

Black Americans in Congress

INTRODUCTION

On December 12, 1870, Joseph H. Rainey of South Carolina was sworn in as the first Black Member of the U.S. House of Representatives. Newspapers across the nation announced Rainey's historic accomplishment. Born enslaved, Rainey was an advocate for Black civil and political rights, a hard-working legislator, and the longest-serving Black Member of Congress in the nineteenth century. When he became the first African American to preside over the House in 1874, the *Springfield Republican* celebrated his achievement as a marker of national growth, noting that the nation was far removed from "the days when men of Mr. Rainey's race were sold under the hammer within bowshot of the capitol." Before the end of the decade, 14 Black Representatives and two Black Senators had served in Congress—all from southern states and all Republicans.¹

White southerners responded to Black political progress in the 1870s with a brutal campaign of voter disenfranchisement and violent repression against African Americans. The number of Black Members of Congress declined in the two decades that followed Rainey's departure from the House in 1879. After George Henry White of North Carolina was re-elected to his second and final term in the House in 1898, it would be 30 years—until 1928—before another Black American won a seat in Congress.

The first Black lawmaker elected in the twentieth century was Oscar De Priest of Chicago, Illinois. De Priest's victory in 1928 also made him the first Black Member of Congress elected from a northern state, and his arrival on Capitol Hill was hailed as epoch-defining. The *Chicago Defender* declared that "Illinois and Oscar De Priest have opened up a new chapter in America's history."²

This 1938 print revised and reproduced a montage published in 1907 by African-American journalist Edward E. Cooper. It depicts the Black Members who had served in Congress up to that point.

Thirty-eight years later, Edward W. Brooke of Massachusetts was elected to the Senate, becoming the first African American in that chamber since 1881. As with De Priest's election, the Black press described Brooke's win as "historic" and as "the most exciting step forward for the Negro in politics" since emancipation. While no Black Senator would follow Brooke until Carol Moseley Braun of Illinois in 1992, the number of Black Representatives rose exponentially in the ensuing decades. In fact, more than 80 percent of all the Black Members who have ever served in Congress—up to the June 1, 2022, closing date of this volume—were elected after 1966.³

In 1972, the election of Barbara Jordan of Texas and Andrew Young of Georgia marked the first time that voters in the South had sent Black Members to Congress since the nineteenth century. Legendary voting rights activist John Lewis noted the significance of this moment in 1973. "More than just a victory for their immediate constituency, their election as representatives in the United States Congress has great meaning for blacks throughout the South," said Lewis, who, in 1987, would begin three decades of service representing Georgia in the House. "These two black leaders are symbols who will challenge blacks in the other southern states."⁴

Time and again, for more than 150 years, Black men and women have won election to Congress despite having to overcome formidable, ever-changing barriers to Black political participation. In the century and a half since Rainey's election in 1870, Black lawmakers have experienced both disappointment and transcendent successes. Rainey's

election exemplified what was possible during the brief period of Reconstruction, when the federal government acted to protect Black civil and political rights. De Priest's victory in Chicago illuminated the extent to which the Great Migration of Black Americans from the rural South to the urban North had altered the demographics of American cities and transformed the political geography of a vast nation. And the election of Brooke to the Senate and Jordan and Young to the House provided evidence of new electoral possibilities for Black Americans following the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965.

The story of Black Americans in Congress is not confined to Capitol Hill. It is a national story of electoral triumphs and discouraging setbacks, hard-won victories and long periods of political exclusion in states and towns across the country. From South Carolina, to Illinois, to Massachusetts, to Texas, and Georgia, lawmakers brought these experiences to Washington, DC. *Black Americans in Congress, 1870–2022* weaves together the disparate stories of these Black men and women from across the country, illuminating commonalities and contrasts in this constant struggle for Black representation in Congress. Divided into four sections, this book explores the individuals, coalitions, events, and institutional changes that have shaped the experiences of Black Members. It also demonstrates the essential role African Americans have played in transforming Congress and changing the nature of representation on Capitol Hill. Whether in the 1870s, the 1930s, or the 1970s, Black Members were adamant that they were acting on behalf of millions of African Americans, and they pioneered new forms of political action on Capitol Hill, including the creation of the Congressional Black Caucus, to do so.

Although their stories do not often appear in the *Congressional Record*, African Americans profoundly influenced the history of Congress even before the election of the first Black Representatives and Senators. The enslaved laborers who built the U.S. Capitol in the early nineteenth century, for instance, created a physical record of their contributions. The pillars beneath the Capitol Rotunda were chiseled by workers whose names have been lost to history. Brick by brick, they constructed the permanent home of the legislative branch.⁵

For more than 225 years, African Americans have sought ways to rectify the contradictory origins of a representative government that countenanced centuries of slavery, followed by decades of entrenched discrimination and disenfranchisement.



