

UNITED STATES HISTORY



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UNITED STATES HISTORY

Daina Ramey Berry, Ph.D.

Albert S. Broussard, Ph.D.

Lorri Glover, Ph.D.

James M. McPherson, Ph.D.

Donald A. Ritchie, Ph.D.



About the Cover



The Statue of Liberty stands in New York Harbor as a symbol of freedom. A gift from the people of France to the people of the United States celebrating the centennial anniversary of American independence, it was dedicated on October 28, 1886.



This photo depicts an 1899 family portrait of the Native American Sauk people. The Sauk historically inhabited the upper Midwest region of what is today Wisconsin.



These well-known words begin the Preamble to the United States Constitution. Americans throughout history have used the words “We the People” to inspire efforts to expand the rights and equality of citizens of the United States.



This photo taken during World War II shows a female factory worker taking a break. Wartime provided opportunities for American women to work at manufacturing jobs that were previously closed to them.



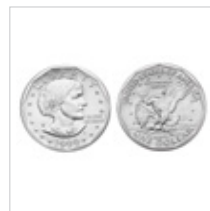
This button commemorates participation in the March on Washington in the summer of 1963. The event was a signature moment in the civil rights movement.



This image shows the crowd attending the March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom on August 28, 1963. It was during this March that civil rights leader Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. delivered his famous “I Have a Dream Speech” at the Lincoln Memorial.



Writer, orator, and social reformer Frederick Douglass (1817–1895) was a key figure in the effort for African American equality. He helped lead the abolitionist movement to end slavery in the nineteenth century.



This one-dollar coin features suffragette leader Susan B. Anthony (1820–1906). The U.S. mint initially honored Anthony with this coin in 1979. It was the first time a woman had appeared on a circulating coin.

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Authors

Daina Ramey Berry, Ph.D., is the Oliver H. Radkey Regents Professor and Chair of the History Department at the University of Texas at Austin. She is the author and editor of several books including *The Price for Their Pound of Flesh*, which won three book awards and co-author of *A Black Women's History of the United States* which was a finalist for an NAACP Image Award in Literary Non-Fiction. Dr. Berry is an Associate Editor for the *Journal of African American History* and a Distinguished Lecturer for the Organization of American Historians.

Albert S. Broussard, Ph.D., is professor of History at Texas A&M University, where he has taught since 1985. Professor Broussard has published three books, *Expectations of Equality: A History of Black Westerners* (2012), *Black San Francisco: The Struggle for Racial Equality in the West, 1900-1954* (1993), and *African American Odyssey: The Stewarts, 1853-1963* (1998). He is a former president of the Oral History Association and a former chair of the Nominating Committee of the Organization of American Historians. Dr. Broussard was the recipient of a distinguished teaching award from Texas A&M University in 1997 and presented the University Distinguished Faculty lecture in 2000. In the spring of 2005, he was the Langston Hughes Professor of American Studies at the University of Kansas. Dr. Broussard also served three terms on the board of directors of Humanities Texas and as a consultant to the Texas Education Agency. He is a past president of the Society for Historians of the Gilded Age and Progressive Era.

Lorri Glover, Ph.D., is the Bannon Endowed Chair in the History Department at Saint Louis University. She is the author or editor of ten books, including *Founders as Fathers: The Private Lives and Politics of the American Revolutionaries*; *The Fate of the Revolution: Virginians Debate the Constitution*; and *Eliza Lucas Pinckney: An Independent Woman in the Age of Revolution*. Dr. Glover has served as president of the Southern Association for Women Historians, a Distinguished Lecturer with the Organization of American Historians, and on the Executive Council of the Southern Historical Association.

James M. McPherson, Ph.D., is George Henry Davis Professor Emeritus of American History at Princeton University. Dr. McPherson is the author of 11 books about the Civil War era, including *Tried by War: Abraham Lincoln as Commander in Chief*, for which he won the 2009 Lincoln Prize. Dr. McPherson is a member of many professional historical associations, including the American Battlefield Trust.

Donald A. Ritchie, Ph.D., is Historian Emeritus of the United States Senate. Dr. Ritchie received his doctorate in American history from the University of Maryland after service in the U.S. Marine Corps. He has taught American history at various levels, from high school to university, and is the author of several books, including *The U.S. Congress: A Very Short Introduction*; *Reporting from Washington: A History of the Washington Press Corps*; and *Press Gallery: Congress and the Washington Correspondents*, which received the Organization of American Historians' Richard W. Leopold Prize. Dr. Ritchie has served as president of the Oral History Association and as a council member of the American Historical Association.

Academic Consultants

Davarian Baldwin, Ph.D.

Professor of American Studies
Trinity College
Hartford, Connecticut

Miroslava Chavez-Garcia, Ph.D.

Professor of History
University of California, Santa Barbara
Santa Barbara, California

Mark Cheatham, Ph.D.

Professor of History
Cumberland University
Lebanon, Tennessee

C. Joseph Genetin-Pilawa, Ph.D.

Associate Professor of United States History
George Mason University
Fairfax, Virginia

Michelle Nickerson, Ph.D.

Associate Professor of History
Loyola University
Chicago, Illinois

Jason Smith, Ph.D.

Professor of History
University of New Mexico
Albuquerque, New Mexico

Jon White, Ph.D.

Associate Professor of History
Christopher Newport University
Newport News, Virginia

Amy Wood, Ph.D.

Professor of History
Illinois State University
Normal, Illinois

Program Consultants

Timothy M. Dove, M.A.

Secondary Social Studies Educator
Founding staff member of Phoenix Middle School
Worthington, Ohio

Douglas Fisher, Ph.D.

Professor and Chair of Educational Leadership
San Diego State University
San Diego, California

Linda Keane, M.Ed.

Special Education Resource Teacher
Merrimack Middle School
Merrimack, New Hampshire

Nicole Law, Ph.D.

Professional Learning Author/Consultant
Culturally Responsive and Fortifying Practices
Corwin Professional Learning
Indianapolis, Indiana

Peter Levine, Ph.D.

Lincoln Filene Professor of Citizenship & Public Affairs
Tisch College of Civic Life
Tufts University
Medford, Massachusetts

Emily M. Schell, Ed.D.

Executive Director, California Global Education Project
University of San Diego
San Diego, California

Meena Srinivasan, MA, NBCT

Executive Director, Transformative Educational
Leadership (TEL)

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TOPIC

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Protesters march in support of civil rights at the March on Washington in 1963.

The Civil Rights Movement

1954–1978

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ROSA PARKS TAKES A STAND

On December 1, 1955, Rosa Parks left her job as a tailor's assistant in Montgomery, Alabama, and boarded a city bus to go home.

Buses were segregated in most Southern cities. If no whites were on the bus, African Americans could sit in the middle and front, but they were forced to move to the back if there were no seats available for white people at the front of the bus. In Montgomery, however, African Americans were barred from sitting at the front of the bus even when it was empty and could be forced to give up their seat in the segregated section if the bus was full.

The bus grew crowded. When the bus driver noticed a white man standing at the front of the bus, he told Parks and three other African Americans in her row to get up and let the white man sit down. Nobody moved. The driver cautioned them, "Y'all better make it light on yourselves and let me have those seats." The other three African Americans moved, but Parks did not. She was tired of giving in to the system of segregation that treated her and other African Americans as second-class citizens over 70 years after the end of the Civil War.

