

Notes

CHAPTER 1.

1. The [Dillingham] Immigration Commission, pp. 37-38, 322; Kennedy, p. 43.
2. Gottlieb, p. 5.
3. Hill, "Black Labor and Affirmative Action," p. 217; Trotter, p. 60.
4. Wilson's victory was mainly attributable to a split in the Republican vote. The split resulted when the incumbent Republican president, William Howard Taft, sought re-election and the former Republican president, Theodore Roosevelt, ran as an independent on the Bull-Moose ticket.
5. Ballew, pp. 16-24; Scheiber and Scheiber, p. 111; Clements, pp. 45-46.
6. Ballew, pp. 11-15, 30; Clements, pp. 45, 160.
7. Among these positions were the Assistant Attorney General, the Register of the Treasury, and the Recorder of Deeds for Washington, D.C. In addition, numerous black postmasters were also replaced with whites.
8. Ballew, pp. 24-31, 52-53, 86; Scheiber and Scheiber, pp. 111-114; Franklin and Moss, p. 384; Patler, pp. 11, 55.
9. Patler, pp. 11, 15; King, pp. 40-46.
10. Ballew, pp. 24-31, 86; Scheiber and Scheiber, pp. 111-114.
11. King, pp. 48-49.
12. Patler, pp. 17-20, 56; Ballew, p. 26; Scheiber and Scheiber, pp. 112-113; Clements, p. 45.
13. Clements, pp. 46, 60; Scheiber and Scheiber, p. 113; Finch, p. 254.
14. Finch, p. 35.

15. Patler, pp. 62-67.
16. Ballew, pp. 27-28, 44-46, 61-63; Patler, pp. 133-142, 196-199.
17. Ballew, pp. 63-67; Patler, pp. 175-183; Booker.
18. Robert Zieger, *America's Great War*, p. 129.
19. Ellis, p. 228.
20. Scheiber and Scheiber, pp. 114-117.
21. Finch, pp. 40-41.
22. Scott, *Scott's Official History*, pp. 173-283.
23. Scheiber and Scheiber, pp. 118-124.
24. Ellis, p. 54; Scott, *Scott's Official History*, pp. 40-45, 51-65; Zieger, *America's Great War*, p. 131; Scheiber and Scheiber, pp. 124-126.
25. Scheiber and Scheiber, pp. 131-132; Robert Zieger, "African Americans and the Great War Decade"; Zieger, *America's Great War*, pp. 132-135.
26. William B. Wilson served as the first Secretary of the Department of Labor from 1913 to 1921. With WWI, he put the Department of Labor on the map. Many of the current Departmental activities trace back to that period, including employment services, employment of women, fair employment for minorities, and labor management relations. The Department helped in winning the war by mobilizing an effective workforce for defense production.
27. Zieger, *America's Great War*, pp. 54-65; Wilhelm, p. 180; Guzda, "Social Experiment," pp. 9-10; Chicago NAACP to Sec. Wilson, Sept. 12, 1913, [folder number] 16/150, RG 174; New York City Republican Club to Sec. Wilson, Dec. 30, 1913, 16/150, RG 174.
28. This USES is not to be confused with the body of the same name created by the Wagner-Peyser Act of 1933.

29. DOL Circular No. 5, Jan. 22, 1915, 16/119, RG 174; Breen, *Labor Market Politics*, pp. 10-11.
30. *Annual Report of the Chief of the Division of Information* [1915], pp. 7-14.
31. *Ibid.*; Breen, *Labor Market Politics*, p. 11.
32. Lombardi, p. 263; Emmett J. Scott, *Negro Migration*, p. 53; *Annual Reports* [1917], DOL, p. 79; Johnson, p. 22.
33. A spectacular boom in cotton prices had encouraged farmers to greatly increase the acreage devoted to this crop. However, cotton growing and harvesting was very labor intensive, which meant that the demand for labor was expanding just as the supply was decreasing due to the migration.
34. Hahamovitch, p. 83; *Annual Reports* [1917], DOL, pp. 79-80; Lombardi, p. 263; Charles Johnson, p. 22; Scott, *Negro Migration*, p. 78.
35. There was ample precedent for such a report on black conditions and life. When its predecessor agency, the U.S. Bureau of Labor, was created by act of Congress in 1884, Carroll D. Wright, the first Commissioner of the Bureau, sought permission from the President to conduct a study of the economic and social conditions of black Americans. Permission was not granted at that time, but Wright revived the idea a few years later and the Bureau commissioned and published a series of nine studies of the living conditions of blacks in various areas, mostly in the South. The principal author was W.E.B. DuBois, later a founder of the NAACP. See Guzda, "Social Experiment," p. 9; Grossman, "Black Studies," pp. 17-26.
36. Guzda, "Social Experiment," p. 11.
37. *Negro Migration in 1916-17*, p. 7; *Annual Reports* [1917], DOL, p. 80; Guzda, "Social Experiment," p. 13.
38. *Negro Migration in 1916-17*, pp. 9-15.
39. *Ibid.*
40. Zieger, "African Americans and the Great War Decade."

41. Louis Post Statement, April 4, 1919; J.S. Cullinen to Sec. Wilson, June 26, 1917; Cong. John T. Watkins to Sec. Wilson, July 14, 1917; Sec. Wilson to Cong. Watkins, July 17, 1917, all found in 8/102, RG 174.
42. Breen, *Labor Market Politics*, p. 127.
43. Zieger, "African Americans and the Great War Decade."
44. Guzda, "Social Experiment," pp. 16-17; Breen, *Labor Market Politics*, pp. 127-128.
45. Petition from Giles Jackson, undated [c. June 1917]; Giles Jackson to Hugh Kerwin, Jan. 14, 1918; Samuel Gompers to Sec. Wilson, Jan. 23, 1918, all three found in 8/102A, RG 174; John A. Ross to Sec. Wilson, July 18, 1917, 16/38, RG 174.
46. Scott, *Negro Migration*, pp. 143-150; N. Weiss, pp. 133-134.
47. R. Moton et al. to Sec. Wilson, Feb. 12, 1918; Louis Post to Sec. Wilson, Feb. 15, 1918, both found in 8/102A, RG 174.
48. Louis Post to Sec. Wilson, Feb. 15, 1918, 8/102A, RG 174; PL 426-62, March 4, 1913.
49. Advisory Council to Sec. Wilson, Feb. 27, 1918; DOL Press Release, April 1918, 8/102A; Louis Post Statement, April 4, 1919, all three found in 8/102, RG 174.
50. *The Negro at Work*, p. 12; DOL Press Release, April 1918, 8/102A, RG 174.
51. Guzda, "Social Experiment," pp. 17-18; N. Weiss, pp. 30-33, 133-134; DOL Press Release, April 1918, 8/102A, RG 174.
52. Guzda, "Labor Department's First Program," p. 40.
53. Breen, *Labor Market Politics*, p. 128; *Annual Report of the Director General* [1918], p. 28.
54. *Annual Report of the Director General* [1918], p. 28.
55. Haynes to Wilson, Jan. 10, 1919, 20/40A, RG 174; *The Negro at Work*, p. 12.

