

**"WE ARE IN THE FRONT LINES IN THE
BATTLE FOR DEMOCRACY": CAROLYN
MOORE AND BLACK ACTIVISM IN WORLD
WAR II PHILADELPHIA**

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*I*n the fall of 1943, several thousand Philadelphians, most of them black, marched on City Hall. Some of the protestors carried American flags, while others bore placards that read "Jim Crow fights on Hitler's side!" "In Democracy, Freedom to Work Belongs to All," and "We Drive Tanks Why Not Trolleys?" They were angry that the Philadelphia Transportation Company (PTC) used racist employment practices to deny driving jobs to African Americans. After all, the nation was in the midst of a war for democracy and in the view of many Philadelphians it was time for the United States to live up to its ideals. Throughout the march, protestors stopped to listen to speakers who persistently made the point that their efforts to end Jim Crow at home were part and parcel of the larger war going on around them. "We are trying to preserve democracy on the home front as our boys are doing on the firing line," said Reverend E. Luther Cunningham. "The destiny of America is involved [in this fight]." "Colored citizens pay taxes, buy war bonds, are giving their all in this war," added

William Johnson of Mother Bethel African Methodist Episcopal Church. "They should not and will not be discriminated against." Carolyn Davenport Moore, the local National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) executive secretary and chief organizer of the march and the larger campaign against the transit company, summed up the attitudes of everyone involved, telling reporters her protestors would "throw a picket line around the PTC office . . . and keep it there until company executives decide to practice this democracy there has been so much talk about. . . . We don't intend to let up until colored men and women are given equal job opportunities."¹

This article uses the campaign against the PTC as a window into the black activism that grew in Philadelphia during World War II. In doing so, it pays particular attention to Moore's role, for Moore was the key figure in orchestrating the desegregation effort at the transit company and her story illuminates an understudied aspect of the early civil rights movement, namely the part women played in actually leading such campaigns. While historians have produced innumerable studies of male civil rights activists leading movements, negotiating with white politicians, and generally blazing a path for African Americans, they have only begun to analyze the place women held in the movement. Women show up in these accounts, marching and demonstrating in the background, but they rarely appear as central figures in the black rights movement. This article makes the case that our understanding of Philadelphia's World War II-era activism is incomplete without Moore's story.²

In telling Moore's story, this article focuses on the way she energized black Philadelphia. In part, she did so by retooling the local NAACP, making it an organization that appealed for the first time to the interests of working-class African Americans. Moore also established ties with black churches, getting prominent ministers involved in her marches and rallies. And she used sympathetic labor and government organizations, in particular the Transport Workers Union (TWU) of the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO) and the federal Fair Employment Practices Committee (FEPC) to support her cause. In the end Moore brought together a huge black community of 275,000 people and their allies to mount a protest that toppled Jim Crow at a key Philadelphia employer. More broadly, Moore's story shows how a committed female activist helped a major American city live up to the nation's ideals in the midst of World War II.³

In September 1942, when Carolyn Moore arrived in Philadelphia, the city's black population had great but largely untapped resources and faced

myriad problems. Segregated housing forced African Americans into the oldest and shoddiest housing stock where some 20 percent of the homes were in need of major repairs. Many did not even have running water. African-American children received their education in a segregated public school system that whites zealously fought to preserve. When, for instance, African Americans tried to integrate some of the area's schools in 1946, white parents foreshadowed Alabama in the 1960s, standing in the schoolhouse door and painting "KKK" in the entrances. The police department provided another example of the city's discriminatory race relations, with many blacks describing the overwhelmingly white force as "brutal." Perhaps most disheartening, black Philadelphians encountered pervasive employment discrimination in most of the city's businesses, which made a mockery of one of their strongest reasons for heading north. One survey just after World War II found that 90 percent of the state's businesses discriminated against blacks in their hiring practices. In all, Philadelphia's problems demonstrated that over a quarter of a million people lived in a city hostile to their vital concerns.⁴

One local institution specifically designed to help with these problems was the NAACP, but most people found it offered little assistance. Led by businessmen and professionals, the organization, in the eyes of ordinary blacks, cared more about "respectability" than fighting discrimination. Chapter officers sponsored violin concerts and poetry readings, protested exclusionary practices on tour boats on the Delaware River, and arranged "Reconciliation Trips" that brought white middle-class Philadelphians to the south side of the city where they could take tours of NAACP headquarters and meet "respectable" African Americans. At some level these leaders sympathized with migrants and poor blacks, believing their cultured attempts to connect with whites of good faith were the best way to help all African Americans. After all, whites held the power in Philadelphia and, these black leaders argued, militancy could do nothing but harm. What good would it do, they wondered, to antagonize whites when the all-white Board of Education controlled job placement and pay rates, white politicians determined who got civil service patronage jobs, and caterers earned their living serving the city's elites. For many black Philadelphians, particularly elites with longstanding roots in the city (so-called "Old Philadelphians"), militant protests held little promise.⁵

Most blacks heard the justifications and ignored the organization. Throughout the 1930s the Philadelphia NAACP had trouble approaching one thousand members. The *Philadelphia Tribune*, the city's largest black

newspaper, expressed the feelings of many, denouncing the NAACP as an organization that in effect did not even exist. "Philadelphia needs the N.A.A.C.P. badly," the editors wrote. "Conditions here are just a little better than they are in Georgia. It would not be a bad idea for the association to begin operation in this city." The *Public Journal* agreed, acidly commenting, "If the officers of our local branch have accomplished anything . . . we would like to know it. If they righted one wrong in this community, made a concerted honest-to-goodness fight on Segregation in any of its hideous forms . . . we'd like to be shown." Although the black community generally disliked the NAACP, African Americans were politically engaged. Many battled discrimination through their churches, civic clubs such as the Elks, and leftist groups including the National Negro Congress (NNC). They protested police brutality, refused to let the city foreclose on property, and demanded an end to discrimination at companies like the Pennsylvania Railroad. By gaining activist leaders, the NAACP could join in and help galvanize this commitment to activism.⁶