She had many years of experience as an activist resisting segregation, including learning resistance techniques from the Highlander Folk School in Tennessee. Her action was one of many instances of citizens fighting back against inequality and discrimination during the civil rights movement.

The bus driver called the city police, who arrested Parks and took her to jail. News of her arrest soon reached E.D. Nixon, a former president of the local chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP).

Nixon had long wanted to challenge bus segregation laws in court, and he told Rosa Parks, "With your permission we can break down segregation on the bus with your case."

Parks told Nixon: "If you think it will mean something to Montgomery and do some good, I'll be happy to go along with it."

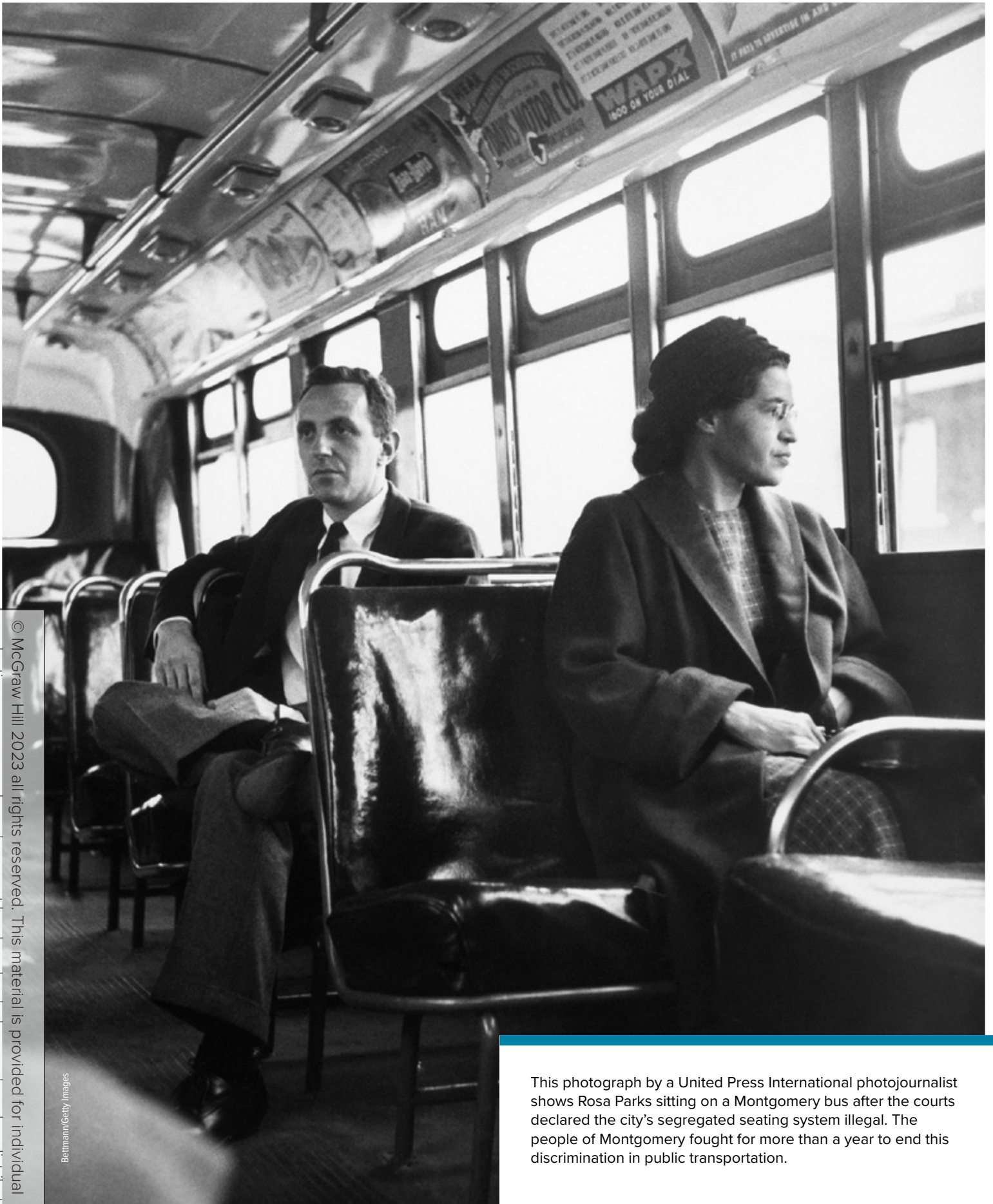
The details of this incident might seem surprising to some people today. A bus driver demands that a woman give up her seat on a bus to a man who boarded the bus after her. When she refuses, not only is she publicly shamed by the bus driver, but she is also arrested and jailed. Yet for African Americans living in the South during the early 1950s, an event like this was not uncommon.

During the 1950s, numerous African American activists like Rosa Parks, alongside the NAACP, fought these unjust laws. This specific bus incident, however, would capture national attention and lead to a turning point in modern American history.

After Parks's arrest, African American citizens of Montgomery, Alabama, worked together to challenge their community's bus segregation laws by staging a boycott. This boycott, which lasted for over a year, was led by local minister and leader of the then newly formed Montgomery Improvement Association, Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.

Rosa Parks's act of civil disobedience was one of many choices made by African Americans across the United States to fight for their equality. Alongside the Montgomery bus boycott, these important actions were among the early efforts to seek equal treatment under the law for African Americans. Historians now call this period of activism and change the civil rights movement.

“With your permission we can break down segregation on the bus with your case.”



Bettmann/Getty Images

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This photograph by a United Press International photojournalist shows Rosa Parks sitting on a Montgomery bus after the courts declared the city's segregated seating system illegal. The people of Montgomery fought for more than a year to end this discrimination in public transportation.

Understanding the Time and Place: The United States, 1865–1954

The civil rights reform movement of the 1950s and 1960s was a response to a long history of racial inequality in the United States. During the Reconstruction period after the Civil War (from about 1865 to 1877) Constitutional amendments gave African Americans the rights of citizenship. However, in the years following 1877, state governments denied African Americans their rights and legalized segregation and discrimination across the United States. The civil rights movement formed to protest this inequality and aimed to overturn this systemic discrimination.

Reconstruction, 1865–1877

After the Civil War, the Constitution was revised to protect the rights of African Americans through three important amendments. The Thirteenth Amendment legally ended slavery throughout the United States. The Fourteenth Amendment granted citizenship to African Americans and provided legal protections. The Fifteenth Amendment gave African American men the right to vote.

African Americans who had served in the Union Army gave public speeches to the formerly enslaved and helped bring new people into politics. Many recently freed African Americans ran for public office, won elections, and served as legislators and administrators in almost all levels of government.

African Americans created strong social and religious community networks and emphasized education, especially after it had been denied to so many enslaved people shortly before Reconstruction. Several African American academies formed during this time grew into a network of African American colleges and universities referred to today as Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs). This includes Hampton Institute in Virginia and Morehouse College in Georgia. Just over ten years after the Civil War's end, almost 40 percent of African American children were enrolled in schools.

