

# Index

**Bold** page numbers denote Member profiles

*Italicized* page numbers denote references to figure legends

## A

- Abbott, Israel B., 149, 161, 200  
Abernathy, Ralph, 458  
ABSCAM sting, 358  
Abzug, Bella, 343, 392, 421n  
Action-Alert Communications Network (AACN), 383  
*Adarand Constructors, Inc. v. Peña*. *See*, Supreme Court, United States.  
Addabbo, Joseph, 552, 562  
Affirmative action, 381, 381, 432, 448, 468–69, 527, 586, 587, 624, 641, 656, 685, 703, 737, 740. *See also*, Discrimination.  
Africa, foreign policy, 147, 148, 239, 313–14, 386–87, 418–19, 461, 462, 482, 490, 496, 498–99, 501, 512, 514, 520, 532, 703, 705, 711, 712, 719, 727, 729, 743. *See also*, South Africa, apartheid policy.  
African-American citizenship, 21, 37, 56, 82n, 88, 100, 128, 133, 146, 177, 209, 213, 217, 288. *See also*, Fourteenth Amendment.  
African-American Members of Congress, characteristics, affluence of, 25  
committee assignments, 3, 4, 5, 32–34, 46n, 162, 187n, 239–40n, 266n, 377–79, 404n. *See*, Appendix D: Black Members' Committee Assignments (Standing, Joint, Select) in the U.S. House and Senate, 1870–2007; Appendix E: Black Americans Who Have Chaired Congressional Committees, 1877–2007; Appendix F: Black-American Chairs of Subcommittees of Standing Committees in the U.S. House and Senate, 1885–2007.  
discrimination against, 31–32, 36–37, 41–42, 190n, 244–47, 260–61, 359  
early backgrounds, 22–23, 154–55, 237  
education, 23–24, 155, 237, 238, 265n, 370–71, 401n  
familial connections. *See*, Appendix H: Black-American Familial Connections in Congress.  
historical legacy, 169–70  
legislative interests, 32–39, 162–69, 245–59, 379–90  
legislative style, 14n, 33–34, 161, 162–64, 260–63, 270n, 272n, 273n, 294–95, 390–95, 410–11n  
military service. *See*, Military Service, African-American Members of Congress.  
political power, 32–34, 162, 185n, 242, 250–51, 272, 273, 377–79, 402n  
pre-congressional careers, 22–25, 154–55, 237–39, 370–71  
pre-congressional political experience, 154–55, 238, 265n, 371–73, 402n  
Washington experience, 30–32, 36–37, 46n, 259–62, 390–94  
women, 7, 8, 239, 373, 373, 397, 402n, 412n. *See also*, Women Representatives.  
*see also*, Congressional Black Caucus (CBC); Democratic Party; Disfranchisement; Elections; Enterprise Railroad Company; Incumbency and seniority, influence of; Republican Party; Senate, United States; Race; Surrogate representation.  
African Development Foundation, 490  
African Methodist Episcopal (AME) Church. *See*, Allen African Methodist Episcopal (AME) Church (Queens, NY); Ebenezer African Methodist Episcopal (AME) Church (Lincolnton, SC); Emanuel African Methodist Episcopal (AME) Church (Charleston, SC).  
African Growth and Opportunity Act, 729  
Agnew, Spiro, 364, 418  
AIDS. *See*, HIV/AIDS.  
Alabama,  
black representation, 84–87, 110–15, 122–27, 606–11, 690–91. *See*, Appendix C: Black-American Representatives and Senators by State and Territory.  
civil rights protests, 252, 255–56  
disfranchisement, 124–35, 169  
gerrymander, 124  
Ku Klux Klan, 29, 112, 113  
sugar tariff differential device, 169  
*see also*, Discrimination; Disfranchisement; Ku Klux Klan.  
Alameda Corridor, 481, 632, 646, 648  
Albert, Carl, 377–78, 419  
Alcorn, James, 20, 58, 116, 118  
Allen, Leo, 251  
Allen African Methodist Episcopal (AME) Church (Queens, NY), 552, 562, 565  
Alternative budget, 382–83, 394–95, 419, 433, 481  
Amateur Sports Act, 426  
American Community Renewal Act, 641  
Americans with Disabilities Act, 537  
Ames, Adelbert, 56, 58, 100, 116, 118  
Amnesty, Confederate, 20, 26, 34, 57, 60, 62, 86, 106, 108  
Amnesty Act (1872), 34, 64, 68, 70, 74, 80, 84, 86  
Anderson, Marian, 303, 385  
Anderson, William, 327  
Annunzio, Frank, 364  
Antebellum Era, 23, 23, 24, 43n, 68. *See also*, Postbellum.  
Apartheid. *See*, South Africa, apartheid policy.  
Apportionment and redistricting, 28, 99n, 168, 168, 192–93n, 257, 372, 372–73, 374, 396–99, 412n, 602–603, 614–15  
“Black Second” district of North Carolina, 128–31, 132n, 146–49, 160–61, 200–203, 228  
“packing” and “cracking” electoral districts, 159–60, 160  
“shoestring district” of Mississippi, 102, 103  
“shoestring district” of South Carolina, 160, 161, 216, 220, 222, 223  
*see also*, Elections; Gerrymander; Reduction.  
Arkansas, Little Rock integration, 246, 247, 247, 271n  
Armey, Richard (Dick), 642  
Arms Transfers Code of Conduct, 615  
Ashley, James M., 21  
At-Large Representative, 28, 30, 30, 45n, 88, 90, 96, 121n  
**B**  
Bacon, John E., 78, 80  
Bailey, Cleveland, 303  
Baker, Harry, 280, 286  
*Baker v. Carr*. *See*, Supreme Court, United States.  
Ballance, Frank W., Jr., 599, 660–63, 677  
Bankhead, William, 178, 192n, 281  
Barden, Graham, 304  
Barry, Marion S., 442, 481  
Bartlett, Charles, 230  
Beard, Thomas P., 70, 71n  
Beatty, Vander L., 536, 539n  
*Beaufort Southern Standard*, 25, 138. *See also*, Newspapers, African-American.  
Beebe, George, 136  
Benjamin, Adam, Jr., 530  
Berman, Howard, 478, 480, 514  
Berman, Michael, 480  
Berry, Mary Frances, 389, 408n, 441, 444n  
Bethune, Mary McLeod, 243, 243  
Bisbee, Horatio, 91  
Bishop, Sanford D., 398, 672–73  
Black-American Members of Congress. *See*, African-American Members of Congress, characteristics.  
Black-majority congressional districts. *See*, Apportionment and redistricting.  
Black and Brown Coalition, 697  
Black Codes, 29  
Black Declaration of Independence, 403n  
Black Forum on Foreign Policy, 388  
Black History Month, 385, 427, 504  
Black Panther Party for Self Defense, 258, 258, 372, 416, 418, 427, 549, 730  
Black Power Movement, 258, 261, 263, 371–72  
“Black Second” district of North Carolina. *See*, Apportionment and redistricting.  
Blackwell, Lucien Edward, 266n, 378, 590–95, 695  
“Bloody Shirt,” 157, 157  
“Bloody Sunday.” *See*, Alabama.  
Blount, George W., 130  
Blount, James, 37  
Boehner, John, 642  
Boggs, Hale, 342  
Boggs, Corinne C. (Lindy), 7, 704–705  
Bolling, Richard W., 540  
“Boll Weevils,” 491  
Bolton, Frances, 251  
Bond, Julian, 458, 715  
Bonior, David, 592  
Borah, William, 178  
Bowen, Christopher, 72, 74–75  
Brady, Robert A., 590  
Bright Hope Baptist Church (Philadelphia, PA), 488, 490, 491  
Broder, David, 391, 480  
Brogden, Curtis, 130, 146  
Bromberg, Frederick, 86, 124  
Brooke, Edward William, III, 5, 7, 236, 239, 250, 258, 265n, 268n, 332–39, 348, 352n, 397, 397, 402n, 588n  
electoral defeat, 240  
legislative style, 250–51, 263  
legislative interests, 248, 248, 385  
military service, 237  
pre-congressional experience, 238  
Brooks, Preston, 20, 78  
Brown, Albert, 18, 56  
Brown, Corrine, 618, 674–75, 699  
Brown, John, 32, 47n, 48n  
Brownell, Herbert, 253  
Brown Fellowship Society, 72  
Brownsville affair, 194n, 326  
*Brown v. Board of Education*. *See*, Supreme Court, United States.  
Bruce, Blanche Kelso, 8, 10, 10, 23, 25, 26, 30, 31, 32, 33, 33, 34, 45n, 102–103, 105n, 116–21, 134, 236, 338n, 386, 405n  
Bruce, Josephine Beall Wilson, 119  
Buckley, Charles, 112  
Budget. *See*, Alternative budget; Military budget.  
Burke, Yvonne Brathwaite, 5, 6, 11, 239, 373, 375, 377, 378, 446–51, 478, 480  
Bush, George H. W., 328, 349, 390, 409n, 508, 537, 544n, 576, 584, 586, 614, 622, 630, 640

