Showdown: Thurgood Marshall and the Supreme Court Nomination That Changed America

Wil Haygood
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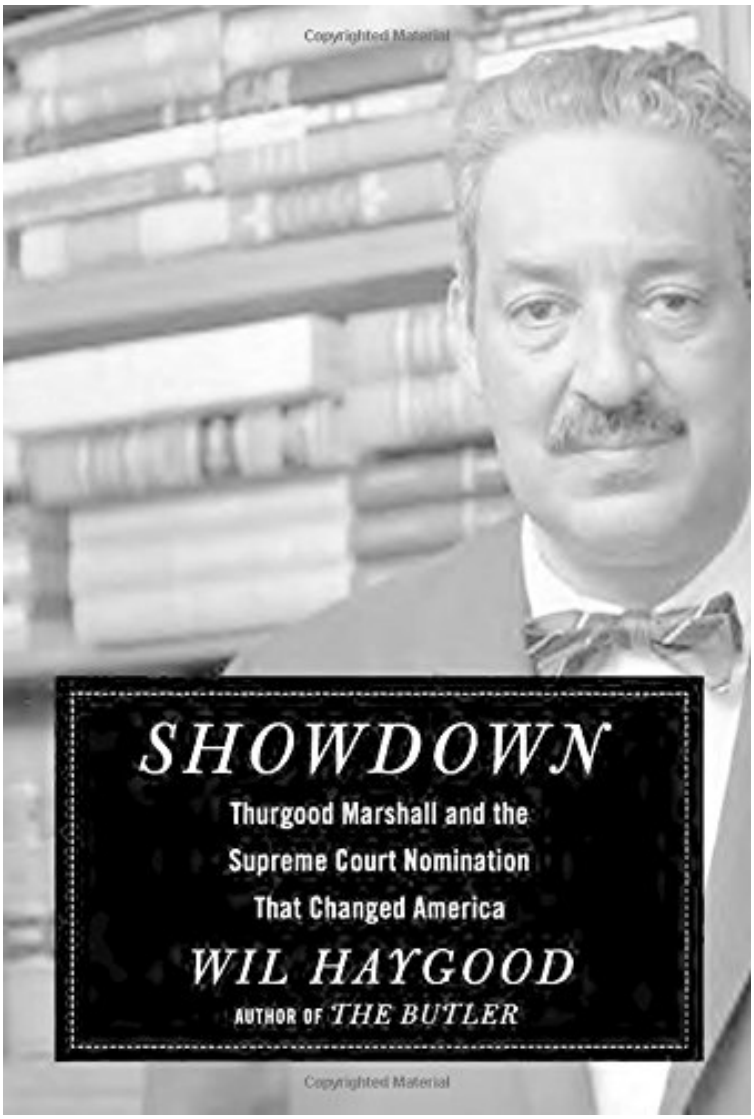

#208772 in Books 2015-09-15 2015-09-15Ingredients: Example IngredientsFormat: Deckle EdgeOriginal language:EnglishPDF # 1 9.51 x 1.40 x 6.67l, 1.85 #File Name: 0307957195416 pages | File size: 69.Mb

Wil Haygood : Showdown: Thurgood Marshall and the Supreme Court Nomination That Changed America before purchasing it in order to gage whether or not it would be worth my time, and all praised Showdown: Thurgood Marshall and the Supreme Court Nomination That Changed America:

1 of 1 people found the following review helpful. American Democracy At Its Best And WorstBy RoyHobbsBefore there were Jackie Robinson, Martin Luther King, Jr., and Barack Obama, there was Thurgood Marshall.In countless

ways, he was braver than all the racial pioneers who followed him and arguably as brave or braver still than those who broke racial and social barriers before him.He is very much lost in the current political landscape with the re-emergence of racial politics as exhibited in the Donald Trump candidacy and the voter suppression movement rampant in the land. His name is hardly mentioned by the current generation of leaders and their followers. After all, he died nearly two decades ago.Author Wil Haygood, who also penned the book The Butler, which became a hit movie, has powerfully reminded us of Mr. Justice Marshall and how this lifelong trial lawyer became the first African American to serve on the Supreme Court.Every American in this so-called Year of Trump should be required to read this book. If they do, and most will not read it, they either will learn afresh or for the first time about the vast racial divide that existed in this country and, to some extent, remains. The book graphically explains how far the country came from the lynch mob that killed black citizens without fear of legal consequences to the summer of 1967, when President Lyndon B. Johnson appointed Mr. Marshall to the Supreme Court.The author is a skilled storyteller and packs an immense and on-the-edge-of-the-seat drama into events surrounding the nomination even when the reader knows the outcome.His portraits of the players in this drama and its handful of days of public confirmation hearings are worth the price of the book.There are vivid portraits not only of the major figures in the drama, but also of lesser players, such as J. Waites Waring, the proud scion of a Charleston, S.C., family who literally was exiled to New York City after he, as a federal judge, dared to begin giving blacks the rights guaranteed in the Constitution. The last straw for him probably came when he divorced his first wife and he and his new wife entertained Negroes at their Charleston home,, not far from where slaveholders once traded human flesh as if it were a meat market.The Marshall nomination, among so many things it represented, pitted the Old Bulls on the Senate Judiciary Committee against the Young Turks on the panel that was charged with conducting the confirmation hearings and sending a recommendation to the full Senate.The book reintroduced this editor to such Old Bulls as Sens. John J. McClellan, James O. Eastland, Strom Thurmond, and Sam J. Ervin. The editor knew Senator Ervin, who later redeemed his reputation by chairing the Senate Select Committee on Watergate, and on occasion escorted him around Asheville, N.C.This group was intent on blocking the Marshall nomination and, in their eyes and in the eyes of their supporters, preserve the Southern way of life.They saw in Thurgood Marshall, the attorney who had successfully argued the Brown v. Board school integration case before