Carolyn Moore proved to be such a leader. Despite her youth—Moore was only twenty-six upon taking office as executive secretary in 1942—she brought with her an activist spirit that encouraged ordinary African Americans to become more politically engaged. Moore developed this activism early in life. She was twelve years old in 1928 when her family moved from Newberry, South Carolina (a mill town and rail hub about thirty-five miles northwest of Columbia) to Norristown, Pennsylvania (a multiethnic working-class town within easy commuting distance of Philadelphia). While Moore's father worked in the lumber and construction industries and her mother sold food and beauty products door-to-door, Moore helped care for her siblings. Every day she saw the familiar faces of kith and kin since much of Newberry, at least it seemed to her brother Horace, had resettled in the Pennsylvania town. And Horace's memories were right: one study found a great many of Norristown's four thousand African-American residents came from a single South Carolina county—Saluda—which bordered Newberry. Most of these migrants came to the area because of labor recruiters who brought blacks from the Saluda/Newberry area up the Southern Railroad to Washington, D.C., where they caught the Pennsylvania Railroad to Norristown. These early migrants, including Moore's uncle, then sent word back to South Carolina that jobs with the railroad and a few local industries were available and that their families should head north. This close-knit transplanted community was a great help to Moore who was too

young to care for her siblings by herself. She and her neighbors quickly learned that they had to rely on each other. Moore's sense of interdependence shaped her thinking throughout her life: "Never forget [how much] you owe your community," she always told her children. At an early age, then, Moore's experiences with moving and caring for her siblings helped her understand the way African Americans had to work together for support.⁷

Moore drew heavily on this assistance as she moved from taking care of her family to helping her community fight segregation. She remembered well the violent racism endemic to South Carolina and understood that while more equitable economic, judicial, and educational systems made Norristown different, Jim Crow always lurked nearby. So in the mid-1930s, just out of high school, she joined the NAACP. Moore started by working for the association's Pennsylvania Youth Division and also served as the Norristown branch's treasurer. Her service earned her the commendation of Gloster Current and other national NAACP leaders and she became head of the organization's state youth division in the late 1930s. Her duties there included investigating charges of discrimination in theaters, restaurants, and hotels, conducting membership drives, and setting up a youth speakers' bureau to provide speakers for churches and civic and political clubs. She conducted a literature campaign in 1941 that informed some five thousand religious and labor organizations of black demands for better jobs in defense industries. And she investigated charges of police discrimination against ordinary African Americans. One case that particularly caught her attention was the imprisonment in 1939 of Edward Robinson, a black handyman in Norristown. Robinson worked for Clara Buchanan, a society matron, who was found strangled to death in her own home. The police found no evidence except for her husband's fingerprints, but they arrested Robinson anyway. He languished in jail for nearly four months until Moore and several other NAACP leaders investigated the case and convinced a prominent black attorney, Raymond Pace Alexander, to take on the police and secure Robinson's freedom. The Robinson case and Moore's other work led to her selection as a delegate to the NAACP's annual conference in Philadelphia in 1940 and, her son Ric believes, solidified her commitment to an activist life. Moore moved to Philadelphia to become the NAACP's executive secretary in 1942 with a record as a committed activist and a firm understanding of the depths of Pennsylvania's racism.⁸

Moore took over in Philadelphia at an auspicious moment. World War II was reshaping the nation's race relations in many ways, especially for the

black working class. Urban centers across the nation, including Philadelphia, saw their black populations grow astronomically. The war drained the unemployment rolls as millions joined the military or went to work in U.S. industrial plants. African Americans did not share equally in the new jobs, but full production demanded at least some black employment and the FEPC offered a measure of support too. At the same time, the CIO, trying to organize and maintain its industrial base, held out at least the hope of interracial unionism. Moreover, wartime rhetoric led many blacks to support a "Double V" campaign that demanded democracy's victory at home and abroad. The time was ripe for black Philadelphians, with help from a leader like Moore, to bring real change to their city.⁹

Once in Philadelphia, Moore expressed a belief that the NAACP could help African Americans gain equality, but only if it had the support of ordinary people. "I believe the elevation of the masses is the hope of the race," she asserted upon taking office. People's background did not matter to Moore, her brother remembered. "Carolyn wanted to get as many people involved as possible," he said. "JOIN! she'd say. Don't worry about your education or income. Just join." Throughout her career in Philadelphia, Moore emphasized helping ordinary people. In the early 1940s, the association assisted black workers to press their case for jobs in federal agencies, called for a permanent FEPC, and helped black workers break the color barrier at Brewster Aeronautical Corporation. The organization campaigned against police brutality and urged the district attorney to prosecute officers charged with racist attacks. It also supported a call to end the quota system that limited the number of blacks in federal housing. Ordinary African Americans responded to these actions with fervor: from 1942 to 1944 more than eleven thousand new members joined the local NAACP.¹⁰

This activism and the black community's enthusiastic response was a double-edged sword to the NAACP's cautious male leaders. They reveled in the new assertive atmosphere and happily watched all the dues payments roll in. But at the same time they worried Moore had unleashed something they could not control. Even more, it was a woman, and a non-Philadelphian no less, who had shown how to energize the city. The combination of Moore's gender and outsider status meant that despite her hard work she had to struggle for acceptance. This tension between Old Philadelphians and newcomers was nothing new in a city where the Great Migration and World War II era arrival of black Southerners had made longtime residents wary of immigrants. Moore never spelled out exactly how she was treated by Old

Philadelphians, but her persistent complaints about “deep-rooted prejudices” hint at her relations with them. In later interviews, Moore’s associates typically described her as “very vocal,” “strange,” and “very interesting, very powerful, but a little overwhelming.” They never openly claimed to dislike Moore, but their comments showed they tried to keep her at a distance. In Moore’s first few months on the job, chapter officers tried to put her in her place, rejecting Moore’s advice on everything from fund-raising and membership drives to the organization’s future plans for working with the public. Moore was reminded more than once that she was a secretary, a “paid worker,” who was there to take orders, not make strategic decisions. The criticism cowed Moore at first and she tried to let the slights go, but she had worked for the NAACP too long to let this mistreatment continue. In a letter to the branch’s Board of Directors in 1943, she exploded that she had “been told numerous times that she [was] a paid worker of the Branch . . . [with] no right to determine policy . . . I am made to wonder if I am [even allowed] to have some ideas.” She then threatened to resign if her colleagues did not start treating her as an equal. A few weeks later, the Board, recognizing Moore’s appeal in the community, apologized for “abusing” her and placed her in charge of running the office, advising all committees, and organizing membership drives.¹¹