Southern white Democrats who opposed these changes during the Reconstruction period fought against African Americans and their political allies in the Republican Party. White militia groups who wished to **redeem** the South from “Black Republican” rule used intimidation and physical violence against African Americans. By 1877, this brief period of African American political reform ended.

Legalizing Segregation, 1880s–1890s

After the Compromise of 1877 ended Reconstruction, **Jim Crow laws**—which existed throughout the South but also took hold in much of the North—made it legal

to discriminate against African Americans. Literacy tests, poll taxes, and **grandfather clauses** were created to target the African American population and weaken their constitutional right to vote under the Fifteenth Amendment. African Americans challenged the variety of restrictions of their freedoms, but several important Supreme Court rulings denied their legal claims and weakened the protections first granted by the Fourteenth Amendment. The 1896 *Plessy v. Ferguson* Supreme Court ruling allowed systemic segregation by saying the Fourteenth Amendment's equal protection clause allowed two sets of “separate but equal” public facilities. In the following decades, divided facilities for public transportation, restrooms, water fountains, schools, and other places were created throughout the United States.

During these years, African Americans spoke out against segregation and other forms of discrimination. Ida B. Wells headed a strong political effort to end



African Americans stand near a restricted “Colored Waiting Room” at a North Carolina bus station. Segregation required separate facilities for whites and African Americans in almost every aspect of public life.

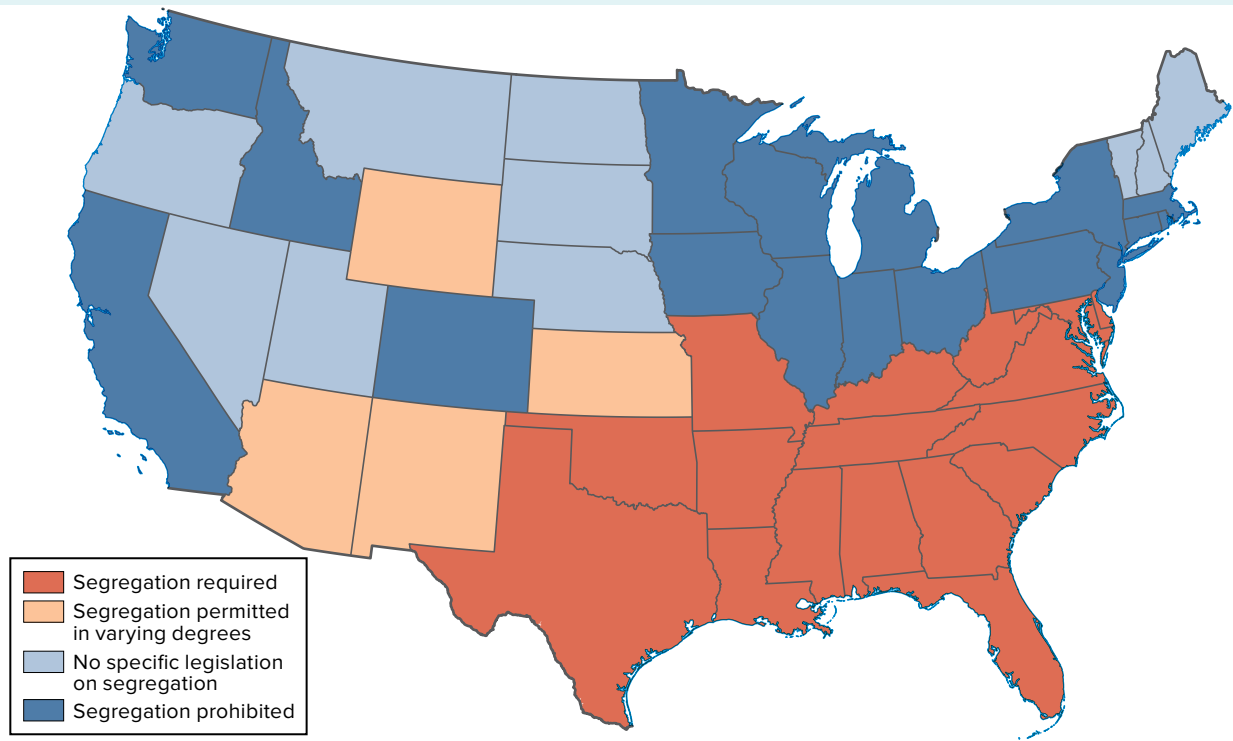
redeem to win back; to restore

Jim Crow laws statutes enacted to enforce segregation

grandfather clause an exemption in a law

Segregation in the United States, Mid-Twentieth Century

Segregation was strongest in the Southern states, but it was also present in other parts of the United States before the civil rights movement.



GEOGRAPHY CONNECTION

Exploring Regions Select two regions in the United States and compare whether segregation was required, permitted, or prohibited. Then explain why segregation was different in these two regions.

African American lynchings. She published books and spoke in public to denounce mob violence. Wells demanded all African Americans get the right to a fair trial and the use of legally approved forms of punishment. Booker T. Washington founded the Tuskegee Institute in 1881, while W.E.B. DuBois and a host of other reformers created the Niagara Movement in 1905 to fight racial discrimination, lynching, and race-based voting restrictions. In 1909 many of these same leaders established the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP).

Segregation in the United States, Early 1950s

As shown in the map, much of the United States, not only the South, required segregation by law during the early 1950s. Few states had laws prohibiting segregation; most of these states were in the

Northeast and Midwest. Even in those Northern states that prohibited segregation, however, **de facto segregation** remained the reality for many communities. African Americans and white Americans lived in separate communities because of housing discrimination against African Americans. Employment discrimination for African Americans was common in both the South and the North. It was in the context of segregation and discrimination that the civil rights movement gained momentum.

In 1954 the NAACP gained a major legal victory against segregation. The U.S. Supreme Court ruled in *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka* that segregation in public schools was unconstitutional and violated the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment, reversing the decision in *Plessy v. Ferguson*. Even though the Court's decision applied only to public schools, it implied that segregation was illegal in other public facilities.

de facto segregation segregation by custom and tradition

Looking Ahead

You will learn the history of the civil rights movement in the United States between 1954 and 1978. While studying this time period, you will learn about segregation and other forms of discrimination that African Americans endured, and the strategies civil rights movement activists employed. You will see how the leaders of the modern civil rights movement were motivated by past struggles against inequality. And you will understand the changes that came about because of these protests.

You will examine Compelling Questions and develop your own questions about the civil rights movement in the inquiry lessons. Review the time line to preview some of the key events, people, and organizations that you will learn about.

What Will You Learn

In these lessons focused on the civil rights movement, you will learn:

- the historical causes of the civil rights movement.
- the key events in the history of the civil rights movement.
- the actions taken by significant individuals and important organizations within the civil rights movement.
- the effects of the civil rights movement.
- the legacy of the civil rights movement in the United States.

? COMPELLING QUESTIONS

- How did discrimination affect the daily life of African Americans before the civil rights movement?
- How did activists move the civil rights movement forward?