the Supreme Court in the decade prior to his nomination to the court, as an activist judge who would further destroy the Southern way of life. That way of life, make no doubt, was to keep Negroes in their place, to keep them as second-and third-class citizens, to deny them full equality of the law as promised by the Constitution.It was this culture that Thurgood Marshall, brought up in a middle-class black Baltimore family, had fought against all of his adult life in behalf of the NAACPs Legal Defense Fund.What truly impressed this editor about the nominee was the breath of his legal experience and his courage. He risked his life time after time to fight discrimination in such places as Florida, Texas, South Carolina, and other states in the former Confederacy. He got Negroes admitted to previous all-white universities. He secured the vote for blacks in such places as Texas. He successfully kept falsely accused African Americans from being executed. He won the Supreme Court case that ended the separate-but-equal doctrine that made the nations public schools separate but unequal.For a black man, even a large and bon vivant man such as Thurgood Marshall, to step into such charged racial situations and confront Southern sheriffs, judges and juries is a deed to behold even from the distance 60 or 70 years.Most Americans, especially white Americans, cannot even to this day grasp the bravery required of such an achievement.Mr. Marshall across his long years of litigating seemed to take it all in stride, though those close to him saw that the pressures at times drained him.If he is largely unknown to the current generation of Americans, so is the rule by lynch mob that existed in this country into the 1960s. This book brings that violent era back to life, retelling time and again about how the Ku Klux Klan and White Citizens Councils took law and order into their own hands. One scene in the book is especially memorable. It retells how a mob lynched an innocent black falsely accused of raping a white woman.The mob cut off his body parts, including ears and penis, before hanging him.These people were ISIS long before ISIS existed.The dramas of the lives of Thurgood Marshall, Lyndon Johnson, the Old Bulls and the Young Turks are vividly portrayed before the catharsis arrives in Room 2228 of the New Senate Office Building in Washington, D.C., on July 13, 1967 and the days that followed.The Old Bulls tried to link the nominee to communists and the violence in the streets of the day. It was at the height of the Vietnam War and race riots in such cities of Detroit and Tampa. Mr. Marshalls opponents did this despite a report form J. Edgar Hoovers FBI that there was no link between the nominee and communists. (Mr. Marshall and Mr. Hoover, incidentally, got along fine and had at least respect for each other, despite the fact that FBI agents wiretapped such civil rights leaders as Dr. King.)The Old Bulls, some of whom had racial skeletons their closets, also tried to give the impression that the nominee for the highest court in the land was too ignorant to serve. He was hit with arcane questions from Senator Thurmond about what committee authored constitutional amendments. The senator wanted Judge Marshall (he was sitting on an appellate court) to tell him who the members of the ancient committees were.It was as if the nominee was being submitted to a literacy test as a rite of judicial passage.When, at last, the nominee turned the tables on Senator Thurmond by asking him to name the committee members, the South Carolinian had to get an aide for return to his Senate office and locate the names.Only a president steeped in the ways of the Senate, as was Lyndon Johnson, could have gotten this nomination confirmed. He knew the Southerners on the committee and in

