Abbitt, Watkins M., 74 Abernathy, Ralph, 13 Activist at the middle, 319 AFL-CIO, 58, 192 Aiken, George, 51 Albert, Carl, 94, 98 Allott, Gordon, 241 Amendments, U.S. Constitution: 13th, 19; 14th, 19, 27; 14th and commerce clause, 49-51; 15th, 19 American Baptist Convention, American Friends Service Committee, 48 American Jewish Congress, 199 American Society of Newspaper Editors, 196 American Veterans Committee, Americans for Democratic Action (ADA), 48, 94, 199 Anderson, Clinton, 191 Andrews, George W., 100 Anniston, AL, 23 Ashmore, Robert T., 122 Atlanta, GA, 205 Atlantic City, NJ, 266

Baltimore City, MD, 265 Barnett, Ross, 209 Bates, William M., 356 n16 Bayh, Birch, 306 Becker, Frank J., 93 Bennett, Wallace, 191 Berkeley, CA, 205 Berman, Daniel M., 337 Bevel, James, 312 Birmingham, AL, 11-16, 23, 36, 63-64, 312, 339 Black voters, 333 Blackjack, Federal, 160 Boggs, Hale, 109, 118 Bolling, Richard, 93 Bombingham, 11 Brewster, Daniel B., 262-266 Brooklyn CORE, 207, 209 Brown v. Board of Education, 20, 24 Brown, Clarence, 99, 106 Budgetitis, 239 Bus boycott, 21-23 Butler University, 221 Byrd, Robert, 278

Calendar Wednesday, 53, 93-94 California Democratic Club, 199 California primary, 213, 271, 272 Cambridge, MD, 263-264 Cannon, Howard W., 278, 282 Carter, Clifton, 263 Case, Clifford, 246 Catoctin Mountains, 263 Celler, Emanuel, 42; and subcommittee No. 5, 47-49; and FEPC, 53-54; Judiciary Committee, 65-71; Rules Committee, 75, 91, 96; House debate, 105, 116, 118, 123; and sex amendment, 100, 121 Central Arizona Project, 285 Citizenship gap, 199

Civil Rights Act 1957, 24, 187 Civil Rights Act 1960, 24, 187 Civil Rights Commission, 6, 19, 31, 36; 1961 report, 24-28 Civil Rights Corporal's Guard, 146 Civil War, 19, 325-326 Clark, Joseph S., 169, 259 Clark, Ramsey, 123 Cleveland, OH, 203-205 Cloture, 1, 8, 42-43; detailed description, 136-138; life under, 288-289; on motion to consider, 177-179; vote on, 281 Collins, Leroy, 311 Colmer, William M., 100, 107 Commerce clause, 161; and 14th Amendment, 49-51 Commerce Committee, Senate, 45-46 Committee level, the, 55 Committee of the Whole, 108-109, 111 Community Relations Service, 31, 122, 311 Conference Committee, 41-43 Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), 48, 58, 88, 174, 209 Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report, 54, 115, 123; on Wallace in Maryland, 264; on Southern strategy, 298-299 Congressional Record, pages used, 315 Connor, T. Eugene (Bull), 12, 13, 15, 16, 209 Continuing body concept, 131-132 Cooper, John Sherman, 50 Coordinating Committee for Fundamental American Freedoms, 124 Cronin, Donald J., 357 n13, 358 n21

D.C. Stadium, 193 Daily staff meetings, 147 Danzig, David, 336 De facto school segregation, 203 Democratic Policy Committee, Senate, 146 Democratic Study Group, 110, 113 Demonstrations, legitimated, 335 Denver Post, 209 Dirksen, Everett M., 38-39, 137, 141-142, 194, 219, 328; and Morse motion to refer, 183-184; Humphrey and Johnson efforts to convert, 225-230; Mitchell-Rauh view of, 233; background and career, 237-242; and Nuclear Test-ban, 242-244; negotiations with Humphrey, 245-247, 255-260; and jury trial amendment, 249-254; selling the bill, 268-270; announces cloture date, 271; and Barry Goldwater, 271-272, 301; and Hickenlooper revolt, 273-276; evaluation of role, 278-281, 316-321; Senate remarks in support of bill, 282-283, 303-304; and Russell Long, 292; and Dominick and Mechem, 293; praised, 302, 340; strategy summarized, 329 Dirksen Congressional Leadership Research Center, 240 Dirksen's Bombers, 244-245 Discharge petition, 90-95 Dolan, Joseph F., 359 n6 Dominick, Peter, 293 Dowdy, John, 119 Drummond, Roscoe, 230