Now wielding most of the power in the organization, Moore redoubled her efforts to help Philadelphians fight Jim Crow. Their greatest battle emerged in the campaign to secure driving jobs at the Philadelphia Transportation Company. Since the early 1940s, a committee of black employees headed by Raleigh Johnson, an electric welder, had been asking the PTC for promotions. African Americans worked for the company as messengers, porters, and track layers, but as *The Crisis* observed, “Regardless of training capacity, years of service, loyalty or desire a Negro could never hope to fill certain jobs, such as conductors, motormen, [or] bus drivers.” The liberal newspaper *PM* added, “PTC has operated along Southern lines [for years and white workers have] simply accepted the fact that [driving] is a white man’s job, and no Negro is going to get it.” So when Johnson, who was particularly galled by the fact that Detroit, Tulsa, and even Winston-Salem, North Carolina, had black drivers, pressed PTC management, he expected the company to refuse the promotions. He was right. PTC president Ralph Senter asserted that a clause in the company’s contract with the Philadelphia Rapid Transit Employees Union (PRTEU—a company union not affiliated with the American Federation of Labor or the CIO) stated the agreement could only be changed

if both parties accepted the revision. This clause, in Senter's view, applied to black promotions and Johnson knew the union would never agree to such a change. Union officials, who were dominated by the PTC, got extra pay and time off to "organize" the workers, but they were expected in turn to offer only token resistance at the bargaining table. As a result, PTC workers had some of the lowest wages and worst working conditions of any big city transit company. Their pay, for example, ran 5 to 10 percent behind the national average, they received no paid holidays, and many worked fourteen-hour swing shifts that paid them only eight hours of wages. Still, white workers had exclusive claims on the PTC's best jobs and they refused to relinquish their privileges. Stonewalled by management and the union, Johnson turned to the NAACP in early 1943.¹²

The fight for jobs that Johnson and his PTC committee brought to the NAACP matched Moore's approach perfectly. Working-class Philadelphians had already identified a crucial problem in their lives and they wanted to work with the NAACP to solve it. Throughout the battle for driving jobs, Moore put together a coalition of religious and labor groups that, along with the NAACP, staged protest meetings and marches and got ordinary Philadelphians involved. Working-class African Americans planned and led marches from black churches and the YWCA to City Hall, designed and distributed signs and placards that challenged the company's egregious policies, drafted and signed petitions, delivered speeches, went to the CIO for support, and filed grievances with the FEPC. Moore's activism helped the NAACP create a broad movement for racial change.

It was no accident the PTC offered the arena for their protest. The city's buses and trolleys, unavoidable conveyances given wartime gas rationing, served as points of interracial friction throughout the early 1940s. Blacks and whites might live in different neighborhoods, eat in different restaurants, and go to different churches, but when they boarded a bus, they got on together. It was not, however, an egalitarian experience. White passengers refused to sit next to blacks and African Americans took umbrage at what that refusal implied. One center city resident complained blacks "get into the cars, jostle the white people, and in general act extremely rude. . . . [The government should] reserve a section in the car . . . and keep us separated." Drivers often made matters worse, closing the doors before black passengers could get on board and sometimes speeding past stops to leave people stranded. Some African Americans retaliated by dropping their fares on the floor or even spitting in the drivers' faces. One woman became so enraged that she beat a driver badly enough to put him in the

hospital. Full-fledged riots nearly exploded on at least a couple occasions, once when several Marines got in a brawl with a streetcar full of black workers and another time when a number of drivers dragged a teenager into their car barn in west Philadelphia and beat him nearly to death.¹³

The fact that the PTC was a semi-public company made the problems all the more galling, but also offered a route of attack. Since the turn of the century the city had maintained a complex relationship with the transit system that in effect made the municipal government a partner with the company's financial backers. The city and private stockholders shared the company's profits and the mayor and four other citizens sat on the PTC's Board of Directors. African Americans paid taxes and handed over \$100,000 a week in fares to support a public entity that refused to hire them. This was, the *Pittsburgh Courier* asserted, "tantamount to discrimination by the City of Philadelphia" and few things infuriated African Americans more. But people also knew the company's public nature made it vulnerable to mass protest. The NAACP put out posters in 1943 reminding the public that the "Mayor and four other public officials serve on the Board of Directors of the P.T.C." "Negroes pay taxes," the flier continued, "and their money helps to sustain the system! We demand fair employment practices by all public utilities, especially PTC." African Americans believed that if they could crack this utility, the one most open to public influence, then others would have to follow suit. "Negro citizens," wrote one reporter, "feel that if the PTC could be 'broken' the Philadelphia Electric, Bell Telephone and Philadelphia Gas Works would follow in opening the employment door to Negroes." The PTC campaign, then, was important for the jobs it could open in transit work, but its implications reached much further. Arthur Huff Fauset, a local activist who had headed the National Negro Congress in the 1930s and established United People's Action Committee (UPAC) to give a voice to leftist politics in the 1940s, supported the NAACP's campaign and helped put the case forcefully. "FIGHT! FIGHT! FIGHT!" he wrote. "We have only begun to fight. PTC is a prelude to battle against all forms of discrimination not only in Philadelphia but throughout our country. It is more than a prelude to battle against discrimination, it is war against Fascism!"¹⁴

All of this meant Moore helped to organize an energized population predisposed to see the importance of the PTC fight, a happy circumstance for someone who believed that the participation of ordinary people was vital to the success of any movement. To focus PTC activism, she began with written

appeals to area churches and civic groups that were framed around the rubric of citizenship and the need for mass involvement. She had the NAACP distribute fliers in the black community asking African Americans if they wanted to be first-class citizens and if so, telling them to write letters of protest to the PTC. She circulated descriptions of NAACP activities in the PTC campaign to clergymen, labor leaders, city officials, and civic groups, and urged them to get involved. And she issued "Action Notes" that told people about the NAACP's weekly meetings at the YMCA and offered a list of things they could do to pressure the transit company. In particular, they could draft petitions, apply for PTC jobs and go to the FEPC when they were rejected, help on picket lines, or contact the mayor. "We are in the front lines in the battle for democracy just as much as if we were in the fox holes of the Solomons," Moore wrote in one flier. "Every person who wants real democracy must get into the struggle."¹⁵

Just months after meeting with Johnson's committee, Moore, working with the city's black churches, focused the community's activism enough to put together two protest rallies. These "indignation meetings," as Moore called them, drew heavily on the rhetoric of democracy, challenging Philadelphia to live up to the nation's wartime ideals. The first meeting in March 1943 brought more than one thousand people to O.V. Catto Auditorium where the audience listened to a number of rousing speeches and then pledged to get more involved. "[The] general public of Philadelphia shall express by letters, telegrams and public announcement its condemnation of the discriminatory practices of the P.T.C. and P.R.T. employees union," their mass resolution promised. They also drafted a petition demanding an end to the PTC's discriminatory policies. "The time has come," the document read, "to put into practice the principles of democracy in American life, including employment practices in American industry. We ask that employment . . . be based solely upon merit and ability, regardless of color, race or creed." The protestors agreed to send their petition to all of the city's black churches and civic organizations to obtain even wider support. Their plan worked well: by October, the PTC protest had gained such momentum that a throng of some 2,500 people descended on City Hall for another rally. Participants' signs demanded the city "Break up this Discrimination!" and "Stop PTC's Unfair Practice!" In front of a raucous assembly, Moore and other speakers stirred the crowd, repeatedly urging the listeners to make their voices heard. "[You must show your] indignation against the failure of public officials to intervene on behalf of Negro workers," Moore said. "We want equality, period: social equality,

economic equality and all the equality there is. Anyone who wants anything less isn't a man," the Reverend Marshall Shephard told the crowd to roaring applause. People at the meeting were so inspired they issued a resolution demanding the end of the transit company's segregation. "[We express] righteous indignation," they wrote, "at the unfair labor policy of the Philadelphia Transit Company which undermines the morale of the Negro people, hampers the war effort and prolongs the war. In the spirit of democracy we demand that . . . the PTC desist from such unfair labor practices."¹⁶