- Bush, George W., 337, 398, 615, 642, 657, 662, 664, 666, 713, 715, 719, 727, 741
- Butler, Benjamin, 31, 35, 35, 36, 38, 39, 47–48n, 70
- Butler, Matthew, 106, 140
- Butterfield, G. K., 373, 662, 676–77
- Buttz, Charles W., 108
- Byrd, Harry, 253, 313–14, 461, 464n
- Byrne, Jane, 504, 526
- Byrns, Joseph, 178, 181
- C**
- Cain, Richard Harvey, 3, 25, 27–30, 32, 38–39, 41, 48n, 78, 94–99, 185n
- Caldwell, Tod R., 160
- California, black representation, 324–31, 416–23, 446–51, 478–83, 512–17, 630–33, 646–49, 712–13, 740–41, 742–43, 750. *See*, Appendix C: Black-American Representatives and Senators by State and Territory.
- Cal-Learn program, 743
- Cambodia, 248, 337, 432
- Canon, David T., 11, 400
- Carmichael, Stokely, 258, 371–72, 580
- Carnegie, Andrew, 156, 203
- Carpenter, Milton, 346
- Carpetbaggers, 26–27, 27, 80, 84, 88, 90, 97, 100, 112, 118, 122, 148. *See also*, Scalawag.
- Carrollton County courthouse riot, 149
- Carson, André, 653
- Carson, Julia May, 385–86, 650–53
- Carter, James Earl (Jimmy), 320, 327, 337, 381–82, 384, 388, 388, 393, 433, 455, 462, 468, 474, 698, 706, 715, 722, 732
- Case, Clifford, 251
- Cassidy, Hiram, 100
- Castro, Fidel, 498
- Caucus, 374. *See also*, Congressional Black Caucus (CBC).
- Celler, Emanuel, 239, 251, 255, 256, 304
- Census, 23, 46n, 167–68, 168. *See also*, Apportionment and redistricting; Reduction.
- Cessna, John, 36
- Chaffin College (Orangeburg, SC), 217
- Chalmers, James R., 102–103
- Chamberlain, Daniel, 26–27, 97, 108, 140
- Chandler, William, 164–65
- Cheatham, Henry Plummer, 131, 144n, 149, 152, 159, 160–63, 166, 185n, 187n, 200–205, 212n, 228, 230, 233n
- Chicago, IL. *See*, Elections; Emigration; Illinois, black representation; Machine politics; Till, Emmett.
- Child Abuse Prevention and Enforcement Act, 709
- Child Abuse Prevention Challenge Grants Reauthorization Act, 537
- Chinese Exclusion Act, 118
- Chisholm, Shirley A., 1, 5, 6, 7, 11, 236, 238, 264, 264, 340–45, 348, 352n, 360n, 370, 373, 373, 375, 379, 386, 402n, 403n, 406n, 534, 536, 664 committee assignments, 2
- early background, 237
- elections, 239, 257
- leadership positions, 273n, 405n
- legislative style, 313, 360n, 374
- pre-congressional political experience, 238–39
- presidential bid, 375–76, 376, 624–25 *see also*, New York, African-American representation.
- Christensen, Donna M., 636, 678–79
- Chudoff, Earl, 318
- Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC), 282. *See also*, New Deal.
- Civil rights,
- Jim Crow Era decline, 40–42, 157–59, 170–71
- opposition to, 35–39, 157, 158, 172–73, 178, 180–82, 249, 249, 271n
- see also*, Civil rights legislation; Civil Rights Movement; Cold War; Democratic Party; Discrimination; Disfranchisement; Elections; Lynching; Reconstruction; Republican Party; Segregation; Senate, United States; Supreme Court, United States.
- Civil rights legislation. *See*, Civil Rights Acts; Fourteenth Amendment, Fifteenth Amendment; Great Society legislation; Ku Klux Klan Acts; Lynching; Powell Amendment; Reduction; Thirteenth Amendment; Senate, United States; Supreme Court, United States; Voting Rights Acts; Appendix J: Selected Landmark Civil Rights Acts of Congress, 1863–2007.
- Civil Rights Act of 1866, 21, 35, 790
- Civil Rights Act of 1875, 3, 35–39, 40–42, 47n, 790
- 1874 election, and, 36
- African-American Members of Congress, influence, 35–36, 64–65, 81, 83, 96, 100, 102, 106, 108, 112–13, 128
- education, 38–39, 91, 108
- public transportation and accommodations, 36–37
- social equality, 36–39, 102
- Supreme Court, United States, and, 41–42
- Civil Rights Act of 1957, 253–54, 271n, 312, 790
- African-American Members of Congress, influence, 250–51, 312
- Civil Rights Act of 1960, 254, 791
- Civil Rights Act of 1964, 5, 254–56, 256, 270n, 791
- African-American Members of Congress, influence, 250–51, 255, 270, 295, 302, 326, 438, 458
- Civil Rights Act of 1968, 258–59, 791
- African-American Members of Congress, influence, 335
- Civil Rights Act of 1991, 576, 792
- Civil Rights Bill (1990), 328, 542, 586
- Civil Rights Cases*. *See*, Supreme Court, United States.
- Civil Rights Movement, 249–59, 270n
- 1963 March on Washington, 255, 255, 320, 371, 568
- African-American Members of Congress, influence, 5, 15n, 312–13, 371–72, 438, 458, 460, 684, 714, 730
- “Bloody Sunday” (Birmingham, AL), 256, 257, 714
- communism, influence of, 247–48, 269n
- Freedom Ride protests, 254–55, 340, 371, 714, 715
- House Judiciary committee, influence on, 251
- House Rules committee, influence on, 251, 251
- Montgomery (AL) bus boycott, 252, 252, 386, 548, 642, 652
- lunch counter protests, 254, 254–55
- racial violence, influence of, 252–53, 256
- racism and segregation, transforming, 259–62
- southern governors’ protest, 249, 249
- Vietnam War, influence of, 258
- see also*, African-American Members of Congress, legislative style; Black Panther Party for Self Defense; Black Power Movement; Civil rights; Civil rights legislation; Cold War; Communism; Discrimination; Disfranchisement; King, Martin Luther, Jr.; Lynching; National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP); Reconstruction; Senate, United States; Supreme Court, United States; Till, Emmett.
- Civil service, employment, 190n. *See also*, Discrimination.
- Civil War, 20. *See also*, Military service, African-American Members of Congress.
- Clark, Beauchamp (Champ), 222
- Clark Amendment, 314
- Clarke, Una, 538
- Clarke, William John, 155
- Clarke, Yvette, 538, 748
- Clay, William (Bill), Sr., 237, 342, 346–53, 472, 589n, 680
- committee assignments, 266n
- early background, 238
- elections, 257
- Congressional Black Caucus (CBC), and, 370, 374, 374, 375, 375, 377, 378, 387, 402n, 403n
- investigations of African-American Members of Congress, 395, 411n
- legislative interests, 380, 542
- legislative style, 273n, 313, 327, 357, 360n
- political influence, 240, 419
- South Africa, apartheid policy, 387, 389, 407n, 408–409n
- Clay, William Lacy, Jr., 350, 680–81
- Clayton, Eva M., 6, 596–99, 660, 662
- Cleaver, Emanuel, II, 682–83
- Cleveland, Grover, 142, 164, 222
- Clinton, William J. (Bill), 349, 386, 393, 393, 410n, 455, 475, 492, 543, 556, 559, 564, 565, 571, 582, 586, 587, 588, 592–93, 602, 603, 614, 624, 628, 632, 634, 635, 636, 641–42, 644n, 652–53, 654, 675, 693, 702–703, 727, 737, 742, 745
- Cloture, 251, 251, 255. *See also*, Filibuster; Senate, United States.
- Clyburn, James E., 7, 225n, 379, 642, 671, 684–85
- Coelho, Tony, 492
- Cohelan, Jeffery, 416, 418
- Cold War, 239, 269n, 407n
- civil rights movement, influence, 246–48
- legislation, influence, 239, 384, 386
- College Retention Program, 695
- Collins, Barbara Rose, 266n, 508, 509, 580–83, 710
- Collins, Cardiss, 5, 11, 239, 365, 373, 375, 391, 391, 393, 404n, 405n, 408–409n, 433, 466–71, 520
- Collins, George Washington, 237, 238, 264, 345n, 352n, 362–67, 370, 374, 391, 402n, 404–405n, 466
- Colored People’s Convention of 1865 (Charleston, SC), 29, 72, 94
- Committee assignments. *See*, African-American Members of Congress, characteristics.
- Committee on Elections. *See*, Contested Elections.
- Communism, 247–48, 254, 282, 546. *See also*, Cold War.
- Community Development and Regulatory Act, 731
- Community Renewal Act, 384, 565
- Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act of 1986. *See*, South Africa, apartheid policy.
- Comprehensive Employment and Training Act, 327–28
- Confederate states, readmission to the Union, 21, 68, 70. *See also*, Amnesty, Confederate; Disfranchisement.
- Congressional Black Caucus (CBC), 5, 5, 11, 12, 263, 264, 368, 368, 393, 400, 403n
- Action-Alert Communications Network, 383, 406n
- alternative budget, 382, 394–95, 433
- apartheid policy, 386–90, 418
- conflicting interests, 383–84, 391, 410n, 586–87
- Congressional Black Caucus Foundation (CBCF), 403–404n
- evolution of, 5, 6, 310, 313, 342, 348, 364, 370, 373–76, 401n, 402n, 411n. *See also*, Democratic Select Committee (DSC).
- leadership, 376, 393, 393, 468, 481, 571, 707. *See*, Appendix I: Congressional Black Caucus Chairmen and Chairwomen, 1971–2007.
- legislative interests, 381, 381–82, 383, 385, 385, 386–90, 403n, 407n, 408n, 409n, 410n, 418, 432–33, 527, 571
- legislative strategy, 368, 370, 376, 377, 380, 381, 382, 387, 388,