East Chicago, IN, 222
Eastland, James O., 7, 139, 279, 293, 327; and Senate Judiciary Committee hearings, 43-44, 47, 169-172
Edmondson, J. Howard, 278, 282
Education and Labor Committee, House, 53
Eisenhower, Dwight D., 21, 28, 238

Ellender, Allen, 175, 338
Emancipation Proclamation, 19, 103, 310
Engle, Clair, 284, 304
Equal Employment Opportunity
Commission (EEOC), 30-31, 73, 100, 104, 122; impact, 331;
Ervin, Sam, Jr., 44, 47, 174, 177, 252, 287, 291, 316
Ev and Charley Show, 242

Fair Employment Practices Commission (FEPC), 26, 30-31, 52-54, 56, 73 Farmer, James, 73, 209 Faubus, Orval, 209 Fauntroy, Walter E., 48 Filibuster, 1, 7, 29, 34, 41; detailed description, 129-135: antidotes for, 135-138; extent of, 315-316; and Senate rules, 327-328 Fleeson, Doris, 357 n35 Flynn, Clyde, 355 n32 n40, 356 n5 Ford, Gerald R., 39 Four Freedoms Awards Foundation, 200 Franklin, Benjamin, 302 Free white jury, 28 Freedom Rides, 23 Funds cutoff, 2, 25, 31, 73, 100,

Gallery watchers-office visitors, 111-114
Gary, IN, 222
Gaston Motel, 14
Georgetown University, 201
Gettysburg, PA, 325-326
Gold dust twins, 59
Goldwater, Barry, 211-216, 271-272, 301-302, 332-333
Gracie Mansion, 208
Great man hook, 229, 319
Green, Edith, 121
Griffiths, Martha W., 120, 121

Gronouski, John A., 217

Haley, James A., 114 Halleck, Charles A., 40, 92, 102, 242, 318; support for Kennedy compromise, 70-72; role in House debates, 115-116 Harlem, 207 Harris, Oren, 117 Harris, William J., 154 Hart, Philip A., 282 Hayden, Carl T., 284-285 Hayden-Brown proposal, 285 Heart of Atlanta Motel v. United States, 330 Hickenlooper, Bourke B., 273-276, 278, 317 Hickenlooper revolt, 273-276 Hill, J. Lister, 174 Horn, Stephen, 342 n4 (Ch.4), 349 n24, 351 n10 n17 n24, 353 n44 n53, 356 n9 House Judiciary Committee, see Judiciary Committee, House House Rules Committee, see Rules Committee, House Housing Rights Act of 1968, 3, 326, 332, 333 Hruska, Roman, 191 Hugo, Victor, 282 Humphrey, Hubert H., 35, 38, 64, 194, 202, 219, 263, 266, 268, 282, 284, 294, 296, 302-303, 336; named floor manager, 140-143; organizes for filibuster, 143-148; supports wheat and cotton, 149-150; opposes Morse motion to refer, 169, 171-172; immediate answer strategy, 175; debate with Senator Ellender, 176-177; opposes cloture on filibuster #1, 178-179; debate with Senator Robertson, 180; evaluation of role in filibuster #1, 183-184; opens Senate debate, 187-189;

and Saturday debacle, 191-193; speaking program for bill, 197-201; condemns civil rights excesses, 208-209; efforts to convert Dirksen, 227-230, 246; no compromises stand, 230-231; argument with Mitchell and Rauh, 232-236; and jury trial amendments, 248-254; negotiations with Dirksen, 255-257, 259-260; and Hickenlooper revolt, 273-276; final vote drive in Senate, 276-278; after cloture vote, 289; comment on Southern strategy, 298; celebrates Senate victory, 305-306; gave most speeches, 316; compared to Dirksen, 318-321; strategy summarized, Humphrey-Dirksen negotiations evaluated, 278-281

