

Index

- A Rising Wind*, *see* White, Walter
 Acheson, Dean, 155
 Advisory Committee on Negro Troop
 Policies, 118
 African Americans
 as the “balance of power”, 130
 in the military, 110–112
 Army, 111
 Marine Corps, 111
 Navy, 111–112
 quota, 111
 migration, 129–130
 Aiken, SC, 134
 Alabama, 64, 153
 Alexander, Sadie, 137, 145
 American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU),
 137
 American Council on Race Relations, 42
 American Federation of Labor (AFL), 135
 American Jewish Committee, 152, 154
 American National Election Studies
 (ANES), 33
The American Soldier, 75, 90–92
 Americans for Democratic Action (ADA),
 130, 151
An American Dilemma, *see* Myrdal,
 Gunnar
 Anderson, Carol, 163
 Anderson, Marian, 11, 32
 Anti-Semitism, 99, 109, 169
 Axis powers, 2, 20, 23, 103

Baltimore Afro-American, 102–106
 Barfoot, Van T., 67
 Baylor, Christopher, 13
 Berinsky, Adam, 34
 Berman, William C., 152
 Bernstein, Meyer, 154
 Bethune, Mary McLeod, 117, 126
 Biddle, Francis, 99–101, 109
 Bilbo, Theodore, 67, 133, 141
 Birmingham, AL, 141
 Black Cabinet, 11–12
Black Worker, 120–121
 Black, Hugo, 31
 Brinkley, Alan, 3
 Brooks, Jennifer, 69
 Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, 3,
 117
Brown v. Board of Education, 39
 Brown, Jeanette Welch, 117
 Burge, Wendell, 101
 Butler, John Sibley, 71
 Byrd, Harry, 141

 California, 63
 Camp Gordon, 134
 Canaday, Margot, 15
 Cantril, Hadley, 32
 Capoccia, Giovanni, 24
 Carey, James B., 137
 Carmichael, Stokely, 164
 Carr, Robert K., 137

- Carter, Michael, 102–106
 Carthage, MS, 67
 Charlotte, NC, 141
 Chen, Anthony, 125
Chicago Defender, 120, 134, 140
 Chicago, IL, 63
 Churchill, Winston, 124
 Civil Rights Congress, 107
 Civil Rights Section (Justice Department), 100, 101, 124
 Civil War, 9, 95
 Clark, Tom, 136
 Cold War, 18, 126, 153–154, 163
 Columbia, TN, 107
 Committee Against Jim Crow in Military Service and Training, 144
 Congress, 4, 25, 95, 140–142, 144, 153
 Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO), 12, 130, 137, 154
 Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), 164
 contact hypothesis, 71, 88–93
 contingency, 170
 Costigan, Edward, 108
 Cramer, Lawrence, 99
The Crisis, 110
 critical junctures, 24, 158
- Dahlquist, John E., 147–148
 Dalfume, Richard, 163
 Daniel, Pete, 5
 Daniels, Jonathan, 42, 100–101, 117
 Dartmouth College, 137
 Daughters of the American Revolution, 32
 Dawson, Donald, 152
 Democratic National Convention (1948), 130, 151
 Democratic Party, *see* Democratic National Convention (1948), *see* Humphrey, Hubert, *see* Lucas, Scott, *see* Mitchell, Arthur, *see* Roosevelt, Franklin, *see* Truman, Harry
 Department of Justice, 100, 101, 124
 Des Moines, IA, 115
 desegregation, military, *see* segregation, military
 Detroit race riot, 1, 67, 103
 Detroit, MI, 1–2, 67, 101, 103
 Dewey, Thomas, 103, 151
 Dickey, John S., 137
 Dies Committee, 102
 discrimination
 against black soldiers and veterans, 138–139
 in employment, 119–120
 Dixiecrats, 130
 Donahue, Alphonsus J., 146
 Double-V campaign, 3, 4
 Downs, Anthony, 170
 Du Bois, W. E. B., 10–12
 Dudziak, Mary, 18, 20–21, 156
 dynamic representation, 25
- Early, Stephen, 113, 124
 Eastland, James, 4, 67
 Eisenhower, Dwight, 69
 elections
 1936, 11, 31
 1944, 99, 153
 1948, 130, 151
 1960, 155
 Embree, Edwin, 107
 Ernst, Morris L., 137
 Ethridge, Mark, 96, 124
 Evansville, IN, 68
 executive branch
 growth in executive power during wartime, 25–26, 66
 justification of focus, 25–26
 scholarly debate about Roosevelt and Truman administrations' actions on civil rights, 17–20
 unilateral executive action, *see* executive orders
 executive orders
 8802, 123, 135
 9808, 136
 9981, 146, 152
- Fahy Committee, *see* President's Committee on Equality of Treatment and Opportunity in the Armed Services
 Fahy, Charles, 146–147
 fair employment
 as part of PCCR legislative recommendations, 138
 as part of wartime civil rights agenda, 14
 background, 119–120
 in comparison to totalitarianism in Europe, 121
 March on Washington Movement and, 120–123

