

Index

- Agrarians. *See* Southern Agrarians (Vanderbilt)
- Agricultural Adjustment Act (AAA), 59, 65
 processing tax, 92
- Alabama By-Products, 177
- Alabama Textile Mills, 249
- Alcoa, 166
- Alldredge, J. Haden
 Alldredge Report, 171–172
- All-South Council, 179
- American Cotton Manufacturers Association (ACMA), 28, 30, 37, 76, 83
 FLSA testimony, 156
 Tyre Taylor as general counsel, 260
- American Enterprise Institute (AEI), 222, 288
- American Federation of Full Fashioned Hosiery Workers, 102, 109
- American Federation of Labor (AFL), 56, 103, 106
- American Federation of Labor-Congress of Industrial Organizations (AFL-CIO), 255, 275
- American Legion, 248
- American Liberty League, 103, 117, 134n6
- American Snuff, 37
- Anderson, William, 28–30, 36, 37, 51, 75, 145
 criticism of New Deal, 55–57
 and NRA revision, 77–80
 and southern wage differentials under the NRA, 55–56
- Andrews, Elmer, 153, 155
- Anti-Defamation League, 239
- antilynching legislation, 206
 southern opponents of, 123, 147
 Truman's support for, 211
- Armistead, George H., 72–73, 100
- Arnold, Rennie, 210, 218, 220, 224, 232
 and Taft-Hartley passage, 227–228
- Atlantic Coast Line Railroad, 146, 181
- Avondale Mills, 36, 263
- Bachman, Nathan L., 87
- Bailey, Josiah, 56, 84, 114, 148
 address at SSIC dinner in 1938, 147–148
 and conservative coalition in Congress, 229
 and the *Declaration of Principles*, 144
 New Deal criticism after 1934 midterm election, 86
 opposition to Black-Connery bill, 141
 SSIC support for, 145–147
 suggested contrasts with Sen. Bilbo, 234
 support for FDR, 84
- Ballew, J. H.
 and States' Rights Democratic Party convention, 236–237
- Bankhead, John H., 135
- Barkley, Alben, 87, 236
- Barr, John U., 174, 232–234
 and States' Rights Democratic Party, 238
- Battle, Hyman, 157
- Battle, Laurie C., 256
- Berry, George L., 103

- Bibb Manufacturing, 28, 36
 Bilbo, Theodore, 229
 Black, Hugo L., 133, 149
 Black-Connelly wage-hour bill of 1937.
 See Fair Labor Standards Act (FLSA)
 first proposal, 133
 and implications for race relations,
 142–143
 SSIC response to, 134, 136, 138–139
 BMW (Bayerische Motoren Werke AG), 2
 boosterism, 273–274, 282–283
 balancing with existing industry, 180
 and branding the South, 9
 Broadus Mitchell's discussion of, 1
 and diversification, 14
 in the nineteenth-century South, 23, 38
 policies to support, 57, 136, 226, 228
 revision using free enterprise, 154
 role of segregation in, 216
 SGA role in, 180
 SSIC advocacy for, 180
 Borah, William, 147
 Brayton, Lawton, 264
Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka
 (1954), 241
 Bulwinkle, Alfred L., 143n26
 Burke, Edward, 145
 Burlington Mills, 96, 108, 166
 Bush, George H. W., 288
 business, business leaders
 public image of, 44
 Bylo Furniture Manufacturing
 Company, 81
 Byrd, Harr F.