56. Memo to Dir. General [USES], April 10, 1918, 8/102, RG 174.
57. Haynes to Sec. Wilson, May 7, 1918, 8/102, RG 174.
58. Ibid.
59. In this memo, Director Haynes stated his belief that such collegial joint undertakings “is fundamental.”
60. Haynes to Sec. Wilson, May 7, 1918, 8/102, RG 174.
61. Ibid.; Post to Sec. Wilson, May 10, 1918, 8/102, RG 174; Louis Post Statement, April 4, 1919, 8/102, RG 174; *The Negro at Work*, pp. 12-13.
62. Report on DNE, Jan. 10, 1919, 20/40A, RG 174; “Matters of Record,” undated (c. Jan. 1919), DNE, RG 174; *The Negro at Work*, pp. 20-21.
63. Report on DNE, Jan. 10, 1919, 20/40A, RG 174; *The Negro at Work*, p. 22.
64. Ltr. to Sec. Wilson, April 12, 1919, 8/102A, RG 174; “Matters of Record.”
65. *The Negro at Work*, pp. 19-20; Memo from Haynes to Post, May 28, 1918, 8/102A, RG 174; Report on DNE, Jan. 10, 1919, 20/40A, RG 174.
66. *The Negro at Work*, pp. 13-14; Report on DNE, Jan. 10, 1919, 20/40A, RG 174; “Matters of Record.”
67. “Matters of Record”; *The Negro at Work*, pp. 13-14, 97-98.
68. *The Negro at Work*, p. 107.
69. The last point was a key concern because whites feared that the arrival of black workers meant employers would use them as strike-breakers.
70. *The Negro at Work*, pp. 106-107.
71. Ibid., pp. 68-69.
72. Ibid., pp. 14-15, 19, 105-108.

73. Ibid., pp. 22, 65-71, 100, 106-107; George L. Boyle to Sec. Wilson, April 12, 1919, 8/102A, RG 174.
74. "Matters of Record."
75. *The Negro at Work*, pp. 111-114.
76. "Summary of Report on Forrester B. Washington," George Haynes, July 30, 1918, 8/102A, RG 174.
77. *The Negro at Work*, pp. 77-81.
78. The first such black business enterprise in the state was set up by a Butcher Workmen's local union in Chicago.
79. *The Negro at Work*, pp. 73-76, 90-91, 95-96, 116-118.
80. *The Negro at Work*, pp. 17-18, 137-138.
81. Post memo, Aug. 13, 1918, 8/102A, RG 174.
82. *The Negro at Work*, pp. 22-25.
83. Draft of speech, Haynes, undated (c. early 1919), DNE, RG 174.
84. The Division of Negro Economics found that in Chicago a shocking 99 percent of all black veterans were unemployed.
85. "Function and Work of the Division of Negro Economics," personal memo, George Haynes, March 15, 1919, DNE, RG 174; Ellis, pp. 224-225.
86. *The Negro at Work*, pp. 15-17, 92.
87. "Antagonisms Meet [sic] With," undated typescript (c. April 1919), 8/102A, RG 174; Guzda, "Social Experiment," pp. 29-30.
88. Haynes to Sec. Wilson, July 8, 1919, 8/102C, RG 174.
89. *The Negro at Work*, pp. 26-31.

90. *The Negro at Work*, pp. 111-114; Charles Haase to Sec. Wilson, March 5, 1919, 8/102A, RG 174.
91. Zieger, *America's Great War*, pp. 206-207; Finch, pp. 54-55.
92. *Annual Reports* [1920], DOL (Washington, D.C.: GPO, 1920), p. 41; Guzda, "Labor Department's First Program," p. 43; Guzda, "Social Experiment," pp. 33-36.
93. *The Negro at Work*, pp. 135-136.
94. Because there was always a significant amount of return migration every year, the gross annual migration out of the South was much larger than 34,000.
95. Haynes, p. 65; Finch, p. 75; Kusmer.
96. Guzda, "Social Experiment," p. 36; Ellis, p. 232.
97. William Monroe Trotter, the NAACP, and others pressed Presidents Harding and Coolidge to eliminate Jim Crow practices in the government. Harding had promised during his election campaign in 1920 to banish it through an executive order. In 1926, Coolidge made a similar promise. Neither President, however, followed up, despite continual pressure from the black and white presses.
98. King, p. 49; Patler, pp. 206-207; Ritchie.

CHAPTER 2.

1. Communication with Ray Marshall, Feb. 2008.
2. Cole, Jr., p. 11; Franklin and Moss, pp. 94, 383-384.
3. Sitkoff, *A New Deal for Blacks*, pp. 39-42, 84-88; Franklin and Moss, p. 387.
4. Watkins, pp. 288-289.
5. Clarke, pp. 20-22.
6. Thereby she made history as the first female Cabinet member in U.S. history.

7. Guzda, "Frances Perkins' Interest," p. 336.
8. Macmahon, Millett, and Ogden, pp. 189-190; Clarke, pp. 140-142.
9. Zangrando and Zangrando, pp. 91-92.
10. "Industrial and Labor Conditions," *Monthly Labor Review*, July 1933, pp. 42-44.
11. Sitkoff, *A New Deal for Blacks*, pp. 42-45.
12. Blumberg, p. 29.
13. Blumberg, pp. 29-31; Franklin and Moss, p. 398; Watkins, p. 644; Macmahon, Millett, and Ogden, pp. 17-18, 190; Sitkoff, *A New Deal for Blacks*, pp. 36-38; Hahamovitch, pp. 138-139.
14. Freidel, pp. 312-319.
15. "Negro Workers under the NRA," Joint Committee on National Recovery, 1933-1935, undated (1934?), USES/Oxley, RG 183; Sitkoff, *A New Deal for Blacks*, pp. 54-55, 104; Freidel, pp. 320-321; Franklin and Moss, p. 395.
16. Macmahon, Millett, and Ogden, p. 17; Ickes, pp. 1-5; Clarke, p. 145.
17. Ickes, pp. 30-33, 199.
18. *Ibid.*, pp. 33-34.
19. Franklin and Moss, p. 398; Sitkoff, *A New Deal for Blacks*, pp. 66-68; Clarke, p. 96; Moreno, pp. 55-65.
20. Ickes, pp. 77-78, 207; Clarke, p. 45.
21. According to the Fair Labor Standards Act of 1938, scrip, tokens, credit cards, "dope checks," coupons, and similar devices are not proper mediums of payment.
22. Clarke, p. 98; Watkins, p. 647.

23. Walker, p. 23.
24. Macmahon, Millett, and Ogden, p. 18; Watkins, p. 391; Walker, p. 50.
25. Blumberg, pp. 33-34; Walker, pp. 82-88.
26. Walker, pp. 66-81, 104-130.
27. Freidel, p. 323; Walker, pp. 79, 147, 155-156, 161.
28. Cole Jr., pp. 9-10; Watkins, pp. 338-339.
29. Watkins, pp. 339-340; Cole Jr., p. 10.
30. Sterner, pp. 255-259, 269; Cole Jr., p. 14; Sitkoff, *A New Deal for Blacks*, p. 74.
31. Sitkoff, *A New Deal for Blacks*, p. 51; Cole Jr., pp. 14, 16.
32. Sterner, p. 255; Watkins, p. 641; Telegram copy/Confidential, from Frances Perkins, May 20, 1933, CCC, RG 174.
33. Perkins to Persons, July 29, 1935, Employment-Labor Policies, RG 174.
34. Cole Jr., pp. 18-26, 55-56; Guzda, "Frances Perkins' Interest," p. 34; Watkins, pp. 641-642.
35. Watkins, p. 642; Cole Jr., pp. 16-17.
36. Cole Jr., pp. 46-48; Watkins, pp. 642-643.
37. Franklin and Moss, p. 397; Cole Jr., pp. 50-52, 61-62.
38. Clarke, pp. 40, 43-45; Finch, pp. 84-86.
39. Watkins, pp. 644, 648; Sitkoff, *A New Deal for Blacks*, p. 66; Clarke, p. 45.
40. Watkins, p. 645.
41. Sitkoff, *A New Deal for Blacks*, pp. 77-78; Watkins, pp. 644-646; Clarke, pp. 43-45.