- 390–91, 392, 393, 394, 401n, 402n, 403n, 409n, 411n  
 membership, 376, 384, 391, 393, 402n, 404n, 586–87  
 organizational structure, 402n, 403–404n  
 political influence, 343, 377–78, 382, 393, 394, 396, 399, 403n, 405n, 419  
 relationship with Presidents, 336, 347, 368–70, 375, 375, 381, 382, 384, 388, 393, 393, 398, 403n, 410n, 520, 624  
 seniority, impact of, 377–79  
 TransAfrica lobbying group, 388, 389, 441  
 True State of the Union, 461  
*see also*, African-American Members of Congress, characteristics; Black Declaration of Independence; Black Forum on Foreign Policy; Democratic Select Committee (DSC); King, Martin Luther, Jr.; Nixon, Richard M.; South Africa, apartheid policy.
- Congressional Children's Caucus, 703  
 Congressional districts. *See*, Apportionment and redistricting.  
 Congressional Gold Medal, 247, 252, 271n, 385–86, 386, 393, 407n, 652–53. *See also*, Anderson, Marian; King, Martin Luther, Jr.; King, Coretta Scott; Parks, Rosa.  
*Congressional Record*, 11–12, 47n, 162  
 Congressional Women's Caucus, 342, 391, 393, 404n, 449, 582, 675  
*see also*, Equal Rights Amendment (ERA).  
 Congressional Women's Club, 259  
 Conkling, Roscoe, 31, 116, 118, 121n  
 Connecticut, black representation, 584–89. *See*, Appendix C: Black-American Representatives and Senators by State and Territory.  
 Connor, Eugene (Bull), 255  
 Constitutional conventions, former Confederate states. *See*, Disfranchisement.  
 Contested elections, 30, 31, 45n, 52, 53, 162, 187n  
 Committee on Elections, 30, 32, 45n, 162, 187n  
*see also*, Elections; individual 19th-century African-American Members of Congress.  
 Contract With America, 564, 587, 641.  
*See also*, Republican Party.  
 Conyers, John, Jr., 11, 236, 237–38, 250, 265n, 266n, 310, 313, 370, 374, 375, 402n, 408n, 421n, 634, 686–87  
 Judiciary Committee assignment, 239  
 legislative interests, 256–57, 271–72n, 385, 408n  
 political influence, 240, 377, 671  
 pre-congressional experience, 239  
 Speaker, bid for, 378  
*see also*, Michigan, black representation.  
 Cooper–Church Amendment of 1970, 248, 337  
 Corker, Stephen, 70, 71n  
 Cox, Samuel, 31–32, 65–66, 74  
 Crawford, Curtis, 348  
 “Cracking” electoral districts, 159–60, 160. *See also*, Apportionment and redistricting.  
*Crisis* (NAACP periodical), 173  
 Crockett, George William, Jr., 401n, 408–409n, 499, 506–11, 580  
 Crosse, Saint George I. B., III, 570  
 Crumpacker, Edgar, 168–69, 170, 171, 189n  
 Cuba, 103, 163–64, 164, 314, 498, 508, 582. *See also*, Imperialism.  
 Cummings, Elijah E., 401–402n, 430, 435n, 688–89
- D**  
 Daley, Richard J., 241, 262, 294, 295, 296, 298n, 362, 364, 424, 426, 427, 466, 468, 502, 518, 526, 527, 529n, 730. *See also*, Machine politics.  
 Danforth, John, 543  
 Darfur Divestment bill, 712. *See also*, Sudan.  
 Darrow, Clarence, 278, 280  
 Daschle, Tom, 414n, 624  
 Date Rape Prevention Drug Act, 703  
 Daughters of the American Revolution (DAR), 303  
 Davis, Artur, 609, 690–91  
 Davis, Christine Ray, 259–60  
 Davis, Danny K., 468, 692–93  
 Davis, Tom, 723  
 Dawson, William Levi, 5, 10, 240, 286, 289, 292–99, 302, 312, 318, 364, 366n, 424, 426  
 committee assignments, 236, 239, 240, 259–60, 260, 266n, 405n  
 early background, 237, 245, 265n  
 legislative interests, 245, 246, 252–53, 268–69n  
 legislative style, 2, 240, 242, 262–63, 373  
 political influence, 246, 250  
 pre-congressional political experience, 237, 238, 242  
 Till, Emmett, and, 252–53  
*see also*, Illinois, black representation; Till, Emmett.  
 Death In Custody Act, 735  
 Declaration of Constitutional Principles, 253  
 Decolonization, 247. *See also*, Imperialism.  
 Delany, Martin, 41, 74, 97  
 Delegate, territorial, 383, 383, 406n.  
*See*, Evans, Melvin Herbert; Fauntroy, Walter Edward; Frazer, Victor O.; Norton, Eleanor Holmes; Christensen, Donna M.  
 De Large, Robert Carlos, 29, 33, 34, 41, 72–77, 97, 106  
 DeLay, Tom, 642  
 Dellums, Ronald V., 7, 11, 264, 362, 370, 372, 375, 380, 392, 416–23, 712, 713  
 committee assignments, 378, 392, 405n  
 Congressional Black Caucus (CBC), and, 387–88, 393, 396–97, 402n, 405n, 410n  
 legislative interests, 378, 382–83, 386, 387, 389–90, 408n, 409n  
 legislative style, 392  
 pre-congressional political experience, 372  
 Shirley Chisholm presidential bid, and, 375–76  
*see also*, California, black representation.  
 de Lugo, Ron, 484, 486, 634  
 Democratic Caucus, 6, 378–79, 492, 571  
 Democratic Party  
 black voter re-alignment, 5, 14n, 58, 182–83, 236, 241–44, 266–67n, 267n, 286  
 Civil Rights Era, 249, 268n, 320  
 Congressional Black Caucus (CBC), and, 373, 384–85, 403n, 634  
 Jim Crow Era, 4–5, 154, 157–60, 172–73, 180–82, 190n  
 New Deal and Depression Era, 241–43, 282  
 Reconstruction Era, 29–30, 35–39, 40  
*see also*, Apportionment and redistricting; Constitutional conventions, former Confederate states; Elections; Machine politics; Reduction; Republican Party.  
 Democratic Select Committee (DSC), 263, 264, 313, 373–74. *See also*, Congressional Black Caucus (CBC).  
*Dennis v. United States*. *See*, Supreme Court, United States.  
 De Priest, Jessie, 259, 259, 260, 278, 280  
 De Priest, Oscar Stanton, 4, 5, 10, 184, 234, 240, 241, 242, 243, 260, 265n, 278–85, 292, 303, 384  
 Chicago political machines, and, 241, 242  
 discrimination on Capitol Hill, and, 259, 260–61, 262, 272n  
 early background, 176, 237, 238  
 legislative interests, 260–61  
 legislative style, 1–2, 42, 236, 262, 272n  
 Mitchell, Arthur, political rivalry, 242, 262, 286, 288  
 pre-congressional political experience, 238, 241  
*see also*, Illinois, black representation; Machine politics; Surrogate representation.  
 Deukmejian, George, 449  
 Deutsch, John, 648  
 Dick, Charles, 169  
 Dickerson, Earl, 294  
 Dickson, Julian, 742  
 Dies, Martin, Jr., 269n  
 Diggs, Charles Coles, Jr., 5, 6, 10, 11, 234, 250, 263, 310–17, 318, 321, 370, 374, 375, 387, 401n, 508, 580  
 committee assignments, 239, 240, 266n, 383, 387, 405n  
 Congressional Black Caucus (CBC), and, 5, 6, 11, 357, 374, 374–75, 376, 387, 402n, 440  
 Democratic Select Committee (DSC), and, 264, 373–74  
 early background, 237  
 legal difficulties, 240–41, 267n  
 legislative interests, 236, 247, 248, 252–53, 254, 256–57, 271n, 273n, 383, 386–87, 407n, 408n  
 legislative style, 263, 264, 391  
 military service, 237–38, 265n  
 pre-congressional political experience, 238  
 political influence, 240  
 Till, Emmett, and, 252–53, 312  
*see also*, Congressional Black Caucus (CBC); Democratic Select Committee (DSC); Michigan, black representation.  
 Dingell, John, Jr., 265n, 582, 686, 687  
 Dingley Tariff, 230  
 Dirksen, Everett, 250n, 255, 335  
 Discrimination, 36–37, 158, 172, 180–81, 183, 241, 243, 245–46, 246–47, 249, 252, 256, 390, 403n, 426–27  
 African-American, Members of Congress, experiences, 29–30, 31–32, 36–37, 41, 169–70, 237–38, 256, 257, 259–62, 272n, 395–96. *See also*, individual African-American Members of Congress.  
 congressional, 31–32, 249, 250, 251, 253, 254–55, 259–62, 265n, 272n, 281, 303, 335, 390  
 federal government, and, 5, 172–73, 190n, 282  
 housing, 257, 258–59  
 military, 118, 145n, 173–74, 237–38, 244–45, 364  
 railroads, 37, 41–42, 148–49, 289, 426  
*see also*, Affirmative action; Brownsville affair; Civil rights; Civil rights legislation; Civil Rights Acts; Disfranchisement; Elections; Equal Rights Amendment (ERA); Fair Employment Practices Committee (FEPC); Gerrymander; Jim Crow; Ku Klux Klan; Lynching; Racial violence; Reduction; Segregation; Race; Slavery; Senate, United States; South Africa, apartheid policy; Supreme Court, United States; Till, Emmett; Voting Rights Acts.  
 Disfranchisement, 4, 29, 40–41, 157–59, 166, 168, 190n, 256–57, 271n, 379–81, 383, 412  
 “eight box ballot” law, 157–58, 216, 220  
 constitutional conventions, former Confederate states, 21, 62, 78, 88, 94, 106, 110, 128, 138, 146, 158–59, 169, 188n, 217, 223, 226n. *See also*, South Carolina.  
 grandfather clause, 157, 157  
 literacy tests, 157, 159, 256, 268n, 405n  
 poll tax, 33, 157, 158, 159, 245, 268n  
 voter registration laws, 157–59  
*see also*, Alabama; Apportionment and redistricting; Contested Elections; Discrimination; Elections; Gerrymander; Mississippi; North

