

NOTES

CHAPTER 2

1. Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report, 8 March 1963, 303.
2. CQ Weekly Report, 5 April 1963, 527.
3. CQ Weekly Report, 8 March 1963, 293.
4. Joseph Rauh, Jr., unpublished manuscript (magazine article) on the role of the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights in the civil rights struggle of 1963-1964, 1. Rauh was legal adviser to the Leadership Conference on Civil Rights.
5. In 1975 the Senate amended its rules to provide that only a 3/5 vote of the Senate (60 votes if all senators are present and voting) is required for cloture.
6. Clarence Mitchell, Jr., interview, 30 April 1969, Tape 1, 2-3, Oral History Collection, LBJ Library, Austin, Texas
7. Theodore C. Sorensen, Kennedy (New York: Harper and Row, 1965), 476.
8. Sorensen, Kennedy, 476. See also Public Papers of the Presidents, 1961, 8 March 1961, 157
9. Rauh manuscript, 2.
10. Michael Dorman, We Shall Overcome (New York: Dial Press, 1964), 143.
11. Congressional Quarterly Almanac - 1963, 336.
12. Dorman, We Shall Overcome, 171.
13. Washington Evening Star, 14 May 1963.
14. Washington Post, 28 May 1963.
15. Stephen Kurzman, minority counsel, Senate Committee on Education and Labor, 20 April 1966, quoted in Peter E. Kane, The Senate Debate on the 1964 Civil Rights Act (Ph.D. dissertation, Purdue University, 1967), 30.
16. Rauh manuscript, 5.
17. Sorensen, Kennedy, 489.
18. CQ Weekly Report, 14 June 1963, 971.

CHAPTER 3

1. CQ Weekly Report, 15 September 1961, 1582-1585. For a summary of the entire five volume Civil Rights Commission Report of 1961, see CQ Almanac - 1961, 394-398.
2. CQ Weekly Report, 29 September 1961, 1669-70.
3. CQ Weekly Report, 16 October 1961, 1722.
4. CQ Weekly Report, 17 November 1961, 1860.
5. CQ Weekly Report, 17 November 1961, 1861.
6. Rauh manuscript, 3-4. See also James L. Sundquist, Politics and Policy: The Eisenhower, Kennedy, and Johnson Years (Washington: Brookings, 1968), 263.

7. Sundquist, Politics and Policy, 263.
8. Rauh manuscript, 5.
9. Rauh manuscript, 5.
10. Whitney Young, Jr., interview, 18 June 1969, 4-5, Oral History Collection, LBJ Library.

#### CHAPTER 4

1. There were 67 Democrats and 33 Republicans in the 1963-1964 session of the Senate. See CQ Weekly Report, 11 January 1963, 30.
2. Memo for John S. from Senator, 12 March 1963, Hubert H. Humphrey Private Papers on Civil Rights, Minnesota Historical Society, St. Paul, Minnesota. John S. is Humphrey's legislative assistant, John G. Stewart. See also Humbert H. Humphrey from Senator Joseph S. Clark, 14 March 1963.
3. CQ Weekly Report, 5 April 1963, 527.
4. Personal recollection of the author. The aide was Stephen Horn.
5. Nicholas Katzenbach, interview, 12 November 1968, 14-15, Oral History Collection, LBJ Library.
6. Memorandum to the attorney general from Norbert A. Schlei, assistant attorney general, 4 June 1963, 2, Robert F. Kennedy General Correspondence, John F. Kennedy Library, Boston.
7. Memorandum marked John S/FYI, 18 June 1963, Hubert H. Humphrey Private Papers on Civil Rights, Minnesota Historical Society.
8. Memorandum to the attorney general from Nicholas Katzenbach, deputy attorney general, 29 June 1963, 1, Robert F. Kennedy General Correspondence, John F. Kennedy Library. Katzenbach's assumption that House Republican Leader Charles Halleck of Indiana would not support the strengthened Kennedy civil rights bill later turned out to be incorrect.
9. Nicholas Katzenbach, interview, 12 November 1968, 18, Oral History Collection, LBJ Library.
10. CQ Weekly Report, 26 July 1963, 1318.
11. CQ Weekly Report, 26 July 1963, 1318.
12. Newsweek, 19 August 1963, 20.
13. Memorandum to the attorney general from Nicholas Katzenbach, deputy attorney general, 19 August 1963, 3, Robert F. Kennedy General Correspondence, John F. Kennedy Library.
14. Personal recollection of the author.
15. Sundquist, Politics and Policy, 264-265.
16. CQ Weekly Report, 28 June 1963, 1068.
17. CQ Weekly Report, 26 July 1963, 1319
18. CQ Weekly Report, 26 July 1963, 1319, and 2 August 1963, 1374.
19. Sundquist, Politics and Policy, 259.
20. Statement on Civil Rights, 8 May 1963, 1-2, Papers of Representative William McCulloch, Ohio Northern University, Ada, Ohio.