KEY EVENTS OF

CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT

1941 **JANUARY 25, 1941** A. Philip Randolph proposes a March on Washington to highlight segregation and Jim Crow discrimination

1954 **MAY 17, 1954** Supreme Court rules against public school segregation in *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka*

DECEMBER 1955 Montgomery, Alabama, bus boycott begins

SEPTEMBER 1957 Federal troops ensure integration of African American students at Central High School in Little Rock, Arkansas

SEPTEMBER 1957 Civil Rights Act passed to ensure that all Americans could exercise their right to vote

1960 **FEBRUARY 1960** Greensboro sit-ins begin

AUGUST 1963 March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom (right)

JULY 1964 Civil Rights Act passed that ends segregation in public places and banned employment discrimination

1965 **AUGUST 1965** Voting Rights Act passed to remove legal barriers of voter discrimination at the local and state levels

APRIL 4, 1968 Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., assassinated in Memphis

APRIL 11, 1968 Civil Rights Act passed prohibiting housing discrimination



Civil Rights March on Washington, D.C. [A wide-angle view of marchers along the mall, showing the Reflecting Pool and the Washington Monument.] August 28, 1963. National Archives and Records Administration National Archives and Records Administration

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Sequencing Time List the events about education and explain how each event contributed to school desegregation.

Understanding Multiple Perspectives About Discrimination and Segregation



COMPELLING QUESTION

How did discrimination affect the daily life of African Americans before the civil rights movement?

Plan Your Inquiry

In this lesson, you will investigate how discrimination affected African Americans before the civil rights movement.

DEVELOP QUESTIONS

Developing Questions About Discrimination Think about how segregation and the discrimination experienced by African Americans throughout the United States motivated the civil rights movement. Then read the Compelling Question for this lesson. Develop a list of three supporting questions that would help you answer the Compelling Question for the lesson. Write these in a graphic organizer like the one below.

APPLY HISTORICAL TOOLS

Analyzing Primary and Secondary Sources You will work with a variety of primary and secondary sources in this lesson. These sources focus on African American experiences of discrimination in different locations throughout the United States. Use a graphic organizer like the one below to record and organize information about each source. Note ways in which each source helps you answer the supporting questions you created. Not all sources will help you answer each of your supporting questions. Only include relevant sources in your graphic organizer.

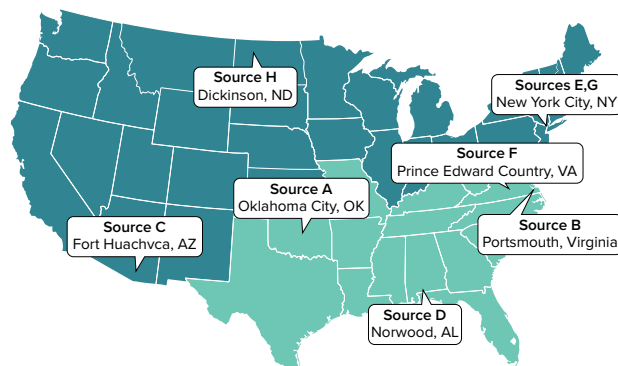
Supporting Questions	Primary Source	How this source helps me answer the Supporting Question
	A	
	B	
	C	
	D	
	E	
	F	
	G	
	H	

After you analyze the sources, you will:

- use the evidence from the sources.
- communicate your conclusions.
- take informed action.

Background Information

Despite the promise of Reconstruction, African Americans throughout the country still experienced discrimination, segregation, and violence. Their writings and remembrances told of the pain and mistreatment they faced in their everyday lives: the jobs they were denied, the public spaces they could not use, and their experiences in segregated schools. These experiences motivated them to demand the civil rights they were being denied, starting a movement to bring about lasting change. The following writings, interviews, and images reflect those experiences. Please note that these sources reflect the language and terminology of the time period and may contain terms that are offensive.



» This map shows the geographic distribution of the different sources you will analyze.



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A

Segregation at the Water Cooler

Under Jim Crow laws in the American South, separate public facilities for whites and African Americans—including waiting rooms, restrooms, and water coolers—were required. This photo was taken at a streetcar terminal in Oklahoma City, Oklahoma, in 1939.

PRIMARY SOURCE : PHOTOGRAPH



» This photograph by Russell Lee shows a young man drinking from a water fountain meant for African Americans only. These separate facilities were usually of lower quality than those reserved for whites.

EXAMINE THE SOURCE

- Analyzing Visuals** What is occurring in this photograph? How does it reflect the racial policies and attitudes of the period?
- Comparing and Contrasting** Compare the signs and the messages in this photo with the treatment of African Americans during slavery. How had things changed, what were the changes, and what were the similarities between outright slavery and Jim Crow laws?

B

Segregation in the Workplace During World War II

The massive national effort required to fight World War II brought economic and social changes and new opportunities for African Americans. In this excerpt from an interview, Lucy Overton of Portsmouth, Virginia, describes the issues facing African Americans as they went to work in war-related industries.

PRIMARY SOURCE : INTERVIEW

“ I was one of the persons who worked, was employed in the Naval Shipyard during World War II. . . . [T]he need for workers was great, because the men were bein’ called off to the Army, and therefore, they placed the ladies into jobs that men usually did. My job was in the Shipfitters Shop. . . . [T]here was some problems in the shipyard, some racial problems. First . . . of all . . . the Navy Yard needed welders, and . . . burners, the personnel said they didn’t have . . . toilet facilities, so they couldn’t hire black men. Well, at that time, Franklin Delano Roosevelt was president. . . . [H]e got the news somehow and came down. . . . He went directly to the Navy Yard, and had conferences with . . . the Admirals and those persons in charge, and in a couple of days, they had facilities for blacks. Ah, separate . . . facilities. To begin with they didn’t have any at all for blacks, therefore they couldn’t hire blacks as welders, . . . burners and chippers They had separate water fountains, they had separate . . . , toilet facilities for the ladies. They had on the door, ‘White Ladies,’ ‘Colored Women.’ And we didn’t like that at all, but we, we couldn’t do anything about that, then.”

—from Lucy Overton interview, in *Lower Tidewater in Black and White*, 1982

EXAMINE THE SOURCE

Analyzing Why did the Navy Yard begin to hire African Americans? Why was Overton dissatisfied with the situation when African Americans were hired?

An African American Soldier Faces Segregation

Yank magazine was a weekly publication distributed to members of the American armed forces during World War II. The magazine was designed as a morale booster and featured cartoons and pin-up girls along with news stories. It also included a section with letters from soldiers. In this 1944 letter, an African American corporal described an especially upsetting experience with segregation while traveling with other African American soldiers. Remember that even as African American soldiers were fighting for world democracy, U.S. federal law kept them segregated within the armed forces.

PRIMARY SOURCE : LETTER

“ Dear YANK:

Here is a question that each Negro soldier is asking. What is the Negro soldier fighting for? On whose team are we playing? Myself and eight other soldiers were on our way from Camp Claiborne, La., to the hospital here at Fort Huachuca. We had to layover until the next day for our train. On the next day we could not purchase a cup of coffee at any of the lunchrooms around there. As you know, Old Man Jim Crow rules. The only place where we could be served was at the lunchroom at the railroad station but, of course, we had to go into the kitchen. But that's not all; 11:30 a.m. about two dozen German prisoners of war, with two American guards, came to the station. They entered the lunchroom, sat at the tables, had their meals served, talked, smoked, in fact had quite a swell time. I stood on the outside looking on, and I could not help but ask myself these questions: Are those men sworn enemies of this country? Are they not taught to hate and destroy . . . all democratic governments? Are we not American soldiers, sworn to fight for and die if need be for this our country? Then why are they treated better than we are? Why are we pushed around like cattle? If we are fighting for the same thing, if we are to die for our country, then why does the Government allow such things to go on? Some of the boys are saying that you will not print this letter. I'm saying that you will. . . .