42. Sitkoff, *A New Deal for Blacks*, pp. 76-78; Franklin and Moss, pp. 392-394.
43. Moreno, p. 56; Sitkoff, *A New Deal for Blacks*, p. 78; Watkins, p. 646.
44. Perkins to Edward McGrady, Feb. 11, 1935, Admin/McGrady, RG 174; Isador Lubin to Harold Ickes, March 27, 1935, Interior Dept., RG 174.
45. Oxley to Isador Lubin, Weekly Progress Reports, June 1935 to June 1937, USES/Oxley Misc. Records, RG 183.
46. Guzda, "Frances Perkins' Interest," pp. 32-33; Oxley to Isador Lubin, Weekly Progress Reports, June 1935 to June 1937, USES/Oxley Misc. Records, RG 183; *Annual Reports* [1939], DOL, p. 28; Oxley to Sec. Perkins, May 22, 1939, USES, RG 174; Oxley to Governor of Alabama, Sept. 4, 1934, Oxley file, RG 183; Clipping (unidentified Winston-Salem, NC, newspaper), May 7, 1939, DOL Historical Office.
47. Sitkoff, *A New Deal for Blacks*, pp. 88-89; Franklin and Moss, p. 388.
48. Hahamovitch, p. 155.
49. Macmahon, Millett, and Ogden, p. 1; Sitkoff, *A New Deal for Blacks*, pp. 55-59; Freidel, pp. 329-330; Olson, p. 444.
50. McCarthy, p. 219.
51. Olson, pp. 427-429; Sitkoff, *A New Deal for Blacks*, pp. 59-60; Wandersee, pp. 63-64; Franklin and Moss, p. 389; Zangrando and Zangrando, pp. 92-93; Hareven, pp. 54, 210.
52. Olson, p. 147.
53. Watkins, pp. 392-395; Macmahon, Millett, and Ogden, p. 75; Blumberg, pp. 45-46.
54. Olson, pp. 548-549; Freidel, pp. 332-333; Macmahon, Millett, and Ogden, pp. 1-6; Blumberg, pp. 96, 291-292.

55. Macmahon, Millett, and Ogden, pp. 3-6, 253-258; Olson, p. 170; Blumberg, p. 216.
56. The WPA was one of more than 20 New Deal laws that banned discrimination on account of race or religion.
57. Macmahon, Millett, and Ogden, p. 101; Sitkoff, *A New Deal for Blacks*, p. 69.
58. Howard, p. 286. A similar situation arose during the Kennedy Administration. See Chapter 9.
59. Macmahon, Millett, and Ogden, pp. 148-155.
60. Sitkoff, *A New Deal for Blacks*, p. 71; Blumberg, pp. 153-155, 166-168.
61. Blumberg, pp. 186-198, 205, 212-213; Sitkoff, *A New Deal for Blacks*, pp. 207-208, 212; Howard, pp. 294-295.
62. Macmahon, Millett, and Ogden, p. 193; Watkins, pp. 643-644; Sterner, p. 253; Howard, pp. 286-287, 294.
63. There is anecdotal evidence that WPA jobs may have contributed to migration northward as workers in the South used WPA earnings to leave the area and take their families with them. In March 2000, the author received a telephone query on an unrelated topic from a journalist named Holsendolph (not the well-known Ernest Holsendolph but possibly his son). In the course of the conversation, Mr. Holsendolph described how his father migrated in just such a manner.
64. Franklin and Moss, p. 398; Howard, pp. 288-290; Sitkoff, *A New Deal for Blacks*, p. 70.
65. Blumberg, pp. 298-299; Howard, pp. 290-291; Sterner, pp. 239-243.
66. Sterner, pp. 243-246.
67. *Ibid.*, pp. 246-251.
68. Howard, pp. 291-292.
69. Macmahon, Millett, and Ogden, pp. 165-166.

70. Some funding was restored in 1938 after the economy had faltered again, after seeming to climb out of the Depression.
71. Blumberg, pp. 87-88, 221-278; Olson, pp. 448-450.
72. Macmahon, Millett, and Ogden, pp. 85-86; Olson, pp. 367; Wandersee, pp. 66-68.
73. Macmahon, Millett, and Ogden, pp. 85-86.
74. Branch, *Pillar of Fire*, p. 188; Franklin and Moss, p. 397.
75. Sitkoff, *A New Deal for Blacks*, p. 73; Wandersee, pp. 68-69; Hareven, p. 208.
76. In tribute to Bethune's legacy, in 1974, on the 99th anniversary of her birth, a statue of her holding a cane that FDR had given her was erected in Lincoln Park in Washington, D.C. It was the first public statue of an African American woman in the Nation's Capital. Source: <http://www.kittytours.org/thatman2/index.html>, accessed Feb. 22, 2005.
77. Olson, pp. 47-48; Sitkoff, *A New Deal for Blacks*, pp. 80-81; Watkins, p. 639.
78. Dorothy Height addressing Black Leadership Conference, Washington, D.C., C-SPAN, March 28, 2005.
79. Watkins, p. 640; Sitkoff, *A New Deal for Blacks*, p. 73; Sterner, pp. 261-262, 270; "The Tenth Youth"; Kryder, p. 28.
80. Sterner, pp. 262-270; Sitkoff, *A New Deal for Blacks*, p. 73.
81. Sitkoff, *A New Deal for Blacks*, p. 79; Franklin and Moss, p. 391; Olson, p. 51.
82. Watkins, pp. 646-647; Sitkoff, *A New Deal for Blacks*, p. 79; Kryder, pp. 27-28.
83. Olson, p. 51; Franklin and Moss, p. 394; Sitkoff, *A New Deal for Blacks*, p. 79.
84. Olson, p. 48; "Two Years with the Joint Committee on National Recovery, 1933-1935," Nov. 1935, USES/Oxley, RG 183; "Second National Conference on the Problems of the Negro and Negro Youth" [Proceedings], Jan. 1939, USES/Oxley, RG 183; Sitkoff, *A New Deal for Blacks*, pp. 81-83; "The Negro in Industry:

National Conference on Problems of the Negro and Negro Youth,” *Monthly Labor Review*, Feb. 1937, pp. 345-348.

85. Hahamovitch, p. 151; Sitkoff, *A New Deal for Blacks*, pp. 169-189; Franklin and Moss, pp. 401-404; Olson, pp. 404-405; Kurian, pp. 414-415; Zieger, “Black and White,” p. 5.
86. Witte, pp. 143-145.
87. “Second National Conference on the Problems of the Negro and Negro Youth” [Proceedings], Jan. 1939, USES/Oxley, RG 183, pp. 36-37.
88. Grossman, “Fair Labor Standards,” pp. 22-30.
89. Moreno, pp. 41-52; Sitkoff, *A New Deal for Blacks*, pp. 216-243.
90. Berman, pp. 5-6.

CHAPTER 3.