 as potential presidential candidate in
 1960, 278
 Byrd, Harry F., 144, 197, 203, 226, 229,
 231–234, 278, 279
 and conservative coalition, 148
 and international trade, 266
 New Deal criticism after 1934 midterm
 election, 86
 political machine in Virginia, 279
 Byrnes, James F., 229
 Byrns, Joseph W., 87
- Cannon Mills, 27
 Cannon, Charles, 27, 265
 Chatham, Thurmond, 94, 143
 Chrysler Corporation, 244
 Civil Rights Act (1958), 241
- Cohen, Benjamin, 77
 Coker Pedigreed Seed Company, 70
 Coker, David, 69, 92
 views of Penderlea colony, 70
 Cole, Rush, 181, 208
 Comer, Donald, 137, 144, 183
 anti-free trade activism, 264–265
 and child labor laws, 75
 Eisenhower support, 267
 (grandfather) B.B. Comer's
 governorship, 171
 and minimum wages, 134–136
 and NRA revision, 75, 77–80
 as a progressive, 38
 and Rexford Tugwell, 58
 and southern representation on NRA
 code boards, 45
 support for NRA, 49
 support for Thurmond in 1948, 237
 views of Penderlea colony, 70
 and wage differentials, 41–42
 Cone, B. O., 207
 Congress of Industrial Organizations
 (CIO), 8, 95, 222n34
 Connery, William, 133
 conservative coalition
 emergence of, 241, 257
 conservative coalition in Congress
 after the FLSA, 151–152, 197
 business support for, 151, 235
 emergence of, 120, 147
 and the FEPC, 209
 and SSIC in the 1950s, 256–257
 consumer boycott of imported textiles,
 265–266
 Copeland, Royal, 145
 Corcoran, Thomas, 77
 Cornelius, Charles L., 194, 195
 Cotton Textile Institute (CTI), 26, 27,
 27n12, 29, 30, 45, 134, 261n35
 Cracker Barrel, xiii
 Crawford Manufacturing Company, 207
 cultural traditionalism
 and business, 252–254
 and conservatives, 251
- D&W Shirt Company, 63
 Dan River Mills, 32, 132
 Davidson, Donald, 244
 alliance with SSIC, 1950s, 251–253
 and Howard Odum, 67

- and the New Deal, 71–72
 and the Republican Party, 276
 and Tennessee Federation for
 Constitutional Government, 252
 traditionalism of, 251n14
 views on segregation, 251
- Davis, Jackson B., 284
- DeBardeleben Coal Corporation, 173
- Decatur Fertilizer, 81
- Declaration of Principles* (1937),
 144, 151
- Deering-Milliken, 285
- deindustrialization, 282–283
- Dell Computer, xiv
- Democratic Party, 117, 165, 258
 and business leaders, 28, 52
 conservatism of, 4, 230, 232, 276–278
 Democrats-for-Willkie, 230
 divisions on FEPC, 208–209
 and the Fair Deal, 216, 219
 Hoovercrats, 7
 1938 midterm election, 151–152, 230
 1948 election, 236–237
 1950s divisions, 262–263
 in the South, 6
 SSIC leaders and, 30–31, 62, 83, 92,
 101, 120–124, 127, 165, 196, 197,
 205, 212, 231–234, 237, 259, 275
 Democrats, southern, 165, 205, 230, 235,
 257, 260, 262, 266, 285
 blocking of Tydings Amendment,
 114n37
 divisions in North Carolina, 141
 and the Fair Deal, 216
 and FEPC, 208
 and the FLSA, 151
 and foreign trade, 262
 and the New Deal, 59, 84, 120, 145
 1938 election, 152
 1944 election, 233
 and 1952 election, 258
 opposition to civil rights, 212, 251
 voting during World War II, 193n52
 and the Wagner Act, 113, 122
- Dewey, Thomas E., 234, 256n25
- Division of Subsistence
 Homesteads, 70
- Dulles, John Foster, 266
- Dunkleberger, Alvand, 198
- DuPont Corporation, 1, 134n6
- DuPont, Irénée, 103, 117
- DuPont, Pierre S., 103, 285
- Dyer, Gustavus, 97, 100, 119, 149, 174,
 219, 223, 234
- Eastland, James O., 266