A few weeks later, in November 1943, black Philadelphians made their resolve even clearer. Over one thousand people, responding to NAACP posters that urged "Believers in True Democracy" to "Join the Protest March!" and "Mobilize for Action Now!" marched through the streets, demanding the PTC end its Jim Crow policies. The march went from the south side YMCA to City Hall and had Moore, the Reverend E. Luther Cunningham of St. Paul's Baptist Church, and Mother Bethel's William Johnson in the lead, with other religious leaders and interracial organizations in support. Culminating a year of protest, this march made clear the broad spectrum of Philadelphians who supported the PTC campaign and showed how politically focused black Philadelphia had become.¹⁷

Black PTC workers, energized by their community's activism, became more and more willing to challenge their company union's complicity in the transit company's racist policies. African Americans could join the PRTEU, but with the tacit understanding they would not endeavor to obtain "white" jobs. This unspoken agreement was no longer palatable, as became clear when union officers tried to ignore a letter from Moore. "[The NAACP is] greatly disturbed," she wrote in 1943, "because of the numerous complaints [about the] employment policies of the PTC, and of the Union responsibility in this matter. I should like . . . an opportunity to discuss this matter with you." At a union meeting officers decided not to answer the letter and the company's African-American workers revolted. One man shouted, "That certainly is an insult to us. If you don't want us in the union [that's fine, but] you shouldn't try to insult us like that." Chastened union leaders then wrote to Moore, "[Black promotions are] not a subject over which the Union has any control. Therefore, no action was taken." Even if the reply had been more agreeable, it was too late. The PTC's black workers were ready to strike out on their own.¹⁸

A PTC employee named Groves went with Moore in 1943 to meet representatives of the Transport Workers Union to discuss the leftist union's

possible organizing of the PTC. Over the next few months, Moore built links to the TWU, maintaining close but quiet relations with the union. The TWU, which had several Communists in its leadership corps and advocated non-discrimination among its members, had unsuccessfully tried to organize the company in the past. It had always foundered, however, on the racist management-company union alliance. The TWU's James Fitzsimon convinced a cautious Groves that his union would support fair employment practices and they then drew up plans to hold a "series of meetings in which Negro employees would be told the advantages of being C.I.O. members." Groves and Fitzsimon knew the TWU would not win a representation election if it focused too much on racial equality, but they believed many white workers so despised the PRTEU's history of poor negotiations that they would join the CIO if it promised higher wages and better workplace conditions. Organizers would not deny the union's stance on racial equality, but they would not promote it either. Throughout the campaign TWU organizers claimed, "We want unity in a militant industrial union," and "[Follow us for] higher wages, better working conditions, and genuine collective bargaining." Race was rarely discussed. Within a few months the TWU's rhetoric had earned it the support of four thousand out of some nine thousand workers and placed the CIO union well on its way to winning the PTC representation election held in the spring of 1944. Black Philadelphians, with the help of Moore and the TWU, were undermining Jim Crow in Philadelphia.¹⁹

As African Americans staged protests and worked with the CIO, they also turned to the federal government's Fair Employment Practices Committee to further their cause. President Roosevelt had founded the FEPC under pressure from A. Philip Randolph in 1941 to combat discrimination in the nation's defense industries. To be sure, the committee had its flaws—it could not touch discrimination in the military and had no legal power to enforce its directives in court—but its mere existence signaled to African Americans that the government would pay some attention to their grievances. Moore wrote to the head of the FEPC in July 1943 to protest the PTC's discrimination and bluntly said that she expected "definite action . . . in the very near future." Within a month, the FEPC opened a branch in Philadelphia under the direction of G. James Fleming, a well-known member of the black community who had worked as a manager at the *Philadelphia Tribune* and had led several organizing campaigns for the NAACP in the late 1930s. Fleming's presence assured ordinary blacks that they could rely on the agency to support them vigorously and he forged a close working relationship with Moore.

Trusting in the FEPC, Philadelphians flooded the committee with dozens of complaints against the transit company in the first few weeks after the office opened. Fleming, impressed by the community's activism, then held meetings with PTC managers, who bowed to the pressure and agreed to promote African Americans. But they did so with the knowledge that the PRTEU would hold firm in its meeting with Fleming. Frank Carney and Frank Cobourn, the president and secretary-treasurer of the union, told Fleming they had no intention of accepting black drivers. Fleming knew at this point the company and union were manipulating him and would never give in, so he referred the matter to the national FEPC.²⁰

FEPC chairman Malcolm Ross acted quickly to support black rights. In two November 5, 1943 meetings he convinced PTC management and PRTEU leaders to acknowledge a list of damning facts and agree to take definite action. These facts demonstrated that management refused to employ African Americans as drivers because of their race, that in doing so they violated Executive Order 9346 (which had revised the FEPC's foundational Executive Order 8802), and that neither group could legally continue to bar black promotions. Ross then ordered the company to "cease and desist from all discriminatory practices affecting the employment or upgrading of Negroes" and to file monthly reports with Fleming proving it was living up to its legal obligation. He also ordered the PRTEU to accept black drivers without equivocation. The PRTEU balked, and at a public FEPC hearing on December 8 threatened to bring "chaos" to the city if African Americans became drivers. The standing room only crowd of four hundred mostly African-American spectators gasped at the implications of the threat: everyone knew how Detroit had exploded in a race riot just a few months earlier. FEPC members pressed Cobourn to elaborate on what he meant by "chaos," but he refused to do so. Ross then warned him that the union would be responsible for any violence, but that had little effect on Cobourn.²¹

Ross then called Moore to the stand so she could voice the hopes and frustrations of black Philadelphia. She did so eloquently, arguing that the company's discrimination harmed the U.S. war effort and damaged the very democracy for which the nation was fighting. "[The PTC's] discrimination, in time of war, is treason and we should stand shamed before the world were we to permit it," she said. "Democracy is not merely a word. . . . It stands for equality of opportunity for every man to work and make a living for himself and his family. . . . Negroes are employed on the Transportation systems of a number of our larger cities, [so why] in the City of Brotherly Love is there no

brotherly love?" As the audience cheered Moore's stirring words, Ross closed the proceedings, ordering the company to promote blacks within eight months, by August 1, 1944. The transit campaign seemed to have finally paid off: the PTC's Jim Crow practices were at an end.²²

