970s, they have debated what I call the war-as-watershed issue. From the earliest general studies by Richard Polenberg and John Morton Blum to the more recent studies of labor, women, racial minorities, and economic and regional development, these home-front historians have reached conflicting conclusions about the significance of the war as an agent of historical change. While some argue that World War II was a critical turning point in United States history, others find it merely accelerated existing social and economic trends. (1)

1. General studies include John Morton Blum, *V War for Victory: Politics and American Culture during World War II* (New York, 1976); Gerald D. Nash, *The Great Depression and World War II: Organizing America, 1933-45* (New York, 1979); and Richard Polenberg, *War and Society: The United States, 1941-1945* (Philadelphia, 1972). In recent years, there has also been a proliferation of more specialized social history studies such as Karen Anderson, *Wartime Women: Sex Roles, Family Relationships, and the Status of Women during World War II* (Westport, Conn., 1981); Dominic Campecci, *Race Relations in Detroit* (Philadelphia, 1984); Susan M. Hartman, *The Homefront and Beyond* (Boston, 1982); Nelson Lichtenstein, *Labor's War at Home: The CIO in World War II* (New York, 1982); and Ruth Milkman, *Gender at Work: The Dynamics of Job Segregation by Sex during World War II* (Urbana, Ill., 1987). For state and regional treatments, see Alan Clive, *State of War: Michigan in World War II* (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1979); Marc Scott Miller, *The Army of Victory: World War II and Lowell, Massachusetts* (Urbana, Ill., 1988); C. Calvin Smith, *War and Wartime Changes: The Transformation of Arkansas, 1940-1945* (Fayetteville, Ark., 1996); and Gerald D. Nash, *The American West Transformed: The Impact of the Second World War* (Bloomington, Ind., 1985).

This debate, like many historical controversies, has been artificially polarized and has blinded historians to more important questions regarding the impact of World War II. Few events in history are wholly unprecedented;

the effects of war and other cataclysmic events occur within preestablished social systems and usually augment longstanding historical trends. On the other hand, wars often vastly accelerate the pace of social change, producing emergency responses that can potentially transform the status quo. Rather than tallying the forces of change and continuity in a fruitless effort to resolve the watershed debate, historians would do better to identify exactly where and how specific changes occurred and in what ways World War II then reshaped longterm historical trends.

There is perhaps no better locale for this endeavor than urban California. By nearly every measure of wartime influence, from militarization to urban migration, California cities topped the list. Historian Gerald Nash has argued that these wartime influences transformed the American West, bringing new industry, expanded population, and rampant urban development. In his most recent book, *World War II and the West*, he concentrates on the economic aspects of this transformation, arguing that the war ushered the West out of a provincial, colonial past into the mainstream of modern industrial life.

My own research in the East Bay region of the San Francisco area does not support Nash's economic views. In the East Bay, where shipbuilding dominated the wartime economy but disappeared just as quickly after 1945, the economic revolution was shortlived. Furthermore, as Roger Lotchin has shown, the California "metropolitan-military complex" did not emerge suddenly with World War II but developed gradually over the course of the twentieth century. As economist Paul Rhode suggests, the transformation of

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