- Carolina; Reduction; South Carolina; Voting Rights Acts.
- Displaced Homemakers Act, 449
- District of Columbia, 302, 312–13, 383, 383, 406n, 419–20, 438, 440, 443n, 481, 487n, 515
- black representation, 438–45, 722–23. *See*, Appendix C: Black-American Representatives and Senators by State and Territory.
- District of Columbia Self-Government and Governmental Reorganization Act, 313, 383, 440
- District of Columbia Committee, 239, 262, 263, 266n, 312–13, 515
- see also*, Delegate; Diggs, Charles Coles, Jr.; Dixon, Julian; Fauntroy, Walter Edward; Norton, Eleanor Holmes.
- Dixon, Allen, 622
- Dixon, Julian Carey, 357, 377, 383, 391, 393, 395, 396, 411n, 478–83, 515, 521, 742
- Dodd, Christopher, 588
- Domestic Volunteer Service Act, 537
- Douglas, Helen Gahagan, 246, 251
- Douglas, Paul H., 254
- Douglass, Frederick, 8, 32, 122, 204, 206, 208
- Droney, John J., 337
- Dropout Prevention and Re-entry Act, 548
- Du Bois, W.E.B., 170, 172, 173, 183
- Dunnigan, Alice, 259
- Durham, Milton, 35, 38
- Dyer, Leonidas, 170, 170, 176–79, 192n
- Dymally, Lynn, 512, 515, 630
- Dymally, Mervyn Malcolm, 373, 402n, 478, 512–17, 527–28, 630, 634, 646
- E**
- East St. Louis (IL) race riot. *See*, Race riots.
- Eastland, James, 252, 254
- Economic policy, 162–63, 241, 243, 267n, 268n, 381–83, 406–407n
- Economic Opportunity Act of 1964, 381
- see also*, Civilian Conservation Corps (CCC); Fair Employment Practices Committee (FEPC); Freedmen's Savings and Trust Company; Great Society legislation; New Deal legislation
- Ebenezer African Methodist Episcopal (AME) Church (Lincolnton, SC), 96
- “Eight box ballot” law. *See*, Disfranchisement.
- Eisenhower, Dwight D., 246, 246–47, 248, 249, 253, 254, 259, 270n, 272n, 304, 312
- Eldredge, Charles, 37
- Elections, 1, 28–30, 45n, 157–62, 240, 376–77, 396–99
- 1872 election, 26
- 1874 election, 36
- 1876 election, 40–41, 154
- 1890 election, 165–66
- 1928 election, 183, 242
- 1932 election, 242
- 1992 election, 410n
- 1994 election, 384, 571, 587, 638
- violence, 29–30, 186–87n
- nominating conventions, 26, 26, 45n
- black political rivalries, 160–62, 262
- see also*, individual states; individual African-American Members of Congress; Apportionment and redistricting; Contested elections; Democratic Party; Discrimination; Disfranchisement; Federal Elections Bill of 1890; Fifteenth Amendment; Fusion; Gerrymander; Ku Klux Klan; Incumbency and seniority, influence of; Machine politics; Race riots; Reduction; Republican Party; Voting Rights Acts.
- Elliott, Robert Brown, 1, 8, 10, 22, 29, 33, 34–35, 36, 37, 44n, 75, 76n, 78–83, 94, 265n
- Elliott, William, 142–43, 216, 217, 218n, 220, 223
- Ellison, Keith, 749
- Emancipation Proclamation, 20
- Emanuel African Methodist Episcopal (AME) Church (Charleston, SC), 25, 94
- Emergency Unemployment Compensation Act, 593
- Emerson, Jo Ann, 598
- Emigration, “Exodusters” (American West), 113, 174–75, 191n
- Liberia (Africa), 94, 97, 191n
- Great Migration (American North), 173, 173–76, 182, 183, 191n, 199, 236, 237, 241, 241, 244
- see also*, Discrimination; Disfranchisement; Reduction; World War I.
- Enterprise Railroad Company, 25
- Epping, J. P. M., 140
- Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC), 250, 255, 326
- Equality in Athletic Disclosure Act, 469
- Equal Rights Amendment (ERA), 449, 512, 524, 527
- Espy, Alphonso Michael (Mike), 384, 397, 556–61, 737
- Essential Air Service Bill, 608
- Ethiopia, 491, 496, 498–99, 501, 532, 574
- Evans, Melvin Herbert, 240, 268n, 373, 384, 484–87, 588n
- Executive Order 8802. *See*, Fair Employment Practices Committee (FEPC).
- Executive Order 9981, 249. *See also*, Discrimination; Segregation.
- F**
- Fair Employment Practices Committee (FEPC), 245, 245–46, 246, 249, 269n
- Familial connections. *See*, African-American Members of Congress, characteristics.
- Family and Medical Leave Act, 349
- Family Support Program, 384, 475
- Farmer, James, 239, 264, 266n, 340, 342, 371
- Fattah, Chaka, 592, 593, 694–95
- Fauntroy, Walter Edward, 5, 11, 256, 370, 371, 374, 375, 377, 378, 383, 383, 389, 392, 402n, 408n, 438–45
- Federal Elections Bill of 1890, 164–66, 169, 178, 203, 214, 216–17. *See also*, Disfranchisement; Lodge, Henry Cabot.
- Fields, Cleo, 398, 600–605
- Fifteenth Amendment, 1, 18, 22, 22, 24, 29, 34, 35, 41, 42, 158, 158, 164, 165, 168, 170, 172, 179, 180
- Filibuster, 165, 179, 222, 246, 251, 254, 255–56, 271n, 349, 624. *See also*, Cloture; Senate, United States.
- Financial Literacy for Homeowners Act, 733
- Finley, Jesse J., 91
- Fitzgerald, Peter, 725
- Fitzhugh, Robert, 100
- Flake, Floyd Harold, 381, 384, 384, 552, 554, 562–67
- Foner, Eric, 10, 170
- Florida, black representation, 88–93, 618–21, 674–75, 698–99, 716–17. *See*, Appendix C: Black-American Representatives and Senators by State and Territory.
- Foraker, Joseph B., 194n
- Force Acts. *See*, Ku Klux Klan Acts.
- Force Bill. *See*, Federal Elections Bill of 1890.
- Ford, Gerald R., 342, 375, 379, 455, 461
- Ford, Harold, Jr., 350, 397, 401n, 472, 476, 654–59
- Ford, Harold E., Sr., 5, 6, 11, 350, 372, 378, 378, 384, 395, 395, 401n, 404–405n, 448, 472–77, 578n, 654
- Foreign Military Sales Act, 320
- Fourteenth Amendment, 21, 34, 35, 41, 42, 56, 68, 94, 128, 136, 158, 167, 168, 170, 171, 177, 179, 180, 183, 189n, 223, 250, 288, 312, 320, 397, 615
- France, Erwin A., 427
- Franking privileges, 18, 576
- Franks, Gary A., 384–85, 584–89, 641
- Frazer, Victor O., 634–37, 679
- Freedmen's Bureau, 21, 21, 24, 27, 28, 72, 88, 124
- Freedmen's Savings and Trust Company (Freedmen's Bank), 33–34, 65, 96, 103, 119, 130. *See also*, Select Committee on the Freedmen's Bank.
- Freedom Riders. *See*, Civil Rights movement.
- Friedel, Samuel, 430, 432, 435n
- Frost, Martin, 491
- Fusion, 160, 160, 186–87n, 230, 231
- G**
- Gainesville New Era, 25, 91. *See also*, Newspapers, African-American.
- Garfield, James A., 26, 36, 66, 81, 102–103, 119–20
- Garner, John Nance, 178, 181, 241
- Garvey, Marcus, 175
- Gaining Early Access and Readiness for Undergraduate Program (GEAR UP), 695
- Gandhi, Indira, 343
- Gandhi, Mahatma, 255
- George, Randall D., 216
- Georgia, black representation, 68–71, 458–65, 612–17, 664–67, 672–73, 714–15, 732–33. *See*, Appendix C: Black-American Representatives and Senators by State and Territory.
- disfranchisement, 70, 238, 250, 272n, 398
- lynching, 166, 176
- re-admission to the Union, 56–57, 68, 70
- see also*, Disfranchisement; Lynching.
- Georgia Educational Association, 68
- Gephardt, Richard, 386, 492, 565, 656
- Gerrymander, 28, 29, 113, 124, 128, 141–42, 159–60, 187n, 216, 397–99, 412n, 600, 602, 603, 614–15, 617n. *See also*, Apportionment and redistricting; Elections; Disfranchisement.
- Ghana, 248, 304, 313. *See also*, Africa, foreign policy.
- Giles v. Harris. *See*, Supreme Court, United States.
- Gillett, Frederick H., 178, 180
- Gingrich, Newt, 314, 384, 564–65, 587, 614, 620, 640, 641
- Global Fund to Fight HIV/AIDS, 713
- Goals 2000 initiative, 727
- Golar, Simeon, 564
- Goldwater, Barry, 14n, 267–68n
- Gonzalez, Henry, 358
- Goode, Wilson, 490
- Goodykoontz, Wells, 180, 193n
- Gramm–Rudman–Hollings Act, 492
- Grandfather clause, 157, 157, 171. *See*, Disfranchisement.
- Grant, Ulysses S., 25–26, 34, 39, 58, 64, 80, 102, 106, 112, 124, 130, 134, 208, 210
- Graves, Curtis, 452
- Gray, Frizzell. *See*, Mfume, Kweisi.
- Gray, William III (Bill), 2, 7, 390, 488–95, 532, 590, 592, 695
- Congressional Black Caucus (CBC), and, 370
- first election, 321
- legislative interests, 389–90, 418
- legislative style, 394
- political influence, 379, 389, 394–95
- see also*, Economic policy; Pennsylvania, black representation; South Africa, apartheid policy.
- Great Depression, 236, 241, 241–44, 259, 281, 282, 286, 288, 300, 324, 340, 362. *See also*, New Deal legislation.
- Great Migration, 173. *See also*, Emigration.
- Great Society legislation, 240, 258, 327, 448
- Greeley, Horace, 26, 112
- Green, Al, 696–97
- Gulf War. *See*, Iraq.
- Gurney, William, 106
- H**
- Haiti, 393, 441–42, 492, 514, 538, 571, 582, 620, 675, 717, 741
- Hall, Anthony (Tony), 498