1. Kersten, p. 11; Anderson, 242-243; Dalfume, pp. 44-81, 106; Sitkoff, *A New Deal for Blacks*, 300; Franklin and Moss, pp. 434-436; Fairchild and Grossman, p. 156.
2. Dalfume, pp. 106-114; Reed, p. 11; Anderson, p. 243; Sitkoff, *A New Deal for Blacks*, p. 300; Zangrando and Zangrando, p. 96; Ruchames, pp. 13-14; Fairchild and Grossman, p. 156.
3. Hastie had been dean of the Howard University Law School and was the first African American to be appointed a federal judge. See Fairchild and Grossman, pp. 156-157.
4. Kryder, pp. 25, 39; Sitkoff, *A New Deal for Blacks*, pp. 308-309.
5. Kersten, pp. 12-13; Kryder, pp. 38-39; Fairchild and Grossman, p. 94.
6. Franklin and Moss, p. 436; Reed, p. 13; Sitkoff, *A New Deal for Blacks*, pp. 308-309; Ruchames, pp. 11, 15-16; Kryder, pp. 39-41, 57; Fairchild and Grossman, p. 94.

7. Ruchames, p. 16; Sitkoff, *A New Deal for Blacks*, pp. 310-311.
8. Anderson, pp. 244-251; Franklin and Moss, p. 436; Reed, p. 13; Dalfume, pp. 115-118.
9. Anderson, pp. 251-259; Sitkoff, *A New Deal for Blacks*, pp. 320-321; Ruchames, pp. 17-21; Dalfume, pp. 13-15; Kryder, pp. 58-66; Fairchild and Grossman, p. 158.
10. Sitkoff, *A New Deal for Blacks*, p. 322; Reed, p. 1.
11. Moreno, pp. 66-73.
12. Reed, pp. 21-22.
13. Ibid., pp. 22, 83.
14. Kersten, p. 19; Reed, p. 28.
15. Kersten, pp. 19-36; Reed, p. 44; Ross, p. 21.
16. Ruchames, pp. 22-59; Kersten, p. 32; Reed, p. 51.
17. Reed, pp. 69-88; Kryder, p. 95; Kersten, p. 40.
18. Reed, pp. 101-102; Kersten, pp. 40-41.
19. Ruchames, pp. 22-59; Reed, pp. 92-112; M. Ross, pp. 21-22.
20. Reed, pp. 109-112; M. Ross, p. 22.
21. *FEPC: How it Operates*, pp. 3-4; Morgan, pp. 38-40; R. Weiss, pp. 37-38; Ruchames, pp. 22-59.
22. Ruchames, p. 66; Kersten, pp. 43-44.
23. Kryder, p. 97.
24. Ruchames, p. 151.
25. Ibid., pp. 137-145; *FEPC: How it Operates*, pp. 5-10; Kersten, p. 111.

26. The cooperative, educational approach of the Second FEPC anticipated the predominant direction of post-war federal efforts to promote equal opportunity for African Americans (see Chapters 4-8). The racially proportionalistic emphasis of New Deal agencies such as the PWA, NYA, CCC, and WPA largely faded away with the wartime demise of these programs. The FEPC's approach was tactical, not philosophical. It was a practical response to the limited powers granted it by E.O.s 8802 and 9346. However, its policies received an intellectual underpinning in 1944 with the publication of Gunnar Myrdal's monumental and influential study of prejudice and race relations in the United States—*An American Dilemma*. Myrdal, a distinguished Swedish sociologist, defined discrimination, not primarily as an economic or social problem, but as a personal, moral problem. In his Introduction, Myrdal wrote: "*The American Negro problem is a problem in the heart of the American. It is there that the interracial tension has its focus. It is there that the decisive struggle goes on.*" (Myrdal, p. xliii, original emphasis.) Into the 1960s, Myrdal's ideas and rhetoric reinforced a non-coercive approach to equal opportunity in the workplace and the society that was widely accepted by public officials. (See Sugrue, pp. 145-173.)
27. Kersten, p. 45; Reed, p. 156.
28. Ruchames, pp. 145-149; Reed, p. 6.
29. Boris and Honey, p. 30; Kryder, pp. 39, 111-112.
30. King, p. 182; Kryder, p. 112; Ruchames, pp. 148-149; Reed, p. 6; Fairchild and Grossman, p. 159.
31. Reed, pp. 175-204; King, pp. 97-101.
32. Ruchames, pp. 150-151, 159-163.
33. M. Ross, pp. 38-39.
34. Ruchames, pp. 163-164; Moreno, pp. 66-73; Kryder, pp. 74-85, 90; Kersten, pp. 126-130; Reed, pp. 156-166.
35. Ruchames, pp. 159-163; R. Weiss, p. 38; Moreno, p. 72.

36. Ruchames, pp. 159-163; Reed, p. 10; Kersten, p. 135.
37. Kersten, pp. 136-137.
38. Kryder, pp. 113-130; Finch, pp. 111-113.
39. Palmer later chaired a successor to the FEPC in the Truman Administration (see Chapter 4); Kersten, p. 137.
40. Fairchild and Grossman, p. 160.
41. *Ibid.*, p. 168.
42. Franklin and Moss, p. 437.

CHAPTER 4.

1. Berman, p. 34; R. Weiss, p. 39; Minchin, pp. 28-29; Reed, pp. 167-171; Kersten, pp. 131-133.
2. Kersten, pp. 133-134; E.O. 9664, Dec. 20, 1945, RG 174.
3. R. Weiss, p. 39; McCoy and Ruetten, pp. 19-54; Morgan, p. 31.
4. *Growth of Labor Law in the United States*, pp. 257-260; R. Weiss, pp. 97, 40; Sugrue, p. 151.
5. McCoy and Ruetten, pp. 31-33; Lekachman, pp. 66, 165-175; Kurian, pp. 652-653.
6. Finch, p. 116; Berman, pp. 44-47.
7. McCoy and Ruetten, pp. 47-53, 86-91; Berman, pp. 51-57, 66-73; Dalfiume, pp. 144-145.
8. Berman, pp. 104-116; Dudziak, p. 82.
9. McCoy and Ruetten, pp. 97-130.
10. *Ibid.*, pp. 156-157.

11. Truman had wanted to keep Perkins on as Secretary and initially refused to accept her resignation. However, he encountered resistance to her remaining from the male members of his Cabinet, despite the fact that she had served with distinction under FDR. Truman, evidently more tolerant of blacks than of women in the workplace, thereupon accepted the once-spurned resignation. As a consolation prize, he appointed her as a member of the U.S. Civil Service Commission. Telephone conversation with Kirstin Downey (see bibliography). Feb. 21, 2008.
12. Anon. to Secretary of Labor, July 16, 1945, LS18, RG 174.
13. Robert Goodwin to Victor Reuther, Jan. 25, 1946 (and earlier attached items), Minority Group Policy, Gibson Box 6, RG 174.
14. Speech, Sec. Schwellenbach, Nov. 14, 1946, Historical Office, DOL.
15. The Tuskegee Institute, *The Negro Yearbook*, 1947, p. 229; A.A. Liveright to Albert Abramson, letter, DOL, March 26, 1946, ACRR, Gibson Box 5, RG 174; Agenda, Emergency National Conference, April 5, 1946, AACRR, Gibson Box 5, RG 174.
16. The Bureau of Apprenticeship and Training was originally called the Apprenticeship Division, which was renamed a few years later. The BAT's function was to register and certify apprenticeship programs, which were privately run, usually jointly by employers and unions. It did not itself organize or operate apprenticeship programs.
17. ACRR Memo, April 12, 1946, A.A. Liveright to Robert Goodwin, April 30, 1947, AACRR, Gibson Box 5, RG 174.
18. Dalfume, p. 149.
19. A.A. Liveright to William Patterson, April 29, 1946; William Patterson to A.A. Liveright, May 31, 1946, both found in ACRR, Gibson Box 5, RG 174.
20. A.A. Liveright to Maj. Gen. Graves Erskine, April 30, 1946, ACRR, Gibson Box 5, RG 174.