21. CQ Weekly Report, 12 July 1963, 1131.
22. CQ Weekly Report, 12 July 1963, 1131.
23. CQ Weekly Report, 12 July 1963, 1131.
24. CQ Weekly Report, 12 July 1963, 1131.
25. The Leadership Conference on Civil Rights, a coalition of lobby groups supporting the civil rights bill, devoted the major portion of its first newsletter to its member groups to the question of whether equal access to public accommodations should be guaranteed by the commerce clause or the 14th Amendment. Joseph Rauh, Jr., a lobbyist for the Leadership Conference, wrote a legal brief on the "Commerce Clause-14th Amendment Controversy" which was distributed with the newsletter. See Memorandum #1, 25 July 1963, Series D, Box 4, Leadership Conference on Civil Rights Collection, Library of Congress, Washington.
26. CQ Weekly Report, 21 June 1963, 1000.
27. Memorandum to the attorney general from Nicholas Katzenbach, deputy attorney general, 19 August 1963, 3, Robert F. Kennedy General Correspondence, John F. Kennedy Library.
28. Kane, The Senate Debate, 48.
29. Kane, The Senate Debate, 130.
30. CQ Weekly Report, 2 August 1963, 1374.
31. Rauh manuscript, 10.
32. CQ Weekly Report, 2 August 1963, 1374.
33. CQ Weekly Report, 2 August 1963, 1374.
34. CQ Weekly Report, 25 October 1963, 1863.
35. Rauh manuscript, 6.
36. Rauh manuscript, 6.
37. Rauh manuscript, 7.
38. Memorandum #1, 25 July 1963, Series D, Box 4, Leadership Conference on Civil Rights Collection, Library of Congress.
39. Memorandum #2, 5 August 1963, and in succeeding memoranda, Series D, Box 4, Leadership Conference on Civil Rights Collection, Library of Congress.
40. Clarence Mitchell, Jr., interview by the author, 17 August 1983, Baltimore.
41. Joseph Rauh, Jr., interview by the author, 15 August 1983, Washington.
42. Joseph Rauh, Jr., interview by the author, 15 August 1983.
43. Clarence Mitchell, Jr., interview by the author, 17 August 1983.
44. Clarence Mitchell, Jr., interview, 30 April 1969, Tape 1, 27, Oral History Collection, LBJ Library.
45. CQ Almanac - 1963, 347.
46. Memorandum, Lee C. White to President Johnson, Subject: Civil Rights Program, 11 March 1964, 2, Legislative Background CR 64, Box 1, LBJ Library.

47. New York Times, 29 August 1963, 1.
48. CQ Weekly Report, 20 September 1963, 1632.
49. CQ Weekly Report, 20 September 1963, 1632.
50. CQ Weekly Report, 20 September 1963, 1632-1633.
51. CQ Weekly Report, 20 September 1963, 1633.
52. Nicholas Katzenbach, interview, 12 November 1968, 16, Oral History Collection, LBJ Library.
53. Personal recollection of the author.
54. Rauh manuscript, 12.
55. CQ Weekly Report, 11 October 1963, 1749.
56. Nicholas Katzenbach, interview, 11 November 1968, 18, Oral History Collection, LBJ Library.
57. Kane, The Senate Debate, 51.
58. CQ Weekly Report, 18 October 1963, 1814.
59. CQ Weekly Report, 18 October 1963, 1814.
60. CQ Weekly Report, 18 October 1963, 1814.
61. Joseph Rauh, Jr., interview by the author, 15 August 1983.
62. CQ Weekly Report, 18 October 1963, 1814.
63. CQ Weekly Report, 1 November 1963, 1879.
64. Sorensen, Kennedy, 501.
65. CQ Weekly Report, 1 November 1963, 1875.
66. Nicholas Katzenbach, interview, 12 November 1968, 17, Oral History Collection, LBJ Library.
67. CQ Weekly Report, 1 November 1963, 1875.
68. CQ Weekly Report, 1 November 1963, 1875.
69. CQ Weekly Report, 29 November 1963, 2105.
70. CQ Weekly Report, 1 November 1963, 1875-1876
71. Rauh manuscript, 13.
72. CQ Weekly Report, 1 November 1963, 1876.
73. CQ Weekly Report, 29 November 1963, 2105.
74. Rauh manuscript, 14.
75. CQ Weekly Report, 29 November 1963, 2105.
76. Sundquist, Politics and Policy, 263.
77. William B. Welsh, administrative assistant to Senator Philip A. Hart (Democrat, Michigan), 21 April 1966, quoted in Kane, The Senate Debate, 37.
78. Sorensen, Kennedy, 470.
79. Sorensen, Kennedy, 475-476.
80. Sorensen, Kennedy, 501. Sorensen's reference is to Arthur Vandenberg, a Republican senator from Michigan who, immediately following World War II, turned away from partisan politics and worked out a bipartisan foreign policy with Democratic President Harry Truman. A "Vandenberg" thus was a politician who put national needs ahead of partisan advantage and getting reelected.
81. Memorandum to the attorney general from Nicholas Katzenbach,

deputy attorney general, 19 August 1963, 1-4, Robert F. Kennedy General Correspondence, John F. Kennedy Library.

82. Memorandum to the attorney general from Nicholas Katzenbach, deputy attorney general, 19 August 1963, 1, Robert F. Kennedy General Correspondence, John F. Kennedy Library.

83. Memorandum to the attorney general from Nicholas Katzenbach, deputy attorney general, 29 June 1963, 3, Robert F. Kennedy General Correspondence, John F. Kennedy Library.

84. Sorensen, Kennedy, 500.

## CHAPTER 5

1. Clarence Mitchell, Jr., interview, 30 April 1969, Tape 1, 29-30, Oral History Collection, LBJ Library.

2. Louis Martin, interview, 14 April 1969, 22, Oral History Collection, LBJ Library.

3. Nicholas Katzenbach, interview, 12 November 1968, 5-6, Oral History Collection, LBJ Library.

4. CQ Weekly Report, 29 November 1963, 2089.

5. Memorandum to the attorney general from Norbert A. Schlei, assistant attorney general, 4 June 1963, VI, Robert F. Kennedy General Correspondence, John F. Kennedy Library.

6. Lyndon Baines Johnson, The Vantage Point (New York: Popular Library, 1971), 29.

7. Whitney Young, Jr., interview, 18 June 1969, 9, Oral History Collection, LBJ Library.

8. Roy Wilkins, interview, 1 April 1969, 5, Oral History Collection, LBJ Library.

9. Clarence Mitchell, Jr., interview, 30 April 1969, Tape 1, 4, Oral History Collection, LBJ Library.

10. Memorandum, Lee C. White to President Johnson, Suggested Items for Discussion with Roy Wilkins, 29 November 1963, 1, Appointment File (Diary Back-up), Box 1, LBJ Library. See also Memorandum, Lee C. White to President Johnson, Possible Items for Discussion with Martin Luther King, 3 December 1963, and Memorandum, Lee C. White to President Johnson, Suggested Items for Discussion with Mr. James Farmer [national director of CORE, the Congress of Racial Equality, a civil rights group], 4 December 1963, EX/HU2, Box 2, LBJ Library.