Cpl. Rupert Trimmingham,
Fort Huachuca, Ariz. ”

—*Yank: The Army Weekly*, April 28, 1944



» An example of a *Yank* magazine cover.

EXAMINE THE SOURCE

- Analyzing** Describe the situation experienced by Corporal Trimmingham. Why did he find that experience especially upsetting?
- Inferring** How did Corporal Trimmingham challenge the editors of *Yank*? What effect may the letter have had on fellow soldiers and Army policy?

D

Remembering Segregated Schools

Charles Gratton lived in Norwood, Alabama, during the Depression and World War II. His childhood memories of living in the segregated South highlighted the struggles he faced with unequal school opportunities.

PRIMARY SOURCE : TRANSCRIPT

“ They also had a park. It was about a block from where I was born and raised and where I lived, and it was known as the white person’s park. They had a tennis court there and nice park trees, and blacks weren’t allowed in that park. I mean we just couldn’t go there. You know, it’s just one of those things.

Some days I would be sick, and I could hear the schoolchildren playing during their lunch hour down at Norwood Elementary School, which was all white, and that’s what really stuck in my mind. I’d say, ‘It’s a shame that I have to walk so far to school every day.’ When I’d hear those schoolchildren playing, I’d say, ‘Here I am a block and a half from the elementary school, and I’ve got to walk six or seven miles to school every day.’

Even now, I can almost hear those kids, those white kids down at this elementary school playing, and the noise and laughing and playing, and I’m at home sick basically from the exposure of walking those six and seven miles to school every day. Whether it was raining or not, I had to go. So those are some of the memories that I have of my childhood growing up over at Norwood.”

—Charles Gratton, in *Remembering Jim Crow: African Americans Tell About Their Life in the Segregated South*

EXAMINE THE SOURCE

Interpreting Text Does Charles Gratton have the same feelings toward the segregated park as he does toward the unequal school access? Why or why not?

E

Running Out of Patience

On May 12, 1958, President Eisenhower addressed a meeting of African American leaders sponsored by the National Newspaper Publishers Association. Jackie Robinson, the first African American baseball player in the twentieth century to play in the major leagues, was in the audience. The next day, he sent the president a letter expressing his frustration with Eisenhower’s advice to “have patience and forbearance” as the nation tackled the difficult problem of racial discrimination.

PRIMARY SOURCE : LETTER

“ I was sitting in the audience at the Summit Meeting of Negro Leaders yesterday when you said we must have patience. On hearing you say this, I felt like standing up and saying, ‘Oh no! Not again.’

I respectfully remind you sir, that we have been the most patient of all people. When you said we must have self-respect, I wondered how we could have self-respect and remain patient considering the treatment accorded us through the years.

17 million Negroes cannot do as you suggest and wait for the hearts of men to change. We want to enjoy now the rights that we feel we are entitled to as Americans. This we cannot do unless we pursue aggressively goals which all other Americans achieved over 150 years ago. . . .”

—Jackie Robinson, letter to President Eisenhower, May 13, 1958

EXAMINE THE SOURCE

- Interpreting Text** To what is Robinson referring when he mentions pursuing goals other Americans achieved over 150 years ago?
- Inferring** What point do you think Robinson hopes to convey by making this connection to the goals that others achieved in the past?

F

Comparing White and African American Schools in Virginia

While *Plessy v. Ferguson* allowed for “separate but equal” facilities for whites and African Americans, the racially based inequality of schools in the South was plainly obvious, even to children. John Stokes described his memories of school in Virginia in the 1940s for an oral history project. John Stokes led a student strike against poor schools. This led to a court case that became part of the *Brown v. Board of Education* decision against segregated “separate but equal” schools.

PRIMARY SOURCE : INTERVIEW

“ There were two buses for whites only that passed by our house every morning and picked up Jack Jeffreys, Bill Schueler, these were the white boys that I played with, these were the kids that’s [sic] I played with, and yet my twin sister and I could not ride those buses.

. . . [T]hose buses were going to the wrong schools. They were going to all white schools. But we wondered why the blacks did not have buses. . . .

Now, there were around 10 or 12 [schools for African American children] scattered throughout Prince Edward County at that time of wood construction, outdoor toilets, none of them had indoor plumbing, of course, and yet, in each of the districts for the white kids there was a school there, but it was of brick construction. And those students would have, of course, the privilege of having a bus that would take them to and from those schools. They built the schools for the blacks, we

found out later, very closely knitted to the churches so that the kids would not have to walk too far, but some of them still had to walk pretty long distances to get to those schools.

But the most amazing thing was the fact that in our minds we just wondered how come the white kids had these beautiful brick buildings, with heat, number one, and no one had to go out there and gather wood every morning to start the fire; number two, they had running water, and when December came, they didn’t have to go outdoors to the toilet.”

—from John A. Stokes interview, for *Voices of Freedom*, Virginia Commonwealth University

EXAMINE THE SOURCE

1. **Contrasting** What differences does Stokes recall between the white and the African American educational experiences during his childhood?
2. **Making Connections** Explain how the differences between the schools might affect learning outcomes.

G

The NAACP Calls Attention to Lynchings

Extralegal lynchings of African Americans occurred in the United States for decades. Between 1877 and 1950, more than 4,000 lynchings are documented, and the vast majority of those lynched were African American. In the 1920s and 1930s, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) flew the flag (shown in the image) on days when it learned that an African American in the United States had been lynched. The flag was raised at the NAACP’s office in New York City. This photo was taken in 1936. The United States still does not have an anti-lynching law passed by Congress.

EXAMINE THE SOURCE

Evaluating Information What purpose did the NAACP have for flying this flag?

PRIMARY SOURCE : PHOTOGRAPH



» This flag was in use from 1920 to 1938.

Excerpt From a Travel Guidebook for African Americans

Because of Jim Crow laws, travel for African Americans in many parts of the country was difficult or even dangerous. The *Negro Motorist Green Book* listed, by state and city, places to stay and restaurants that were either owned by or welcomed African Americans. In the following excerpt from the 1948 edition, a contributor describes travel to a town in North Dakota.

PRIMARY SOURCE : GUIDEBOOK

“ From DICKINSON, NORTH DAKOTA:

. . . Several places of business, while they are glad to provide for Negro customers, do not care to advertise for Negro trade.

The attitude of a majority of those I contacted was that, while they themselves had no color prejudice, some of their regular customers did have. This was the impression I gained from hotel operators, barbers, and others contacted. They were all eager to provide whatever services were required by Negroes visiting Dickinson. . . .

Upon occasion, Negroes have been accommodated in Dickinson hotels. However, a Negro tourist would have an easier time getting accommodations at Dickinson’s motels and in several **tourist camps**. North Dakotans, generally, are friendly, and I am sure that a Negro tourist would be pleased with his reception in Dickinson.”