21. Memo from Sydney Taylor Brown, June 4, 1946; Agenda, National Action Conference on Minority Veterans' Problems, July 12, 1946, both found in ACRR, Gibson Box 5, RG 174.
22. Memo, Edward Cushman to John Gibson, Aug. 14, 1946, Minority Group Policy, Gibson Box 5, RG 174.
23. *Current Biography*, 1947, pp. 335-337; *New York Post*, Sept. 24, 1946, p. 41. As a representative of the black social aid group Alpha Kappa Alpha, Thomasina Johnson was, according to the *New York Post*, "the first full-time Negro lobbyist in the nation's capital."
24. Sec. Schwellenbach to Robert Goodwin, Feb. 24, 1947, USES-General, Box 192, RG 174.
25. Thomasina Johnson to David Morse, Dec. 19, 1947, Minority Groups, Morse files, Box 6, RG 174.
26. Roy Patterson to Sec. Schwellenbach, Dec. 16, 1947, Discrimination, Box 31, RG 174.
27. David Morse to Sec. Schwellenbach, Jan. 6, 1948 (and attached correspondence), Discrimination, Box 31, RG 174.
28. Sec. Schwellenbach died in office on June 10, 1948.
29. DOL Press Release, Aug. 12, 1948; John Gibson to William Oliver, Aug. 31, 1948 (and attached material); John Gibson to Ruth Steele, Aug. 19, 1948 (and attached material), all found in FEPC Dir. Mat., Gibson Box 3, RG 174.
30. Speeches, Sec. Tobin, Nov. 15, 1949 and Sept. 11, 1950, Historical Office, DOL.
31. McCoy and Ruetten, pp. 190-192; Roy Wilkins to Sec. Tobin, Feb. 9, 1949, Gen. Corres. - Nat. A, Box 58, RG 174.
32. McCoy and Ruetten, pp. 113-114, 124, 134-135.

33. Sec. Tobin to Sen. Paul Douglas, Jan. 12, 1950, 1950 - Cong. - D, Box 51, RG 174.
34. Clarence Mitchell to Sec. Tobin, Nov. 29, 1949; Thomasina Norford to John Gibson, Feb. 10, 1950, both found in FEPC Dir. Mat., Gibson Box 3, RG 174.
35. Winslow to Sec. Tobin, May 24, 1949; Winslow to John Gibson, Feb. 28, 1950, both found in FEPC Dir. Mat., Gibson Box 3, RG 174; Winslow to Sec. Tobin, Nov. 21, 1949, Admin. - Winslow, Box 1, RG 174; Winslow to Sec. Tobin, March 17, 1950, Admin. - Winslow, Box 32, RG 174.
36. John Gibson to Sec. Tobin, April 3, 1950, FEPC Dir. Mat., Gibson Box 3, RG 174; G.O. No. 40 [revised], Amendment No. 1, July 6, 1950, DOL Historical Office.
37. McCoy and Ruetten, pp. 251-266.
38. Rung.
39. King, p. 104.
40. McCoy and Ruetten, pp. 266-268; Clarence Mitchell to Sec. Tobin, Aug. 9, 1950; Sec. Tobin to Clarence Mitchell, Aug. 24, 1950, both found in Gen. Corres. - Nat. A., Box 58, RG 174.
41. Sec. Tobin to Walter White, Nov. 27, 1950, Gen. Corres. - Nat. A., Box 58, RG 174.
42. Sec. Tobin to David Niles, Dec. 27, 1950, FEPC Dir. Mat., Gibson Box 3, RG 174.
43. McCoy and Ruetten, pp. 268-275; Berman, pp. 185-186; Morgan, pp. 42-43.
44. McCoy and Ruetten, pp. 275-281; Berman, pp. 192-193.
45. Transcript, Conference re: Non-Discrimination in Employment, July 15, 1952, PCGCC, Straub Box 2, RG 174.
46. PCGCC, Tentative Agenda for Meeting (and attachments), Oct. 7, 1952, Non-Discrim. Clause, Straub Box 5, RG 174.

47. Moreno, p. 179.

CHAPTER 5.

1. Burk, pp. 15-20; Berman, p. 231.
2. Burk, p. 39; Guzda, *Dictionary*, s.v. "Mitchell, James Paul," p. 543.
3. Branch, *Parting the Waters*, pp. 128-129, 216-218, 245, 255.
4. The American Federation of Labor (AFL) and the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO) merged in 1955 to form the AFL-CIO.
5. Patterson, pp. 19, 380-406; Branch, *Parting the Waters*, p. 269; Franklin and Moss, pp. 463, 466-473.
6. Burk, pp. 23-24, 262; Zieger, "Uncle Sam Wants You," p. 97; Speech, Sec. Mitchell, Oct. 9, 1954, Historical Office, DOL.
7. Burk, pp. 69-70, 77-87; McCoy and Ruetten, p. 209; Speech, Sec. Mitchell, Aug. 30, 1956, Historical Office, DOL; DOL: Office of the Assistant Secretary for Administration and Management, s.v. "History at the Department of Labor," <http://www.dol.gov/asp/programs/history/main.htm>, also "Timeline," <http://www.dol.gov/oasam/programs/history/dpt.htm> (both accessed June 1, 2004).
8. Burk, pp. 45-60; Dulles, pp. 1-2; Branch, *Parting the Waters*, pp. 233-237; Franklin and Moss, p. 498.
9. Speech, Sec. Mitchell, Aug. 30, 1956, Historical Office, DOL; Burk, p. 44; Franklin and Moss, pp. 463-465.
10. Speech, Sec. Mitchell, Nov. 18, 1954, Historical Office, DOL.
11. Burk, p. 93; Morgan, pp. 43-44.
12. R. Weiss, pp. 42-43; Morgan, pp. 43-44; Burk, p. 93.

13. Burk, p. 95; Morgan, p. 44; Moreno, p. 180; Speech, Sec. Mitchell, Dec. 28, 1954, Historical Office, DOL.
14. Speech, Sec. Mitchell, Nov. 13, 1953, Historical Office, DOL.
15. Morgan, p. 44; Burk, p. 98.
16. Speeches, Sec. Mitchell, Nov. 13, 1953 and Oct. 25, 1955, Historical Office, DOL; Burk, pp. 95-96.
17. Burk, pp. 93, 98-100; Morgan, p. 44; Speech, Sec. Mitchell, Jan. 21, 1956, Historical Office, DOL; Moreno, p. 182.
18. Morgan, p. 44; Burk, p. 98; Speeches, Sec. Mitchell, Nov. 13, 1953, June 28, 1955, and Jan. 21, 1956, Historical Office, DOL.
19. Burk, p. 98; William P. Rogers later served as Attorney General in the Eisenhower Administration and Secretary of State in the Richard Nixon Administration.
20. Speeches, Sec. Mitchell, Dec. 28, 1954 and Jan. 21, 1956, Historical Office, DOL.
21. Burk, pp. 95-99; Morgan, p. 44; Speech, Sec. Mitchell, Dec. 28, 1954, Historical Office, DOL.
22. Burk, p. 98; Speeches, Sec. Mitchell, June 28, 1955 and Oct. 25, 1955, Historical Office, DOL.
23. Speech, Sec. Mitchell, Jan. 21, 1956, Historical Office, DOL.
24. Speech, Sec. Mitchell, Oct. 25, 1955, Historical Office, DOL.
25. Burk, pp. 96-97.
26. R. Weiss, p. 43; Burk, pp. 93, 100, 101.
27. Moreno, pp. 184-188.