11. Memorandum, Lee C. White to President Johnson, 4 December 1963, Appointment File (Diary Back-up), Box 2, LBJ Library.

12. Memorandum, Lee C. White to President Johnson, Civil Rights Activities During the First 100 Days, 15 April 1964, 1, EX/HU2, LBJ Library.

13. Johnson, The Vantage Point, 29.

14. Clarence Mitchell, Jr., interview, 30 April 1969, Tape 1, 29, Oral

History Collection, LBJ Library.

15. Rowland Evans and Robert Novak, Lyndon B. Johnson: The Exercise of Power (New York: New American Library, 1966), 162.
16. Off the Record Remarks to Governors, 25 November 1963, 4, Appointment File (Diary Back-up), Box 1, LBJ Library.
17. CQ Weekly Report, 6 December 1963, 2130.
18. CQ Weekly Report, 6 December 1963, 2118.
19. Off The Record Remarks to Governors, 25 November 1963, 4, Appointment File (Diary Back-up), Box 1, LBJ Library.
20. CQ Weekly Report, 6 December 1963, 2129.
21. Daniel M. Berman, A Bill Becomes a Law: Congress Enacts Civil Rights Legislation, 2nd ed. (New York: Macmillan, 1966), 95.
22. Memorandum, Lee C. White to President Johnson, Subject: Assistance of Businessmen on the Discharge Petition, 9 December 1963, EX LE/HU2, Box 65, LBJ Library.
23. CQ Weekly Report, 6 December 1963, 2118.
24. Rauh manuscript, 15.
25. CQ Weekly Report, 6 December 1963, 2118.
26. Memorandum, Lawrence F. O'Brien to the President, 29 November 1963, EX LE/HU2, WHCF, Box 65, LBJ Library.
27. Notes on the First Congressional Leadership Breakfast Held by the President on 3 December 1963, 3, 8, Appointment File (Diary Back-up), Box 2, LBJ Library.
28. CQ Weekly Report, 13 December 1963, 2150.
29. CQ Weekly Report, 13 December 1963, 2150.
30. CQ Weekly Report, 13 December 1963, 2218.
31. CQ Weekly Report, 10 January 1964, 48.
32. For an analysis of subsequent refinements in the Rules Committee's role of providing a "dress rehearsal" for the subsequent debate on the House floor, see Bruce I. Oppenheimer, "The Rules Committee: New Arm of Leadership in a Decentralized House," Lawrence C. Dodd and Bruce I. Oppenheimer, Congress Reconsidered, 1st ed. (New York: Praeger, 1977), 105-113.
33. These and subsequent quotes from the House Rules Committee hearings are from CQ Weekly Report, 24 January 1964, 157.
34. CQ Weekly Report, 24 January 1964, 157.
35. Rauh manuscript, 15.
36. For a fuller discussion of this Rules Committee rule, see Berman, A Bill Becomes A Law, 2nd ed., 96.
37. Berman, A Bill Becomes A Law, 2nd ed., 95.
38. Rauh manuscript, 15.
39. Berman, A Bill Becomes A Law, 2nd ed., 96-97.
40. CQ Weekly Report, 10 February 1964, 250.
41. CQ Weekly Report, 7 February 1964, 250.
42. CQ Weekly Report, 7 February 1964, 250.

43. Time, 17 January 1964, 12.
44. CQ Weekly Report, 7 February 1964, 250.

## CHAPTER 6

1. CQ Weekly Report, 7 February 1964, 281.
2. CQ Weekly Report, 7 February 1964, 281.
3. Rauh manuscript, 16.
4. This and subsequent quotes from the opening day debate are from CQ Weekly Report, 7 February 1964, 250.
5. CQ Weekly Report, 14 February 1964, 296.
6. CQ Weekly Report, 14 February 1964, 293.
7. CQ Weekly Report, 7 February 1964, 250.
8. Rauh manuscript, 17.
9. Clarence Mitchell, Jr., interview, 30 April 1969, Tape 1, 28, Oral History Collection, LBJ Library.
10. This description of the gallery watcher-office visitor system is taken from "How Supporters 'Got out the vote' on Key Amendments," CQ Weekly Report, 21 February 1964, 365.
11. Clarence Mitchell, Jr., interview, 30 April 1969, Tape 2, 1-2, Oral History Collection, LBJ Library.
12. Rauh manuscript, 17.
13. Clarence Mitchell, Jr., interview by the author, 17 August 1983.
14. Rauh manuscript, 18.
15. Congressional Record 110, Pt. 2 (7 February 1964) 2503. See also Sundquist, Politics and Policy, 266, and Rauh manuscript, 19-20.
16. CQ Weekly Report, 21 February 1964, 365.
17. CQ Weekly Report, 21 February 1964, 365-366.
18. Nicholas Katzenbach, interview, 12 November 1968, 19-20, Oral History Collection, LBJ Library.
19. Kane, The Senate Debate, 155-156.
20. Rauh manuscript, 18.
21. CQ Weekly Report, 14 February 1964, 293.
22. CQ Weekly Report, 14 February 1964, 293-294.
23. CQ Weekly Report, 14 February 1964, 293-294.
24. Congressional Record 110, Pt. 2 (8 February 1964) 2577. See also CQ Weekly Report, 14 February 1964, 296, and Time, 21 February 1964, 22.
25. Congressional Record 110, Pt. 2 (8 February 1964) 2578-2580. See also CQ Weekly Report, 14 February 1964, 296.
26. Congressional Record 110, Pt. 2 (8 February 1964) 2581. See also CQ Weekly Report, 14 February 1964, 296, and Time, 21 February 1964, 22.
27. Congressional Record 110, Pt. 2 (8 February 1964) 2581. See also CQ Weekly Report, 14 February 1964, 296-297, and Time, 21 February 1964, 22.
28. Time, 21 February 1964, 22.