the fuller Senate would never vote for confirmation. So he lobbied them to not vote, giving them the excuse back home that they really voted against a black man appointed to the Supreme Court.The president also knew that if confirmation gained fewer than 60 votes that the Southern segregationists, especially Senator Thurmond, could launch a filibuster to kill the nomination.In the end, the Young Turks such as Senators Joseph Tydings, Philip Hart, Edward Kennedy, and Birch Bayh triumphed. Senator Hart, of Michigan, who had fought against racial discrimination his entire career, led the group.The group also was backed by some Republicans, principally Sen. Everett M. Dirksen, of Illinois. He kept the avatar of the Party of Lincoln alive in the shadows of the darkness that surrounded it from the Democratic Southern segregationists. Within a year or less, Senator Dirksen, who had been instrumental also in helping LBJ to pass the 1965 Voting Rights Act, and his GOP would be cursed with Richard M. Nixons Southern Strategy, a code phrase for racial discrimination in the South. The curse eventually would poison the entire Republican Party and be at least partly responsible for the rise of Donald Trump as the Republican presidential nominee in 2016.When the Young Turks, Judge Marshall and the President triumphed in the Senate, Senator Hart and others shed tears of joy. A deep racial divide had been closed, but they knew still more chasms were ahead.The Marshall nomination, if sent to the U.S. Senate today, never would make it to confirmation. There is not a Republican in the lot of the Senate GOP with the stature and statesmanship possessed by Everett Dirksen. President Obamas current Supreme Court nominee, Merrick Garland, who is white, languishes because Senate Republicans, led by Mitch MeConnell, are obstructionists in the disreputable tradition of McClellan, Eastland, Thurmond and Ervin. The racial politics this time is only different from that exhibited against Thurgood Marshall because the president who made the nomination happens to be black. The old clich is as true as ever: The more things change, the more the stay the same.If you read no other book this year, read Showdown. It will inspire you and make you understand the real meaning of American democracy.1 of 1 people found the following review helpful. A great story well told.By CB BassityHaving read Haygoods excellent book on Sammy Davis Jr. (whom I would not have expected to interest me), I came to this story with high expectations that were entirely fulfilled. This story is almost electric in its impact, captivating from start to finish.Thurgood Marshall was a giant, an indefatigable advocate for the downtrodden, and his lifelong work to improve the lot of his brothers comes through in Haygoods well-told story. Marshall, LBJ, the background of the civil rights struggle, the efforts of racist Southern senators to block the nomination--it's a great story that echoes today as obstructionist, backward-thinking politicians try to stall President Obama's effort to name a justice to the Court.0 of 0 people found the following review helpful. Too many mistakes of factsBy CustomerThe book was interesting to read. Thurgood Marshall was a superb lawyer, who was instrumental in bringing about long overdue changes in the nation and the law. The story of his nomination to SCOTUS and the ugly confirmation battle is a story that needs to be told. One can only guess how accurately this book tells it, because the book contains so many errors of simple facts, that its credibility on larger matters is doubtful. As one example, within the same paragraph, the book asserts that 60 votes were needed to stop a filibuster, and that 67 votes were needed.