28. Speech, Sec. Mitchell, Sept. 20, 1955, Historical Office, DOL; R. Weiss, p. 43; Burk, pp. 102-108.
29. Burk, pp. 99-100, 104-105.
30. R. Weiss, p. 44.
31. Morgan, p. 45.
32. Burk, pp. 71-76, 87-88.
33. Speech, Sec. Mitchell, June 28, 1955, Historical Office, DOL; *Marquis Who's Who*, s.v. "Church, Roberta."
34. Robert Goodwin to Sec. Mitchell, March 11, 1954, Administrative DOL Programs, Box 42, RG 174.
35. Sec. Mitchell to Staff, July 13, 1957, att. to Church to Mitchell, Dec. 2, 1957, Admin. - Miss Church, Box 180, RG 174; Robert Goodwin to Sec. Mitchell, March 11, 1954, Administrative DOL Programs, Box 42, RG 174.
36. Church to Sec. Mitchell, Oct. 27, 1957, Admin. - Miss Church, Box 180, RG 174.
37. Record of Minority Groups Conference of July 1956, Nov. 1956, Box 148, RG 174.
38. BES Program Letter, Dec. 17, 1953, att. to Robert Goodwin to Mitchell, March 11, 1954, Administrative DOL Programs, Box 42, RG 174.
39. Robert Goodwin to Rocco Siciliano, March 26, 1956, State Correspondence - Arkansas, RG 174.
40. Bland to Goodwin, April 26, 1956, State Correspondence - Arkansas, RG 174.
41. Mitchell to Bland, May 16, 1956, State Correspondence - Arkansas, RG 174.
42. Newell Brown to Sec. Mitchell, Feb. 16, 1959, ES-2-1, RG 174.

43. Record of Minority Groups Conference of July 1956, Nov. 1956, Box 148, RG 174; *Annual Reports* [1956], DOL, pp. 8-9.
44. Robert Goodwin to Sec. Mitchell, March 11, 1954, Administrative DOL Programs, Box 42, RG 174; *Annual Reports* [1953], DOL, p. 23; Report, Sec. Goldberg to Vice President Johnson, May 25, 1961, PCEEO, Box 42, RG 174.
45. Newell Brown to O'Connell, March 16, 1960, AT-2-1, Box 334, RG 174.
46. Minchin, p. 9.

CHAPTER 6.

1. "February One," Independent Lens program, PBS, Feb. 1, 2005.
2. Brauer, pp. 30-40; Franklin and Moss, pp. 498-499.
3. President Kennedy followed this up during his tenure by frequently entertaining prominent blacks at the White House, something previous Presidents did only rarely.
4. Inaugural Address of President Kennedy, Jan. 20, 1961, *Public Papers of the President*.
5. Robert Weaver was later appointed Secretary of the new Department of Housing and Urban Development in 1965 and thereby became the first African American to serve in the Cabinet.
6. Marshall was later appointed to the U.S. Supreme Court.
7. Brauer, p. 84; Franklin and Moss, p. 500; Wirtz, transcript of interview conducted by the author, Dec. 11, 1998, pp. 2-4.
8. Moreno, p. 189; Reed, pp. 111-112; Graham, pp. 28, 33-34; Wirtz, untranscribed interview conducted by the author, June 15, 2004; Wirtz interview, Dec. 11, 1998, p. 29.
9. Press Release, April 5, 1961, Historical Office, DOL.

10. JFK Memo to Executive Departments, April 18, 1961, PCEEO, Box 42, RG 174.
11. Graham, pp. 43-46.
12. Meany, Reuther, and Lazarus had also served on President Eisenhower's PCGC.
13. Press Release, April 5, 1961, Historical Office, DOL; Sec. Goldberg to Agency Heads, April 3, 1961, PCEEO, Box 42, RG 174; Speech, Arthur Chapin, April 8, 1961, PE-4-2, Box 82, RG 174.
14. Press Release, April 5, 1961, Historical Office, DOL; Lundquist to Shulman, March 8, 1961, PCEEO, Box 42, RG 174.
15. Sec. Goldberg to DOL Employees, March 7, 1961, White House, Box 23, RG 174.
16. Ibid.
17. Ibid.
18. Sec. Goldberg to Vice Pres. Johnson, March 9, 1961, White House, Box 23, RG 174; Wirtz interview, Dec. 11, 1998, pp. 14-17; Press Release, Feb. 17, 1961, Historical Office, DOL; Vice Pres. Johnson to Sec. Goldberg, March 11, 1961, White House, Box 23, RG 174.
19. Press Release, April 5, 1961, Historical Office, DOL; Speech, Arthur Chapin, April 8, 1961, PE-4-2, Box 82, RG 174.
20. First Meeting of PCEEO [minutes], April 11, 1961, PCEEO, Box 42, RG 174.
21. Underlining this point, Executive Vice Chair Jerry Holleman reminded the members that they were expected to attend meetings in person whenever possible rather than relying on proxies.
22. First Meeting of PCEEO [minutes], April 11, 1961, PCEEO, Box 42, RG 174.
23. Ibid.

24. PCEEO, Newsletter, July 1961; *Rules and Regulations*.
25. Graham, p. 46.
26. Brauer, p. 80.
27. *The First Nine Months*, pp. 49-52.
28. PCEEO, Newsletter, June 1961, July 1962; Jerry Holleman to Agency Heads, April 28, 1961, PCEEO, Box 42 RG 174; *The First Nine Months*, pp. 2-3, 49-52; Statement by Arthur Goldberg, PCEEO Press Release, May 2, 1961, PCEEO, Box 42, RG 174; *Rules and Regulations*.
29. Graham, pp. 33, 48; Wirtz interview, June 15, 2004.
30. *The First Nine Months*, pp. 49-52.
31. Sen. Lister Hill to PCEEO, July 12, 1961, PCEEO, Box 43, RG 174.
32. PCEEO, Newsletter, Jan. 1962.
33. Report of the PCEEO, *The First Nine Months*, Jan. 15, 1962, pp. 49-52.
34. Sen. Lister Hill to PCEEO, July 12, 1961, PCEEO/Box 43, RG 174.
35. PCEEO, Newsletter, Jan. 1962.

CHAPTER 7.

1. PCEEO, Newsletter, various issues, 1961-1962.
2. *The First Nine Months*, pp. 6-7; PCEEO, Newsletter, June 1961.
3. Report to the President by the PCEEO, Washington, D.C., Nov. 26, 1963, pp. 1-3.
4. PCEEO, Newsletter, June 1961; Statement by Sec. Goldberg, PCEEO Press Release, May 2, 1961, PCEEO, Box 42, RG 174.
5. *The First Nine Months*, pp. 2-3.