29. Congressional Record 110, Pt. 2 (8 February 1964) 2578. See also Kane, The Senate Debate, 56-57.
30. Jo Freeman, The Politics of Women's Liberation (New York: Longman, 1975), 53-54. See also Congressional Record 110, Pt. 2 (8 February 1964) 2581-2582.
31. Memorandum, George E. Reedy to the Vice-President, 7 June 1963, Office Files of George Reedy, Civil Rights 1963, WDT Box 434(22), Folder 1, LBJ Library. See also Ramsey Clark, interview, 21 March 1969, Tape 1, 14, and 11 February 1969, Tape 1, 11, Oral History Collection, LBJ Library.
32. Rauh manuscript, 19.
33. CQ Weekly Report, 14 February 1964, 293.
34. Sundquist, Politics and Policy, 266-267.
35. Senator Richard Russell of Georgia, Congressional Record 110, Pt. 4 (9 March 1964) 4743. See also Sundquist, Politics and Policy, 266.
36. Berman, A Bill Becomes A Law, 2nd ed., 114.
37. Papers of Lee C. White, Box 1, Civil Rights Bill, 1963-1964, LBJ Library.
38. CQ Weekly Report, 14 February 1964, 294.
39. Personal recollection of the author.
40. Time, 14 February 1964, 13.
41. Burke Marshall, interview, 28 October 1968, 27, Oral History Collection, LBJ Library.
42. Time, 14 February 1964, 13.
43. Merle Miller, Lyndon: An Oral Biography (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1980), 367. Reprinted by permission of the Putnam Publishing Group. See also Rauh manuscript, 19, and Clarence Mitchell, Jr., interview, 30 April 1969, Tape 1, 30-31, Oral History Collection, LBJ Library.

## CHAPTER 7

1. Bruce I. Oppenheimer, "Changing Time Constraints on Congress: Historical Perspectives on the Use of Cloture," in Lawrence C. Dodd and Bruce I. Oppenheimer, Congress Reconsidered, 3rd ed. (Washington: Congressional Quarterly, 1985), pp. 393-413.
2. Berman, A Bill Becomes A Law, 2nd ed., 64.
3. The views of Professor Rogers on the filibuster and those of other prominent scholars are summarized in Berman, A Bill Becomes A Law, 2nd ed., 64-65.
4. John G. Stewart, Independence and Control: The Challenge of Senatorial Party Leadership (Ph.D dissertation, University of Chicago, 1968), 139. Stewart was the legislative assistant to Senator Hubert H. Humphrey at the time the civil rights bill was debated in the Senate.
5. Stewart, Independence and Control, 137.
6. Berman, A Bill Becomes A Law, 2nd ed., 67.



7. Stewart, Independence and Control, 137.
8. Stewart, Independence and Control, 137. For a fuller discussion of the impact of procedures on policy outcomes, see Walter J. Oleszck, "Functions of Rules and Procedures," David C. Kozak and John D. McCartney, Congress and Public Policy (Homewood, Illinois: Dorsey Press, 1982), 214-217.
9. Stewart, Independence and Control, 180.
10. Hubert H. Humphrey, Memorandum on Senate Consideration of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, summer 1964, 1, Hubert H. Humphrey Papers, Minnesota Historical Society, St. Paul, Minnesota.
11. Humphrey memorandum, 2-3.
12. Humphrey memorandum, 5.
13. Memorandum, Mike Manatos to Larry O'Brien, 11 May 1964, EX/HU2, Box 2, LBJ Library.
14. Clarence Mitchell, Jr., interview by the author, 17 August 1983.
15. Clarence Mitchell, Jr., interview, 30 April 1969, Tape 1, 35, Oral History Collection, LBJ Library.
16. Humphrey memorandum, 12-13.
17. Stewart, Independence and Control, 183.
18. Stewart, Independence and Control, 184.
19. The plan of action is summarized from Stewart, Independence and Control, 185-186.
20. Humphrey memorandum, 9-10.
21. Clarence Mitchell, Jr., interview by the author, 17 August 1983.
22. Stewart, Independence and Control, 186.
23. Rauh manuscript, 21.
24. Stephen Horn, Periodic Log Maintained During the Discussions Concerning the Passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, unpublished, 24. Horn was legislative assistant to Senator Kuchel.
25. Memorandum, Mike Manatos to Larry O'Brien, 15 February 1964, EX LE/HU2, Box 65, LBJ Library.
26. Humphrey memorandum, 209.
27. Congressional Record 110, Pt. 3 (27 February 1964) 3850-3854.
28. Washington Post and Times Herald, 24 February 1964, 1A.
29. These and subsequent quotes from Mansfield's speech are from Congressional Record 110, Pt. 3 (17 February 1964) 2882-2884. See also Kane, The Senate Debate, 68-69.

## CHAPTER 8

1. Letter, Richard Russell to Eugene Talmadge, 9 December 1935, Series IV, Box Number B24, Russell Papers, Richard B. Russell Memorial Library, University of Georgia, Athens, Georgia.
2. Atlanta Constitution, 24 July 1936, 11, and 9 August 1936, 10.
3. David Daniel Potenziani, Look to the Past: Richard B. Russell and the

Defense of Southern White Supremacy (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Georgia, 1981), 18.