Thurgood Marshall brought down the separate-but-equal doctrine, integrated schools, and not only fought for human rights and human dignity but also made them impossible to deny in the courts and in the streets. In this stunning new biography, award-winning author Wil Haygood surpasses the emotional impact of his inspiring best seller The Butler to detail the life and career of one of the most transformative legal minds of the past one hundred years. Using the framework of the dramatic, contentious five-day Senate hearing to confirm Marshall as the first African-American Supreme Court justice, Haygood creates a provocative and moving look at Marshalls life as well as the politicians, lawyers, activists, and others who shapedor desperately tried to stopthe civil rights movement of the twentieth century: President Lyndon Johnson; Congressman Adam Clayton Powell Jr., whose scandals almost cost Marshall the Supreme Court judgeship; Harry and Harriette Moore, the Florida NAACP workers killed by the KKK; Justice J. Waties Waring, a racist lawyer from South Carolina, who, after being appointed to the federal court, became such a champion of civil rights that he was forced to flee the South; John, Robert, and Ted Kennedy; Senator Strom Thurmond, the renowned racist from South Carolina, who had a secret black mistress and child; North Carolina senator Sam Ervin, who tried to use his Constitutional expertise to block Marshalls appointment; Senator James Eastland of Mississippi, the head of the Senate Judiciary Committee, who stated that segregation was the law of nature, the law of God; Arkansas senator John McClellan, who, as a boy, after Teddy Roosevelt invited Booker T. Washington to dinner at the White House, wrote a prize-winning school essay proclaiming that Roosevelt had destroyed the integrity of the presidency; and so many others. This galvanizing book makes clear that it is impossible to overestimate Thurgood Marshalls lasting influence on the racial politics of our nation.

If the Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr. was the civil rights movements brightest star,Thurgood Marshall was its unsung hero. But to his contemporariesadmirers, allies and enemies alikeMarshalls string of legal victories, highlighted by Brown vs. Board of Education, placed him at the epicenter of this crusade forjustice. . . . Showdown is not a standard biography. . . . Instead, Haygood, who has written biographies of Sugar Ray Robinson and Sammy Davis, Jr., frames the book through thisconfirmation fight. And what a fight it was. . . . A richly textured account that brings to life the

political and cultural stakes involved. Los Angeles Times "Wil Haygoods gripping newShowdown, which examines the context behind Marshalls 1967 nomination and confirmation, provides valuable reminders about the civil rights revolution of the 1960s and the truly mind-boggling horrors that precipitated nation-changing events. Dallas Morning News The opening chapters of Wil Haygoods engagingShowdownmake clear that even if Thurgood Marshall had not made it into history books as the first African American to sit on the Supreme Court of the United States, he would have deserved a place in American history as one of the best, most effective lawyers of his generation. . . .Haygood tells this story with great energy and at times with humor and style. TheWashington Post Haygood is a master of the ticktock narrative. Hes equally adept at contextualizing the showdown that gives his book its title, explaining how some of Marshalls detractors hoped that resentment linked to recent urban riots would help them derail his nomination. . . .His prose, meanwhile, is a consistent pleasure. Rather than opting for rhetorical fireworks, he ends what might be the books most important chapter with a simple yet deeply resonant image: A short while later, word reached the newest member of the U.S. Supreme Court that he would have to report to be measured for his judicial robes. Minneapolis Star Tribune Even though I know that Marshall was confirmed and served on the Court for almost twenty-five years, I found myself on the edge of my seat wondering what the outcome would be Showdownis the best kind of narrative history. The story line is taut, the characters are complex, and the backdrop is finely drawn. As with all of Haygoods books,Showdownhas a somewhat breathless quality to it that made me sorry I had to turn out the light and go to bed. In this propitiously timed book, Haygood