As August 1st loomed, white workers proved they were not yet ready to give up. They launched a final, desperate drive to stop the promotions, distributing fliers that shamed whites for being "too yellow to protect [soldiers'] jobs until they returned from the war," attacking the NAACP for "taking every advantage to seize control of all the jobs . . . that belong to the white people," and demanding a "white supremacy movement for the protection of our jobs." By August 1st enough transit workers agreed with this rhetoric to walk off the job and bring Philadelphia to a stop. Just weeks after D-Day, white workers shut down the nation's third largest war production center rather than accept integration.²³

Moore, seeing all of her community's hard work disintegrating, acted quickly. She and other NAACP officials sent telegrams to the mayor, local newspapers, PTC officials, War Manpower Commissioner Paul McNutt, and President Roosevelt. The telegram to Roosevelt was particularly forceful, urging him to stand firm behind black promotions because "the American Government cannot afford to yield to mob action to negate Democracy of this character." With the Detroit riots of the previous summer firmly in mind, the NAACP also printed and distributed 100,000 handbills urging blacks to "Keep Your Heads and Your Tempers!"²⁴

But black Philadelphians, having driven events over the last year, refused to remain calm or let the white workers stop the promotions. Their reaction showed the harder edge of the activism Moore had fostered. African Americans moved through the streets, throwing rocks at whites, slashing police car tires, and breaking windows. This violence had political significance: groups of young black men looted white grocery stores, drug stores, and bars, but avoided black-owned businesses and those white-owned stores known for fair practices. One man, George White, made an even more explicitly political statement when he hit the Liberty Bell with a quartz paperweight and shouted, "Liberty, that's a lot of bunk!" His attack on a universal symbol of American freedom and opportunity revealed the deep anger many blacks felt toward their country, an anger the PTC strike had raised to the surface with particular force. Upon his arrest White delivered a short statement, "I struck the bell to attract the attention of Government authorities to this transportation tie-up. I have a brother in camp in Virginia. He has five children. And

yet, war workers are being kept from their jobs and stopped from turning out equipment necessary to win the war." The judge did not think much of his defense. He sent White to a mental hospital for observation, prompting an ironic *PM* to ask, "Is a man nuts for believing in Liberty?"²⁵

This widespread violence showed black Philadelphians would not back down any longer in the face of white racism. The point emerged most clearly in the thinking of the eight African Americans who had been promoted to driver in compliance with Malcolm Ross's order. These men, most of whom had worked in "black" jobs for the PTC for years, argued unanimously that cracking the transit company's discrimination was of critical importance to the black community. "We [are] pioneers," said Rufus Lancaster, a porter who had worked for the PTC for eight years with no hope of advancement, "And we're going to keep up the spirit. We still want to be trolley operators and I think we will." Thomas Allen, a PTC employee for sixteen years, was angrier, saying "I want a job that the public will look up to and say, 'There goes a man—not a tramp.'" Then, speaking of his brother serving in Italy, he bitterly added, "I wonder what he's fighting for? At times you are under the impression that Hitler would be a better dose because he, at least, wouldn't preach democracy and then not practice it. . . . [This strike] makes me hate [whites] worse. Although a few would give us a break, the masses don't care to do so—they want us to stay ditch-diggers." Lancaster, Allen, and the rest of black Philadelphia, however, had reached a point where they would no longer stay "ditch-diggers." To a man, all of the prospective drivers claimed they would never quit and expressed faith the government would swiftly break the strike to ensure their jobs.²⁶

On August 5th, Franklin Roosevelt justified their faith and assured black Philadelphians they would win. Knowing how severely the strike restricted war production, the President ordered five thousand troops into the city to settle the issue. The soldiers arrived prepared to drive buses and trains and enforce the promotions. At the same time, the Selective Service threatened to revoke the draft deferments of all striking workers. White PTC employees knew they could not win and quickly made peace, but their disgruntlement lingered. One federal investigator commented, "[They] still resent the upgrading of negroes, and feeling was expressed there would be trouble over this after the Army left." But there was no more trouble, at least nothing too damaging. Military intervention coupled with the TWU winning a more lucrative contract stopped any overt racial friction. Ordinary Philadelphians, with Moore's support and a measure of help from the federal government, had finally won.²⁷

Victory in the PTC campaign meant real change for African Americans at the transit company. A month after the strike's end the FEPC reported in September that blacks were doing well in their new jobs and that the company had two more trainees in the process of becoming drivers. By October the number of black drivers had doubled from the original eight to sixteen, and within a year the PTC counted some nine hundred black employees, including drivers, conductors, and a member of the publicity staff. African Americans went on to become about 6 percent of the workforce by 1950 and 10 percent of some ten thousand workers by 1960, a number at least beginning to approach their percentage of the area population. Rufus Lancaster had told the press in the midst of the strike that he and the other drivers thought of themselves as "pioneers" and in a sense they were. After cracking the PTC, African Americans found the transit company to be a valuable employer.²⁸

Desegregating the PTC was Carolyn Moore's greatest accomplishment as a leader of the Philadelphia NAACP. She led other campaigns against police brutality, the quota system in public housing, and so on, but none of these captured the public's attention the way the PTC had. Still, African Americans in the first few years after the war continued to support the local NAACP, which kept its numbers above the ten thousand-member level until charges of Communist domination overwhelmed the organization's new president, Joseph Rainey, at the end of the 1940s. Membership then dropped in 1950 to 3,500. By that time Moore had moved on, attempting to revive the Norristown NAACP which had lapsed in her absence, leading a campaign to establish a state FEPC, and opening a real estate agency in Trenton, New Jersey, where her World War II veteran husband, Cliff, had taken a job practicing law. Even the real estate agency gave Moore, the inveterate activist, an avenue to fight for racial equality. Her goal, she used to tell her employees, was to provide "decent, safe, and sanitary housing so that people had a route out of the ghetto." "Housing," she told her friend and employee Leomae Good, "[was] critical because it offered people a stake in society and a chance at equality." Davenport also taught her sons to continue her ways of thinking about activism. She raised them to be "passionate about justice," her son Ric remembered. "She always told us that we had to get an education and do the best we could in school so we could use our talents and work with people to help them help themselves." Moore, who died in 1998, passed her vision on to her sons.²⁹