- Hall, Katie Beatrice, 385, **530–33**  
Hamburg massacre. *See*, South Carolina.  
Hamilton, Charles V., 305  
Hammer, Rhea Mojica, 364–65  
Hampton, Wade, 65, 142  
Hannaford, Mark, 514  
Haralson, Jeremiah, 26, 29, 45n, 46n, 113, **122–27**, 161  
Harris, James H., 148  
Harris, John T., 32, 37, 37, 124  
Harrison, Benjamin, 120, 143, 164, 209, 210, 220  
Harrison, Byron (Pat), 178, 182  
Hastert, Dennis, 386, 641  
Hastings, Alcee, 618, 674, **698–99**  
Hatch Act, 349  
Hatcher, Richard, 530, 532  
Hawaii, 163–64, 230, 724  
Hawkins, Augustus Freeman (Gus), 2, 10, 11, 250, 258, 265n, **324–31**, 370, 375, 394, 402n  
committee assignments, 262–63, 266n  
legislative interests, 234, 236, 248, 255, 256–57, 381, 381  
legislative style, 2, 263  
political influence, 262, 262–63, 378  
pre-congressional political experience, 238  
*see also*, California, black representation; Humphrey–Hawkins Full Employment and Balanced Growth Act.  
Hawkins–Stafford Act. *See*, School Improvement Act.  
Hayes, Charles Arthur, 389, 396, 396, **546–51**, 731  
Hayes, Rutherford B., 40, 40–41, 97, 121n, 130, 136, 208  
*Hayes v. Louisiana*. *See*, Louisiana; Supreme Court, United States.  
Head Start Program, 666  
Health Security Act, 469  
Hébert, F. Edward, 378, 392, 392, 419  
Heflin, James, 180, 181  
Higher Education Act, 542  
Hilliard, Earl Frederick, 266n, **606–11**, 690–91  
HIV/AIDS, 574, 648, 679, 701, 711, 712, 717, 723, 741, 743  
Hoar, George Frisbie, 31–32, 35, 164–65  
Hoge, Solomon L., 78  
Holden, William, 128  
Holloway, Clyde, 600  
Hoover, Herbert, 183, 241, 242, 243, 259, 260, 280  
Hoover, Lou Henry, 259, 260, 280  
House, John, 134  
House “Bank” scandal, 350, 358, 420, 542, 549, 576  
House Gallery. *See*, Segregation.  
House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC). *See*, Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC).  
Housing and Community Development Act, 559  
Housing discrimination. *See*, Discrimination.
- Houston Fair Share program, 697  
Howard, Michael, 57–58 *See*, West Point, U.S. Military Academy.  
Hubbs, Orlando, 148.  
Humphrey, Hubert, 250, 255, 327, 381.  
*See also*, Humphrey–Hawkins Full Employment and Balanced Growth Act.  
Humphrey, Lotte W., 148  
Humphrey–Hawkins Full Employment and Balanced Growth Act, 6, 327, 381, 381–82, 548  
Hunger, Select Committee on, 380, 496, 499, 542, 558, 560, 570, 574, 776  
Hunt, Caleb, 30  
Hunter, David, 142  
Hunter, Maria, 142  
Hurricanes, 598, 705, 713  
Hyman, John Adams, 22–23, 50, **128–33**, 146. *See also*, John A. Hyman Memorial Youth Foundation.
- I**  
Ickes, Harold, 243  
Illinois, black representation, 278–83, 286–91, 292–99, 362–67, 424–29, 466–71, 502–505, 518–23, 524–29, 546–51, 622–25, 626–29, 692–93, 702–703, 724–25, 730–31. *See*, Appendix C: Black-American Representatives and Senators by State and Territory.  
Immigration, 180  
legislation, 537–38, 620, 717  
Asian, 118  
European, 174  
Imperialism,  
Decolonization, African/Asian, 247, 247, 314  
United States, 163–64, 188n, 230  
Income and Jobs Action Act, 548  
Incumbency and seniority, influence of, 33, 46n, 50, 162, 181–82, 196, 240–41, 266n, 274, 376, 377, 376–77, 404n, 413  
Indiana, black representation, 530–33, 650–53. *See*, Appendix C: Black-American Representatives and Senators by State and Territory.  
Industrialization, influence of, 156–57  
Iran–Contra affair, 358  
Iraq, 576, 579, 615, 656–57, 683, 712, 713, 717, 721, 725, 741  
Isakson, Johnny, 666
- J**  
Jackson, Jesse, 381, 498, 532, 590, 626, 630  
Jackson, Jesse, Jr., 628, **700–701**  
Jackson Lee, Sheila, **702–703**  
Jacobs, Andy, 650  
Jacobs, H. P., 100  
James, Esther, 305  
James, Ollie, 180  
Javits, Jacob, 251  
Jefferson, William J., 602, **704–705**  
Jim Crow, 154, 154, 241, 255. *See also*, Discrimination.  
John A. Hyman Memorial Youth Foundation, 662  
John R. Justice Prosecutors and
- Defenders Incentive Act, 733  
Johnson, Andrew, 20–21, 43n  
Johnson, Eddie Bernice, **706–707**  
Johnson, James Weldon, 172, 176, 176, 177. *See also*, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP).  
Johnson, Hank, 616, **749**  
Johnson, Lewis E., 96  
Johnson, Lyndon B., 248, 248, 253–54, 255–56, 256, 257, 257, 258, 258, 271n, 295, 297, 304–305, 306, 320, 327, 335, 336–37, 373, 438, 448, 449, 454, 455, 464n, 542  
Jones, Charles, 602  
Jones, Stephanie Tubbs, 359, 411n, 649n, **708–709**  
Jones, Thomas R., 340  
Jones, Walter, 596, 598, 660  
Jordan, Barbara, 6, 10, 11, 239, 373, 380, 380, 391, **452–57**, 460, 496, 498, 574, 702  
committee assignments, 378  
Congressional Black Caucus (CBC), and, 375, 380, 391  
legislative interests, 379–80, 405n  
legislative style, 391, 391  
pre-congressional political experience, 372  
*see also*, Texas, black representation.  
Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention Act, 327
- K**  
Karsten, Frank, 346  
Keifer, Joseph Warren, 125, 189n  
Kelly, Edward J., 241, 242, 286, 292.  
*See also*, Machine Politics.  
Kellogg, Stephen, 39, 39  
Kennedy, Anthony M., 398  
Kennedy, Edward M. (Ted), 250, 334, 440, 626  
Kennedy, John F., 248, 254, 255, 269n, 294, 297, 298n, 304, 306, 320, 326, 334, 358, 378, 434, 452, 512, 542, 568, 664, 686  
Kerr, Daniel, 216  
Kerr, Michael, 91, 134, 136  
Key, V.O., 181  
Keyes, Alan, 397  
Kilpatrick, Carolyn Cheeks, 393, 393, 582, **710–11**  
Kilpatrick, Kwame, 711  
King, Coretta Scott, 271n, 343, 407n, 440  
King, Martin Luther, Jr., 236, 252, 254–55, 255, 256, 258, 270n, 271n, 295, 336, 348, 358, 362, 371, 371, 378, 407n, 438, 458, 481, 524, 532, 548, 568, 606, 686, 687, 700, 714  
holiday, 336, 385, 385, 407n, 468, 486, 504, 624  
King, Rodney, 630, 632  
King, William E., 294  
Kitchin, Alvin Paul, 233n  
Kitchin, Claude, 232, 233n  
Kitchin, William W., 233n  
Kitchin, William H., 148, 233n  
Klecza, Gerald D., 720  
Knight, Landon, 310  
Knowland, William F., 254
- Koreagate scandal, 514  
Kousser, J. Morgan, 181, 190n  
Ku Klux Klan, 29, 30, 64, 68, 70, 74, 77, 78, 80, 88, 90, 97, 106, 112, 113, 128, 140, 182  
Ku Klux Klan Acts, 3, 34, 34–35, 41, 47n, 64, 74, 77, 80, 165  
*see also*, Lynching.  
Kuchel, Thomas, 255  
Kuwait, 576  
Kuykendall, Dan, 472, 474
- L**  
LaFollette, Robert M., 143  
LaGuardia, Fiorello, 281, 300  
Langston, John Mercer, 8, 10, 152, 152, 153, 154, 159, 161, 162, 166, 191n, **206–13**, 735  
early background, 155, 185n  
legislative interests, 166, 191n  
pre-congressional political experience, 155  
election, 156, 162, 196  
*see also*, Virginia, black representation.  
*Langston v. United States et al.* *See*, Supreme Court, United States.  
Lanham, Samuel, 165  
Lawton, Winburn J., 71  
Leach, Jim, 564  
Leath, Marvin, 491  
Lee, Barbara, **712–13**  
Lee, Samuel, 65, 81, 142, 161  
Legislative style. *See*, African-American Members of Congress, characteristics; Surrogate representation.  
Lehman, Bill, 618  
Leland, George Thomas (Mickey), 7, 7, 380, **496–501**, 574  
committee assignments, 404–405n  
legislative interests, 380, 390  
legislative style, 391, 392  
*see also*, Texas, black representation.  
Lewis, Barbour, 38  
Lewis, John R., 395, 397, 399, **714–15**  
leadership, 379  
civil rights leader, 256, 257, 264, 271n, 371, 371, 372  
*see also*, Georgia, black representation.  
Lewis, Morris W., 281  
Liberal Republican Party, 26  
Liberia. *See*, Emigration.  
Libya, 608, 610n  
Lincoln, Abraham, 20, 21, 142, 183, 210, 236, 255, 281, 282  
Lincolntonville (SC), 96  
Line-item veto, 571  
Lippmann, Walter, 247  
Literacy tests. *See*, Disfranchisement.  
Lithicum, J. Charles, 181  
Little Rock (AR), school integration, 246, 247, 246–47, 271n  
Livingston, Robert L., 358–59  
Lloyd, James B., 231  
Lodge, Henry Cabot, 143, 164–66, 165, 178  
Long, Jefferson Franklin, 33, 34–35, 41, 50, 64, 80, **68–71**, 460  
Longworth, Nicholas, 193n, 280  
Los Angeles (CA) 1992 riots. *See*, Race riots; King, Rodney.  
Louisiana,