—*The Negro Motorist Green Book*, 1948

tourist camps lodging for travelers often consisting of small individual cabins

EXAMINE THE SOURCE

- Analyzing Text** What is the writer attempting to accomplish with this contribution to the *Green Book*? According to the writer, does Dickinson seem like a welcoming destination for African Americans?
- Inferring** In what circumstances might the *Green Book* not be helpful or be misleading?

Your Inquiry Analysis

EVALUATE SOURCES AND USE EVIDENCE

Reflect back to the Compelling Question and the Supporting Question you developed at the beginning of this lesson.

- Gathering Sources** Which sources helped you answer the Compelling Question and your Supporting Questions most directly? Which sources, if any, challenged the answers you thought you were going to arrive at when you first created your supporting questions? Were there details you still need more information on, and where might you look to find that information?
- Evaluating Sources** Looking at the sources that helped you answer your Supporting Questions, evaluate the credibility of each source. What details made that source a particularly useful one to answer your question? Are there further details you may need in order to better evaluate the authority of these sources?
- Comparing and Contrasting** Compare and contrast two of the sources in this lesson more closely. What area of life does each source examine? What tone is expressed by each writer, speaker, or photographer? Is the person angry, sad, or merely conveying information? Explain.

COMMUNICATE CONCLUSIONS

Presenting Work with a partner to compare the Supporting Questions each of you wrote at the beginning of the lesson. Choose three of these Supporting Questions to answer using the sources. Then, prepare a short multimedia presentation on how the sources helped you answer the Supporting Questions you chose. Consider including quotes from the sources in your presentation. Give your presentation in front of your classmates.

TAKE INFORMED ACTION

Writing a Letter Think about an issue or cause that you care deeply about. How could showing the impacts of that cause, such as the sources in this lesson have done, help motivate improvements in that cause? Consider if you have seen any similar examples in recent media. Write a letter to your local elected officials that explains the impacts of the injustice you identified and suggests solutions for the problem.

The Civil Rights Movement Begins

READING STRATEGY

Analyzing Key Ideas and

Details As you read, complete a graphic organizer similar to the one here by listing the techniques used to challenge segregation.



The Origins of the Civil Rights Movement

GUIDING QUESTION

What role did the NAACP play in the civil rights movement?

The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) was established in 1909 to fight for the rights of African Americans. The NAACP convinced the military to allow African American pilots to fly in World War II. This allowed the Tuskegee Airmen, a unit filled with black pilots, to be established. The accomplishments of these and other black soldiers during the war encouraged the civil rights movement.

The NAACP gave African Americans the institutional support to fight racial discrimination and injustice. One founder in this movement was A. Philip Randolph—a union leader since the 1920s as well as a civil rights activist—who compelled President Franklin Roosevelt to issue an executive order ending discrimination in wartime industries during World War II. The NAACP emboldened people to commit acts of defiance against segregated bus laws—including Rosa Parks’s famous refusal to give up her seat to a white person on a Montgomery, Alabama bus in December 1955.

These victories were in contrast to the entrenchment of segregation. Back in 1896, the Supreme Court had declared segregation to be constitutional in *Plessy v. Ferguson*, which established the “**separate but equal**” doctrine. Laws that segregated African Americans were permitted as long as “equal” facilities were provided for all races. The facilities provided for African Americans, however, were usually of poorer quality than those provided for whites. Offering separate facilities is an example of **de jure segregation**, or segregation based on laws. After Reconstruction, local and state laws in the South allowed for the segregation of many facets of life, including transportation, education, neighborhoods, restaurants, theaters, libraries, pools, restrooms, drinking fountains, and even cemeteries. Areas without such laws often had de facto segregation—segregation by custom and tradition.

Pushing for Desegregation

The civil rights movement had been building for a long time. Since its founding, the NAACP had supported court cases aimed at overturning segregation with some success. For example, the Supreme Court ruled in *Norris v. Alabama* (1935) that the exclusion of African Americans from juries violated their rights to equal protection under the law.

African Americans also gained political power as northern politicians increasingly sought their votes. In response to the New Deal, many African Americans began supporting the Democratic Party in the 1930s, giving the party new strength in the North. The northern wing of the party was now able to counter Southern Democrats, who often supported segregation.

During World War II, African American leaders began to use their political power to help end discrimination in wartime factories. They also increased opportunities for African Americans in the military. After the war, many African

“**separate but equal**” a doctrine established by the 1896 Supreme Court case *Plessy v. Ferguson* that permitted laws segregating African Americans as long as equal facilities were provided

de jure segregation segregation by law

ANALYZING SUPREME COURT CASES

BROWN V. BOARD OF EDUCATION, 1954

BACKGROUND TO THE CASE One of the most important Supreme Court cases in American history began in 1952, when the Supreme Court agreed to hear the NAACP's case *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka*, and three other cases. These cases all dealt with the question of whether the principle "separate but equal," established in *Plessy v. Ferguson*, was constitutional with regard to public schools.

HOW THE COURT RULED In a unanimous decision in 1954, the Court ruled in favor of Linda Brown and the other plaintiffs. In doing so, it overruled *Plessy v. Ferguson*. It rejected the idea that equivalent but separate schools for African American and white students was constitutional. The Court held that racial segregation in public schools violated the Fourteenth Amendment's equal protection clause. Chief Justice Earl Warren summed up the Court's decision, declaring: "[I]n the field of public education, the doctrine of 'separate but equal' has no place. Separate educational facilities are inherently unequal." The Court's rejection of the separate but equal doctrine was a major victory for the civil rights movement. It led to the overturning of laws requiring segregation in other public places.

- 1. Making Connections** Why did the Supreme Court find in favor of Linda Brown?
- 2. Summarizing** Why was the ruling in *Brown v. Board of Education* so important?



» The children involved in the *Brown* case, photographed in 1953. From l to r, Vicki and Donald Henderson, Brown, James Emanuel, Nancy Todd, and Katherine Carper.

American soldiers returned home optimistic that their country would appreciate their loyalty and sacrifice. In the 1950s, when change did not come, their determination to change prejudices led to protests—and to the emergence of the civil rights movement.

In 1942 James Farmer and George Houser founded the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) in Chicago. CORE began using sit-ins, a form of protest first popularized by union workers in the 1930s, to desegregate restaurants that refused to serve African Americans. Using the sit-in strategy, members of CORE went to segregated restaurants. If they were denied service, they sat down and refused to leave. The sit-ins were intended to shame restaurant managers into integrating their restaurants. CORE successfully integrated many restaurants, theaters, and other public facilities in Northern cities, including Chicago, Detroit, Denver, and Syracuse.

Brown v. Board of Education

The NAACP continued to use the courts to challenge segregation. From 1939 to 1961, the NAACP's chief counsel and director of its Legal Defense and Educational Fund was African American attorney Thurgood Marshall. After the war, Marshall focused his efforts on ending segregation in public schools.

In 1954 the Supreme Court decided to combine several cases and issue a general ruling on segregation in schools. One of the cases involved a young African American girl named Linda Brown, who was denied admission to her neighborhood school in

Topeka, Kansas, because of her race. She was told to attend an all-black school across town. With the help of the NAACP, her parents sued the Topeka school board. On May 17, 1954, the Supreme Court ruled unanimously in *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka*, that segregation in public schools was unconstitutional. This ruling extended the 1950 decision in *Sweatt v. Painter* that declared segregation in university graduate schools unconstitutional if the facilities were not truly equal.