Senator Edward W. Brooke was the first popularly elected Black Senator and the first Black politician from Massachusetts to serve in Congress.

Image courtesy of the Library of Congress

They ran for office, advocated for Black civil and political rights, and appealed for legislative action. Since 1870, Black Americans have made Congress a key battleground in this quest to make real an American democracy.

“THE FIFTEENTH AMENDMENT IN FLESH AND BLOOD,” 1870–1901

During the five years following the Civil War, the Republican Party spearheaded congressional efforts to rebuild the South and readmit the former Confederate states during a period known as Reconstruction. Congress passed a series of laws and constitutional amendments to protect individual civil and political rights, guarantee equal protection of the law, and prohibit discrimination in public accommodations.

This was a moment of vast possibility for Black Americans, and they seized the opportunity to serve in local, state, and federal offices. By February 1870, Hiram R. Revels of Mississippi joined the Senate, and Rainey was sworn in to the House that December. Including Revels and Rainey, southern states sent 20 Black Representatives to the House, and southern state legislatures elected two Black Senators over the next three decades. Many Black lawmakers had been enslaved before the Civil War. Yet, as Members of Congress, they were empowered to reshape the very laws that had been previously designed to restrict them.

This section traces the rise and fall of Black representation in Congress in the nineteenth century. Black Members of Congress arrived in Washington from states rife with discord and division. While the Republican Party had established a strong presence across the South, building a base of support from Black voters in the years following the war, the Democratic Party coalesced around White supremacists who were determined to regain control of state and local governments in the region. African Americans often faced violence and intimidation at the polls and appealed to the federal government to intervene and protect Black voting rights.

Against this backdrop, Black Members proposed legislation, engaged in debate, and tried to shape the Republican agenda on Capitol Hill. Black lawmakers in the early 1870s influenced debate on proposed civil rights legislation, called for a national education policy, and urged the federal government to act to protect the rights of individuals in the South. Several, including Rainey and Robert Brown Elliott of South Carolina, offered key arguments during debate in the House on congressional action to undermine the Ku Klux Klan and pass the Civil Rights Act of 1875.



A *Harper's Weekly* illustration from July 1868 depicts a political meeting of African Americans in the South. Black political activism in majority-Black districts throughout the South propelled 22 Black men into Congress between 1870 and 1901.

Image courtesy of the Library of Congress

But as lawmakers and the President increasingly turned away from the goals of Reconstruction, Black Members became more isolated. They continued to advocate for the interests of African Americans and remained committed to building a more egalitarian society. Southern Democrats orchestrated a reign of terror to disenfranchise Black voters, implement discriminatory laws, and roll back the gains of Reconstruction. During the final decade of the nineteenth century, only five Black Members of Congress served in the House. By 1901, the array of legal and extralegal means established across the former Confederacy to preserve Democratic control had thoroughly disenfranchised African Americans.

EXILE, MIGRATION, AND THE STRUGGLE FOR REPRESENTATION, 1901–1965

At the dawn of the twentieth century, Black Americans were cast into political exile. Discriminatory state and local laws in the Jim Crow South led to widespread disenfranchisement, while threats of violence and economic reprisals reinforced the system of segregation. Few pathways existed for Black political participation on Capitol Hill, though advocacy groups such as the NAACP tried to exert influence on legislation in the absence of Black Members of Congress.

This volume's second section follows the massive social, economic, and demographic changes that ultimately led Black lawmakers back to Congress. In 1928, after almost

three decades of no Black representation in Congress, Oscar De Priest won election to the House from a Chicago district. From 1928 to 1965, a total of eight Black Representatives were elected to the House, all from industrial cities in the North and West. Their congressional districts had been transformed by Black migrants, who had left the South in search of safer living conditions and new opportunities.

As more and more Black Americans found employment and new political freedoms outside the South, Republicans and Democrats sought ways to attract their support. De Priest was the lone Black Republican elected during this era. In 1934, Arthur W. Mitchell defeated De Priest's bid for a fourth term in the House, becoming the first Black Democrat elected to Congress. As the nation reeled from the Great Depression, Mitchell and many Black voters embraced the New Deal of President Franklin D. Roosevelt in the 1930s and 1940s, and with it the Democratic Party.