Moore's story is important to understanding African-American activism in the World War II era, not merely in Philadelphia, but in the nation as a

whole. It shows how important women were in the civil rights movement, not just participating in demonstrations, but actually organizing their communities and helping to lead equal rights campaigns. Though historians are beginning to pay more attention to the role women played, this is still a greatly neglected story. This Philadelphia story also demonstrates the vibrancy of the black rights movement in the urban North during World War II. The 1940s is an era still treated too often as mere prologue to the 1960s, and the Delaware Valley is a region still commonly regarded as a theatre of less importance than the deep South. But we must remember African Americans in the 1940s had no idea the civil rights movement of the 1960s was on the horizon. Blacks acted in a specific context of world war and growing urbanization that gave them goals and resources unique to the era. This was not just a prologue to the 1960s, but instead was a moment of political activism worthy of study as it demonstrates how African Americans overcame entrenched racism in the urban North. This story also gives concrete reasons for the "rising black consciousness" of the war years that many historians have noted. Scholars too readily attribute the era's black activism to a context of pervasive democratic rhetoric and the obvious failure of the U.S. to live up to its ideals. But while this context set the stage for activism, it does not explain the course that activism followed. Paying attention to leaders such as Moore and the actions of ordinary Philadelphians reveals how African Americans converted context into action and reshaped their lives during World War II.³⁰

NOTES

1. Philadelphia *Afro-American*, November 13, 1943, 1-2; Fredric Miller, Morris Vogel, and Allen Davis, *Philadelphia Stories: A Photographic History, 1920-1960* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1988), 128-29; article from unnamed, undated newspaper, Philadelphia NAACP Papers, Box 52, Scrapbook of Clippings 1943-45 (Urban Archives, Temple University, Philadelphia, PA); "Fair Employment Practice Committee-War Manpower Commission and the United States Employment Service," undated, file titled Phil., PA. Rapid Transit Strike 1944-45, box A468, national NAACP Papers (Library of Congress, Washington, DC).
2. For a few examples of male-dominated narratives, see David Garrow, *Bearing the Cross: Martin Luther King, Jr., and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference* (New York: Harper Collins Publishers, 1986); Taylor Branch, *Parting the Waters: America in the King Years, 1954-1963* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1988); Paula Pfeffer, A. *Philip Randolph, Pioneer of the Civil Rights Movement* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1990).

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2003); Darlene Clark Hine and Kathleen Thompson, *A Shining Thread of Hope: The History of Black Women in America* (New York: Broadway Books, 1998); Belinda Robnett, *How Long? How Long?: African-American Women in the Struggle for Civil Rights* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997).

3. Allan Winkler, "The Philadelphia Transit Strike of 1944," *Journal of American History* 59 (June 1972): 73-74; Allen Ballard, *One More Day's Journey: The Story of a Family and a People* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1984), 8.

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For more theoretical works that inform my understanding of black organizing, see John Dittmer, *Local People: The Struggle for Civil Rights in Mississippi* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1994); Charles Payne, *"I've Got the Light of Freedom": The Organizing Tradition and the Mississippi Freedom Struggle* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995); Aldon Morris, *The Origins of the Civil Rights Movement: Black Communities Organizing for Change* (New York: Free Press, 1984); George Lipsitz, *A Life in the Struggle: Ivory Perry and the Culture of Opposition* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1988).

4. *Philadelphia Tribune*, September 1946; G. Gordon Brown, *Law Administration and Negro-White Relations in Philadelphia: A Study in Race Relations* (Westport, CT: Negro Universities Press, 1970), 26-40; Robert O'Donnell, "Pennsylvania's Self-Survey," *Interracial Review* 26 (April 1953): 61-64.
5. John Bracey, Jr. and August Meier, eds., *Papers of the NAACP. Part 12, Selected Branch Files, 1913-1939. Series B, The Northeast* (microfilm, 8 reels, University Publications of America, 1991), reel 6, 7; H. Viscount Nelson, Jr., "Race and Class Consciousness of Philadelphia Negroes with Special Emphasis on the Years Between 1927 and 1940," (Ph.D. diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1969), 338-39; H. Viscount Nelson, Jr., "The Philadelphia NAACP: Race Versus Class Consciousness During the Thirties," *Journal of Black Studies* 5 (1975): 264-65; W.E.B. DuBois, *The Philadelphia Negro: A Social Study* (1899; Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1996), 316-19; Charles Banner-Haley, *To Do Good and To Do Well: Middle-Class Blacks and the Depression, Philadelphia, 1929-1941* (New York: Garland Publishers, 1993), 45-70; Robert Gregg, *Sparks from the Anvil of Oppression: Philadelphia's African Methodists and Southern Migrants, 1890-1940* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1993), 206-11.

For more on "respectability" in the black community, see Kevin Gaines, *Uplifting the Race: Black Leadership, Politics, and Culture in the Twentieth Century* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1996); Willard Gatewood, *Aristocrats of Color: The Black Elite, 1880-1920* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1990).

6. Bracey, Jr. and Meier, eds., *Papers of the NAACP. Part 12, Series B*, reel 6, 7; Nelson, Jr., "Race and Class Consciousness," 338-39; Nelson, Jr., "Philadelphia NAACP," 255-76.
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7. Francis Ianni, "The Acculturation of the Italo-Americans in Norristown, Pennsylvania, 1900-1950" (Ph.D. diss., Pennsylvania State College, 1952), 36-37, 71-85; Horace Davenport (Carolyn Moore's brother) interview by James Wolfinger, Feb. 2, 2001, transcript in author's possession; Ric Moore (Moore's son) interview by James Wolfinger, Feb. 18, 2001, transcript in author's possession; Sidney Goldstein, *Patterns of Mobility, 1910-1950: The Norristown Study* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1958), 38, 13; *Handy Railroad Maps of the United States* (Chicago, n.d.), 39-40; Thomas Pope, *The History of Newberry County, South Carolina, Volume Two: 1860-1990* (2 vols., Columbia: University of South Carolina, 1992); I.A. Newby, *Black Carolinians: A History of Blacks in South Carolina from 1895-1968* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1973).
For a thoughtful discussion of black migration as part of a "chain," see Joe William Trotter, Jr., ed., *The Great Migration in Historical Perspective: New Dimensions of Race, Class, and Gender* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1991). Other useful works include Neil Fligstein, *Going North: Migration of Blacks and Whites from the South, 1900-1950* (New York: Academy Press, 1981); Peter Gottlieb, *Making Their Own Way: Southern Blacks' Migration to Pittsburgh, 1916-30* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1987); Joe William Trotter, Jr., *Black Milwaukee: The Making of an Industrial Proletariat, 1915-45* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1985).
8. "The NAACP in Philadelphia (Historical)," undated, Executive Secretary's Files 1948-63, box 7, Philadelphia NAACP Papers; John Bracey, Jr. and August Meier, eds., *Papers of the NAACP. Part 11, Series A, Special Subject Files, 1912-1939* (microfilm, 35 reels, University Publications of America, 1991), reel 17; *Part 12, Selected Branch Files, 1913-1939, Series B: The Northeast*, reel 7; *Part 26, Series B*, reel 8; *The Crisis*, 47 (July 1940): 222, *ibid.*, 48 (May 1941), 168-69; Ric Moore interview; Horace Davenport interview; Cliff Moore, Jr. (Moore's son) interview by James Wolfinger, Jan. 27, 2001, transcript in author's possession.
For a consideration of the ties between family-based activism and more public action, see Stephanie Shaw, *What a Woman Ought to Be and to Do: Black Professional Women Workers During the Jim Crow Era* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996).
9. For a sampling of works that discuss the new climate for race relations in America, see O'Neill, *A Democracy at War*, 225-46; Marilyn Johnson, *The Second Gold Rush: Oakland and the East Bay in World War II* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1993); Bruce Nelson, "Organized Labor and the Struggle for Black Equality in Mobile during World War II," *Journal of American History* 80 (1993): 952-88; Garfinkel, *When Negroes March*; Robert Zieger, *The CIO, 1935-1955* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1995), 141-211.
10. Philadelphia NAACP Executive Board Minutes URB 6, "Philadelphia Branch, N.A.A.C.P.," undated, Executive Secretary's Files 1948-63, box 7, Carolyn Moore to Philadelphia NAACP, undated, and clippings in general in Philadelphia NAACP Scrapbook of Clippings 1943-45, Philadelphia NAACP papers; Horace Davenport, Cliff Moore, Jr., and Ric Moore interviews.