6. PCEEO, Newsletter, July 1962; *The American Dream—Equal Opportunity*, p. 12.
7. *The American Dream—Equal Opportunity*, p. 12; *The First Nine Months*, pp. 3, 45.
8. *The First Nine Months*, pp. 42-45.
9. Ibid.
10. PCEEO, Newsletter, June and July 1961.
11. PCEEO, Newsletter, April and July 1962.
12. *The First Nine Months*, pp. 2-3, 36; PCEEO, Newsletter, July 1961.
13. PCEEO, Newsletter, Sept. 1961.
14. Graham, pp. 47-49.
15. Support in this case later grew into a broader commitment to the PCEEO by the Pentagon that included provision of both policy and staff support in other defense contract enforcement actions.
16. PCEEO, Newsletter, June 1961; Graham, pp. 47-49.
17. *The First Nine Months*, p. 36.
18. *The First Nine Months*, p. 2; Moreno, pp. 191-192.
19. The subcommittee's other members included progressive businessmen Edgar Kaiser and Fred Lazarus, Jr.; UAW president Walter Reuther; and DHEW Secretary Abraham Ribicoff.
20. Graham, pp. 50-52; Report to the President by the PCEEO, Washington, D.C., Nov. 26, 1963, p. 108.
21. PCEEO, Newsletter, July and Sept. 1961, Jan. 1962.

22. Report to the President by the PCEEO, Washington, D.C., Nov. 26, 1963, p. 109.
23. Ibid., p. 2.
24. PCEEO, Newsletter, July 1962.
25. Minchin, pp. 9-10; George Meany to Vice Pres. Johnson, March, 7, 1961, PCEEO, Box 42, RG 174.
26. Francis Shane to Sec. Goldberg, Aug. 11, 1961, PCEEO, Box 43, RG 174.
27. *The First Nine Months*, pp. 36-37, 61-62; *The American Dream—Equal Opportunity*, p. 13; PCEEO Meeting [minutes], Feb. 15, 1962, PCEEO, Box 155, RG 174, p. 64.
28. *The First Nine Months*, p. 61.
29. *The First Nine Months*, pp. 63-64; *The American Dream—Equal Opportunity*, p. 13.
30. *The American Dream—Equal Opportunity*; *The First Nine Months*, pp. 63-64; PCEEO, Newsletter, July 1962.
31. *The First Nine Months*, pp. 63-64; Report to the President by the PCEEO, Washington, D.C., Nov. 26, 1963, p. 130.
32. *The First Nine Months*, p. 5.
33. Jerry Holleman to Agency Heads, Oct. 23, 1961, PCEEO, Box 43, RG 174.
34. Jerry Holleman to Agency Heads, April 28, 1961, PCEEO, Box 42 RG 174; *The First Nine Months*, p. 13; PCEEO, Newsletter, July 1962; *The American Dream—Equal Opportunity*, p. 12.
35. John Feild to Sec. Goldberg, June 22, 1962, PCEEO, Box 156, RG 174.
36. Jerry Holleman to Agency Heads, April 28, 1961, PCEEO, Box 42 RG 174; *The First Nine Months*, p. 1; *The American Dream—Equal Opportunity*, p. 11; PCEEO, Newsletter, June 1961; Brauer, pp. 83-85.

37. *The First Nine Months*, p. 1; Report to the President by the PCEEO, Washington, D.C., Nov. 26, 1963, p. 3; *The American Dream—Equal Opportunity*, p. 11; Franklin and Moss, p. 500.
38. John McCully to Jerry Holleman (with attachments), April 2, 1962, PCEEO, Box 156, RG 174.
39. Sumner Stone to Vice Pres. Johnson, March 9, 1962 [Under March 28, 1962], PCEEO, Box 155, RG 174.
40. Herbert Hill to Sec. Goldberg, April 11, 1962, PCEEO, Box 156, RG 174; Moreno, pp. 191-192.
41. Graham, pp. 51-57.
42. *New York Times*, June 20, 1962.
43. Graham, pp. 57-58; Press Release, May 11, 1962, Historical Office, DOL.
44. Jerry Holleman to Federal Agency Heads, May 11, 1961, PCEEO, Box 156, RG 174.

CHAPTER 8.

1. Kheel Report, July 1962, PCEEO, Box 156, RG 174.
2. "Plans for Progress, One-Year Goals and One-Year Results," Memorandum to the President and the Vice President, Aug. 20, 1962, PCEEO, Box 156, RG 174.
3. Brauer, pp. 149-150.
4. "Plans for Progress, One-Year Goals and One-Year Results."
5. Stanley Simmons to Sec. Goldberg, Aug. 31, 1962, PCEEO, Box 156, RG 174.
6. Brauer, pp. 149-151.

7. PCEEO Press Release, Jan. 17, 1963, PCEEO, Box 64, RG 174; "Special Report, Plans for Progress: Atlanta Survey," Southern Regional Council (Atlanta, GA, Jan. 1963).
8. *Newsweek*, Feb. 25, 1963, p. 27.
9. John Feild to Hobart Taylor, Feb. 28, 1963 (several related memos attached), PCEEO, Box 65, RG 174.
10. Brauer, pp. 214-215.
11. Meeting of the Vice President's Study Group [minutes], March 7, 1963, PCEEO, Box 64, RG 174.
12. PCEEO Meeting [minutes], July 18, 1963, PCEEO, Box 64, RG 174; Brauer, p. 216.
13. Hobart Taylor to Wirtz, July 18, 1963, PCEEO, Box 66, RG 174; Report to the President by the PCEEO, Washington, D.C., Nov. 26, 1963, p. 110.
14. Nevertheless, in December 1963, DOL officials reviewing the draft PCEEO annual report sought to downplay claims of progress. Special Assistant Tom Powers recommended to Sec. Wirtz that "our objectives should be to claim as much progress as we can without subjecting ourselves to attack" (Powers to Sec. Wirtz, Dec. 17, 1963, PCEEO, Box 64, RG 1740). In a measure of the extent to which critics had been appeased, this claim passed without comment. (Remarks of Pres. Johnson, Plans for Progress Meeting, Jan. 16, 1964, PCEEO, Box 153, RG 174.)
15. *Proceedings*, PCEEO, May 12, 1964, DOL Library, pp. 35-39; Wirtz interview, June 15, 2004.
16. Brauer, p. 150.
17. Boris Shiskin to Sec. Goldberg, June 30, 1961, PI-6-3-6, Box 89, RG 174; Sec. Goldberg to Francis Shane, United Steelworkers of America (further correspondence attached), Aug. 17, 1961, PCEEO, Box 43, RG 174; Walter

Reuther to Sec. Goldberg, Nov. 28, 1961, PCEEO, Box 43, RG 174; Francis Shane to Sec. Goldberg, Nov. 29, 1961, PCEEO, Box 43, RG 174.