- Edelberg, Herman, 239
- Edgerton, 33
- Edgerton, Howard K., xi
- Edgerton, John, xii, 49–50, 91–93,
 137, 247
 and Black-Connery wage-hour bill of
 1937, 138–139
 and Democratic Party, 117–118
 and dispute with Maury
 Maverick, 86–89
 and FLSA hearings, 149n35
 founding of SSIC, 30
 and Harriman Hosiery case, 104–105
 and Herbert Hoover, xii, 117, 121n50
 and immigration, 110
 and infant industry rhetoric, 45
 and labor relations, 109–111
 management practices of, 31, 106
 as NAM president, 3
 and New Deal administrators, 53–56
 and the NLRA, 112–113
 and NRA revision, 73–75, 76–77, 79–80
 and NRA wage differentials, 44
 press coverage of, 105
 and proposed Supreme Court
 reorganization, 122
 resignation from SSIC, 148
 rumors about death of, 148
- Eisenhower, Dwight, 240, 257
 1952 election, 258
 southern support for, 277
 SSIC leaders and, 259, 261, 285
- Ellender, Allen, 146
- Ezekiel, Mordacai, 58
- Fair Employment Practices Commission
 (FEPC), 203, 205–215
 establishment by executive order, 206
 New York law for, 214
 political debates, 208–209
- Fair Labor Standards Act (FLSA), 123,
 132, 163, 193, 203
 attempts to modify, 152–158, 194–196
 charges of southern discrimination,
 155–156
 votes to pass, 150–151

- fertilizer industry
 and NRA revision, 81
 SSIC membership, 35
 Fight for Free Enterprise (FFE), 221
 Filene's, 99
 Firestone Corporation, 244
 Firestone Tire and Rubber Company, 1
 forest products industry, 82
 FLSA criticism, 141
 and freight rate classification, 176
 NRA representation, 46
 and NRA revision, 80
 southern furniture production, 35
 southern opposition to FEPC, 209
 SSIC membership, 34–35, 36, 46,
 282, 284
 and the Wagner Act, 107
 Foundation for Economic Education (FEE),
 178, 182, 219, 222, 272
 Frankfurter, Felix, 77, 121n50
 free enterprise, 270–278, 286, 290
 Barry Goldwater's endorsement
 of, 268
 educational materials for, 249, 250
 educational materials regarding, 228
 and freight rates, 175, 179, 184
 Hayek as inspiration for, 245
 John Temple Graves II use of, 200
 Maury Maverick's use of, 192n50
 and modern Republicanism, 259
 in party politics, 238, 277, 278
 and the South, 13, 222, 243
 SSIC use of, 8, 81n10, 9, 16, 161, 167,
 175, 183, 200, 203, 215, 217,
 221–223, 236, 239, 265, 269
 use to block the FEPC, 205, 210
 and war production, 190, 191, 195
- Gardner, O. Max, 27, 141
 Garner, John N., 121, 233
 Gault, Francis B., 81, 82
 Gem-Dandy Garter Company, 60
 General Agreement on Tariffs and Trades
 (GATT), 266
 General Electric, 99, 244, 285
 General Motors, 285
 General Motors Corporation, 2, 134n6
 George, Walter, 87, 229, 231
 Gilbert, C. C., 30, 46, 50, 117, 119, 146,
 191, 194
 Glass, Carter, 84–85, 114, 122, 229
 Goethe, Charles M., 284
- Goldwater, Barry, 261, 268, 279
 and business leaders, 279, 281
 and SSIC, 275–276
 Gossett Mills, 76
 Gossett, B. B., 27, 76
 Graham, Frank Porter, 156, 169, 183,
 185, 208
 Graves, Dixie Bibb, 149
 Graves, John Temple II, 105, 118, 124,
 179, 183, 199
- Hall, Fitzgerald, 139, 148, 174
 response to the *Report on Economic
 Conditions of the South*, 159
 Hamilton, Alexander, 39, 77
 Hancock, Alex, 177
 Hanes, John W., 230, 230n49
 Hanes, P. H., 143, 230n49
 Harrigan, Anthony, 6n8, 15, 255, 268, 287
 criticism of internationalism, 288