On Capitol Hill, however, southern Democrats actively worked to obstruct civil rights measures and other legislation that might undermine Jim Crow. Though small in number, the Black Representatives serving in the House influenced legislation and pursued institutional advancement in ways unavailable to their predecessors. Black Members chaired committees and subcommittees and regularly played a



In 1928, Oscar De Priest's successful election campaign to represent a lakeshore district in Chicago, Illinois, demonstrated the electoral possibilities for Black representation in northern cities, particularly as the Great Migration led to growing African-American populations in urban areas.

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significant role in committee hearings. Throughout this period, Black Members also consistently demanded civil rights reform; political divisions within both parties and the determined resistance of southern Democrats, however, made passing legislation extremely difficult.

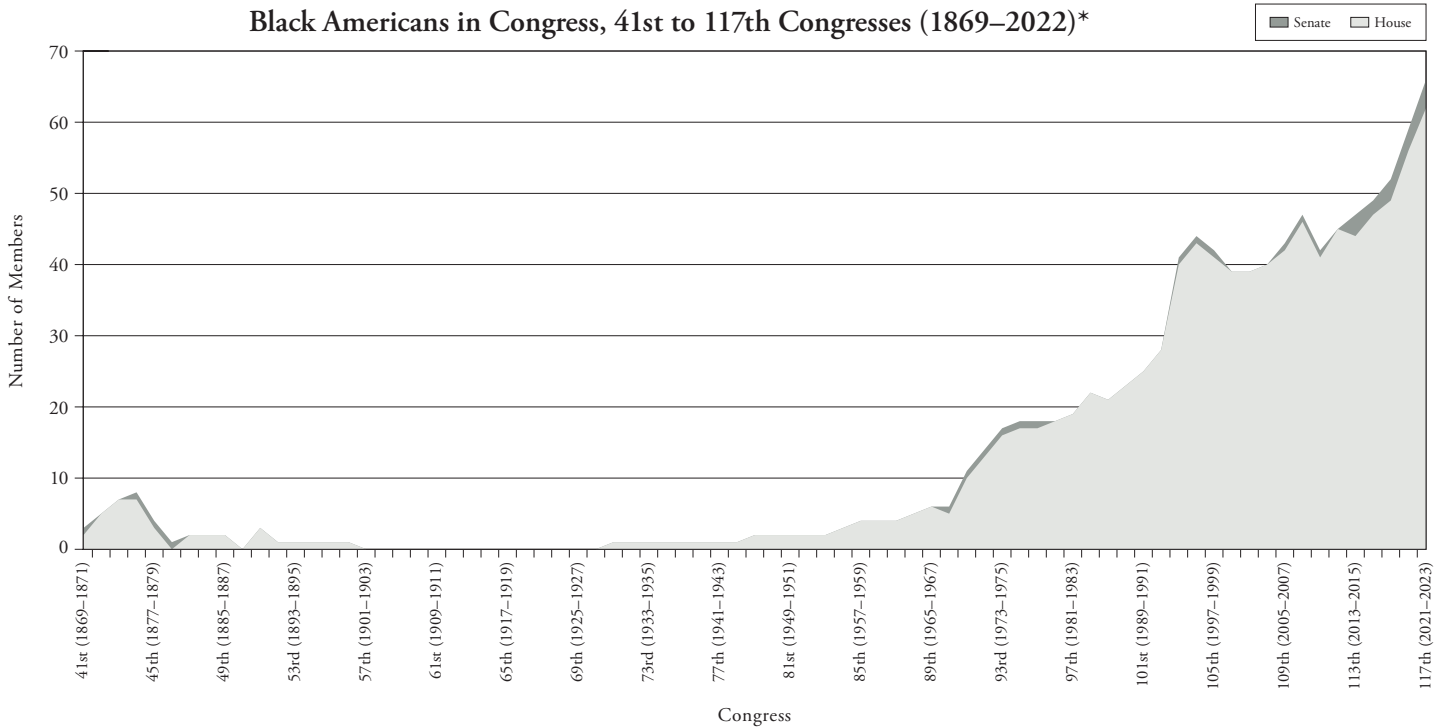
During World War II and the Cold War, global conflict put the spotlight on American society and created new opportunities for Black Americans to challenge discrimination and segregation. They pointed out that the United States waged war for democracy abroad but that the persistence of racism and Jim Crow at home cast doubt on the country's foreign policy rhetoric. At the same time, the grassroots organizing of the postwar civil rights movement created a groundswell of pressure on Congress to act. By the 1960s, Congress passed the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965, two landmark pieces of twentieth-century legislation that laid the foundation for the election of more Black Members of Congress in the ensuing decades.