Illinois convention, 212 Immediate answer, 175 Indiana primary, 220 Inter-religious Convocation on Civil Rights, 201

Irrepressible Debate, 326

Italian-American voters, 218

Jackson, Henry R., 191
Javits, Jacob J., 35, 51, 150, 189, 246, 316; objects to Morse motion to refer, 171-172; goes to New York World's Fair, 210
Jefferson, Thomas, 297
Johns Hopkins University, 201
Johnson, Lyndon B., 8, 9, 61, 75, 76, 105, 136, 142, 179, 193, 202, 234, 246, 336, 338; encourages civil rights supporters, 32; helps Kennedy plan strategy, 37-38; becomes president, 83-85; reaches out to black leaders, 85-88; calls for

"no compromises", 88-90; and discharge petition, 90-93, 95; State of the Union address, 95-96; supports women's rights, 103-104; suggested Community Relations Service, 122-123; involvement in House bill, 126-127; lets Southerners talk, 148; and Richard Russell, 157-158; weekly civil rights statements, 195-197; visits New York World's Fair, 206-207, 210; affected by Republican presidential nomination fight, 213-215, 260-261; reaction to Wallace compaign for president, 217-218, 220, 261-263, 266; efforts to convert Dirksen, 225-228; calls for "no compromises" in Senate, 230-231; opposes early cloture vote, 251-252; role in drive for cloture, 276-278; interests served by Dirksen negotiations, 280-281; and Carl Hayden, 284-285; signs bill, 310-314; compared to President Kennedy, 321-324; defeats Barry Goldwater, 332-333; praised, 333-335; bill signing remarks, 340 Johnson, "Lady Bird", 194 Judiciary Committee, House, 7, 42, 66, 68-75, 77, 79 Judiciary Committee, Senate, 7, 33, 43-44, 167-168; and Morse motion to refer, 168-172, 182, 184-185; effects, 327 Jury trial amendments, 247-254 Justice Department, 51, 54, 67, 124, 255; writes House Judiciary Committee version of bill, 77-79; role in House debate, 114; role in Humphrey-Dirksen negotiations, 279-280

Kastenmeier, Robert W., 69 Katzenbach, Nicholas, 37, 39, 40, 45-46, 52, 65, 84-85, 208, 255, 258; commitment to McCulloch, 67; work with House Judiciary Committee, 71-72, 78; role in House debate, 114; misrepresents Halleck on equal employment, 115; advises Johnson on getting cloture, 196-197; wants Goldwater nominated, 214-215; prominent role in Humphrey-Dirksen negotiations, 280-281; liaison with House leaders, 307: early strategy for converting Dirksen. 317: role evaluated, 320-321 Keating, Kenneth, 35-36, 44, 50, 150, 170 Kennedy, Cornelius B., 355 n32 n34 n43 n2 n3, 359 n9 Kennedy, Edward, 190, 263, 306 Kennedy, John F., 19, 33-34, 37, 64, 67, 84-85, 94; initial legislative proposals, 5-6; and obstacles to a civil rights bill, 7-10; and Birmingham demonstrations, 11, 15-16; announces stronger bill, 16-17; provisions of stronger bill, 29-31; meets civil rights leaders, 31-32; and March on Washington, 62; intervenes in Judiciary Committee deliberations, 70-71; assassinated, 75; role evaluated, 75-77, 80-81; compromised bill helps Johnson, 89-90; bipartisan agreement moves bill through Rules Committee, 99, through House, 123; meets Dirksen on nuclear test-ban, 242-243; compared to President Johnson, 321-324 Kennedy, Robert, 44, 72, 209, 312;

testifies before Subcommittee

#5, 48; supports commerce clause, 49; meeting with House Judiciary Committee, 68; at Dirksen negotiations, 255 Kenosha, WI, 218 Kimball, Robert, 353 n51 King, A. D., 14 King, Martin Luther, Jr., 2, 57, 63, 64, 320; at Birmingham, 12-13; and Montgomery bus boycott, 22; and March on Washington, 56, 62; demonstrations legitimated, 335 Klunder, Bruce W., 204-205 Knowland, William F., 238 Ku Klux Klan, 14, 209, 220, 312 Kuchel, Thomas H., 171, 234, 235, 246, 248; named Republican floor leader, 142-143; condemns civil rights excesses, 209; and Rockefeller campaign, 213, 215; at Dirksen negotiations, 255 Kurzman, Stephen, 341 n15