 “Sensing the News” radio and print
 column, 248
 SSIC public relations role, 273, 284–285
 Harriman Hosiery Mills, 102–105
 Harriman, Henry, 82
 Harrison, Pat, 229
 Hartmann Luggage, xi
 Hartsfield, William Berry, 216
 Hayek, Friedrich, 205, 229, 244, 245–246, 276
 Hill, J. Lister, 135, 176, 208, 263
 appointment and election to Senate, 149
 Hill, James B., 165
 Hoover, Herbert, 24, 77, 120, 121n50
 Humphrey, Hubert, 236
- Illinois Central Railroad, 181
 Institute for Research in Social Science
 (UNC-Chapel Hill), 66
 International Paper Company, 177
 Interstate Commerce Commission (ICC),
 43, 176
 investigation of rate discrimination,
 1941–1944, 172
 1945 ruling on freight rate equalization,
 182–183
 southern rates in the 1920s and 1930s,
 169–170
- Jefferson, Thomas, 77
 Johnson, Hugh S., 39, 52–54, 86, 99, 103
 Johnston, Olin, 207
 Jones, Sam H., 164, 168

- Kennedy, John F., 267
 Key, V. O., 286
 Keynes, John Maynard, 149
 critics of Keynesianism, 178
 King, William, 79
 Kirk, Russell, 250–251, 255
- Labor Management Relations Act of
 1947 (Taft-Hartley), 203, 212, 213,
 221, 237
 effects on southern unionization, 228–229
 Kennedy-Ervin revision proposal, 260
 passage of, 227
 “right to work” laws, 226, 228
- Labor Management Reporting and
 Disclosure Act of 1959, 261
- labor unions
 and the SSIC, 118
 strikes by, 115
- LaFollette, Jr., Robert M., 79
 Lambeth, J. Walter, 150
 Larus & Brother Company, 37
 Lebanon Woolen Mill, xi, xii, 3, 31–32, 46,
 106, 109–111, 110n29
- Lend-Lease, 194
 Lewis, John L., 99, 103, 199, 226
 Long, Charles, 210
 Long, Earl K., 234
 Long, Huey, 146, 232, 234
 Longino & Collins, 212
 Longino, R. Kirby, 212, 235, 237–238
 Long-Lewis Hardware Company, 210
 Louisiana Central Lumber Company, 156
 Louisville & Nashville Railroad, 165, 181
 Love, J. Spencer, 96, 108–110
 Lowndes, William, 281
 lumber industry. *See* forest products
 industry
 Luxe Timepieces, xi
- MacArthur, Douglas, 257
 MacRae, Hugh, 69–70
 Mager, Margaret, 47–48, 156, 170n12
Manufacturers’ Record, 110, 241
 Martin, Joseph W., 198, 264
 Mattei, Albert C., 178, 182
 Maverick, Maury, 83, 86–89
 May, Andrew J., 92
 McDonald, Walter R., 173
 McEwen Knitting Company, 109
 McKellar, Kenneth D., 87, 114
 McMillan, Edward J., 155
- McReynolds, Samuel, 87
 Mebane Furniture Company, 107
 Mellett, Lowell, 159
 Miller, J. Clifford
 and Richmond City Democratic
 Committee, 276–278
 Milliken, Roger, 285
 Mims, Edwin, 69
 Monsanto Chemical Company, 166, 181
 Mundt, Karl, 257–258
 Murray, James, 191
- Nashville, Chattanooga & St. Louis
 Railroad, 159, 174
- National Association of Cotton
 Manufacturers (NACM), 30
 National Association of Furniture
 Manufacturers (NAFM), 80
 National Association of Manufacturers
 (NAM), xii, 3, 4, 7, 12, 37, 45, 95, 97,
 99, 105, 113, 118, 134n6, 148, 167,
 211, 219, 222, 227, 245, 247, 248,
 256, 265, 285
 National Council for a Permanent
 FEPC, 206
 National Industrial Recovery Act (NIRA),
 21, 28, 30, 82, 96, 107, 108
 Section 7a, 29, 98–103, 111, 116, 221
 Supreme Court challenge, 86
 National Labor Board (NLB), 98–103,
 104, 106
 National Labor Relations Act (NLRA,
 or Wagner Act), 97–98, 112–115,
 185, 210
 business criticism of, 224–226
 historians’ analysis of, 112
 House vote for, 113
 Tydings Amendment to, 114