One of the cases combined with *Brown* was *Davis v. County School Board of Prince Edward County*. Oliver W. Hill, the lead NAACP lawyer in Virginia, helped shepherd the case through federal court and write the brief for the Supreme Court case. *Davis* was one of many lawsuits Hill brought in Virginia in his efforts to dismantle segregation.

Southern Resistance

The *Brown* decision marked a dramatic reversal of the precedent established in the *Plessy v. Ferguson* case in 1896. *Brown v. Board of Education* applied only to public schools, but the ruling threatened the entire system of segregation. Thus, it angered many white Southerners, causing them to become even more determined to defend segregation, regardless of what the Supreme Court ruled.

Although some school districts in the Upper South integrated their schools, anger and opposition was a far more common reaction to integration. Senator Harry F. Byrd of Virginia called on Southerners to adopt

PHOTO: Carl Iwasaki/The LIFE Images Collection via Getty Images/Getty Images; TEXT: Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, 347 U.S. 483 (1954), Supreme Court of the United States.

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“massive resistance” against the ruling. South Carolina’s Strom Thurmond, who was elected to the Senate in 1954, joined Senator Byrd in helping draft the “Southern Manifesto” in 1956. It denounced the Supreme Court’s ruling as “clear abuse of judicial power” and pledged to use “all lawful means to bring about a reversal of this decision.” In Georgia former restaurateur Lester Maddox, who sold his restaurant rather than serve African Americans, won the governorship on a segregationist ticket in 1966 and fought against integrating the state’s public schools. Across the South, hundreds of thousands of white Americans joined citizens’ councils to pressure their local governments and school boards into defying the Supreme Court.

Conversely, *Brown* helped convince many African Americans that the time had come to challenge segregation. Medgar Evers was among those to take up the fight. Evers was born in Mississippi and fought in World War II in both Germany and France. He married while still in college, and he and his wife, Myrlie, eventually had three children.

Evers was denied admission to the University of Mississippi law school in 1954. He sued for admission and, although he lost, it was the beginning of his involvement with the NAACP. Evers worked tirelessly for African American equality while he and his family faced constant threats and violence. In May 1963, his home was firebombed. The following month, on June 11, he was murdered outside his home by a man named Byron De La Beckwith, a founder and longtime member of Mississippi’s White Citizens Council.

✓ CHECK FOR UNDERSTANDING

1. **Examining** What two types of segregation were practiced in the South?
2. **Describing** What techniques did the civil rights movement use to challenge segregation?

Beginning the Movement

GUIDING QUESTION

How was the civil rights movement a combination of local protest and government reform?

In the midst of the uproar over the *Brown v. Board of Education* case, Rosa Parks challenged segregation of public transportation. Jo Ann Robinson, head of a local group called the Women’s Political Council, called on African Americans to boycott Montgomery’s buses on the day Rosa Parks appeared in court.

The Montgomery Bus Boycott

Several African American leaders formed the Montgomery Improvement Association to run the boycott and to negotiate with city leaders. They elected a 26-year-old pastor named Martin Luther King, Jr., to



African Americans walk to work during the third month of the Montgomery bus boycott.

Analyzing Visuals How does this photograph demonstrate the boycott’s effectiveness?

lead them. Dr. King encouraged the people to continue to protest but cautioned that it had to be peaceful:

“Now let us say that we are not advocating violence. . . . The only weapon that we have in our hands this evening is the weapon of protest. . . . If we were incarcerated behind the iron curtains of a communistic nation—we couldn’t do this. If we were trapped in the dungeon of a totalitarian regime—we couldn’t do this. But the great glory of American democracy is the right to protest for right.”

—quoted in *Parting the Waters: America in the King Years*, 1989

King’s theology education and the influence of other reformers, such as Quaker pacifist Bayard Rustin, produced an emphasis on nonviolent resistance as the best way to end segregation. He urged African Americans to tell racists, “[W]e will soon wear you down by our capacity to suffer. And in winning our freedom we will so appeal to your heart and conscience that we will win you in the process.” In November 1956, over a year into the boycott, the Supreme Court declared Alabama’s laws requiring segregation on buses unconstitutional. After the Court’s ruling, the Montgomery boycott was ended. Many other cities in the South, however, successfully resisted integrating their public transportation systems for years.

The Women’s Political Council, led by Jo Ann Robinson, contributed greatly to the Montgomery bus boycott’s success. The group printed and distributed leaflets advertising the boycott, organized carpools, and coordinated with civil rights groups.

Eisenhower and the Crisis in Little Rock

President Eisenhower sympathized with the civil rights movement, yet he feared that a court ruling overturning segregation would anger white voters and cost him

PHOTO: © Don Cravens/The LIFE Images Collection/Getty Images; TEXT: (1)The Southern Manifesto. From Congressional Record, 84th Congress, Second Session, vol. 102, part 4, March 12, 1956; Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1956. (2)“Address to the Montgomery Improvement Association,” December 5, 1955, reprinted in The Papers of Martin Luther King, Jr., vol. 3, ed. Clayborne Carson (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994), 72; (3)Martin Luther King, Jr., The Papers of Martin Luther King, Jr.: Volume IV: Symbol of the Movement, January 1957–December 1958. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2000) Pg. 341.

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BIOGRAPHY

EMMETT TILL (1941–1955)

Emmett Till was born in Chicago on July 25, 1941, to working-class parents. In August of 1955 Till, then 14, traveled from his home in the South Side of Chicago to Money, Mississippi, to visit family. While there, he and his cousins visited a country store, where he allegedly flirted with Carolyn Bryant, the store owner's white wife.

TILL'S MURDER When Roy Bryant, Carolyn Bryant's husband, learned of the incident, he and his half brother, J.W. Milam, went to the home of Moses Wright, Till's great-uncle, and kidnapped the boy at gunpoint. They beat him, shot him, then weighed his body down before throwing it into the Tallahatchie River. Moses Wright reported Till's disappearance to the police, and Roy Bryant and Milam were arrested the following day—August 29. Mamie Till Bradley, Emmett's mother, kept her son's casket open at his funeral so everyone could see the brutality he had suffered.

THE TRIAL Roy Bryant and Milam stood trial on September 19, 1955. Moses Wright identified the two men as the kidnapers. After hearing evidence over four days, the all-white, all-male jury took only about an hour to find Bryant and Milam not guilty. The two later sold their story to *Look* magazine, admitting to the murder and even bragging that they had delivered Southern justice to protect white womanhood. Late in her life, Carolyn Bryant admitted she had lied in court about Till's actions. The anger African American's felt over Till's murder was another critical motivational point for many who joined the years-long protest and action of the civil rights movement.



Analyzing How does Emmett Till's death and trial show the injustice of the Jim Crow South?

reelection. The military, however, was one area he was comfortable pushing through desegregation. In 1948 President Truman had issued Executive Order 9981, which called for the full integration of all branches of the military, but the military had been slow to comply. In response, Eisenhower ordered navy shipyards and veterans' hospitals to desegregate.