PERMANENT INTERESTS, 1966–1990

The generation of lawmakers who came to Capitol Hill after the civil rights revolution was at the forefront of a remarkable expansion of Black political representation across the country. The civil rights acts of the 1960s and court-ordered redistricting opened new avenues of political participation for millions of African Americans. Consequently, many more Black politicians were elected to office at the state and federal levels. In 1966, Edward Brooke became the first African American in 85 years to be elected to the U.S. Senate. Two years later, the number of African Americans in Congress increased to nine, at that point the most ever in one Congress. Among those elected in November 1968 was the first Black woman to serve in Congress, Representative Shirley Chisholm of New York. This era also saw the return of the first Black Members from southern states that had not been represented by Black Representatives or Senators in seven decades or more. Representative Andrew Young of Georgia, for example, was elected in 1972 as the first Black Member from Georgia since 1871. Barbara Jordan of Texas and Harold E. Ford Sr. of Tennessee represented southern states that had never sent a Black candidate to Congress. By the 100th Congress (1987–1989) there were 24 Black Members of Congress, elected from districts across the country.

As the number of African Americans serving on Capitol Hill continued to grow, Black lawmakers began to formally

Black Americans in Congress, 41st to 117th Congresses (1869–2022)*



Since 1870, 175 African-American lawmakers have served in Congress as of June 1, 2022. During the 117th Congress (2021–2023), a record 66 Black lawmakers served in Congress.

organize and coordinate their shared legislative efforts. In early 1971, 12 African-American Members of Congress formed the Congressional Black Caucus (CBC) to promote what Representative William Lacy “Bill” Clay Sr. of Missouri called the “permanent interests” important to Black Americans, to advance Black Members within the institution, and to push legislation, sometimes with potent results. “Blacks never could rely on somebody in Congress to speak out on racial questions; they can with the caucus,” declared CBC cofounder Representative Louis Stokes of Ohio.⁶

Black lawmakers in this era sought to expand and protect the civil rights gains of the mid-1960s, support the liberation of Black people around the globe, and memorialize the achievements and activists of the civil rights movement. The CBC won a number of notable legislative victories, including the passage of Voting Rights Act extensions in 1975 and 1982, the 1983 creation of a federal holiday commemorating the birthday of Martin Luther King Jr., and the 1986 law that imposed the first sanctions against South Africa’s all-White government for its practice of apartheid.

The CBC also used its influence within the Democratic Caucus to win better committee assignments and leadership opportunities for Black Members. Typically representing

safe electoral districts, many African-American Members enjoyed long careers that allowed them to accrue the seniority necessary to move into positions of power. From 1989 to 1991, for instance, William H. Gray III of Pennsylvania served as Democratic Majority Whip—the third-ranking party leader behind the Speaker and the Democratic Leader.

POWER AND DIVERSITY, 1990–2022

At the start of the 103rd Congress (1993–1995), the number of Black lawmakers in Congress increased from 27 to 40. Altogether, 17 Black lawmakers were elected to Congress in November 1992, including Carol Moseley Braun of Illinois, the first Black woman and the first Black Democrat to hold a seat in the U.S. Senate. The increase in Black representation in Congress in 1993 followed court-mandated redistricting in southern states, a process that drew congressional districts with majority-Black populations to facilitate the election of Black Representatives. Thirteen Black Members were elected from newly created majority-Black districts, eight of whom hailed from southern states that had not elected a Black Representative since the nineteenth century.



Members of the Congressional Black Caucus gather for a group portrait on the House steps of the U.S. Capitol during the 110th Congress (2007–2009).

Image courtesy of the U.S. House of Representatives Photography Office

The large increase in Black representation in Congress afforded Black Members and the Congressional Black Caucus new influence. In this era, 15 Black Members chaired 16 different standing and select committees. Black legislators also continued to rise through party ranks. J.C. Watts Jr. of Oklahoma became the first African-American lawmaker to hold a leadership position in the Republican Party when he was elected conference chair in 1999, and James E. Clyburn of South Carolina served as Democratic Majority Whip, becoming only the second Black Member to hold this position.

By the final decade of the twentieth century, more and more Black women had also begun winning prominent and powerful seats on Capitol Hill. Between 1990 and 2022, 47 Black women were elected to Congress, two in the Senate and 45 in the House, where they became national leaders as chairs of influential committees and subcommittees and the CBC.

This era also saw the growth in number of Black Republican lawmakers serving in Congress. Beginning with the election of Gary A. Franks of Connecticut in 1990, eight Black Republicans have served in the House and the Senate. The return of Black Republicans to Congress has proceeded with the return of their party to power after Republicans won control of the House for the first time in 40 years in 1994.

Moreover, the geographic diversity of their districts meant that Black Members from both parties sought seats

on a larger range of committees. From their new positions, Black Members influenced some of the most significant legislation of the period, including criminal justice policy, health care reform, and voting rights.