This surge in interest in the NAACP was a common one to both the North and South. Places from Chicago and Detroit to South Carolina and Florida witnessed a surge in NAACP membership and power. Philadelphia, then, fitted into a web of growing activism that shook the country during World War II. For treatments of other cities and states, see Christopher Reed, *The Chicago NAACP and the Rise of Black Professional Leadership, 1910–1966* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1997); Ben Green, *Before His Time: The Untold Story of Harry T. Moore, America's First Civil Rights Martyr* (New York: Free Press, 1999); Barbara Woods, "Modjeska Simkins and the South Carolina Conference of the NAACP, 1939–1957," in *Women in the Civil Rights Movement: Torchbearers and Trailblazers*, ed. Darlene Clark Hine (Brooklyn: Carlson Publishers, 1990), 99–120.

11. Davenport to the NAACP Board, undated, Minutes of the Board of Directors of the Philadelphia NAACP, Nov. 3, 1944, Secretary's Files 1943–47, Board Minutes 1943–44, Report of the Chairman of the Executive Board, March 7, 1944, Board Chairman's Reports 1944–45, Box 1, Philadelphia NAACP Papers; Catherine Graham interview by James Wolfinger, Jan. 21, 2001, transcript in author's possession; Rebecca Mitchell interview by James Wolfinger, Jan. 21, 2001, transcript in author's possession; Leomae Good interview by James Wolfinger, Jan. 27, 2001, transcript in author's possession.

For more on the divisions between old and new Philadelphians, see Gregg, *Sparks from the Anvil of Oppression*; Ballard, *One More Day's Journey*.

12. Theodore Spaulding, "Philadelphia's Hate Strike," *The Crisis* 51 (Sept. 1944): 281; Joshua Freeman, *In Transit: The Transport Workers in New York City, 1933–1966* (New York: 1989), 254; *PM*, Aug. 6, 1944, 3; "Employment of Negroes in Local Transit Industry," File titled Exhibits and Prepared Papers: Hearing Before President's Committee on Fair Employment Practice, Box 343, Fair Employment Practices Committee (FEPC) Records, (National Archives, Washington, D.C.); *Philadelphia Inquirer*, Aug. 3, 1944, 6; *Philadelphia Evening Bulletin*, Aug. 9, 1944, 3; Speeches of Pennsylvania Lieutenant Governor Thomas Kennedy and organizers for the Transport Workers Union (TWU), Folder titled Local 234 (Philadelphia) August–December 1943, Box 12, "Labor Relations in the Philadelphia Transit Industry—1932–1960," P.T.C. Employees Amalgamated Bulletin, May 17, 1943, Archivist's personal file titled TWU: Philadelphia; Transport Workers Union (TWU Archives at Tamiment Library, New York University, New York City).

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13. Brown, *Law Administration*, 59; Helena O'Donnell to Department of Labor, Aug. 4, 1944, Office File 4451, J. Edgar Hoover to Jonathan Daniels, Aug. 10, 1944, Office File 4245g, Franklin D. Roosevelt Papers (Franklin D. Roosevelt Library, Hyde Park, NY); clipping from *Inquirer*, Dec. 16, 1944 in Scrapbook of Clippings, 1944–52, box 53, Philadelphia NAACP Papers; Bracey, Jr. and Meier, eds., *Papers of the NAACP. Part 18, Series C, General Office Files*, reel 28; *Philadelphia Tribune*, July 11, 1942, 1, 2; July 25, 1942, 1, 2.

For more on public transit as contested public space, see Robin Kelley, *Race Rebels: Culture, Politics, and the Black Working Class* (New York: Free Press, 1994), 55–75.

14. Edwin Rothman, Edgar Rosenthal, Emma Bowman, and Leigh Hebb, *Philadelphia Government, 1956* (Philadelphia: Bureau of Municipal Research, and Pennsylvania Economic League (Eastern