- black representation, 134–37, 600–605, 704–705
- congressional districts, 398, 600, 602  
*see also*, Menard, John Willis; Pinchback, Pinckney B. S.; Appendix C: Black-American Representatives and Senators by State and Territory.
- Lower Mississippi Delta Congressional Caucus, 559
- Lower Mississippi River Valley Delta Development Act, 558–59
- Low Income Housing Tax Credit, 729
- Lucas, Charles, 356
- Lunch counter protests. *See*, Civil Rights Movement.
- Lugar, Richard, 390, 725
- Lynch, John Roy, 10, 26, 32, 41, 42, 46n, 50, 56, 100–105, 224, 241
- discrimination, and, 29–30, 37, 38
- early background, 24
- elections, 28
- historical interpretation, 169
- legislative interests, 37, 38, 39, 40
- pre-congressional political experience, 28
- Republican Party, and, 27, 40  
*see also*, Mississippi, black representation.
- Lynching, 166, 166, 167, 178, 183, 188n, 192n, 252–53
- anti-lynching legislation, 4, 164, 166–67, 175–79, 178, 182, 183, 231, 243, 243–44, 249, 268n  
*see also*, Ku Klux Klan; Race riots; Till, Emmett.
- M**
- Machine politics, 241–43, 262, 262, 267n, 278, 280, 282, 284n, 289, 292, 294, 295, 296, 298n, 302, 312, 318, 320, 321, 340, 356, 362, 364. *See also*, Daley, Richard J.; Kelly, Edward J.; Steingut, Stanley; Tammany Hall; Thompson, William Hale (Big Bill).
- Mackey, Edmund W., 97, 108, 142
- Macon Union League, 68
- Madden, Martin, 278, 280, 282, 292
- Mahan, Alfred Thayer, 163
- Mahone, William, 208–209
- Majette, Denise L., 397, 615, 664–67
- Majority Whip. *See*, Whip.
- Maloney, James, 587
- Mansfield, Mike, 250, 255
- Mariam, Mengistu Haile, 499
- Martin Luther King, Jr., holiday. *See*, King, Martin Luther, Jr.
- Maryland, black representation, 430–37, 568–73, 688–89, 746–47.  
*See*, Appendix C: Black-American Representatives and Senators by State and Territory.
- Massachusetts, black representation, 332–39. *See*, Appendix C: Black-American Representatives and Senators by State and Territory.
- McCary, William, 100
- McCormack, John, 342
- McCormick, Ruth, 280
- McCulloch William, 255
- McGrath, J. Howard, 249
- McKee, George, 118
- McKee, John, 138, 144n, 145n
- McKinley, William, 103, 120, 143, 144n, 161, 167, 203–204, 224, 230, 231
- McKinley Tariff, 166, 202, 209
- McKinney, Cynthia Ann, 266n, 394, 398, 398, 612–17, 664
- McLean, William, 47–48n
- McMillan, John L., 312, 440
- Mebane, George Allen, 200, 202
- Meek, Carrie P., 618–21, 674, 699, 716
- Meek, Kendrick B., 620, 716–17
- Meeks, Gregory W., 718–19
- Menard, John Willis, 3, 30, 71n, 134
- Metcalf, Ralph Harold, 5, 10, 11, 296, 364, 366n, 370, 375, 378, 402n, 424–29, 502, 504, 524
- Metcalf, Ralph Harold, Jr., 504, 526, 546
- Mewboorne, James M., 203, 205n
- Mfume, Kweisi, 568–73, 576, 587
- Michigan, black representation, 310–17, 506–11, 580–83, 686–87, 710–11.  
*See*, Appendix C: Black-American Representatives and Senators by State and Territory.
- Middleton, Steven, 10
- Military budget, 419
- Military service, African-American
- Members of Congress, 401n
- Civil War, 54, 62, 84, 88, 94, 100, 116, 134, 138, 145n
- Spanish–American War, 100, 103
- World War I, 265n, 292, 296
- World War II, 237–38, 244–45, 247, 265n, 302, 310, 332, 335, 362, 424, 430, 466, 518, 524
- Millender-McDonald, Juanita, 412n, 632, 646–49
- Miller, Thomas Ezekiel, 143, 152, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 159, 160, 161, 162, 166, 205n, 212n, 214–19, 220, 223
- Miller, Zell, 414, 462, 664, 666
- Miller v. Johnson*. *See*, Supreme Court, United States.
- Million Man March, 582
- Mills, Billy, 446
- Mills, Roger, 38
- Mills v. Green*. *See*, Supreme Court, United States.
- Mills, Wilbur, 454
- Minnesota, black representation, 749.  
*See*, Appendix C: Black-American Representatives and Senators by State and Territory.
- Minority Business Legal Defense and Education Fund, 434
- Minority HIV/AIDS initiative, 701
- Missionary Record (South Carolina Leader)*, 25, 78, 94. *See also*, Newspapers, African-American.
- Mississippi, 18, 29, 43n, 45, 56, 60n, 116, 159, 282, 384
- “Mississippi Plan,” 29–30, 102, 118
- black representation, 54–61, 100–105, 116–21, 556–61, 736–37
- civil rights protests, 254–55
- disfranchisement, 159, 168, 169, 171, 180
- electoral districts, 28, 45n, 100
- racial violence, 29–30, 102, 149, 176, 188n, 252, 312
- Voting Rights Act of 1965, impact of, 257
- white supremacy, 23, 119, 180–82, 259, 260, 280. *See also*, Harrison, Byron (Pat); Rankin, John Elliott; Vardaman, James Kimble; White supremacy.  
*see also*, Appendix C: Black-American Representatives and Senators by State and Territory.
- Mississippi River Improvement Association, 119
- Missouri, black representation, 346–53, 540–45, 680–81, 682–83.  
*See*, Appendix C: Black-American Representatives and Senators by State and Territory.
- Mitchell, Arthur Wergs, 1, 2, 10, 265n, 282, 286–91, 292, 294, 524
- early background, 237
- legislative interests, 243–45, 262
- legislative style, 242, 262
- pre-congressional political experience, 242  
*see also*, Illinois, black representation.
- Mitchell, Parren, 5, 11, 264, 362, 370, 374, 375, 382, 402n, 421n, 430–37, 490, 491, 568, 570
- committee assignments, 404–405n
- legislative interests, 382, 386
- legislative style, 381–82
- Shirley Chisholm presidential bid, and, 375–76
- see also*, Maryland, black representation.
- Mitchell v. United States et al*. *See*, Supreme Court, United States.
- Moffett, Toby, 584
- Moise, E. M., 220, 222
- Mondale, Walter, 335, 498
- Mondell, Frank W., 179
- Monroe Doctrine, 163
- Moore, Gwendolynne S., 402n, 720–21
- Moore, Joseph B., 134
- Moseley-Braun, Carol, 6, 12, 240, 372, 397, 397, 410n, 546, 622–25, 649
- Moses, Franklin, 26–27, 108, 214
- Moss, D. S., 230
- Moynihan Report, 266n
- Mozambique, 314. *See also*, Imperialism.
- Mulatto, 23. *See*, Race.
- Murphy, Morgan, 518
- Murphy, William T., 518
- Murray, George Washington, 4, 10, 143, 152, 155, 155, 157–58, 158–59, 160, 161, 162, 163, 217, 220–27, 685
- N**
- Nash, Charles Edmund, 32, 91, 134–37
- National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), 4, 5, 5, 172, 176, 178, 238, 243, 252, 638
- African-American Members of Congress, and, 243–44, 252–53, 262, 280–81, 288, 295, 304, 354, 356, 379, 382, 430, 499, 509, 571, 638, 641, 684, 696
- activism, 176–79, 183, 243–44, 252–53, 262
- World War II, and, 245, 247
- founded, 172–73
- leadership, 243, 430, 571, 660, 696–97, 734
- voter registration drives, 238
- National Defense Rail Act, 652
- National Negro Labor Union (NNLU), 110, 112
- Native American legislation, 90, 118–19
- Nevius, John, 440
- New Columbia Admission Act, 723
- New Deal legislation, 236, 242, 241–44, 258, 267n, 269n, 282, 285n, 286, 288, 304. *See also*, Fair Employment Practices Committee (FEPC); Great Society legislation.
- New Jersey, black representation, 726–27. *See*, Appendix C: Black-American Representatives and Senators by State and Territory.
- Newton, Huey, 258, 372
- New York, black representation, 300–309, 340–45, 534–39, 552–55, 562–67, 718–19, 728–29, 738–39, 748. *See*, Appendix C: Black-American Representatives and Senators by State and Territory.
- Newspapers, African-American, 25, 44n, 67, 78, 518. *See*, individual newspapers.
- Niblack, Silas L., 90
- Nichols, Jesse, 259
- Nix, Robert Nelson Cornelius, Sr., 5, 10, 11, 236, 238, 240, 248, 250, 262, 265n, 266n, 300, 318–23, 370, 375, 402n, 405n
- Nixon, Richard M., 248, 313, 327, 336, 337, 348, 356, 364, 375, 391, 403n, 418, 426, 432, 433, 448, 454, 460–61, 474, 484, 632
- Nkrumah, Kwame, 248
- Nominating conventions, 26. *See*, Elections.
- North, Oliver, 358
- North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), 349, 571, 576, 582, 598, 628, 632, 707, 745
- North Carolina, 24
- black representation, 128–33, 146–51, 200–205, 228–33, 596–99, 660–63, 676–77, 744–45
- “Black Second” district. *See*, Apportionment and redistricting.
- disfranchisement, 186–87n, 202
- segregation, 174–75
- Wilmington race riots, 186–87n  
*see also*, Appendix C: Black-American Representatives and Senators by State and Territory.
- North Carolina Farmers’ Alliance, 203, 205n
- Northrup, Anne, 620
- Norton, Eleanor Holmes, 373, 383, 408n, 444n, 722–23