- public opinion toward, 60–61
 southern white attitudes, 61
 unilateral executive action and, 125
- Fair Employment Practices Committee (FEPC), 101, 123–125, 135
- Federal Council of Churches, 135
- Federal Writers' Project, 103
- Field, Marshall, 107
- filibuster, 11, 25, 140
- First World War, *see* World War I
- Foner, Eric, 9, 71
- Forrestal, James, 123, 144
- Fort Sill, 115
- Fortune*, 32
- France, 73, 99, 112
- Frederickson, Kari, 135
- Freedom to Serve: Equality of Treatment and Opportunity in the Armed Services: A Report by the President's Committee*, 150
- Gallup, 31–32
- Gallup, George, 31
- General Social Survey (GSS), 32, 33
- Georgia, 69, 134, 136, 141
- Germany, 9, 21, 99
- Gibson, Truman, 106, 114, 142–144
- Gittelsohn, Roland B., 137
- Goe, Robert, 136
- Goodwin, Doris Kearns, 117
- Gourevitch, Peter, 169
- Graham, Frank P., 137
- Grand Rapids, MI, 137
- Granger, Lester, 144, 146–148
- Graves, John Temple, 3, 40
- Greenberg, David, 38
- Haas, Francis J., 137
- Hamby, Alonzo, 131
- Hassett, William, 100
- Hastie, William, 47, 114
- Hine, Darlene Clark, 161
- Hintze, Otto, 8
- Hobby, Oveta, 115
- Hoover, J. Edgar, 155
- Howard University, 145
- Humphrey, Hubert, 151
- Ickes, Harold
Baltimore Afro-American interview, 104–105
- civil rights sympathies, 11
- column, 107
- correspondence regarding Southern Regional Council, 107
- correspondence with *Negro Digest* editor, 105
- refusal to join Civil Rights Congress petition, 107
- Illinois, 63, 130, 140, 145
- impressionable years hypothesis, 70
- Independence, MO, 128, 155
- Indiana, 68
- Iowa, 115
- Iraq War, 167
- Ives, Irving, 140
- Jackson, Wharlest, 164
- Japan, 101–102
- Japanese American Citizens League (JACL), 166
- Japanese American internment, 165–166
- Japanese Americans, 165–167
- Johnson, Charles S., 68, 107
- Johnson, John H., 105, 105
- Johnson, Kimberley, 12, 57, 109
- Johnson, Lyndon, 164
- Johnson, Mordecai, 145–146
- Kansas City, MO, 130
- Katznelson, Ira, 41, 47, 64
- Kelemen, R. Daniel, 24
- Kellstedt, Paul, 35–36, 39–40
- Kelly, Alfred H., 39
- Kennedy, John F., 155
- Kenworthy, E. W., 146–147, 153–154
- Key, V. O., Jr., 41
- Keyssar, Alexander, 64
- King, Jr., Martin Luther, 164
- Klarman, Michael, 160–161
- Klinkner, Philip, 4–5, 16–19, 161–162
- Knox, Frank, 112, 122
- Knox, Ralph, 95–97
- Korean War, 151
- Korematsu v. United States*, 165
- Krebs, Ronald, 5, 19, 91, 165–166
- Krock, Arthur, 161
- Kruse, Kevin, 5
- Kryder, Daniel, 5, 17–19, 39
- Ku Klux Klan (KKK), 31, 130
- La Guardia, Fiorello, 122, 124, 162