Nevertheless, African-American Members continued to face new challenges. By the second session of the 117th Congress (2021–2023), the 58 Black Members in the House and three Black Senators represented constituencies whose unique geography and special interests diversified their legislative agendas, occasionally making unity within the CBC difficult. And although leadership positions afforded African Americans a more powerful institutional voice and greater legislative leverage, Black Members had to make difficult choices between party imperatives and the interests of their constituents.

Ultimately, this generation of Black Americans in Congress defined their legislative agenda based on a range of factors, from their congressional districts to broader goals of civil and political rights for African Americans. And they did so on their own terms.

THE ORIGINS OF *BLACK AMERICANS IN CONGRESS*

The present volume originated with the first edition of *Black Americans in Congress*, which was compiled and published shortly after the U.S. bicentennial in 1976. Authorized by the 95th Congress (1977–1979) via House Concurrent Resolution 182, it was printed as a House Document in 1977. Organized by Representative Corinne “Lindy” Boggs of Louisiana and Senator Edward Brooke, the booklet highlighted the careers of the 45 African Americans who had served in Congress up to that point. A résumé-style format included basic biographical information, congressional service dates, party affiliation, committee assignments, and information about Members’ other political offices. Entries were arranged chronologically, with one section for Senators and another for Representatives. A thumbnail image accompanied each profile. In a brief introduction, the renowned African-American historian Benjamin Quarles of Morgan State University wrote that Black Members on Capitol Hill were “living proof that Blacks could produce an able leadership of their own. Moreover, their presence in the halls of Congress made their Black constituents feel that they were more than bystanders—they were participants, however vicariously, in the political process.”⁷

A second edition, *Black Americans in Congress, 1870–1989*, was authorized by the House and the Senate in the fall of 1989 and was published in 1990. By that point, 66 African Americans had served in Congress. The volume was dedicated to the memory of Representative Mickey Leland of Texas who, as the book went to press, died in a plane crash while delivering food to famine-stricken Ethiopians. Representative Ronald V. Dellums of California, then the chair of the CBC, contributed a brief introduction for the volume: “For Black Americans the promise of republican government and democratic participation was delayed well beyond the founding of the federal government in 1789.” Dellums also observed, “In this bicentennial year of Congress and the federal government, it is important to recognize that the Constitution we enjoy today evolved over a number of years and did not protect the civil rights of Black Americans until after a Civil War and passage of significant amendments.” Authorized partly to commemorate the bicentennial of Congress in 1989, the volume contained 500- to 1,000-word profiles of Members, with basic biographical information. Suggestions for further reading were provided at the end of each profile. The profiles of former and current Members, arranged alphabetically, were merged into one section and accompanied by larger pictures.⁸

THE 2008 AND 2022 EDITIONS

In the spring of 2001, Congress passed House Concurrent Resolution 43, authorizing the Library of Congress to compile “an updated version” of *Black Americans in Congress, 1870–1989*. In late 2001, the Library of Congress transferred the project to the Office of the Clerk of the U.S. House of Representatives. Subsequently, the Office of History and Preservation (OHP) was created under the Clerk of the House, and OHP staff began work on this publication.⁹

The resulting volume, *Black Americans in Congress, 1870–2007*, published in 2008, reflected the far-reaching changes that occurred after the second edition of the book. When the 1990 edition was published during the 101st Congress (1989–1991), 25 Black Members served in the House. There were no African-American Senators. But over the next two decades, a number of unprecedented developments changed the course of African-American congressional history. From 1991 through the end of 2007, 55 new African Americans were elected to Congress—roughly 45 percent of all the Black Members and Senators

who had served in the history of the institution. Moreover, the appreciable gender gap between Black men and women Members of Congress narrowed during this period. Between 1991 and the end of 2007, 20 Black women were elected to Congress—36 percent of all African Americans elected to Congress in that period.

The structure, scope, and content of the 2008 edition of *Black Americans in Congress* reflected the dramatic growth, changing characteristics, and increasing influence of Black Members. Like the first edition, the 2008 volume was organized chronologically, to more accurately convey how the experiences of Black Members changed over time. In contrast to both of the previous editions of *Black Americans in Congress*, however, the Member profiles in the 2008 edition placed more emphasis on elections and congressional service and featured a much broader scope. Additionally, contextual essays offered analysis of the political, social, and institutional developments affecting African Americans’ participation in Congress over the years.