- Norton, Mary, 246, 246, 269n  
 No Taxation Without Representation Act, 723  
 Nuclear Waste Responsible Component and Protection Act, 648  
 Nye, James, 56
- O**  
 Oates, William C., 112  
 Obama, Barack, 369, 397, 671, 724–25  
 O'Brien, George D., 310  
 O'Connor, Michael, 97  
 O'Ferrall, Charles, 216  
 Office of Economic Opportunity, 448  
 O'Hara, James Edward, 22, 41, 41–42, 46–47n, 130, 132n, 144n, 146–51, 160, 161, 185n, 200, 203, 289  
 Ohio, black representation, 354–61, 708–709. *See*, Appendix C: Black-American Representatives and Senators by State and Territory.  
 Oklahoma, black representation, 638–45. *See*, Appendix C: Black-American Representatives and Senators by State and Territory.  
 Older Americans Health Services Act, 474  
 Omnibus Crime Bill (1994), 576, 582, 624  
 Onassis, Jacqueline Kennedy, 343  
 O'Neill, Thomas P. (Tip), 336, 358, 378, 481, 491, 532, 584  
 Ovington, Mary White, 173  
 Owens, Jesse, 407n, 424  
 Owens, Major Robert O'Dell, 534–39
- P**  
 "Packing" electoral districts, 160. *See*, Apportionment and redistricting.  
 Park, Tongsun, 514  
 Parker, Peter, 432  
 Parks, Rosa, 252, 252, 271n, 385–86, 386, 407n, 642–43, 652–53, 686, 701  
 Payne, Donald M., 369, 726–27  
 Pelosi, Nancy, 648, 649, 656–57, 695  
 Pennsylvania, black representation, 318–23, 488–95, 590–95, 694–95. *See*, Appendix C: Black-American Representatives and Senators by State and Territory.  
 People's Savings Bank, 232  
 Perryman, David, 640  
 Phelps, William, 47n  
 Philippines. *See*, Imperialism.  
 Phillips, Wendell H., 570  
 Pickens, Harriet Ida, 244  
 Pierce, Franklin, 43n  
 Perce, Legrand, 100  
 Pinchback, Pinckney B. S., 31, 118, 121n, 134  
 Planter ammunition transport ship, 138, 141, 144n, 145n  
*Plessy v. Ferguson*. *See*, Supreme Court, United States.  
 Political machines. *See*, Machine Politics.  
 Poll tax, 158. *See*, Disfranchisement.  
 Populism, 160, 161, 161, 203, 220, 222, 228, 230, 231. *See also*, Fusion.  
 Postbellum Era, 23, 23, 43n. *See also*, Antebellum Era.
- Powell, Adam Clayton, Jr., 2, 10, 180, 234, 235, 236, 245, 248, 250, 266n, 267n, 294, 295, 300–309, 312, 318, 322n, 326, 327, 349, 372, 373, 374, 392, 448, 530, 729  
 civil rights activist, 14n, 236, 251, 253, 254, 255, 257, 261, 270–71n, 372  
 committee assignments, 236, 240, 266n, 405n  
 congressional exclusion, 266n, 305, 320–21  
 early background, 238  
 Eisenhower, support for, 253, 253, 304  
 ethical and legal problems, 240–41, 261, 304, 305, 395, 411n  
 legislative interests, 5, 245, 246, 247–48, 253, 256–57, 303–304, 386, 387  
 legislative style, 1, 2, 251, 261–62, 263, 264, 270–71n  
 Nix, Robert opposition, 321  
 political influence, 240, 251  
 pre-congressional political experience, 238  
*see also*, New York, black representation; Powell Amendment.  
 Powell Amendment, 253, 255, 295, 302–303  
 Pregnancy Disability Act, 328  
 President's Committee on Civil Rights, 249  
 Progressivism, 171–72, 190n
- R**  
 Race,  
 mulatto, 23, 23, 24, 43n, 80, 155, 160–61, 184n, 186n, 218n  
 black racial tension, 23, 44n, 160–61  
 Race riots, 176–77, 191–92n, 258–59, 335  
 East St. Louis (IL) race riot, 175, 176–77  
 Carrollton County (MS) courthouse riot, 149  
 Los Angeles (CA) 1992 riot, 481, 630. *See also*, King, Rodney.  
 Tulsa (OK) race riot, 177  
 Washington (DC) riot, 258  
 Watts (CA) race riots, 258, 326, 446  
 Wilmington (NC) race riot, 186–87n, 231  
 Racism. *See*, Discrimination.  
 Rail and Public Transportation Security Act, 703  
 Railroads. *See*, Discrimination.  
 Railroad Revitalization and Regulatory Reform Act, 426  
 Rainey, Joseph Hayne, 1, 8, 10, 19, 25, 26, 31, 32, 33, 44n, 62–67, 70, 80, 96, 97, 99n, 160  
 committee assignments, 33  
 discrimination, experience with, 22–23, 30, 31, 32, 36–37, 97  
 early background, 22–23, 25  
 elections, 30  
 legislative interests, 33, 34, 36–37, 39, 40  
 pre-congressional political experience, 29  
*see also*, South Carolina, black representation.  
 Rainey, Susan, 22–23, 62  
 Randolph, A. Philip, 245  
 Rangel, Charles, 5, 11, 305, 370, 374, 374, 375, 376–77, 377, 377, 378, 379, 380, 402n, 404–405n, 448, 476n, 554, 691, 728–29  
 Rangel Amendment, 729  
 Rankin, Jeannette, 1  
 Rankin, John Elliott, 180, 180, 246, 247, 261, 269n, 303  
 Ransier, Alonzo Jacob, 25, 27, 29, 32, 39, 41, 75, 94, 97, 106–109  
 Rapier, James Thomas, Jr., 25, 26, 28, 29, 37, 38, 39, 45n, 110–15, 124, 127n, 161  
 Rayburn, Samuel, 178, 181, 254, 254, 261, 302, 304  
 Rayner, A. A. (Sammy), 426, 502  
 Reagan, Ronald W., 328, 343, 357, 358, 382, 382, 384, 385, 386, 389, 390, 409n, 419, 433, 441, 461, 474, 486, 491, 508, 515, 520, 526, 527, 532, 537, 540, 542, 548, 554, 559, 584, 622  
 Realignment, 241, 241–43. *See also*, Democratic Party; Republican Party.  
 Reconstruction, 20, 20–22, 25–27, 39–42. *See also*, Civil Rights Act of 1875; Ku Klux Klan Acts; individual 19th-century African-American Members of Congress.  
 Redemption, 39–42, 41, 41–42. *See also*, White supremacy.  
 Redistricting. *See*, Apportionment and redistricting.  
 Redlining, 426. *See also*, Discrimination.  
 Red Shirts. *See*, South Carolina.  
 Redistricting, 372. *See*, Apportionment and redistricting.  
 Reduction, 167–69, 179–80, 189n, 193n, 281, 312, 320. *See also*, Apportionment; Fourteenth Amendment.  
 Reed, Thomas Brackett, 212n, 216  
 Renewal Community Project, 641  
 Republican Party,  
 1994 "Republican Revolution," 571  
 black representation, 25–28, 384–85  
 black voter re-alignment, 4, 14n, 42, 42, 58, 182–83, 236, 241, 241–44, 267n, 286  
 civil rights, 20–22, 26–27  
 corruption and patronage, 26–27, 185n  
 New Deal and Depression Era, 241–44  
 Jim Crow Era, 154, 155–57  
 Reconstruction Era, 20–21, 25–28  
 factions, 20–21, 25–28, 155–56  
*see also*, Apportionment and redistricting; Constitutional conventions, former Confederate states; Democratic Party; Elections; Machine politics; Reduction.  
*Republican Sentinel*, 25, 112, 113. *See also*, Newspapers, African-American.  
 Revels, Hiram Rhodes, 1, 10, 18, 20, 20, 24, 25, 26, 29, 32, 33, 33, 34,
- 43n, 45n, 54–61, 118, 338n  
 Reynolds, Mel, 521, 626–29  
*Reynolds v. Sims*. *See*, Supreme Court, United States.  
 Rice, Thomas, 154  
 Richardson, John S., 65, 66  
 Richardson, Laura, 750  
 Rifle Clubs, 29  
 Rizzo, Frank, 590  
 Robertson, Edward, 136  
 Roberts, Frederick, 324  
 Robinson, Dolly, 340  
 Robinson, Randall, 389, 408n  
 Ronan, Daniel J., 361, 362  
 Roosevelt, Eleanor, 243, 243, 244, 246, 268n  
 Roosevelt, Franklin D., 181, 236, 241, 242, 243, 245–46, 249, 267–68n, 282, 286, 288, 294, 303, 324, 329n, 506, 534, 542  
 Roosevelt, Theodore, 194n, 330n  
 Rostenkowski, Daniel, 628  
 Rumsfeld, Donald, 642  
 Rush, Bobby L., 372, 549, 724, 730–31  
 Russell, Richard, 251–52, 253, 254  
 Ryan, William Fitts, 265
- S**  
 Sacagawea coin, 624  
 Saulsbury, Willard, 56  
 Savage, Gus, 518–23, 529n, 626  
 Scalawag, 26, 28, 36, 72, 88, 108, 148, 208. *See also*, Carpetbaggers.  
 School Improvement Act, 328  
 School vouchers, 565, 641, 656  
 Schroeder, Patricia, 392, 393, 419, 614  
 Scott, Hugh D., 251  
 Scott, David, 732–33  
 Scott, Robert C., 734–35  
 Scott, Robert K., 26–27, 72, 74, 75, 78, 96, 106. *See also*, South Carolina.  
 Seal, Roderick, 102  
 Seale, Bobby, 258, 372  
 Second Reconstruction, 249–59  
 Segregation,  
 education, 177, 255  
 Executive Order 9981, 249  
 federal government, in, 172–73, 174, 190n, 245–46, 259–60  
 health clinics, 174  
 House visitors' gallery, 163  
 lunch counters, 254, 254–55  
 military, 14, 57–58, 118, 140, 164, 173, 174, 237, 237–38, 244–45, 249, 295–96  
 water fountains, 237  
*see also*, Civil rights; Civil Rights Acts; Civil Rights Movement; Discrimination; Disfranchisement.  
 Select Committee on Hunger. *See*, Hunger, Select Committee on.  
 Select Committee on the Freedmen's Bank, 33–34, 64, 65, 119. *See also*, Freedmen's Savings and Trust Company (Freedmen's Bank).  
 Selective Service Act, influence of, 173  
 Senate, United States, 4, 6, 12, 25, 35, 158, 165, 180, 248, 263, 390  
 committees, 31, 33, 34, 46n, 182, 239, 405n  
 confirmations, 204, 397, 461, 586