- labor unions, *see* American Federation of Labor (AFL), *see* Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, *see* Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO), *see* Randolph, A. Philip
- Landon, Alf, 31
- LGBT rights, 167, 167
- Literary Digest*, 31
- Locke, Alain, 99
- long civil rights movement, 10
- Los Angeles Times*, 140
- Los Angeles, CA, 167
- Louisiana, 63, 64
- Lucas, Scott, 140
- Luckman, Charles, 137, 146
- lynching
- as a national political issue, 47–48
 - as part of PCCR legislative recommendations, 138
 - as part of wartime civil rights agenda, 14
 - attitudes of white veterans, 81–82
 - southern veterans, 82
 - congressional legislation to address, 108
 - declining incidence of, 4, 53
 - early NAACP advocacy against, 11
 - in comparison to totalitarianism in Europe, 108–109
 - public opinion toward federal investigations of, 49–54
 - and issues of federalism, 53–54
 - southern white attitudes, 49–52
 - Roosevelt's reluctance to take public stand against, 108–109
 - survey questions about, 48–49
 - wartime investigations of, 109
- March on Washington (1963), 155
- March on Washington Movement, 120–123, 135
- Marshall, T. H., 14–15
- Marshall, Thurgood, 47
- mass media, 35–38
- Massachusetts, 145, 146
- Matthews, Donald, 74
- Matthews, Francis P., 137
- Mayhew, David, 170
- McAdam, Doug, 18
- McCloy, John, 143, 148
- McCullough, David, 132, 136
- McIntyre, Marvin, 95–97, 99, 104, 108, 121
- McNutt, Paul, 106, 124–125
- Mexican Americans, 167
- Michigan, 1–2, 130
- “Michigan School”, 35
- military segregation, *see* segregation, military
- military service, 8, 15–16, 70–72
- Mississippi
- demographic characteristics, 6
 - politicians from, 4, 67, 140–141
 - racial violence in, 109, 128, 164
 - segregation in, 145
 - survey respondents, 64
 - white soldiers from, 67
- Missouri, 101, 128, 132, 155
- Mitchell, Arthur, 57
- Moore v. Dempsey*, 11
- Moskos, Charles, 91, 151
- Murphy, Carl, 108–109
- Muslim Americans, 167
- Myrdal, Gunnar, 2, 29–30, 42, 66, 157
- Nash, Philleo, 42, 133
- Natchez, MS, 164
- The Nation*, 2
- National Annenberg Election Survey (NAES), 33
- National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP)
- A. Philip Randolph and, 13–14
 - as civil rights organization, 3
 - CIO and, 12
 - Detroit branch of, 155
 - founding of, 11
 - Issac Woodard case and, 135
 - membership growth, 13–14
 - National Emergency Committee Against Mob Violence and, 135
 - press release in response to 1940 White House meeting, 113
 - support for Vietnam war, 163–164
- National Colored Democratic Association, 133
- National Council of Negro Women, 117
- National Defense Conference on Negro Affairs, 144–146
- National Emergency Committee Against Mob Violence, 135
- National Opinion Research Center (NORC), 32, 41
- National Urban League, 135, 144, 164