4. Potenziani, Look to the Past, 100-111.
5. Miller, Lyndon, 228.
6. Potenziani, Look to the Past, 5-6.
7. Potenziani, Look to the Past, 39-40.
8. Congressional Record 92, Pt. 1 (25 January 1946) 380.
9. Potenziani, Look to the Past, 194.
10. Kane, The Senate Debate, 49, 110, 130.
11. Kane, The Senate Debate, 108-110, 140.
12. Kane, The Senate Debate, 131.
13. Kane, The Senate Debate, 106-108.
14. Congressional Record 110, Pt. 4 (9 March 1964) 4746.
15. Kane, The Senate Debate, 107, 198.
16. Washington Post and Times Herald, 6 March 1964, A6.
17. Letter, Russell to Mary Ann Clarke, 29 October 1963, Series X, Box 148, Russell Papers.
18. Letter, Russell to Mrs. Robert E. Dobkins, 13 March 1964, Series X, Box 184, Russell Papers.
19. Congressional Record 110, Pt. 4 (9 March 1964) 4744-4746.
20. Strom Thurmond, Statement (TV) In Opposition to the Civil Rights Package, 6 June 1963, Speeches, Box 19, Thurmond Collection, Special Collections, Robert Muldrow Cooper Library, Clemson University.
21. Strom Thurmond Reports To The People, Volume X, No. 11, 30 March 1964, 1, Speeches, Box 22, Thurmond Collection.
22. Albert Lachicotte, Rebel Senator (New York: Devin-Adair, 1967), 217.
23. Strom Thurmond, Statement (Radio) In Opposition to Proposed Statute Which Would Make Businessmen Sell and Serve to Negroes, recorded 6 June 1963, Speeches, Box 19, Thurmond Collection.
24. Stewart, Independence and Control, 201.

## CHAPTER 9

1. Time, 28 February 1964, 22.
2. Congressional Record 110, Pt. 3 (17 February 1964) 2882.
3. Congressional Record 110, Pt. 5 (26 March 1964) 6419.
4. Congressional Record 110, Pt. 5 (26 March 1964) 6419.
5. Congressional Record 110, Pt. 5 (26 March 1964) 6431.
6. Horn log, 23.
7. CQ Weekly Report, 27 March 1964, 597.
8. Horn log, 24.
9. Congressional Record 110, Pt. 3 (26 February 1964) 3719.
10. Stewart, Independence and Control, 10. Also see Horn log, 23. Horn reported that political columnist Robert Novak called him (and presumably other

pro-civil rights senators' aides) to find out if Mansfield's motion had come as a surprise.

11. Congressional Record 110, Pt. 3 (27 February 1964) 3830.
12. Stewart, Independence and Control, 212.
13. Congressional Record 110, Pt. 4 (9 March 1964) 4741-4754.
14. Congressional Record 110, Pt. 4 (9 March 1964) 4754.
15. Kane, The Senate Debate, 68.
16. Stewart, Independence and Control, 214.
17. Stephen Horn, legislative assistant to Senator Thomas H. Kuchel, 20 April 1966, quoted in Kane, The Senate Debate, 81.
18. Congressional Record 110, Pt. 4 (11 March 1964) 4999-5000.
19. Personal recollection of the author.
20. Humphrey, Kuchel, and Mitchell quotes from Horn log, 24.
21. Stewart, Independence and Control, 216.
22. Stewart, Independence and Control, 217.
23. Horn log, 51.
24. The assistant was Stephen Horn. See Horn log, 51.
25. Congressional Record 110, Pt. 4 (12 March 1964) 5042, 5046, 5079.
26. Stewart, Independence and Control, 215.
27. Stewart, Independence and Control, 216-217.
28. Stewart, Independence and Control, 217-218.
29. Stewart, Independence and Control, 218.
30. Congressional Record 110, Pt. 5 (26 March 1964) 6417.
31. Congressional Record 110, Pt. 5 (26 March 1964) 6455.
32. Congressional Record 110, Pt. 5 (26 March 1964) 6445-6451. See also CQ Weekly Report, 27 March 1964, 596-597.
33. Congressional Record 110, Pt 5 (26 March 1964) 6446-6451.
34. New York Times, 22 March 1964, 41.
35. Congressional Record 110, Pt. 5 (26 March 1964) 6455.

## CHAPTER 10

1. Humphrey memorandum, 8-9.
2. Time, 10 April 1964, 22.
3. Congressional Record 110, Pt. 5 (30 March 1964) 6532.
4. Congressional Record 110, Pt. 5 (30 March 1964) 6542.
5. Time, 10 April 1964, 22. See also CQ Weekly Report, 3 April 1964, 654.
6. Horn log, 79.
7. Congressional Record 110, Pt. 6 (9 April 1964) 7380.
8. Theodore H. White, The Making of the President 1964, (New York: Atheneum, 1965), 162-163.
9. Personal recollection of the author.
10. Time, 17 April 1964, 35-36.

11. Congressional Record 110, Pt. 5 (4 April 1964) 6863.
12. Rauh manuscript, 24.
13. Stewart, Independence and Control, 223.
14. Stewart, Independence and Control, 224.
15. The Democratic staff member was Kenneth Teasdale, assistant counsel, Senate Democratic Policy Committee. The Republican staff member was J. Mark Trice, secretary for the Senate Minority (Republicans). See Horn log, 77.
16. Time, 24 April 1964, 18.
17. CQ Weekly Report, 17 April 1964, 717.
18. CQ Weekly Report, 28 February 1964, 385.
19. CQ Weekly Report, 6 March 1964, 477.
20. CQ Weekly Report, 13 March 1964, 491.
21. CQ Weekly Report, 20 March 1964, 580.
22. CQ Weekly Report, 10 April 1964, 701.
23. CQ Weekly Report, 17 April 1964, 747.
24. CQ Weekly Report, 24 April 1964, 789.
25. CQ Weekly Report, 24 April 1964, 797.
26. Nicholas Katzenbach, interview, 12 November 1968, 20-22, Oral History Collection, LBJ Library.
27. Humphrey memorandum, 9.
28. For a full discussion of Humphrey's speaking strategies, see Norbert Mills, The Speaking of Hubert H. Humphrey In Favor of the 1964 Civil Rights Act (Ph.D. dissertation, Bowling Green State University, 1974). See particularly 48-69, 73-104.
29. Mills, The Speaking Of Hubert H. Humphrey, 53.
30. Mills, The Speaking Of Hubert H. Humphrey, 55, 79.
31. Mills, The Speaking of Hubert H. Humphrey, 79. Humphrey first used this phrase at the 1948 Democratic National Convention. See CQ Weekly Report, 12 June 1964, 1161.
32. Mills, The Speaking of Hubert H. Humphrey, 60-61, 87.
33. Mills, The Speaking of Hubert H. Humphrey, 61-62, 92.
34. Mills, The Speaking of Hubert H. Humphrey, 97.
35. Stewart, Independence and Control, 276.
36. CQ Weekly Report, 26 June 1964, 1274.
37. New York Times, 8 May 1964, 37.
38. Time, 17 April 1964, 36.
39. Time, 24 April 1964, 17.
40. White, The Making of the President 1964, 186-187.
41. Time, 1 May 1964, 22.
42. White, The Making Of The President 1964, 188.
43. Horn log, 90-91.
44. Stephen Horn proposed the statement. Horn log, 90.
45. CQ Weekly Report, 17 April 1964, 717. See also Time, 24 April 1964, 17.