Ladies Day in the House, 122 Lake County, IN, 220 Lakeview School, 203 Leadership Conference on Civil Rights, 3, 115, 123, 126-127, 192; discusses Kennedy's initial legislative proposals, 10-11; intends to strengthen bill, 34; opposes Adam Clayton Powell on Calendar Wednesday, 53-54; description of, 55-59; evaluation of bipartisan compromise, 73-74; evaluation of President Kennedy, 80-81; supports discharge petition, 91-92; opposes weakening amendments, 104-105; concerns about the Committee of the Whole, 110-111; develops gallery watchers-office visitors system, 111-112; evaluation of House role, 124; opposes compromise

or early cloture vote in Senate, 230-231; argues with Humphrey, 232-235; abandoned by Humphrey and Kuchel, 235-236; reaction to Dirksen amendments, 266-268; opposes all postcloture amendments, 289; presented united civil rights front, 339 Lee, Robert E., 326 Lincoln, Abraham, 19, 237, 302, 310 Lindsay, John V., 40, 72, 93, 118, 121 Lippmann, Walter, 15 Literacy tests, 24, 30 Little Rock, AR, 20 Lodge, Henry Cabot, 211, 260 Long, Russell B., 174, 291, 292, Lutheran Brotherhood League, 199

Mackaman, Frank H., 357 n42 Madden, Ray J., 307-308 Madison, James, 297 Magnuson, Warren, 45-46 Manatos, Mike, 225, 285, 349 n13 n25, 355 n4 Mansfield, Michael, 38-39, 135, 170, 194, 255, 257, 270, 290, 291-292, 294-295; strategy to end filibuster, 137-140; calls on Senate to act, 150-151; bypasses Senate Judiciary Committee, 167-168; supports Morse motion to refer, 171-172; makes motion to consider, 172-173; considers early cloture vote, 178-179; and end of minibuster, 181-182; and Saturday debacle, 192; comment on Wallace presidential campaign, 219-220; and jury trial amendments, 249-254; announces date of cloture vote, 271-272; organizes counterfilibuster, 272-273;

defeats motion to adjourn, 293; remarks on final passage, 303-305; strategy summarized, 329 March on Washington, 56, 62-63 Marshall, Burke, 50, 78, 114, 126 Marshall, Thurgood, 334 Martin, Louis, 84, 227 Maryland primary, 261-266 McClellan, John L., 174 McCormack, John W., 70, 94 McCulloch, William M., 94, 123, 321; bill needs his support, 39-40; comment at House Judiciary Committee hearings, 49; wants moderate bill, 54; opposes subcommittee #5 bill, 67-69; at White House meeting, 70; praises bipartisan compromise, 72-73; "unsung hero" status, 79-80; opposes discharge petition, 92; at Rules committee hearings, 96, 98; opening remarks in House debate, 105-106; leads Republican civil rights forces in House, 115; accepts perfecting amendments, 116-117; and Boggs incident, 117-119; opposes sex amendment, 121; influence on bill, 125; part of Russell strategy, 162-163; comment on civil rights excesses, 210-211; works for Senate amendments, 270-271; key to gaining Dirksen's support, 318; strategy summarized, 329 McNamara, Robert, 252 NcNeil, Neil, 317 Meany, George, 48 Mechem, Edwin L., 293 Medical Committee for Civil Rights, 48 Meet the Press, 228, 230