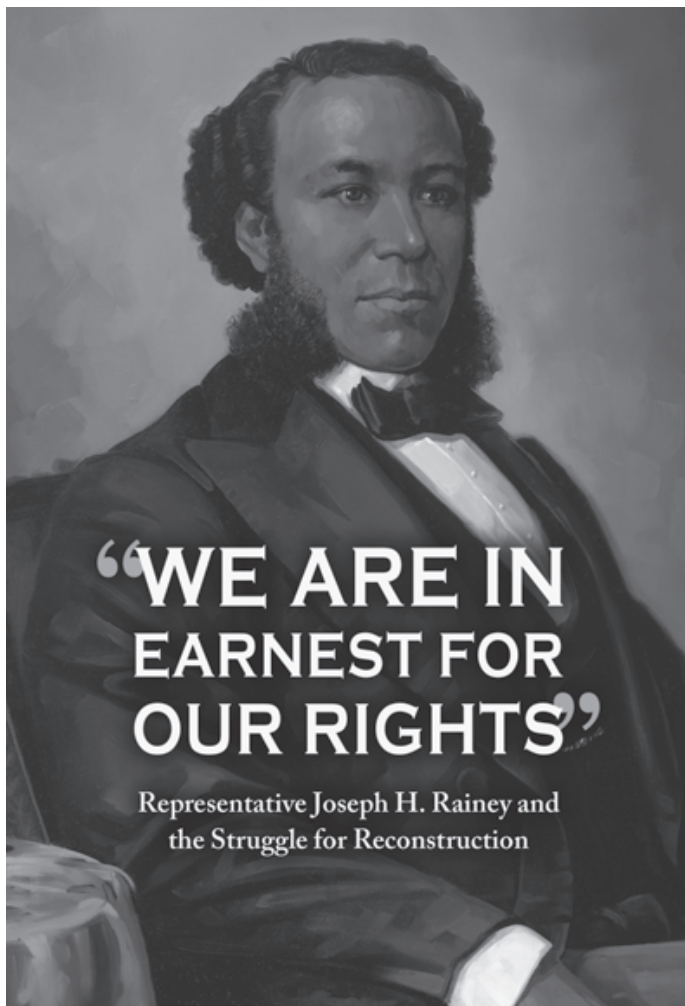
In the summer of 2022, Congress passed House Concurrent Resolution 82 to publish a revised edition of *Black Americans in Congress*, whose title was specified in the print resolution and follows the first three editions of this book. The new edition of *Black Americans in Congress*,



Mickey Leland of Texas poured his energy into raising awareness of hunger and poverty in the United States and around the world. In 1984, Leland successfully persuaded the House to create the Select Committee on Hunger, which he chaired.

Image courtesy of the National Archives and Records Administration

however, includes fully reconceptualized and reorganized contextual essays and profiles. Its four sections cover revised time periods to accentuate key turning points in the history of African Americans in Congress and to take into account the growth in the number of Black Americans in Congress since 2008. It also features updated appendices, including Black Members by Congress and by state or territory; Black Members who were chairs of committees and subcommittees; chairs of the CBC; Black Members in party leadership positions; and constitutional amendments and major legislation related to the civil and voting rights of African Americans.¹⁰



Joseph H. Rainey of South Carolina, who in December 1870 became the first African-American Representative, navigated a unique path from slave to citizen to Representative. Rainey's pioneering career and legacy as a defender of Black civil and political rights are explored in *"We Are in Earnest for Our Rights": Representative Joseph H. Rainey and the Struggle for Reconstruction*, published to celebrate the 150th anniversary of his election to the House.

Office of the Historian, U.S. House of Representatives

Each Member profile describes the individual's pre-congressional career and, when possible, contains a detailed analysis of the lawmaker's first campaign for congressional office as well as information about re-election efforts, committee assignments, leadership positions, major legislative initiatives, and a brief summary of the Member's post-congressional career. Following the Government Publishing Office (GPO) *Style Manual*, the editors have capitalized the initial letters of both "Black" and "White."

We hope this resource will serve as a starting point for students and researchers who want to know more about the experiences of Black Americans in Congress. Accordingly, bibliographic information, including information about manuscript collections, is provided at the end of each former Member profile, when applicable. This information was drawn from the House and Senate records that were used to compile the *Biographical Directory of the United States Congress*.

The Office of the House Historian maintains a website exhibition, "Black Americans in Congress," <https://history.house.gov/Exhibitions-and-Publications/BAIC/Black-Americans-in-Congress/>, based on the book's latest print edition. Readers can access the online profiles of every Member from Hiram Revels and Joseph Rainey onward as well as up-to-date data and statistics on various aspects of the history of African Americans in Congress.