- elections, 18, 20, 43n, 45n, 397  
procedures, 4, 251–52, 409n. *See also*,  
Cloture; Filibuster.
- Senators, African-American, 18, 20,  
20, 29, 31, 31, 32, 33, 369, 397. *See also*,  
Brooke, Edward William, III;  
Bruce, Blanche Kelso; Moseley-  
Braun, Carol; Obama, Barack;  
Revels, Hiram Rhodes.
- southern influence, 180–82, 251–52
- Sener, James, 36
- Seniority, 377. *See also*, Incumbency and  
seniority, influence of.
- Seymour, Horatio, 122
- Shaw v. Reno*. *See*, Supreme Court,  
United States.
- Shays, Christopher, 570
- Shelley, Charles M., 113, 124–25
- Sherman, John, 81, 164
- Sherman Silver Purchase Act, 163, 222
- SHIELD Act, 721
- “Shoestring” district of Mississippi. *See*,  
Apportionment and redistricting.
- “Shoestring” district of South Carolina.  
*See*, Apportionment and redistricting.
- Shortridge, Samuel, 178–79
- Sickles, Daniel, 29
- Silver coinage monetary policy, 162–63,  
165
- Simmons, Furnifold, 149, 200, 202
- Simpson, William, 141
- Singh, Robert, 10, 401n
- Slaughterhouse Cases*. *See*, Supreme Court,  
United States.
- Slavery, 14n, 43n, 96, 185n, 202, 210,  
211  
African-American Members of  
Congress, experiences, 3, 22–24,  
43n, 86, 88, 100, 116, 128, 200  
geographic distinctions, 22–24, 155  
legacy of, 385, 743
- Smalls, Robert, 10, 25–26, 32, 91, 99n,  
138–45, 151n, 185n, 220  
committee assignments, 32  
early background, 25, 144n, 145n  
elections, 30, 157–59, 161, 216  
legislative interests, 41–42  
political influence, 216  
South Carolina constitutional  
convention, 158–59, 223  
*see also*, South Carolina.
- Smith, Al, 182, 183
- Smith, Howard, 251, 251, 254
- Smith, Robert C., 394, 410–11n
- Smith Act, 506
- Smith v. Allwright*. *See*, Supreme Court,  
United States.
- Social Darwinism, 172. *See also*,  
Imperialism; White supremacy.
- South Africa, apartheid policy, 239,  
263, 313, 314, 348, 386–90, 418–19,  
426–27, 433, 441, 444n, 461, 482,  
486, 491, 508, 514, 515, 542, 548,  
552, 554, 570, 574, 729, 740
- Anti-Apartheid Act of 1985, 389–90
- Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act of  
1986 (CAAA), 390, 418–19, 441  
constructive engagement policy, 389  
*see also*, Congressional Black Caucus  
(CBC).
- South Carolina, 26–27  
black representation, 62–67, 72–77,  
78–83, 94–99, 106–109, 138–45,  
214–19, 220–27, 684–85  
disfranchisement, 157–59, 220, 224  
Hamburg massacre, 65–66  
Red Shirt militias, 29, 64, 97, 140,  
141, 231, 233n  
Scottsboro Nine, 281  
State constitutional conventions, 62,  
78, 88, 94, 106, 110, 128, 138,  
146, 158–59, 217, 223, 226n. *See also*,  
Disfranchisement,  
*see also*, Black Codes; White  
supremacy; Appendix C: Black-  
American Representatives and  
Senators by State and Territory.
- South Carolina Leader*. *See*, *Missionary  
Record*; Newspapers, African-  
American.
- Southern Christian Leadership  
Conference (SCLC), 252, 371, 383,  
438, 458, 461, 548
- Southern conservatives, influence of,  
172–73, 178, 180–82, 249, 250,  
251–52, 253
- Southern Manifesto. *See*, Declaration of  
Constitutional Principles.
- Southern Rural Development  
Commission, 608
- Southwick, George, 231
- Spanish–American War, 103, 163,  
164, 230. *See also*, Military Service,  
African-American Members.
- Speaks, Sara, 302
- Speer, Thomas Jefferson, 68
- Stark, Fortney (Pete), 376
- Stanton, Edwin, 21
- State constitutional conventions. *See*,  
Disfranchisement.
- Steingut, Stanley, 340. *See also*, Machine  
politics.
- Stenholm, Charles, 491
- Stephens, Alexander, 36, 81
- Stevens, Thaddeus, 20, 22
- Stevenson, Adlai, 253, 304
- Stewart, Bennett McVey, 266n,  
502–505, 526
- Stewart, William, 165
- Stimson, Henry L., 237
- Stockdale, Thomas, 103
- Stokes, Carl, 265n, 356
- Stokes, Louis, 5, 6, 11, 238, 263, 313,  
342, 348, 354–61, 365, 370, 374, 375,  
378, 396, 419, 427, 448, 709  
committee assignments, 266n, 377,  
378, 402n, 403n, 404n, 411n  
Congressional Black Caucus (CBC),  
and, 6, 376, 378, 402n  
early background, 237  
elections, 257, 352n  
legislative interests, 407n  
legislative style, 374, 378, 403n  
political influence, 377  
pre-congressional political experience,  
238, 265n  
*see also*, Ohio, black representation.
- Stone, Chuck, 248
- Storey, Moorefield, 173
- Storm, John, 37
- Straker, Daniel Augustus, 78
- Student Bill of Rights Act, 695
- Student Nonviolent Coordinating  
Committee (SNCC), 257, 371–72,  
714, 722, 730, 736. *See also*, Lewis,  
John R.
- Student Right to Know Act, 739
- Sub-Saharan Africa humanitarian aid,  
701, 711, 729, 743. *See also*, Africa,  
foreign policy.
- Sudan, 499, 701, 712, 727, 741
- Sumner, Charles, 20, 26, 31, 35, 54, 64,  
78, 81, 108, 128, 164, 169, 208
- Sumners, Hatton W., 178, 178, 181,  
192n, 244
- Supreme Court, United States, 41–42,  
171, 250, 253, 264, 268n  
*Adarand Constructors, Inc. v. Peña*, 587  
*Baker v. Carr*, 250  
*Brown v. Board of Education*, 247, 250,  
252, 312  
*Civil Rights Cases*, 41  
*Dennis v. United States*, 506  
*Giles v. Harris*, 171  
*Langston v. United States*, 208  
*Miller v. Johnson*, 398  
*Mills v. Green*, 223  
*Mitchell v. United States et al.*, 289  
*Plessy v. Ferguson*, 171  
Powell exclusion, 305  
*Reynolds v. Sims*, 250  
*Shaw v. Reno*, 397–98  
*Slaughterhouse Cases*, 41  
*Smith v. Allwright*, 250  
*Terry v. Ohio*, 356  
*United States v. Cruikshank*, 41  
*United States v. Harris*, 41  
*United States v. Reese*, 41  
*Wesberry v. Sanders*, 250  
*Williams v. Mississippi*, 171, 223
- Surrogate representation, 1–2, 27–28,  
42, 45n, 162, 187n, 391. *See also*,  
African-American Members  
of Congress, characteristics;  
Congressional Black Caucus (CBC).
- Swain, Carol, 10, 170, 376
- T**
- Talent, Jim, 641
- Tammany Hall, 302, 304. *See also*,  
Machine politics.
- Tarver, Malcolm C., 246
- Tax Reform Act of 1986, 349
- Telecommunications Development  
Fund, 739
- Temporary Assistance for Needy  
Families program, 743
- Tennessee, black representation,  
472–77, 654–59. *See*, Appendix C:  
Black-American Representatives and  
Senators by State and Territory.
- Tennessee Negro Suffrage Convention,  
110
- Tenure of Office Act, 21
- Terrell, Mary Church, 173, 194n
- Terrorism Threat to Public  
Transportation Assessment Act, 648
- Terry v. Ohio*. *See*, Supreme Court, United  
States.
- Texas, black representation, 452–57,  
496–501, 574–79, 696–97, 702–703,  
706–707. *See*, Appendix C: Black-  
American Representatives and  
Senators by State and Territory.
- Thirteenth Amendment, 21, 35
- Thomas, Charles R., 128
- Thomas, Clarence, 584, 586, 622
- Thompson, Bennie, 736–37
- Thompson, Charles P., 36
- Thompson, Fletcher, 460
- Thompson, Henry, 142
- Thompson, William C., 340
- Thompson, William Hale (Big Bill),  
241, 267n, 278, 280. *See also*,  
Machine Politics.
- Thorne, Edward Alston, 203
- Thurman, Allen, 57
- Thurmond, Strom, 249, 249, 253, 271n,  
335, 356
- Till, Emmett, 252–53, 253, 312, 518.  
*See also*, Lynching.
- Tillman, Benjamin, 158, 158–59, 161,  
181, 220, 222, 223, 231. *See also*,  
White supremacy; South Carolina.
- Tillman, George D., 140–41
- Tilson, John Q., 193n
- Tinkham, George Holden, 170, 179,  
179–80, 193n
- To Secure These Rights*, 249
- Towne, Laura, 141
- Towns, Edolphus, 738–39
- TransAfrica lobbying group. *See*,  
Congressional Black Caucus (CBC).
- Transform America Transaction Fee, 695
- Transportation Equity Act, 648
- Truman, Bess, 303
- Truman, Harry S., 249, 249, 303
- Trumbull, Lyman, 35
- Tucker, C. Delores, 592
- Tucker, Henry, 222
- Tucker, Walter R., III, 515, 630–33, 646
- Tulsa race riot. *See*, Race riots.
- Turner, Benjamin Sterling, 31, 33, 34,  
84–87, 112, 122, 124
- Turner, Frederick Jackson, 157
- U**
- Un-American Activities Committee  
(HUAC), 247, 269n, 506, 546
- Underwood, Oscar, 169, 179
- Unemployment, 327, 381
- United Negro College Fund, 492
- United States v. Cruikshank*. *See*, Supreme  
Court, United States.
- United States v. Harris*. *See*, Supreme  
Court, United States.
- United States v. Reese*. *See*, Supreme Court,  
United States.
- Universal Health Care Act, 469
- Universal Military Training Act, 295–96
- Universal Negro Improvement  
Association, 176
- Urban Asthma Reduction Act, 731
- Urban Mass Transportation Assistance  
Act, 460
- Urban policy plan initiative, 474
- USA PATRIOT Act, 656, 745
- V**
- Van Hollen, Chris, 666
- Vardaman, James Kimble, 180, 181. *See also*,  
White supremacy.

- Vega, Luz, 343
- Venable, Edward, 208
- Vietnam War, 248, 258, 295, 320, 327, 335, 336–37, 340, 342, 378, 392, 392, 416, 418, 432
- Villard, Oswald Garrison, 173
- Violence Against Women Act, 687, 721
- Violent Crime Control and Law Enforcement Act, 542
- Virginia, black representation, 206–13, 734–35. *See*, Appendix C: Black-American Representatives and Senators by State and Territory.
- Virgin Islands, 406n  
black representation, 484–87, 634–37, 678–79. *See*, Appendix C: Black-American Representatives and Senators by State and Territory.
- Volpe, John, 334
- Volunteers in Service to America (VISTA), 537
- Voter registration drives. *See*, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP).
- Voting rights. *See*, Civil Rights Acts; Civil rights movement; Disfranchisement; Elections; National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP); Voting Rights Acts.
- Voting Rights Act of 1965, 256–57, 257, 320, 335, 368, 379  
effect on congressional districts, 257, 264, 396, 558
- Voting Rights Act of 1975, 335, 379, 455, 461–62
- Voting Rights Act of 1982, 379, 380–81, 396
- W**
- Waddell, Alfred, 186–87n
- Waldon, Alton R., Jr., 405n, 552–55, 562, 564
- Walls, Josiah Thomas, 25, 25, 27, 30, 31, 33, 33, 39, 45n, 88–93
- Warren, Lindsay C., 281
- Washington, Booker T., 169, 228, 262, 286, 289
- Washington, Craig Anthony, 499, 571, 574–79
- Washington, Harold, 372, 504, 520, 524–29, 546, 622, 626, 693, 730
- Watergate scandal, 336, 433, 452, 454, 455, 474, 632
- Waters, Maxine, 393, 740–41
- Watson, Diane Edith, 742–43
- Watt, Melvin, L., 598, 744–45
- Watts, Julius Caesar, Jr. (J. C.), 379, 379, 384–85, 638–45
- Watts (CA) race riots. *See*, Race riots.
- Welfare policy, 242, 281, 328, 337, 358, 364, 384, 472, 474, 475, 546, 559, 565, 571, 584, 587, 620, 636, 638, 640
- Wells, G. Wiley, 118
- Wells-Barnett, Ida, 166, 173
- Wesberry v. Sanders*. *See*, Supreme Court, United States.
- West Point, U.S. Military Academy, 57–58, 60n, 118, 210
- Wheat, Alan Dupree, 397, 540–45
- Whip, 181, 378–79, 379, 390, 405n, 468, 492, 582, 590, 592, 640, 642, 648, 666
- White, George Henry, 1, 6, 10, 152, 154, 160, 169, 172, 174–75, 191n, 195, 228–33, 234  
committee assignments, 187n  
early background, 155  
legislative interests, 162–64, 166–68  
legislative style, 161  
Cheatham, Henry, and, 161–62, 203, 204  
Whitesboro (NJ), 232  
*see also*, North Carolina, black representation.
- White, Walter, 172, 176, 188n, 245, 247
- Whitehead, Thomas, 37
- White League, 29–30, 102. *See also*, Ku Klux Klan.
- White supremacy, 29, 44n, 158–59, 180–81, 246–47, 335. *See also*, Discrimination; Mississippi; Segregation; Social Darwinism.
- Whittaker, Johnson C., 118
- Whittemore, Benjamin F., 62
- Wilder, L. Douglas, 395
- Williams, George H., 113
- Williams, Jeremiah, 113
- Williams, Juan, 395
- Williams v. Mississippi*. *See*, Supreme Court, United States.
- Willis, Frances, 244
- Wilmington (NC) race riot. *See*, Race riots.
- Wilson, Henry, 18
- Wilson, Woodrow, 172, 173, 182, 190n
- Wisconsin, black representation, 720–21. *See*, Appendix C: Black-American Representatives and Senators by State and Territory.
- Women Representatives, 239, 246, 264, 265n. *See also*, African-American Members of Congress, characteristics.
- Wood, Robert, 100
- Woodard, Frederick A., 148, 161–62, 203, 230
- Woodward, C. Vann, 10, 154, 185n
- World War I, 173, 173–74, 191n.  
*See also*, Military service, African-American Members of Congress.
- World War II, 237, 244, 244–46  
employment discrimination, 245–46, 259  
Executive Order 8802, 245–46  
NAACP “Double V” campaign, 245  
women, military participation, 244  
*see also*, Discrimination; Fair Employment Practices Committee (FEPC); Military service, African-American Members of Congress; Segregation.
- Wright, Jim, 396, 474, 478, 480, 558
- Wright, Samuel D., 343, 536
- Wynn, Albert R., 746–47
- Y**
- Young, Andrew Jackson, Jr., 5, 6, 6, 10, 264, 264, 371, 375, 408n, 448, 452,

- 458–65, 490, 715, 732  
committee assignments, 404–405n, 448  
legislative interests, 380, 388, 402n, 408n  
pre-congressional political experience, 371, 438  
*see also*, Georgia, black representation.
- Youth Employment Services Act, 570

**Z**  
Zabrosky, Alex, 362