Metcalf, Lee, 284, 304

Milwaukee, WI, 217, 218 Minibuster, 177, ends, 181-182 Minnesota Historical Society, 241 Mitchell, Clarence, Jr., 8, 73, 92, 105, 114, 148, 321, 336; background and experience, 59-62; supports subcommittee bill, 66, 69; on Johnson and civil rights, 83-84, 87, 89; concerns about Committee of the Whole, 110-111; suggests gallery watchers-office visitors system, 111-114; call from President Johnson, 127; on Humphrey and Kuchel as floor leaders, 142-143; on title captains, 145-156; opposes Morse motion to refer. 170-171: "no compromises" stand in Senate, 230-231: plan to arrest absent senators, 231-232; argument with Humphrey, 232-236; reaction to Dirksen amendments, 266-267; on President Johnson getting cloture votes, 277; Johnson and Kennedy compared, 322-324; strategy summarized, 329; tribute to Johnson, 334-335 Montgomery bus boycott, 21-23 Moore, Arch, 54-55, 69, 73 Morse, Wayne L., 130, 169, 182 Morton amendment, 252-253 Morton, Thruston, 252 Moss, Frank, 191 Mrs. Murphy's Boarding House, 51-52, 73-74, 104 Mudd, Roger, 282, 358 n22

National Association For Mental Health, 200 National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), 58, 202, 209 National Catholic Welfare Conference, 58 National Conference on Religion and Race, 201 National Council of Churches, 48, 58, 201 National Council of Negro Women, 209 National Lawyers Guild, 48 National Students Association, 48 New Hampshire primary, 211 New York City, 205, 206-208 New York Post, 74 New York Times, 178, 184 New York World's Fair, 206-208 Newsletter, Civil Rights, 147, 179-180 Nixon, Richard, 9 Nonviolence, 2, 335-337, 338-339 Nuclear test-ban, 10, 242-244

O'Brien, Lawrence F., 92, 114, 307 Oregon primary, 212, 260-261

Parks, Rosa, 21 Part III, 28, 29, 31, 56, 64, 73, 104 Pattern or practice, 258-259 Pekin, IL, 237 Pelly, Thomas M., 93 Police brutality, 26-28 Polish-American vote, 217 Postcloture filibuster, 290-292 Powell, Adam Clayton, 53-54 Prouty, Winston, 302 Proxmire., William, 263 Public accommodations, 2, 31, 45, 49, 56, 73; attacked by Southerners, 100; Dirksen announces amendments to, 184; impact, 330

Quorum duty lists, 146

Racine, WI, 218 Rauh, Joseph, Jr., 6, 10, 56, 78, 98, 114, 117, 124, 145, 148,

321; at Kennedy meeting with civil rights leaders, 31-32; opposes Adam Clayton Powell on Calendar Wednesday ploy, 53; background and experience, 60-61; supports subcommittee bill, 66, 69; evaluation of bipartisan compromise, 73-74; supports discharge petition, 91-92; meets with President Johnson on House amendments, 105; concerns about Committee of the Whole, 110; evaluation of gallery watchers-office visitors system, 113-114; evaluation of House bill, 123: call from President Johnson. 127: supports Humphrey and Kuchel as floor leaders, 142: "no compromises" stand in Senate, 230-231; suggests "two speeches" rule, 231-232; argument with Humphrey, 232-235; reaction to Dirksen amendments, 266-268; on Dirksen's effect on bill, 318-319; strategy summarized, 329 Reedy, George E., 122 Republican Policy Committee, Senate, 245, 269 Resegregation, 203 Reston, James, 64 Reuther, Walter, 56, 57, 235 Reynolds, John W., 217 Robertson, Willis, 180 Rockefeller, Nelson, 211-216, 260-261, 272 Rogers, Lindsay, 132 Roosevelt, Franklin D., 20, 237 Rules Committee, House, 7, 33, 53, 75, 90-95; hearings, 96-98; amendments, 99-100; bill released, 100; and total legislative picture, 101; considers Senate bill, 307;

effects, 327 Rules, effect of, 327 Russell, Richard, Jr., 44-45, 89, 132, 181-182, 184-185, 194, 252, 291; background and career, 153-158; and Southern ideology, 158-161; legislative strategy, 162-163; arguments against bill, 164-165; talks through morning hour, 173-174; and jury trial amendments, 247-248, 250, 252; tidbit tactic, 272; reaction to Hickenlooper revolt, 275-276; Senate remarks against bill, 285, 295-296; why strategy failed, 297-300; compares Johnson to Kennedy, 323-324 Russell, Richard, Sr., 154 Russell, W. D., 202