RESEARCHING THE TOPIC OF AFRICAN AMERICANS IN CONGRESS

The literature on African-American history, which has grown into one of the most dynamic fields in the profession, has been created largely since the 1960s. John Hope Franklin, the post-World War II dean of Black history, wrote the textbook *From Slavery to Freedom* (first published in 1947; later editions were written with Alfred A. Moss Jr.); with eight editions in half a century, this textbook remains an excellent starting point for those who wish to appreciate the breadth of the African-American historical experience. Professor Moss read a draft of the 2008 edition of this book.

The ample literature on African-American history is wide-ranging. As often as possible we have pointed readers, in the endnotes of the essays and profiles of this volume, toward standard works on various aspects of African-American history and congressional history. As the field has grown, a number of political biographies have been published on nineteenth-century Black Members of Congress, including Robert Brown Elliott, George

Washington Murray, Robert Smalls, George Henry White, and Blanche K. Bruce. In 2020, the Office of the House Historian published *“We Are in Earnest for Our Rights”*: Representative Joseph H. Rainey and the Struggle for Reconstruction, a 35-page booklet on the congressional career of the first Black Member of the U.S. House of Representatives. The lives of major twentieth-century Black Members of Congress, including William L. Dawson, Arthur Mitchell, Adam Clayton Powell Jr., Charles C. Diggs Jr., Andrew Young, and Mickey Leland, have also been chronicled in recent biographies.¹¹

Several sources were indispensable starting points in the compilation of this book. Inquiries into Members’ congressional careers should begin with the *Biographical Directory of the United States Congress*. Maintained by the Office of the House Historian and the Senate Historical Office, this publication contains basic biographical information about Members, pertinent bibliographic references, and information about manuscript collections. It is available at <https://bioguide.congress.gov/search>. For Members who served exclusively in the House, or House Members who also served in the Senate, the People Search function on the House Historian’s website, available at <https://history.house.gov/People/Search/>, is also vital. It is easily searchable and updated regularly.

Much of this book is based on primary source material, particularly published official congressional records and scholarly compilations of congressional statistics. The Office of the House Historian consulted a wide range of sources for information related to congressional elections, committee assignments, legislation, votes, floor debates, news accounts, and images.

Congressional election results for the biennial elections from 1920 forward are compiled by the Office of the Clerk, published by GPO, and available online at <https://history.house.gov/Institution/Election-Statistics/>. Michael J. Dubin’s *United States Congressional Elections, 1788–1997*, contains results for both general and special elections. For information on district boundaries and reapportionment, the editors relied on Kenneth C. Martis’s *The Historical Atlas of Political Parties in the United States Congress, 1789–1989*.¹²

Committee assignments and information about jurisdiction may be found in three indispensable scholarly compilations: David T. Canon, Garrison Nelson, and Charles Stewart III, *Committees in the U.S. Congress, 1789–1946*, 4 vols.; Garrison Nelson, *Committees in the U.S. Congress, 1947–1992*, 2 vols.; and Garrison Nelson and



As the first African American elected to the House from west of the Mississippi River, Augustus F. “Gus” Hawkins of California earned the nickname “Silent Warrior” for his persistent, behind-the-scenes work on behalf of minorities and the urban poor.

Image courtesy of the National Archives and Records Administration

Charles Stewart III, *Committees in the U.S. Congress: 1993–2010*. In addition, the editors of this volume consulted several primary sources to identify Members who chaired committees and subcommittees. The *Congressional Directory*, a GPO publication, dates to the nineteenth century and is available online from the 105th Congress (1997–1999) forward at <https://www.govinfo.gov/app/collection/CDIR/>. Committee and subcommittee rosters are also available in the independently published *United States Code: Congressional Service* and *United States Code: Congressional and Administrative News*. Another valuable source was the *Congressional Staff Directory*, which was published by Charles Bruce Brownson and Anna L. Brownson for more than 35 years starting in 1959. Additional editions were published by Congressional Quarterly from 1996 to 2012. The official lists of committee and subcommittee assignments compiled by the Clerk of the U.S. House of Representatives and the Secretary of the U.S. Senate were also consulted. The House Clerk’s committee rosters are available from the 101st Congress forward at <https://history.house.gov/Congressional-Overview/Profiles/101st/>, and the Senate Secretary’s committee rosters are available from the 109th Congress (2005–2007) forward at https://www.senate.gov/committees/committee_assignments.htm. The availability of compiled subcommittee rosters before 1959 is incomplete. For this period, the editors also consulted



Ralph H. Metcalfe of Illinois (seated) broke down barriers as an athlete, winning a gold medal in the 1936 Olympics in Nazi Germany. As a Member of Congress, he advocated for disadvantaged people in his district.