 National Labor Relations Board (NLRB),
 111, 225
 National Recovery Administration (NRA),
 21–22, 105, 116, 137, 170
 Blue Eagle, 21, 86
 code authorities and southern
 representation, 45–48
 and Harriman Hosiery Mills case, 102–105
 invalidation by Supreme Court, 133
 and labor relations. *See* National
 Industrial Recovery Act (NIRA):
 Section 7a
 and southern cotton glove
 industry, 48–49

- National Recovery Administration (NRA)
 (*cont.*)
 and southern manufacturers,
 29–30, 39–42
 and SSIC formation, 22
 and SSIC leaders, 53–54
 SSIC and revision of, 77–83
National Review, 15, 268, 284, 288, 295
 National War Labor Board (NWLB),
 185, 193
 New Deal coalition, 7, 8, 55, 208
 labor support for, 127
 and southern business, 59, 84
 New England Council, 25, 32
 Newell, Jake, 198
 Nixon, Richard, 277
 North Atlantic Free Trade Agreement
 (NAFTA), 15
- Odum, Howard
 on the *Report on Economic Conditions
 of the South*, 159
 Office of Price Administration (OPA), 193
 Office of Production Management
 (OPM), 187
- paternalism
 appearances in political rhetoric, 113,
 138, 146, 147, 204
 historians' discussion of, 6, 7, 33, 52
 of industrialists, 5, 100, 110, 153, 203
 industrialists' claim that labor unions
 practiced, 112
 of the mill village, xii, 12, 16, 27, 116,
 132, 241
 of planters, 5
- Patterson, Grove, 89
 Pelzer Manufacturing Company, 58
 Pepper, Claude, 149, 240
 Perkins, Frances, 56, 76, 133
- R. J. Reynolds Tobacco Company, 37, 285
 railroad freight rates
 charges of southern discrimination,
 165–167
 class rates, 170–171
 commodity rates, 170–171
 Ramspeck, Robert, 87
 Randolph, A. Phillip, 206
 Rankin, John E., 240
 Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act (RTAA)
 1955 renewal, 262
- Redmond, Paul, 249
 and 1952 election, 258
 and two-party South, 258
 Reece, B. Carroll, 87
 regional wage differentials
 and natural causes, 42–45
*Report on Economic Conditions of the
 South*, 127, 131, 153, 163, 179
 SSIC response to, 158–160
 Republican Party, 237, 276n8
 internal divisions, 259, 262
 in the South, 121n50, 122n51
 and southern strategy, 287
 and the SSIC, 151–152, 198–199,
 234–235
 SSIC leaders and, 257–258
 Reynolds, Robert, 141
 Ribe, A. J., 174
 Richmond Fredericksburg & Potomac
 Railroad, 278
 Rockefeller, Nelson, 280
 Rockwell, Norman, 164
 Rocky Mount Mills, 157
 Roosevelt, Eleanor, 131
 Roosevelt, Franklin D., 28, 60, 78, 84,
 99, 103, 122, 131, 145, 152, 158,
 164, 190
 Roosevelt, Theodore, 77
 Russell, Richard, 87, 211, 239, 241
- Schechter Corp. v. United States*, 133
 Sears-Roebuck, 278
 Sensing, Thurman, 202, 205, 229, 285, 287
 and anticommunism, 213
 “Down South” column, 248
 and Eisenhower presidency, 259
 FEPC response, 206
 and freight rate revision, 175–176, 179
 and Hayek, 245–246
 1948 trip to Great Britain, 250
 and segregation, 211–213
 “Sensing the News” print and radio
 column, 272
 and States' Rights Democratic Party,
 238–239
 Sheppard, C. C., 156
 Shook, P. G., 263
 Sloan, George, 26, 29
 Smaller War Plants Corporation
 (SWPC), 186
 Smith, Alfred E., 120
 Smith, Edward, 57, 229

- Smith, Howard W., 277, 278
 Smith, J. Craig, 265
 Smith, Ralph, 90
 Smith-Conally War Labor Disputes Act, 222n34
 Smyth, Ellison, 58
 Southeastern Council, 179
 Southern Agrarians (Vanderbilt), 67, 252
 and the SSIC, 71–72