- National Youth Administration, 122
Negro Digest, 105
 Negro Newspaper Publishers Association, 100, 116
 Negro Political Participation Study, 74
 New Deal, 11, 31, 47, 108, 162
 New York, 4, 69, 130, 140
 New York City, 63, 68, 122, 162
New York Times, 140, 146, 161
Newsweek, 36
 Niagara Movement, 11
 Niles, David, 113, 136
 North Carolina, 128, 134, 145
- Odum, Howard, 68
 Office of Production Management (OPM), 124
 Office of War Information (OWI), 32, 101–102
 Ohio, 130
 Oklahoma, 115
- Page, Benjamin, 36
 Palmer, Dwight, 146
 Parker, Christopher, 71–73, 75, 82
 Patterson, Robert, 112–113, 122–123
 Pearl Harbor, 20, 21, 96, 114
 Pendergast, Tom, 130
 Pennsylvania, 63, 130, 145
 Perkins, Frances, 106–107
 Philadelphia, PA, 95
Pittsburgh Courier, 140, 153
 poll tax
 as a racial issue, 56–57
 as part of PCCR legislative recommendations, 138
 as part of wartime civil rights agenda, 14
 in comparison to totalitarianism in Europe, 109
 public opinion toward abolition of, 55–57
 southern white attitudes, 55–56
 survey questions about, 54–55
 presidency, *see* executive branch
 President's Committee on Civil Rights (PCCR), 136–141, 155–156
 President's Committee on Equality of Treatment and Opportunity in the Armed Services, 146–154
 propaganda (Axis), 101–103
 protests
 anti-integration (1960s), 87–88
 Prothro, James, 74
 public opinion
 American political development and, 7, 168–169
 as a concept, 168
 emergence of survey research and, 31
- racial prejudice, 41–47, 76–79
 Randolph, A. Philip
 1940 White House meeting, 112–114
 as civil rights leader, 3
 as organizer of Committee Against Jim Crow in Military Service and Training, 144, 152
 as organizer of March on Washington Movement, 120–123
 correspondence with Mary McLeod Bethune, 126–127
 importance of desegregating the military, 144
 leadership style of, 13
 speaking invitation to Eleanor Roosevelt, 117
 views on implementation of FEPC order, 124
 views on PCCR report, 140
 rationing, 22
 Reconstruction, 9, 111
 Red Cross, 118
 Red Summer (1919), 10
 Republican Party, *see* Dewey, Thomas, *see* Ives, Irving, *see* La Guardia, Fiorello, *see* Landon, Alf, *see* Taft, Robert, *see* Willkie, Wendell
 republicanism (political theory), 8, 15, 24, 71
 Revolutionary War, 8
 Reynolds, Grant, 144, 152
 Reynolds, Hobson, 145
 Riegelman, Harold, 152, 154
 rights of citizenship, 8, 14–16
 Riverside Church, 164
 Roman Empire, 8
 Roosevelt, Eleanor, 105–106, 117–118, 122
 Roosevelt, Franklin
 “Dr. Win-the-War”, 98
 efforts to downplay civil rights issues during the war, 96

- efforts to maintain coalition with southern Democrats, 108
- meeting with Randolph and White, 112
- opposition to March on Washington, 121
- scholarly assessments of civil rights actions of, 17, 97–98
- use of polling data, 32
- views on poll tax, 56
- Roosevelt, Jr., Franklin, 137
- Roper Center, 32, 33, 62
- Rotnem, Victor, 101
- Rowe, James, 130
- Royall, Kenneth, 145–146, 148–150, 150
- Russell, William, 141

- Saldin, Robert, 17
- Schickler, Eric, 34, 168–169
- Schultz, Kevin, 125
- Schuman, Howard, 35
- Second World War, *see* World War II
- segregation
 - blood donations, 43, 118
 - in the southern states, 4, 36, 86–87, 132, 140
- segregation, military
 - 1940 White House meeting, 112–114
 - A. Philip Randolph and, 144
 - Advisor Committee on Negro Troop Policies and, 118
 - advocacy during Roosevelt presidency, 110–125
 - advocacy during Truman presidency, 141–154
 - as part of PCCR legislative recommendations, 138
 - as part of wartime civil rights agenda, 14
 - attitudes of white veterans, 79–80
 - Committee Against Jim Crow in Military Service and Training and, 144
 - Executive Order 9981, 146
 - Fahy Committee and, 146–154
 - in practice, 110–111
 - integration experiments and, 89–91
 - National Defense Congress on Negro Affairs and, 144–146
 - public opinion, 57–60
 - southern whites, 58–59
 - quota system and, 95–97, 111
 - training of officer candidates and, 114–115
 - Truman Gibson and, 142–143
 - World War I and, 110
- Sengstacke, John, 146, 150
- Shapiro, Robert, 36
- Sheridan, John E., 95–97
- Sherrill, Henry Knox, 137
- Shishkin, Boris, 137
- Shklar, Judith, 65
- Sikeston, MO, 101
- Silberman, Charles, 158
- sit-in movement, 84–86, 155, 155
- Skowronek, Stephen, 24
- slavery, 9
- Smith v. Allwright*, 42, 160–162
- Smith, Rogers, 4–5, 16–19, 161–162
- Sokol, Jason, 68–69, 73
- soldier voting legislation, 62–64
- Sommers, Davidson, 143
- South Carolina, 133–134, 136
- Southern Regional Council, 107
- southern states
 - definition, 41
 - military training locations and, 73, 148
 - white southern attitudes
 - anti-integration protests, 87–88
 - fair employment, 61
 - lynching, 49–52, 82
 - poll tax, 55–56
 - racial prejudice, 44–46
 - rural areas, 46, 52, 59
 - segregation, 86–87
 - segregation, military, 58–59
 - sit-in movement, 84–86
 - soldier voting, 62–64
 - voting rights, 84
- Sparks, Chauncey, 153
- Stage Door Canteen, 68
- Stengstacke, John, 116
- Stennis, John, 141
- Stevenson, William E., 146
- Stimson, Henry, 112, 115, 117–118, 122
- Stouffer, Samuel, *see The American Soldier*
- Strunk, Mildred, 32
- Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), 163
- Supreme Court, 31, 42, 160–162
- Survey Graphic*, 99
- survey research
 - as an elite construct, 60
 - development, 31–32
 - quota sampling, 33–35