Collection of the U.S. House of Representatives

committee reports and hearing transcripts for subcommittee membership information.¹³

Legislation, floor debates, roll call votes, bills, resolutions, and public laws back to the 1970s may be searched at <https://congress.gov>. A useful print resource that discusses major acts of Congress is Stephen W. Stathis's *Landmark Legislation, 1774–2012: Major U.S. Acts and Treaties*, 2nd ed. Floor debates about legislation can be found in the *Congressional Globe* (1833–1873), available in the Library of Congress's online digital collection *Century of Lawmaking*, at <https://memory.loc.gov/ammem/amlaw/>, and the *Congressional Record* (1873–present), which is available at congress.gov from 1899 to the present. An index of the *Congressional Record* from 1983 to the present is available at <https://www.govinfo.gov/app/collection/CRI/>. The editors also consulted the official proceedings in the *House Journal* and the *Senate Journal*. For House roll call votes back to the second session of the 101st Congress, visit the House Clerk's website at <https://clerk.house.gov/Votes>. For print copies of the *Congressional Directory*, the *Congressional Globe*, the *Congressional Record*, the *House Journal*, the *Senate Journal*,

and committee publications, consult a federal depository library. A GPO locator for federal depository libraries is available at <https://ask.gpo.gov/s/FDLD>.¹⁴

We used online databases to review key newspapers from the major historical eras covered in this book, including the *New York Times*, the *Washington Post*, the *Los Angeles Times*, the *Christian Science Monitor*, the *Wall Street Journal*, the *Chicago Tribune*, the *Boston Globe*, and the *Atlanta Constitution*. We also consulted African-American newspapers, including the *Chicago Defender*, the *Atlanta Daily World*, the *Pittsburgh Courier*, the *Afro-American* (Baltimore, Maryland), and the *New York Amsterdam News*. News accounts and feature stories often helped fill in gaps in the historical record with stunning detail. These newspaper citations appear in the notes.

Additionally, the Office of the House Historian has interviewed several Black Members of Congress and Black congressional staff as part of its oral history program. Oral history videos and transcripts of interviews have been compiled online as part of a project to commemorate the 150th anniversary of Joseph H. Rainey's election to the House and are available at <https://history.house.gov/Oral-History/Rainey/>.

Significant photo research was carried out for the 2008 edition of *Black Americans in Congress*, and many of the images in that print publication are replicated here. Each image is accompanied by information on the repository from which it was sourced, including, but not limited to, the Collection of the U.S. House of Representatives, the Prints & Photographs Division of the Library of Congress (Washington, DC), the Still Pictures Branch of the National Archives and Records Administration (College Park, Maryland), and the Moorland-Spangarn Research Center at Howard University (Washington, DC). Images from more than a half-dozen Members' manuscript collections, state legislatures, libraries, and archives are also included in the publication.

Most of the profile images were provided by the House Clerk's Office of Art and Archives and are part of the Collection of the U.S. House of Representatives. The Senate Historical Office provided photographs of Senators. Images of current Members were provided by their offices. Current Member offices should serve as the point of contact for persons seeking an official image.

The editors thank the Office of the Clerk for its support and assistance in producing this edition of *Black Americans in Congress*. In particular, the Office of Art and Archives

provided assistance with image credits and captions, and the Office of Communications copyedited and designed the final publication.

Notes

- 1 “The Colored Member from South Carolina,” 31 December 1870, *Weekly Alta* (San Francisco, CA): 6; “The First Colored Representative,” 10 December 1870, *Chicago Tribune*: 2; “The New Colored Member from South Carolina,” 15 December 1870, *Portland Daily Press* (ME): 2; “The First Colored Republican,” 13 December 1870, *Pittsburgh Daily Commercial*: 1; “Strange Scene in the House—The Colored Member from South Carolina,” 18 December 1870, *Savannah Daily Advertiser* (GA): 2; “Springfield: Friday, May 1,” 1 May 1874, *Springfield Republican* (MA): 4.
- 2 “After 28 Years,” 20 April 1929, *Chicago Defender*: 14.
- 3 “Brooke Win Softens Gov. Brown’s Defeat,” 10 November 1966, *Los Angeles Sentinel*: A1; Simeon Booker, “‘I’m a Soul Brother—’: Senator Edward Brooke,” April 1967, *Ebony*: 154.
- 4 “Black Political Progress in Southland,” 17 February 1973, *Journal and Guide* (Norfolk, VA): 11.
- 5 William C. Allen with a foreword by Richard Baker and Kenneth Kato, *History of Slave Laborers in the Construction of the United States Capitol* (Washington, DC: Architect of the Capitol, 2005).
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