 Southern Conference for Human Welfare (SCHW), 131, 153
 SSIC representation at, 152–155
 Southern Furniture Manufacturers Association (SFMA), 45, 80
 Southern Garment Manufacturers Association, 45
 Southern Governors Association (SGA), 160, 171, 178
 and freight rates, 167–168, 180
 Southern Pine Association, 45
 Southern States Industrial Council (SSIC)
 educational program, 1950s, 249–251
 FEPC response, 205–215
 financial difficulties, 248
 founding of, 30
 lobbying expenditures, 86–89, 249
 membership, 34–38, 81, 95, 124, 284, 285–286
 name change to USBIC, 283–284
 public relations, 6, 49, 95–96, 115–116, 119, 153, 162, 205, 246, 248–250, 284
 and the Republican Party, 276
 and segregation, 256
 and Truman, 257
 Southern Transportation Conference, 172–174
 Sparkman, John, 263
 St. Lawrence Seaway proposal, 189–190
 Stahlman, James, 121, 197
 Eisenhower support, 267
 and Goldwater, 281
 Nixon support, 280–281
 Willkie support, 230
 Standard Fertilizer, 81
 Standard Oil, 99
 States' Rights Democratic Party, 203, 236–239
 Statesville Chair Company, 107
 Sullens, Frederick, 122
 Sunbelt, 14, 245
 “business climate”, 16, 267
 and defense industry, 12
 historians' discussion of, 11, 13, 16n23, 274
 Kevin Phillips' definition of, 13
 role of southern manufacturers in
 creating, 16n23
 and southern identity, 274
 Taft, Robert, 209, 234, 240, 256n25
 Talmadge, Eugene, 260
 Taylor, Tyre, 83–84, 141, 156, 188, 218, 226, 257, 260, 262, 275, 279
 Tennessee Federation of Labor, 119
 Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA), 77
 freight rate investigation, 1943, 174–175
 Terry, Prentiss, 162, 179
 at SCHW, 152–155
 textile industry
 capital mobility, 11
 complaints about the FLSA, 155–156
 economic conditions of, 24–26
 and global competition, 264–265
 as a sick industry, 144
 SSIC membership, 36, 125–126
 under the NRA, 31–32
 wages and working conditions
 in, 26–28
 textile manufacturers. *See* textile industry
 Textile Workers' Organizing Committee, 119
 Thomas, Albert, 140
 Thurmond, Strom, 203, 237, 266, 281
 Tillman, Benjamin, 59
 Tobacco industry
 SSIC membership, 36–37
 Tonelson, Alan, 15, 289
 Truman, Harry S., 206, 211, 235–236, 257
 Tugwell, Rexford, 57–58, 77, 201
 Turner, Roscoe, 284
 Tydings, Joseph, 145
 Union Bag & Paper Company, 166
 United Methodist Church, 123
 United Mine Workers (UMW), 99
 United States Business and Industrial Council (USBIC), 12, 14, 15, 288–290
 United States Chamber of Commerce, 31, 82, 119, 134n6, 137, 219, 248
 and free enterprise, 134
 local branches of, 108
 support for free trade, 265

- United Textile Workers of America (UTW),
 52, 98, 115, 126
- Vandenberg, Arthur, 145
- Vanderbilt University, xi, 65, 67, 68, 72, 97, 280
- Virginia Transit Company, 278
- Virginia Young Democratic Club, 83, 84
- Vogtle, Alvin, 173
- Volkswagen, 2
- wage differentials. *See* regional wage
 differentials
- Wages and Hours Administration (Dept. of
 Labor), 156–157
- Wagner Act. *See* Labor Management
 Relations Act of 1947
 (Taft-Hartley)
- Wagner, Robert F., 99, 111
- Wallace, Henry, 235
- Wallner, Thomas, 190, 195
- War Production Board (WPB), 186, 193
- Warren, Earl, 272
- Weaver, Richard, 254
- Willkie, Wendell, 198
- Woodruff, Truman, 63
- World War II
 and southern development, 168, 185
- Wright, T. Asbury, 103