- weighting protocol, 34–35
- Taft, Robert, 144
- Tarrow, Sidney, 170
- Tennessee, 63, 107
- Texas, 6, 148
- Tilly, Charles, 169
- Tilly, Dorothy, 137
- To Secure These Rights: The Report of the President's Committee on Civil Rights*, 90, 137–141
- Tobias, Channing, 137, 145
- total war, 22
- Trotter, William Monroe, 11
- Truman, Bess, 128
- Truman, Harry
- 1948 message to Congress, 142
 - expectations for PCCR report, 139
 - military service in World War I, 131–132
 - Missouri upbringing, 128–129
 - personality, 132
 - prejudiced views, 128–129
 - response to violence against black veterans, 128, 132, 135–136
 - support for Fahy committee, 146–147
 - support from civil rights organizations, 129
 - views on civil rights, 131–132
 - postpresidency, 155–156
- Truman, Margaret, 128
- Truman, Mary Jane, 128
- Tuck, Stephen, 5
- Tully, Grace, 96, 99
- University of Chicago, 32
- University of Denver, 32
- University of North Carolina, 68, 74, 137
- Vermont, 9
- veterans
- historical research on white veterans, 68–69
 - identifying veteran status in surveys, 74–76, 83–84
 - racial attitudes of white veterans, 76–82, 84–88
 - violence against black veterans, 128, 133–136
- Vietnam war, 163–164
- Virginia, 141
- voting rights
- as part of PCCR legislative recommendations, 138
 - attitudes of white veterans, 84
 - democratic citizenship and, 65
 - in the nineteenth century, 9
 - soldier voting legislation, *see* soldier voting legislation
- Wallace, Henry, 106
- Walsh, Howard, 109
- War Department, 112–113, 123, 142–143
- War in Afghanistan, 167
- War Manpower Commission, 124
- Washington Post*, 140
- Washington, Booker T., 11
- Washington, DC, 121
- Weir, Margaret, 162
- What the Negro Wants*, 12
- Whitaker, Robert A., 162
- White, Walter
- 1940 White House meeting, 112–114
 - as author of *A Rising Wind*, 67–69
 - as civil rights leader, 3
 - as visitor to training facilities and bases, 68, 114–116
 - criticism of Dies Committee, 102
 - leadership style of, 13
 - March on Washington Movement and, 122–123
 - meeting with Advisory Committee on Negro Troop Policies, 118
 - suggestions to Roosevelt, 114, 116
 - understanding of differences between Roosevelt and Truman, 135
 - views on implementation of FEPC order, 125
 - views on PCCR report, 140
- Wilkins, Roy, 110, 129, 164
- Williams, Aubrey, 122
- Williston, F. O., 121–122
- Willkie, Wendell, 103
- Wilson, Charles E., 137
- Wilson, Kenneth, 71
- Wilson, Woodrow, 112
- Wolfe, Oscar, 140
- Women's Army Auxiliary Corps (WAAC), 115
- Woodard, Isaac, 133–136
- Woodring, Harry, 110
- World War I, 9, 110, 112
- World War II

Index

207

“postwar” shorthand and, 18
as a variable, 22–24, 158–160
temporal boundaries of, 20–22
Wu, Ellen, 166

Yale University, 164
Young, Whitney, 164

Zelizer, Julian, 25