46. CQ Weekly Report, 24 April 1964, 757.
47. Time, 24 April 1964, 18.
48. Time, 24 April 1964, 18.
49. White, The Making Of The President 1964, 189.
50. Time, 1 May 1964, 23.
51. Horn log, 43. The aide was Robert Kimball, legislative assistant to Representative John V. Lindsay of New York.
52. The speech was 10 April 1964. Quoted in the New York Times, 20 May 1964, 1.
53. Personal recollection of the author. This was a favorite phrase of anti-Goldwater Republican staff in the Senate, particularly Stephen Horn, legislative assistant to Senator Kuchel.
54. CQ Weekly Report, 13 March 1964, 500. See also Time, 20 March 1964, 20.
55. Time, 24 April 1964, 20.
56. Horn log, 74.
57. Johnson, The Vantage Point, 29.
58. CQ Weekly Report, 10 April 1964, 687.
59. CQ Weekly Report, 10 April 1964, 687.
60. Time, 17 April 1964, 37.
61. Time, 17 April 1964, 37.
62. Time, 17 April 1964, 37.
63. CQ Weekly Report, 10 April 1964, 687.
64. Humphrey, Dirksen, and Mansfield quotes from CQ Weekly Report, 10 April 1964, 688.
65. Time, 24 April 1964, 22.
66. Time, 24 April 1964, 22.
67. Time, 24 April 1964, 22.
68. Time, 15 May 1964, 37.
69. CQ Weekly Report, 8 May 1964, 905.
70. CQ Weekly Report, 8 May 1964, 905.

## CHAPTER 11

1. Mike Manatos, interview, 25 August 1969, 19-20, Oral History Collection, LBJ Library.
2. Notes of the First Congressional Leadership Breakfast held by the President on 3 December 1963, 1, Appointment File (Diary Back-up), Box 2, LBJ Library.
3. Johnson, The Vantage Point, 30.
4. Johnson, The Vantage Point, 159.
5. Louis Martin, interview, 14 May 1969, 30, Oral History Collection, LBJ Library.
6. Miller, Lyndon, 368.

7. Horn log, 26.
8. Humphrey memorandum, 13.
9. Miller, Lyndon, 368-369.
10. Miller, Lyndon, 369.
11. Humphrey memorandum, 13-14.
12. Miller, Lyndon, 370.
13. Unsigned memorandum entitled Thoughts on the Civil Rights Bill dictated Wednesday April 21, 1964, 2, Senatorial Files, Civil Rights, 1964, Hubert H. Humphrey Papers, Minnesota Historical Society, St. Paul, Minnesota. The author mailed a copy of the memorandum to Humphrey's legislative assistant, John G. Stewart, who acknowledged authorship. This memorandum and others dictated by Stewart will be referred to as "Stewart notes".
14. Stewart notes, 30 April 1964, 1.
15. Rauh manuscript, 25.
16. Rauh manuscript, 25. Rauh gives an extensive account of Mitchell's proposal to arrest Southern senators and his own proposal to implement the two speech rule. He concludes with this sentence: "Neither suggestion was ever adopted -- but the talk of cloture died down."
17. This excerpted discussion was developed from Stephen Horn's notes on the pro-civil rights strategy meeting of 16 April 1964. See Horn log, 92-94.
18. Rauh manuscript, 26.
19. Rauh manuscript, 26-27.
20. Stewart notes, 21 April 1964, 3-4.
21. Neil MacNeil, Dirksen: Portrait of a Public Man (New York: World Publishing Company, 1970), 128.
22. MacNeil, Dirksen, 128.
23. MacNeil, Dirksen, 6.
24. MacNeil, Dirksen, 202.
25. MacNeil, Dirksen, 6.
26. Annette Culler Penney, Dirksen: The Golden Voice of the Senate (Washington: Acropolis Books, 1968), 62-69.
27. MacNeil, Dirksen, 176.
28. MacNeil, Dirksen, 166.
29. MacNeil, Dirksen, 219.
30. MacNeil, Dirksen, 222.
31. MacNeil, Dirksen, 226.
32. MacNeil, Dirksen, 226. The three "Bombers" were Clyde Flynn, Cornelius B. Kennedy, and Bernard J. Waters.
33. Personal recollection of the author.
34. Cornelius B. Kennedy, former Republican Counsel, Senate Committee on Judiciary, interview by the author, 14 August 1984, Washington.
35. Personal recollection of the author. See also Horn log, 48.
36. Stewart, Independence and Control, 240.
37. Stewart, Independence and Control, 241-242.

38. Humphrey memorandum, 14.
39. Stewart notes, 19 May 1964 to 11 June 1964, 6.
40. Clyde Flynn, Republican counsel, Subcommittee on Constitutional Amendments, Senate Committee on the Judiciary, 20 April 1966, quoted in Kane, The Senate Debate, 123.
41. Bernard J. Waters, former Republican counsel, Subcommittee on Anti-Trust and Monopoly, Senate Committee on the Judiciary, interview by the author, 16 August 1983, Washington.
42. Bernard J. Waters, 20 April 1966, quoted in Kane, The Senate Debate, 167.
43. Cornelius B. Kennedy, interview by the author, 14 August 1984.
44. Stewart, Independence and Control, 226.
45. Stewart, Independence and Control, 228.
46. New York Times, 24 April 1964, 1.
47. The staff member doing the dragging was John G. Stewart, legislative assistant to Senator Humphrey. The staff member pushed into the meeting was Kenneth Teasdale, assistant counsel, Senate Democratic Policy Committee. See Stewart notes, 29 April 1964, 2.
48. Stewart notes, 29 April 1964, 5.
49. Stewart notes, 29 April 1964, 5-6.
50. Stewart, Independence and Control, 234-235.
51. Congressional Record 110, Pt. 8 (6 May 1964) 10213.
52. Stewart, Independence and Control, 237.