has reminded us how important Marshall was, not only to the African American community, but to the entire country. Every one of us lives in a world shaped by this extraordinary man. Columbus Free Press The individual fragments Haygood assembles are often fascinating and sometimes horrifying glimpses of the dark side of American history that make Marshalls appointment, indeed his entire career, shine all the brighter. . . .After he left the presidency, Johnson informed the justice that he wanted to write a book about the nomination battle. He died too soon, and now Haygood has ably filled the gap. The Boston Globe Haygood rehabilitates Marshall with Showdown Haygoods decision to focus on this turning point in Marshalls life proves ingenious. The Atlantic Haygood, the author of previous biographies of Adam Clayton Powell Jr., Sammy Davis Jr. and Sugar Ray Robinson, is passionate and, at times, eloquent Haygood has done a great service by reminding us of an extraordinary man at an extraordinary moment. The New York Times Wil Haygoods vivid account of the confrontation between Thurgood Marshall and Southern segregationist oligarchs in the U.S. Senate resurrects a civil rights drama often overlooked in histories of the storm of events during the 1960s Curtis Wilkie, author of Dixie: A personal Odyssey Through Events That Shaped the Modern South Wil Haygoods rich account of Thurgood Marshalls rough road up through racism and onto the Supreme Court is an inspiring story of Americas moral strength, powerfully told with exquisite attention to evocative detail. Everyone who reads this history, with all its ugliness and virtue, will be on the way to enlightened citizenship. David K. Shipler, author of A Country of Strangers: Blacks and Whites in America The choice of Thurgood Marshall was an event that changed the history of America and this book proves that the changes were all positive. President Jimmy Carter An intensely readable, fully explored account of what the New York Times called an "ordeal by committee," an important hinge in American history. Kirkus s (starred) Wil Haygood has brought us an elegant, fascinating and important tale, rendered with relentless originality and the authors superb gift of portraiture. SHOWDOWN reveals the essence of the great Thurgood Marshall, as well as the historical forces and often surprising backstage mechanics that enabled him to become the first African-American Supreme Court Justice. Michael Beschloss [A]ccessible . . . moving . . . well-rounded.This is the definitive account of the life of a major American hero who deserves wider recognition.Publisher's Weekly (starred)About the AuthorWIL HAYGOODis currently the Wiepking Visiting Distinguished Professor in the department of media, journalism, and film at Miami University, Ohio. For nearly three decades he was a journalist, serving as a national and foreign correspondent at The Boston Globe, where he was a Pulitzer Prize finalist, and then at The Washington Post, where he wrote the story A Butler Well Served by this Election, which became the basis for the award-winning motion picture The Butler, directed by Lee Daniels. Haygoods book The Butler: A Witness to History has been translated into a dozen foreign languages. For his work on Showdown, Haygood was awarded a John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Foundation Fellowship and a National Endowment for the Humanities Fellowship. His biographies of Adam Clayton Powell Jr., Sammy Davis Jr., and Sugar Ray Robinson have all garnered wide acclaim.Excerpt. Reprinted by permission. All rights reserved.1The Ghosts of Little RockPlease, sir, no nigger on the Supreme Court bench.an Arkansas family in a letter to Senator John McClellan about the Marshall nominationJohn mcclellan was going to stop Thurgood Marshall.He simply could not imagine the likes of Marshall on the U.S. Supreme Court, so he convinced himself he could prevent it. He was Senator John McClellan, and he was powerful, and people feared him. He had a hard facea dead ringer for the comic Jack Benny if Benny had been dipped in plasterand a hard, scratchy voice. He wore horn-rimmed glasses from which, time and again during previous hearings while sitting in judgment of others, he peered down on witnesses with menacing glares. He combed his hair straight back, in a severe manner. McClellan was one of the Senate baronsmen who had served for years and seemed to have grown out of the very building that housed the U.S. Senate. He loathed small talk and abhorred social teas and the like, which many senators and their wives seemed to enjoy. Even when his Arkansas constituents visited his Washington office, he seemed impatient, as if he