- Division), 1956), 249–51; John Bauman, “The City, The Depression, and Relief: The Philadelphia Experience, 1929–1939” (Ph.D. diss., Rutgers University, 1969), 19–20; *Philadelphia Record*, Oct. 5, 1944, 4; Eustace Gay, “City of Brotherly Love,” *Crisis* 50 (May 1943): 158; clippings from *Pittsburgh Courier* and undated and unnamed newspaper in Scrapbook of Clippings, 1943–45, box 52, Philadelphia NAACP Papers; “An Open Letter,” undated, file titled Philadelphia Transportation Company 3-BR-246 (Philadelphia, PA), box 343, FEPC Records; “More Trolleys Moving Will Win the War More Quickly,” undated, file titled Local 234 (Phil.) Jan.–Feb. 1944, box 12, TWU Papers; NAACP press release, undated, file titled NAACP vs. PTC and PRT, box 1, FEPC Records—Philadelphia (Philadelphia branch of National Archives, Philadelphia, PA); *Philadelphia Tribune*, Dec. 25, 1943, 4.
15. “The Fight Is Still On!” undated in Scrapbook of Clippings, 1943–45, box 52, NAACP report, undated, Executive Secretary’s Files 1943–47, box 1, Philadelphia NAACP Papers; “Action Notes,” undated, file titled NAACP vs. PTC and PRT, box 1, FEPC Records—Philadelphia.
 16. Bracey, Jr. and Meier, eds., *Papers of the NAACP. Part 13, Series A*, reel 19; “Resolution,” undated, file titled Philadelphia, PA, Rapid Transit Strike 1943, box A467, “Fair Employment Practice Committee–War Manpower Commission and the United States Employment Service,” undated, file titled Phil., PA, Rapid Transit Strike 1944–45, national NAACP Papers; *Afro-American*, Oct. 30, 1943, 1, 14; Joseph Weckler and Robert Weaver, *Negro Platform Workers* (Chicago: American Council on Race Relations, 1945), 8; *Philadelphia Tribune*, Oct. 30, 1943, 1, 14.
For more on church activism in Philadelphia’s black community, see Gregg, *Sparks from the Anvil of Oppression*.
 17. “An Open Letter,” undated, file titled Philadelphia Transportation Company 3-BR-246 (Philadelphia, PA), box 343, Records of the FEPC; *Afro-American*, Nov. 13, 1943, 1, 2.
 18. Statement of Facts, “Statement Filed With the FEPC, 12/8/43” and Carolyn Moore to Thomas Mitten, March 9, 1943, file titled Philadelphia Transportation Company 3-BR-246 (Philadelphia, PA), box 343, Records of the FEPC; Winkler, “Philadelphia Transit Strike,” 74.
 19. Clipping from unnamed newspaper, July 22, 1943, in Scrapbook of Clippings, 1943–45, box 52, Philadelphia NAACP Papers; Freeman, *In Transit*, 253; Prentice Thomas to Walter White and Thurgood Marshall, May 29, 1943, file titled Philadelphia, PA, Rapid Transit Strike 1943, box A467, NAACP Papers; August Meier and Elliott Rudwick, “Communist Unions and the Black Community: The Case of the Transport Workers Union, 1934–1944,” *Labor History* 23 (1982): 186–87; Bracey, Jr. and Meier, eds., *Papers of the NAACP. Part 13, Series A*, reel 19; “To All PTC Employees Who Want to Improve Their Jobs!,” undated, “P.R.T. Employee’s ‘Union’ ‘Election’ Challenged,” April 8, 1943, “Be Wise—Organize!,” April 14, 1943, file titled Local 234 January–July 1943, box 12, TWU Papers. For a nuanced discussion of Communism in the TWU, see Freeman, *In Transit*.
 20. G. James Fleming, “The Administration of Fair Employment Practice Programs” (Ph.D. diss., University of Pennsylvania, 1948), vi; Merl Reed, *Seedtime for the Modern Civil Rights Movement: The President’s Committee on Fair Employment Practice, 1941–1946* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1991), 25; Merl Reed, “Black Workers, Defense Industries, and Federal Agencies in Pennsylvania, 1941–1945,” *Labor History* 27 (1986): 363; Carolyn Moore to Father Haas, July 3, 1943, file NAACP vs. PTC and PRT, box 1, FEPC Records—Philadelphia; *Afro-American*, Oct. 23,

1943, 12, and Nov. 20, 1943, 1; *Evening Bulletin Almanac* (Philadelphia, 1945), 477; Margaret Tinkcom, "Depression and War, 1929-1946," in *Philadelphia: A 300 Year History*, ed. Russell Weigley (New York: W. W. Norton, 1982), 642; "Chronological Summary of Philadelphia Transportation Company Case Non-Governmental Action," undated, file Philadelphia Transportation Company, box 343, Records of the FEPC.

For more on the FEPC, see Andrew Kersten, *Race, Jobs, and the War: The FEPC in the Midwest, 1941-1946* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2000); Reed, *Seedtime for the Modern Civil Rights Movement*; Garfinkel, *When Negroes March*.

21. "Proposed Summary, Findings and Directives," Nov. 17, 1943, file Philadelphia Transportation Company 3-BR-246; "Chronological Summary of Philadelphia Transportation Company Case Non-Governmental Action," undated, file titled Philadelphia Transportation Company; "Summary of the Evidence with Opinion and Order," Dec. 8, 1943, file titled Philadelphia Transportation Company 3-BR-246 (Philadelphia, PA), box 343, Records of the FEPC; *Afro-American*, Dec. 25, 1943, 20; Frank M. Cobourn testimony, undated, file Philadelphia Rapid Transit Employees' Unit, box 3, FEPC Records—Philadelphia; *Philadelphia Tribune*, Dec. 18, 1943, 1, 9.
22. "Statement Filed with the FEPC," Dec. 8, 1943, file Philadelphia Transportation Company 3-BR-246 (Philadelphia, PA), box 343, Records of the FEPC.
23. Weckler and Weaver, *Negro Platform Workers*, 12; *PM*, Aug. 6, 1944, 3; Meier and Rudwick, "Communist Unions and the Black Community," 191.
24. "Philadelphia Report on the Transportation Strike, August 1-6, 1944," undated, "NAACP Action During Strike," Aug. 15, 1944, file titled Philadelphia, Pennsylvania June-August 1944, box C167, "Attention Citizens!," undated, "N.A.A.C.P. Urges FDR Stand Against Strikers," Aug. 1, 1944, file titled Philadelphia, Pennsylvania Rapid Transit Strike 1944-45, box A468, national NAACP Papers; *Afro-American*, Aug. 5, 1944, 3; *Evening Bulletin*, Aug. 1, 1944, 3.
25. *Afro-American*, Aug. 5, 1944, 3, Aug. 12, 1944, 12; *Philadelphia Tribune*, Aug. 5, 1944, 1, 20; *Evening Bulletin*, Aug. 1, 1944, 3, Aug. 2, 1944, 3; *New York Times*, Aug. 2, 1944, 19, 1; "Race Trouble in Philadelphia," *Newsweek*, Aug. 14, 1944, 38; *Chicago Defender*, Aug. 12, 1944, 1; *PM*, Aug. 6, 1944, 19; Winkler, "Philadelphia Transit Strike of 1944," 87.
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29. Willis, *Cecil's City*, 56-60; Report of Special Committee, 1950, Executive Secretary's Files 1948-63, Box 19, Philadelphia NAACP Papers; John Bracey, Jr., Sharon Harley, and August Meier, eds., *Papers of the NAACP. Part 26, Selected Branch Files, 1940-1955. Series B, The Northeast* (University Publications of America), reel 9, 11; Ric Moore interview; Rebecca Mitchell interview; Leomae Good interview.
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