## CHAPTER 12

1. Stewart notes, 6 May 1964, 4-5.
2. Cornelius B. Kennedy, interview by the author, 14 August 1984.
3. Cornelius B. Kennedy, interview by the author, 14 August 1984. According to Cornelius B. Kennedy, the Mansfield staff member who had been given a "go" to write the civil rights bill was Kenneth Teasdale.
4. Memorandum, Mike Manatos to Larry O'Brien, 6 May 1964, White House Central File (LE/HU 2), LBJ Library.
5. The Dirksen assistant who made the proposal was Clyde Flynn. See Stewart, Independence and Control, 248. In his study of the Senate debate on the Civil Rights Act of 1964, Peter E. Kane gave considerable credit to Clyde Flynn, describing him as "the actual author of what was to become the Civil Rights Act of 1964." Kane, The Senate Debate, 123.
6. Winthrop Griffith, Humphrey: A Candid Biography (New York: William Morrow, 1965), 281-282. See also Stewart notes, 13 May 1964, 4-5. See also Stewart, Independence and Control, 250.
7. Stewart notes, 13 May 1964, 1-2.
8. Stewart, Independence and Control, 250. See also New York Times, 14 May 1964, 1. See also CQ Weekly Report, 19 June 1964, 1206.

9. Horn log, 179. Horn learned of the early press inspection of the amendments from another Senate aide who was informed by Andrew Glass of the New York Herald Tribune. Horn speculated that Glass was probably accompanied by Roger Mudd of CBS television news, Ned Kenworthy of the New York Times, and John Averill of the Los Angeles Times.

10. This quote and subsequent quotes are from former U.S. Senator Daniel B. Brewster (Democrat, Maryland), interview by the author, August 1982, Glyndon, Maryland.

11. Time, 22 May 1964, 24.

12. CQ Weekly Report, 15 May 1964, 948.

13. CQ Weekly Report, 22 May 1964, 1000-1001.

14. Kane, The Senate Debate, 119.

15. CQ Weekly Report, 22 May 1964, 1001.

16. William M. Bates, press secretary to Senator Richard B. Russell, 20 April 1966, quoted in Kane, The Senate Debate, 176.

17. Rauh manuscript, 27-28.

18. Joseph Rauh, Jr., interview by the author, August 15, 1983.

19. Rauh manuscript, 28.

20. Stewart notes, 19 May 1964, 2-3.

21. MacNeil, Dirksen, 235.

22. MacNeil, Dirksen, 235-236.

23. MacNeil, Dirksen, 236-237.

24. Stewart, Independence and Control, 260.

25. Papers of Representative William McCulloch, 29 June 1964, Box 43, Ohio Northern University.

26. New York Times, 28 May 1964, 14.

27. Stewart, Independence and Control, 266.

28. Congressional Record 110, Pt. 9 (2 June 1964) 12436-12437.

29. Stewart, Independence and Control, 269.

30. Humphrey memorandum, 40.

31. Stewart notes, 19 May 1964 to 11 June 1964, 7.

32. Humphrey memorandum, 17-18.

33. Griffith, Humphrey, 283.

34. Clarence Mitchell, Jr., interview, 30 April 1969, Tape 1, 27, Oral History Collection, LBJ Library.

35. Doris Fleeson, "They're Asking: 'Where's Lyndon?'," Senators Backing Rights Bill Wonder Where Old Johnson Touch Has Gone," Washington Star, 22 April 1964. It is an interesting historical note that, when Lyndon Johnson was preparing to leave office in December 1968, a copy of this newspaper article was found in his middle desk drawer. See marked newspaper article, EX LE/HU2, Box 65, LBJ Library.

36. Griffith, Humphrey, 283.

37. Griffith, Humphrey, 283.

38. Stewart notes, 19 May 1964, 3-4.



39. Stewart, Independence and Control, 251.
40. Stewart, Independence and Control, 252.
41. Personal recollection of the author.
42. Frank H. Mackaman, executive director, Everett McKinley Dirksen Congressional Leadership Research Center, interview by the author, 2 March 1984, Pekin, Illinois.
43. Congressional Record 110, Pt. 10 (10 June 1964) 13319-13320.
44. Griffith, Humphrey, 284.
45. Congressional Record 110, Pt. 10 (10 June 1964) 13327.
46. Memorandum, Stewart L. Udall to President Johnson, 7 April 1964, Executive Files, LE/HU2, LBJ Library.
47. Memorandum, Mike Manatos to Larry O'Brien, 11 April 1964, EX/HU2, LBJ Library.
48. Griffith, Humphrey, 284.

#### CHAPTER 13

1. Stewart notes, undated "final dictated thoughts," 7.
2. Stewart, Independence and Control, 278.
3. Stewart notes, undated "final dictated thoughts," 8.
4. Stewart, Independence and Control, 282.
5. Dodd and Oppenheimer, Congress Reconsidered, 3rd ed., 282. A postcloture filibuster on an energy bill in 1977 tied up the Senate for 14 days, required all-night sessions, and resulted in 128 roll call votes. See also Charles O. Jones, The United States Congress (Homewood, Illinois: Dorsey Press, 1982), 323-324.
6. Stewart notes, undated "final dictated thoughts," 10.
7. Stewart, Independence and Control, 283.
8. Stewart notes, undated "final dictated thoughts," 11.
9. Stewart notes, undated "final dictated thoughts," 12-13.
10. Stewart, Independence and control, 284-285. See also Stewart notes, undated "final dictated thoughts," 13.
11. Personal recollection of the author.
12. Congressional Record 110, Pt. 11 (18 June 1964) 14300-14301.
13. Donald J. Cronin, former executive secretary to Senator Lister Hill, interview by the author, 16 August 1983, Washington.
14. "Johnson's Power and Prestige Force Cloture Vote in Senate," The New York Times, June 1964. Copy of article in Russell Papers, Series X, Box 115.
15. CQ Weekly Report, 19 June 1964, 1207.
16. Humphrey memorandum, 12.
17. Stewart notes, 19 May 1964, 13.
18. CQ Weekly Report, 19 June 1964, 1206.
19. Stewart, Independence and Control, 283.
20. Stewart notes, undated "final dictated thoughts," 11.