wished they could state their business as fast as possible and be on their way. Hed shoot an aide that look and then the aide would begin motioning toward the door and McClellan would toss final words at his guests: thanks for coming by, say hi to the folks back home, dont forget to take a souvenir.He had been sent to Washington by Arkansas voters, first as a congressman in 1934 and then, in 1942, as a U.S. senator. And now he found himself with a coveted seat on the powerful Senate Judiciary Committee. He told his aides to start digging. He wanted as much information on Thurgood Marshall as he could get, and he wanted it as fast as he could get it. John McClellan looked upon himself as a force for good, standing between Thurgood Marshall and the Supreme Court of the United States of America.In Washington, McClellan prided himself on his activities, his constant motion. At one time, he sat on fourteen subcommittees. In 1954, he found himself on a committee with the Wisconsin senator Joseph McCarthy, who was galloping around the nations capital on a one-man witch hunt for Communists. McCarthy had charged the State Department with having dozens of Communists in its employ. At a time when Americans were fearful of Communism, McCarthys charges landed him on the front pages. Many were riled up. All of this intrigued McClellan, as ready as anyone to corral a Communist. But McCarthy, who was a shambling and reckless figure, soon made McClellan nervous. It was McCarthys lack of discipline and some of his aides who were utterly unprofessional. Im fond of Joe McCarthy, McClellan allowed, but hes getting out of hand, and we have to do something to control him. McClellan quit the McCarthy-led committee he was on. He escaped the shadow of McCarthy with prescient timing, as the Army-McCarthy hearings, nationally televised, exposed McCarthy as a mean-spirited liar. The Senate eventually censured him.In 1957, McClellan led the celebrated Senate Labor Rackets Committee, which took on mobsters and their henchmen and eventually exposed the criminal underworld in America. That was the moment that John McClellans profile rose in America. Because of disclosures exposed by his committee, two teamsters, Jimmy Hoffa and Dave Beck, had been sent to prison. Another round of hearings in 1963 offered up Joseph Valachi, a mobster who seemed to thrill television viewers with his insiders account of cold-blooded doings in the Mafia. The Omaha World-Herald had once said of McClellan that he possessed a steely mask of Old Testament righteousness. If John McClellan had stopped gangsters, he figured he could certainly thwart LBJs new Supreme Court nominee.In Washington, they didnt bother to refer to him as Senator McClellan; they called him the Chairman, because he had been chairman of the Senate Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations, as well as chairman of the Senate Select Committee on Improper Activities in the Labor or Management Field, which was the committee that provided him with the tools to go after the mobsters. Because those racketeering hearings were nationally televised, everyone knew Senator John McClellan. The young aides in the Johnson White House knew well how dangerous McClellan could be to their efforts in getting Thurgood Marshall onto the U.S. Supreme Court. Virtually every speech he made inscribed a rising curve from the prudent statement of fact to polemical rage, his powerful voice quavering with indignation, is how the Johnson aide Harry McPherson put it.The Johnson administration had drawn a battle line. Thurgood Marshall was the lawyer who had won the Brown v. Board of Education ruling, a ruling that led to utter embarrassment in McClellans home state in the fall of 1957, when nine Negro schoolchildren had tried to desegregate Little Rock Central High School and been stopped by whites hurling epithets, spit, and large rocks. (It was also the year that Time magazine named McClellan its Man of the Year.) Reporters on the scene to cover the story were chased and bloodied by the mobs. This had forced President Dwight Eisenhower to go into military mode and dispatch troops to protect the children. The troops had to remain at the school watching over the Negro children for an entire year. Little Rock was thus