Saturday debacle, 191-193 Schlei, Norbert A., 37-38, 52, 85-86. School desegregation, 332 Scott, Hugh, 150 Senate Rule 19, 131 Serbian-American voters, 218 Severeid, Eric, 15 Sex amendment, 100-103, 119-122 Simultaneous bills, 39 Sit-in demonstrations, 2, 23 Sloganizing, 51 Smith, Howard W., 7, 75, 90-91, 95, 106-107, 117; holds Rules Committee hearings, 96-98; releases bill, 98-102; and sex amendment, 100, 120-121, 124-125; and Senate amendments, 307-308 Sorensen, Theodore, 10, 16, 75, 80 Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), 2, 202, 312 Southern Presbyterian Church, 202 Southerners: part of Democratic coalition, 8; filibuster

previous civil rights bills, 24; determined to kill Kennedy bill, 34; initial Senate strategy meeting, 44-45; support strong subcommittee bill, 68; criticize bipartisan compromise, 74-75; strategy meeting in House, 100-101; amend House bill, 116-117; filibustering techniques, 132-134; criticisms of bipartisan civil rights bill, 160-162; legislative strategy, 162-163; allow votes on jury trial amendments, 247-250, 252-254: wanted Wallace win in Maryland, 264-266; tidbit tactic, 272; develop postcloture filibuster, 290-292, 294-295; final arguments, 295-296: strategy analyzed, 297-300: realities of Southern politics, 300-301; compromise not possible, 324-325; lose second Civil War, 325-326; strategy summarized, 329-330; call for compliance, 338 Spenderitis, 239 Squandermania, 239 St. George, Katharine, 100, 120, Stall-in, 206-208, 210 Stennis, John, 179-180, 316 Stewart, John G., 342 n2 (Ch. 4) n7 (Ch.4), 349 n4, 354 n13 n20, 355 n47, 357 n38 n39 n40, 358 n33 n34 Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), 23 Subcommittee No. 5, 64; description, 47-49; exempts Mrs. Murphy's boarding house, 51-52; considers FEPC, 52-53; "out of control," 65; recommendations revised, 66-72; effect of President Kennedy on, 77-79

Super lobby, 58 Synagogue Council of America, 58

Talmadge, Eugene, 154 Talmadge, Herman, 248, 338 Tawes, J. Millard, 262 Taylor, Hobart, Jr., 359 n23 n24, 360 n26 Tax cut, 65-66, 101 Teamsters Union, 48, 58 Teasdale, Kenneth, 352 n15, 355 n47 n3 Television, 33, 63, 282 Thomas, Norman, 48 Thompson, Frank, 113, 114 Thurmond, Strom, 130, 164-166, 291, 295 Tidbit tactic, 272 Time Magazine, 100, 126, 205, 210, 218, 221 Title captains, 145 Total legislative picture, 101, 223 Total political picture, 223, 272 Tower, John, 163, 241 Trice, J. Mark, 352 n15 Truman, Harry S., 20

Udall, Stewart, 194, 284 United Automobile Workers, 48, 235

Valenti, Jack, 360 n25 Vandenberg, Arthur, 77, 345 n80 Voting rights, 24, 30, 332 Voting Rights Act of 1965, 326, 333. Vultures in the galleries, 114

Wallace, George, 3, 16, 64, 209; presidential candidacy, 216-217; in Wisconsin primary, 212-220; in Indiana primary, 220-222; takes over Southern fight against bill, 223; in Maryland primary, 261-266

Waters, Bernard J.,

355 n32 n41 n42 Weaver, Robert C., 322 Welsh, Matthew, 220-221 Welsh, William B., 345 n77 Weltner, Charles L., 309-310 Wheat and cotton, 148-150 Whip system, 109 White backlash, 210, 217, 222, 336 White, Bill, 83 White, Lee C., 344 n46, 345 n10, 346 n11 n12 n22, 348 n37, 358 n43 Whitten, Jamie L., 108 Wilkins, Roy, 56, 64, 73, 87, 89, 323, 333 Willis, Edwin E., 97, 108, 116 Wisconsin primary, 212-220 Women's rights, 2, 100, 103, 119-122

Yarborough, Ralph, 278, 282 Young, Whitney, Jr., 32, 86-87, 334