21. Donald J. Cronin, interview by the author, 16 August 1983.
22. Kane, The Senate Debate, 232-233. The phrase "die on the barricades" was said to Kane by Roger Mudd, then of CBS television news, in an interview on 21 April 1966.
23. New York Times, 10 June 1964, 1.
24. MacNeil, Dirksen, 238.
25. Congressional Record 110, Pt. 11 (18 June 1964) 14318-14319.
26. Congressional Record 110, Pt. 11 (19 June 1964) 14508.
27. Congressional Record 110, Pt. 11 (19 June 1964) 14443.
28. Congressional Record 110, Pt. 11 (19 June 1964) 14508.
29. Congressional Record 110, Pt. 11 (19 June 1964) 14510-14511.
30. Personal recollection of the author.
31. Congressional Record 110, Pt. 11 (19 June 1964) 14511.
32. Griffith, Humphrey, 284-285.
33. Stewart, Independence and Control, 289.
34. Stewart, Independence and Control, 287. See also Stewart notes, undated "final dictated thoughts," 15.
35. CQ Weekly Report, 3 July 1964, 1332.
36. Memorandum, Lawrence O'Brien to President Johnson, 18 June 1964, EX LE/HU2, Box 65, LBJ Library.
37. Berman, A Bill Becomes A Law, 2nd ed., 129, 134.
38. CQ Weekly Report, 11 October 1963, 1749.
39. CQ Weekly Report, 3 July 1964, 1331.
40. CQ Weekly Report, 3 July 1964, 1331.
41. Letter, President Johnson to speaker of the House of Representatives, 20 July 1964, 1, Legislative Background CR64, Box #1, LBJ Library.
42. Memorandum, Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy to President Johnson, 21 April 1964, 3-5, EX/HU2, Box 2, LBJ Library.
43. Memorandum, Lee C. White to The Files, 6 July 1964, 1, EX LE/HU2, Box 65, LBJ Library.
44. Johnson, The Vantage Point, 37-38.
45. Johnson, The Vantage Point, 37.
46. Johnson, The Vantage Point, 160.

#### CHAPTER 14

1. Kane, The Senate Debate, 226-227.
2. In 1975 the Senate changed its rules so that only a 3/5 vote (60 votes) rather than a 2/3 vote (67 votes) was required for cloture. This rule change made it less likely that any future Senate filibuster would last as long as the filibuster of the Civil Rights Act of 1964.
3. Kane, The Senate Debate, 228-229.
4. Kane, The Senate Debate, 228, 63-67.
5. Memorandum, Nicholas Katzenbach to Robert F. Kennedy, 29 June

- 1963, 1, Robert F. Kennedy General Correspondence, John F. Kennedy Library.
6. Memorandum, Assistant Deputy Attorney General Joseph F. Dolan to Katzenbach, 8 July 1963, 2, Robert F. Kennedy General Correspondence, John F. Kennedy Library.
7. MacNeil, Dirksen, 224-225.
8. Joseph Rauh, Jr., interview by the author, 15 August 1983.
9. Cornelius B. Kennedy, interview by the author, 15 August 1984.
10. Miller, Lyndon, 367.
11. Miller, Lyndon, 345.
12. Clarence Mitchell, Jr., interview by the author, 17 August 1983.
13. Roy Wilkins, interview, 1 April 1969, 8-9, Oral History Collection, LBJ Library.
14. Stewart notes, 21 April 1964, 2.
15. Kane, The Senate Debate, 232-233.
16. Kane, The Senate Debate, 233-234.
17. Kane, The Senate Debate, 234-235.
18. Bernard Schwartz, Statutory History of the United States: Civil Rights, Part II (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1970), 1453-1455. See also Heart of Atlanta Motel v. United States, 379 U.S. 241 (1964).
19. Roy Wilkins, interview, 1 April 1969, 23-24, Oral History Collection, LBJ Library.
20. Whitney Young, Jr., interview, 18 June 1969, 15, Oral History Collection, LBJ Library.
21. Thurgood Marshall, interview, 10 July 1969, 19, Oral History Collection, LBJ Library.
22. Clarence Mitchell, Jr., interview, 30 April 1969, Tape 2, 30, Oral History Collection, LBJ Library.
23. Memorandum, Hobart Taylor, Jr., to President Johnson, 17 July 1964, EX/HU2, Box 3, LBJ Library.
24. Memorandum, Hobart Taylor, Jr., to George Reedy, 22 July 1964, EX/HU2, Box 3, LBJ Library.
25. Memorandum, Senator Hubert H. Humphrey to Jack Valenti, 5 August 1964, EX/HU2, Box 3, LBJ Library.
26. Memorandum, Hobart Taylor, Jr. to President Johnson, 13 October 1964, EX/HU2, Box 3, LBJ Library.
27. Berman, A Bill Becomes A Law, 2nd ed., 139-140.
28. James MacGregor Burns, The Deadlock of Democracy (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1963), 324-325.
29. CQ Weekly Report, 10 July 1964, 1454.
30. Memorandum, Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy to President Johnson, 21 April 1964, 5, EX/HU2, Box 2, LBJ Library.
31. Letter, President Johnson to J.W. Fulbright; Letter, President Johnson to Allen J. Ellender; Letter, President Johnson to Richard B. Russell; 23 July 1964, EX/HU2, Box 3, LBJ Library.

32. CQ Weekly Report, 10 July 1964, 1471.