seared into the nations psyche as mean and bigoted. And on his trips back home to Arkansas at the time, to attend all those social events and grand openings and visit family as all politicians do, John McClellan had to endure all the chatter about Little Rock, about how the government was attacking states rights, how Negroes were trying to take over the schools. And all he could do was assure his constituents that he was doing everything he could to protect their way of life, the southern way of life. It made McClellan angry, though, how he had to take up all of this time defending himself and how hard he was working in Washington to keep Arkansas as it had always been. Thurgood Marshall, if he made it to the Supreme Court, was not going to keep Arkansas as it had always been.But first, before McClellan could do anything about Marshall, he had to clear his throat. He did not like it one bit that President Johnson had stunned him with the suddenness of the Marshall nomination. After all, he was a southern Democrat like Johnson himself! John McClellan so prided himself on having the pulse of government, of government at the highest levels, of what they were doing over at the White House, that this series of eventsa justice departing, then, in a flash, a new nominationonly gnawed at his sense of propriety and even decorum. McClellan couldnt figure out how all of this had transpired, had been put into motion without any hints falling his way. And he did not like any of it at all.it was often said around the Johnson White House that what LBJ wanted, LBJ got. And in the summer of 1967, LBJ wanted to put Thurgood Marshall, a Negro, on the Supreme Court. There was a small problem: there was no vacancy nor had a single sitting justice been talking about stepping down from his lifetime appointment. Johnson looked to his Texas roots and saw clearly how he could solve the problem.Lyndon Johnson had first met the associate justice Tom Clark back in Texas in 1938, when Johnson was a young congressman. The Johnson and Clark families went on outings together, their little children romping across wide lawns. A friendship developed that included the whole family; it was much more than a professional relationship between the two men, Tom Clarks daughter, Mimi Clark Gronlund, would recall. When

Johnsons daughters, Lynda and Luci, became engaged, the Clarks threw parties for them. (There was something interesting about Texas men who had more amenable attitudes toward Negroes than others in the state. I knew him when he first came to Washington, Thurgood Marshall would come to recall of Tom Clark. I knew his mother. And his brother in Dallas ...His mother, way backthis will go back to the late thirtiesher housekeeper, a Negro, ate dinner with her. They ate right at the same table together. Now, back in the thirties, you didnt do that in Texas.) Clark had originally been encouraged to come to Washington in 1937 by the House majority leader, Sam Rayburn, who was Johnsons mentor. Clark joined the Justice Department as a special assistant. After the death of Franklin D. Roosevelt, President Truman appointed Clark attorney general. And when the Supreme Court justice Frank Murphy died in 1949, Truman nominated Clark to the court. Court openings were created, often, by grave and declining health, or death. But in 1967, as Justice Clarks family knew, he was in good health and had not at all talked of resigning from the court. In order to nominate Marshall, Johnson had to make some fast chess-like moves.First, Johnson encouraged Attorney General Nicholas Katzenbach to resign, then appointed Katzenbach undersecretary of state. Johnson intended to appoint Ramsey Clarkthe deputy attorney general, who happened to be Tom Clarks sonto the position permanently. But Johnson knew othersinside the legal profession and outwould wonder about a perceived conflict of interest because Clarks father sat on the high court. But Lyndon Johnson knew people; he knew the dynamics of fathers and sons, how a rising son could make a father swoon with pride, and how a father, if called upon to make a sacrifice for his one and only son, might do it almost as reflex, without giving it a second thought. He talked to Tom Clark to tell him he wanted to appoint Ramsey attorney general, Johnsons aide Joseph Califano would recall. Johnson needed a vacancy to put Thurgood Marshall on the court. So Tom Clark had to retire, and Johnson got the vacancy. Decades later, recalling the Johnson