18. PCEEO meeting [minutes], Feb. 15, 1962, pp. 64-65, PCEEO, Box 155, RG 174.
19. Wirtz interview, June 15, 2004; PCEEO meeting [minutes], Feb. 15, 1962, PCEEO, Box 155, RG 174, pp. 64-65; *The American Dream—Equal Opportunity*, p. 13; *The First Nine Months*, p. 62; PCEEO, Newsletter, Sept. 1961; Report to the President by the PCEEO, Washington, D.C., Nov. 26, 1963, pp. 2, 118-127.
20. AFL-CIO Release, June 28, 1963, PCEEO, Box 66, RG 174; Report to the President by the PCEEO, Washington, D.C., Nov. 26, 1963, p. 119; Sec. Wirtz to George Meany, March 14, 1963, PCEEO, Box 65, RG 174.
21. Report to the President by the PCEEO, Washington, D.C., Nov. 26, 1963, pp. 119-120.
22. Sec. Wirtz telegram to UPFP unions, June 10, 1963; Sec. Wirtz letters to UPFP unions, Aug. 07, 1963, both found in PCEEO, Box 66, RG 174; Tom Powers to Sec. Wirtz, Aug. 28, 1963, PCEEO, Box 66, RG 174; Report to the President by the PCEEO, Washington, D.C., Nov. 26, 1963, pp. 118-119.
23. James R. Hoffa to Vice Pres. Johnson, July 3, 1963, PCEEO, Box 66, RG 174.
24. Minchin, pp. 111-112.
25. Sec. Wirtz to Robert Kennedy, June 12, 1963, White House – President, Box 38, RG 174.
26. PCEEO Press Release, March 17, 1964, PCEEO, Box 153, RG 174.
27. Remarks of President Johnson, March 16, 1964, Public Papers of the President, PCEEO, Box 153, RG 174.
28. Graham, p. 59.
29. *Proceedings*, PCEEO, May 12, 1964, Washington, D.C., pp. 13-14.

30. Report to the President by the PCEEO, Washington, D.C., Nov. 26, 1963, pp. 10-13.
31. Ibid., pp. 21-22.
32. Ibid., pp. 34-39; Moreno, p. 193.
33. Report to President by PCEEO, Nov. 26, 1963, p. 29.
34. PCEEO Meeting, July 18, 1963, PCEEO, Box 64, p. 3.
35. PCEEO Meeting, May 29, 1963, PCEEO, Box 65, p. 2; Wirtz interview, Dec. 11, 1998, pp. 11-12; Brauer, p. 283; Branch, *Pillar of Fire*, pp. 90-91.
36. John Donovan to Sec. Wirtz, Oct. 10, 1963, PCEEO, Box 64, RG 174; *Proceedings*, PCEEO, May 12, 1964, pp. 16-18.
37. Graham, pp. 64-67.
38. PCEEO Meeting, July 18, 1963, PCEEO, Box 64, RG 174.
39. E.O. 1114, June 22, 1963, Presidential Documents, Part II, Sect. 202.
40. *Proceedings*, PCEEO, May 12, 1964; Wirtz interview, June 15, 2004.

CHAPTER 9.

1. Charles Donohue to Sec. Wirtz, Oct. 4, 1962, AT 2-1, Box 9, RG 174.
2. Robert Goodwin to Sec. Wirtz, Dec. 4, 1962, Conf. Misc., Box 11, RG 174; Speech, Sec. Wirtz, Jan. 23, 1964, Historical Office, DOL.
3. PCEEO meeting, Feb. 15, 1962, PCEEO, Box 156, RG 174; National Urban League Conference, May 16, 1962, Secretary's Cfces., Box 152, RG 174; Sub-Cabinet Group on Civil Rights, Report, March 12, 1962, Sub-Cabinet Committee, Box 159, RG 174.
4. Charles Donohue to Sec. Wirtz, Oct. 4, 1962, AT 2-1, Box 9, RG 174; PCEEO Meeting, Feb. 15, 1962, PCEEO, Box 156, RG 174; Sub-Cabinet Group on Civil

Rights, Report, March 12, 1962, Sub-Cabinet Committee, Box 159, RG 174; National Urban League Conference, May 16, 1962, Secretary's Cfces., Box 152, RG 174.

5. Press Release, July 17, 1961, Historical Office, DOL; Sec. Goldberg to Gov. John Swainson (MI), Aug. 24, 1961, AT 2-1, Box 29, RG 174; Civil Rights Sub-Cabinet Group, Feb. 1962 Report, Committees-Sub-Cabinet Group, Box 159, RG 174.
6. Ansel Cleary to George Meany, Nov. 3, 1961, AT-2-1, Box 29, RG 174.
7. Meeting on Recruitment of BAT Representatives [minutes], Nov. 9, 1963, AT 2-1, Box 29, RG 174.
8. Press Release, June 25, 1962, Historical Office, DOL.
9. Sec. Wirtz to Robert Kennedy, June 5, 1963, PCEEO, Box 66, RG 174; Press Releases, Feb. 27, May 23, June 10 and 17, 1963, Historical Office, DOL.
10. Manpower Administration Order No. 12, Nov. 12, 1963, AT-1, Box 49, RG 174.
11. John Henning to Sec. Wirtz, May 22, 1963, Advisory Committee, Box 69, RG 174.
12. Statement of the President, June 4, 1963, PCEEO, Box 66, RG 174.
13. Sec. Wirtz to Robert Kennedy, June 5, 1963, PCEEO, Box 66, RG 174; Sec. Wirtz to state apprenticeship offices (30 letters), June 5, 1963, PCEEO, Box 66, RG 174; Sugrue, p. 164.
14. see Moreno, pp. 193-197.
15. Sec. Wirtz to state apprenticeship offices (30 letters), June 5, 1963, PCEEO, Box 66, RG 174.
16. Sec. Wirtz to Edward Goshen, June 11, 1963, AT-1, Box 49, RG 174.
17. Sec. Wirtz to Edward Goshen, July 2, 1963, AT-1, Box 49, RG 174.
18. Sec. Wirtz to Edward Goshen, June 11, 1963, AT-1, Box 49, RG 174.

19. BAT Circular 64-7, July 17, 1963, AT-2-1, Box 49, RG 174.
20. David Christian to John Donovan, July 17, 1963, AT-1, Box 49, RG 174.
21. "Nondiscrimination in Apprenticeship and Training," Notice of Proposed Rule Making, *Federal Register*; Oct. 23, 1963, pp. 11313-11316.
22. R.P. Sornsin to Sec. Wirtz, Nov. 8, 1963, AT-2-1, Box 49, RG 174.
23. Herrick S. Roth, Nov. 6, 1963, AT-2-1, Box 49, RG 174.
24. M.L. Katke to John Henning, Nov. 4, 1963, AT-2-1, Box 49, RG 174.
25. Sec. Wirtz to C.J. Haggerty, Dec. 9, 1963, AT-2-1, Box 49, RG 174.
26. John Henning to B.A. Gritta, Dec. 6, 1963, AT-2-1, Box 49, RG 174.
27. Michael Fox to Sec. Wirtz, Nov. 4, 1963, AT-2-1, Box 49, RG 174.
28. "Nondiscrimination in Apprenticeship and Training," 29 CFR Part 30, *Federal Register*, Dec. 18, 1963, pp. 13775-13778. In June 1964, the PCEEO, which had developed the original basis for the standard, adopted the rule. (See also Sec. Wirtz to PCEEO Subcommittee, April 3, 1964, PCEEO, Box 153, RG 174; and PCEEO Press Releases, May 1, June 5, 1964, PCEEO, Box 144, RG 174.)
29. *Annual Reports*, DOL: 1964, p. 40; 1965, pp. 44-45; and 1966, p. 41.

EPILOGUE.

1. See Ira Katznelson, *When Affirmative Action Was White*, for a full discussion of this point.