maneuverings, Califano could still beam with amazement: It was a classic Johnson move.So grateful was Johnson for Tom Clarks resignation that he sent Clark and his wife on a once-in-a-lifetime trip around the world. Ostensibly, it was a goodwill mission sponsored by the Department of State with Clark expected to exchange ideas with foreign officials about their respective judiciaries, but it really was a gift to the Clarks for Tom Clarks stepping down. The couple set foot in more than a dozen exotic locales, among them Honk Kong, New Zealand, Jordan, Indonesia, Greece, Turkey, Tokyo, and finally Romewhere they dined in style and saw the ruins. Mrs. Clark called it their great adventure.The Johnson White House aimed to use surprise as a weapon in its strategic rollout of the Clark-Marshall announcements. And it worked, because some of the Senate Judiciary Committee membersespecially the southernerscomplained bitterly about the swiftness of the move, which had caught them off guard. Hed just call Senator Eastland, Senator Thurmond, and say, Senator, Im nominating Thurgood Marshall to the Supreme Court, and before they could say anything, says Califano, hed hang the phone up and call the next senator. McClellan, James Eastland, Strom Thurmond, and all the other Judiciary Committee members were treated with similarly fast phone calls.The Marshall announcement unleashed waves of pride within the Johnson White House, a pride that bubbled especially among Negroes nationwide.The White House, at 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, had a peculiar and vexing relationship with blacks throughout history. In 1901, President Theodore Roosevelt had the educatorand onetime slaveBooker T. Washington to the White House to dine. The engagement was private, unannounced. But word quickly seeped out. The southern newspapers let the epithets fly: Roosevelt Dines a Darkey. A Rank Negrophilist. Our Coon-Flavored President. Roosevelt Proposes to Coddle the Son of Ham. At one stroke, and by one act, The Richmond News opined of Teddy Roosevelt, he has destroyed the kindly, warm regard and personal affection for him which were growing up fast in the South. Hereafter ...it will be impossible to feel, as we were beginning to feel, that he is one of us. Not many years later, in 1915, the D. W. Griffith movie The Birth of a Nation opened in theaters. It was based on Thomas Dixons novel The Clansman, a vile piece of fiction that painted blacks with evil stereotypes. They were thieves and sexual marauders lusting after white women. The NAACP condemned the movie, but not President Woodrow Wilson, who hosted a screening at the White House, then heaped praise on the movie. Wilson also went on to segregate the federal workforce in the nations capital. A Negro was not appointed to an executive White House position until President Eisenhowers first term, and even that move was fraught with pain. E. Frederic Morrowa Bowdoin College grad, a CBS public relations executive, a man of steely resolve and great dignityhad done campaign work for the candidate Eisenhower. Members of Eisenhowers team were so impressed with his work they promised a White House position. When Ike won, Morrows phone did not ring. He complained. He was finally given a job at the Commerce Department. But it did not sit well with him; he had been promised a White House position. Republican allies of Morrows in New York City put pressure on the White House to deliver on its promise, and Morrow finally became a White House staff member in 1955.Little wonder Negro newspapers around the nation proudly trumpeted the Marshall nomination.But with pride aside, the Johnson White House knew the first stop was the Senate Judiciary Committee. It was a historic committee and one of the original standing committees in the Senate, first authorized in 1816. Throughout its history, the committee took on a wide range of assignments, from bankruptcies, to state boundaries, to contested Senate elections. The committee even played a role in the aftermath of Reconstruction, settling matters when it came to Confederate states and their restoration to the Union. It had long been a committee steeped in thorny challenges and national urgency. There was clear knowledge that there would be a fight, remembers the Johnson aide Clifford Alexander. Johnson knew because he came out of the leadership of the Senate. It

was key to get the nomination out of the Judiciary Committee. The Democrats were the segregationists.