At the same time, Eisenhower disagreed with using protests and court rulings. He believed segregation and racism would end gradually as values changed. With the nation in the midst of the Cold War, he worried that challenging white Southerners might divide the nation. Publicly, he refused to endorse the *Brown v. Board of Education* decision, remarking, "I don't believe you can change the hearts of men with laws or decisions." However, Eisenhower knew he had to uphold the authority of the federal government, and became the first president since Reconstruction to send troops into the South to protect the rights of African Americans.

In September 1957 the school board in Little Rock, Arkansas, was under a federal court order requiring that nine African American students be admitted to Central High. The governor of Arkansas Orval Faubus, determined to win reelection, began to campaign as a defender of white supremacy. Faubus ordered troops from the Arkansas National Guard to prevent the nine students from entering the school. As the National Guard troops surrounded the school, an angry white mob gathered to intimidate students.

Faubus had used the armed forces of a state to oppose the federal government—the first such challenge to the Constitution since the Civil War. Eisenhower knew that he could not allow Faubus to defy the federal government. After a conference between Eisenhower and Faubus proved fruitless, the district court ordered the governor to remove the troops. Instead of ending the crisis, however, Faubus simply left the school to the mob of segregationists. After the African American students entered the building, angry whites beat at least two African American reporters and broke many windows.

The violence convinced Eisenhower that federal authority had to be upheld. He immediately ordered the U.S. Army to send troops to Little Rock and federalized the Arkansas National Guard. By nightfall more than 1,000 soldiers of the 101st Airborne Division had arrived. By 5:00 A.M., the troops had encircled the school, bayonets ready. A few hours later the nine African American students arrived in an army station wagon and walked into the high school. Federal authority had been upheld, but in September 1958, one year after Central High was integrated, Faubus closed Little Rock's high schools for the entire year rather than allow African American students to attend school.

The same year that the Little Rock crisis began, Congress passed the Civil Rights Act of 1957—the first civil rights law since Reconstruction—to protect the right of African Americans to vote. Eisenhower believed

firmly in the right to vote and in his responsibility to protect voting rights. He also knew that if he sent a civil rights bill to Congress, conservative Southern Democrats would try to block the legislation. In 1956 he sent the bill to Congress, hoping not only to split the Democratic Party but also to convince more African Americans to vote Republican.

Several Southern senators tried to stop the Civil Rights Act of 1957, but Senate majority leader Lyndon Johnson put together a compromise that enabled the act to pass. Although its final form was much weaker than originally intended, the act still brought the power of the federal government into the civil rights debate. It created a Civil Rights Division within the Department of Justice and gave it the authority to seek court injunctions against anyone interfering with the right to vote. It also created the United States Commission on Civil Rights to investigate any denial of voting rights. After the bill passed, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC)—a group that had been founded to help organize the Montgomery bus boycotts—announced a campaign to register 2 million new African American voters.

 CHECK FOR UNDERSTANDING

Explaining How did President Eisenhower respond to the crisis in Little Rock, Arkansas?

Challenging Segregation Across the South

GUIDING QUESTION

What were the goals of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee?

In the fall of 1959 four young African Americans—Joseph McNeil, Ezell Blair, Jr., David Richmond, and Franklin McCain—enrolled at North Carolina Agricultural and Technical College, an African American college in Greensboro. The four freshmen often talked about the civil rights movement. In January 1960 McNeil suggested a sit-in. “All of us were afraid,” Richmond later recalled, “but we went and did it.”

On February 1, 1960, the four friends entered the nearby Woolworths department store. They purchased school supplies and then sat at the whites-only lunch counter and ordered coffee. When they were refused service, Blair asked, “I beg your pardon, but you just served us at [the checkout] counter. Why can’t we be served at the counter here?” The students stayed at the counter until it closed. They then stated that they would sit there daily until they got the same service as white customers. They left the store excited. McNeil recalled, “I just felt I had powers within me, a superhuman strength that would come forward.”

McCain noted, “I probably felt better that day than I’ve ever felt in my life.”

The Sit-In Movement

News of the daring sit-in spread quickly. The following day, 29 African American students arrived at Woolworths determined to sit at the counter until served. By the end of the week more than 300 students were taking part. The sit-in proved to be a dramatic protest technique for civil rights that caught the public’s attention. Within two months, sit-ins had spread to 54 cities in nine states. They were staged at segregated stores, restaurants, hotels, and movie theaters. By 1961, sit-ins had been held in more than 100 cities. The sit-in movement brought large numbers of college students into the civil rights struggle. Many were discouraged by the slow pace of desegregation. Sit-ins offered them a way to dictate the pace of change.

At first, the leaders of the NAACP and the SCLC were nervous about the sit-in campaign. Those conducting sit-ins were heckled, punched, kicked, beaten with clubs, and burned with cigarettes, hot coffee, and acid. Most practiced nonviolence in response. Many, including Rosa Parks, participated in nonviolence training at the Highlander Folk School in Tennessee. This school, founded by Myles Horton, played an important role in teaching skills and providing inspiration to many civil rights activists.

Urged on by former NAACP official and SCLC executive director Ella Baker, students established the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) in 1960. Baker organized a conference at Shaw University in Raleigh, North Carolina, to encourage formation of the group and plan future efforts. She believed that young activists would bring new energy into the movement. African American college students from all across the South made up the majority of SNCC’s members. Many whites also joined. SNCC became an important civil rights group.

Volunteer Robert Moses urged SNCC to start helping rural Southern African Americans who often faced violence if they tried to register to vote. Many SNCC volunteers, including Moses, bravely headed south as part of a voter education project. During a period of registration efforts in 1964 known as Freedom Summer, the Ku Klux Klan brutally murdered three SNCC workers with the complicity of local officials.

SNCC organizer Fannie Lou Hamer was evicted from her farm after registering to vote. Police arrested her in Mississippi as she was returning from a voter registration workshop in 1963, and the police beat her while she was in jail. She still went on to help organize the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party and challenged the legality of the state’s segregated Democratic Party at the 1964 national convention.

(1)David Richmond; (2)Ezell Blair, Jr.; (3)Joseph McNeil; (4)Franklin McCain. All quoted in *Civilities and Civil Rights: Greensboro, North Carolina, and the Black Struggle for Freedom* by William Henry Chafe. Copyright © 1980, 1981 by Oxford University Press.



Freedom Riders traveling from Washington, D.C., to New Orleans whose bus set on fire by a white mob as they arrived in Anniston, Alabama, in May 1961.

Analyzing Perspectives Why might it be important for journalists to be traveling with the Freedom Riders?

The Freedom Riders

Despite rulings outlawing segregation in interstate bus service, bus travel remained unintegrated in much of the South, including Alabama. Alabama's governor, John Patterson, was known to be in favor of segregation. As attorney general of the state, he had banned NAACP activity in Alabama, and he had fought the bus boycotts.

In early May 1961, teams of African American and white volunteers who became known as Freedom Riders boarded several southbound interstate buses. These buses were met by angry white mobs in Anniston, Birmingham, and Montgomery, Alabama. The mobs slit bus tires and threw rocks at the windows. In Anniston, someone threw a firebomb into one bus. Fortunately, no one was killed.

In Birmingham riders emerged from a bus to face a gang of young men armed with baseball bats, chains, and lead pipes. The gang beat the riders viciously. Birmingham public safety commissioner Theophilus Eugene "Bull" Connor claimed that there had been no police at the bus station because it was Mother's Day, and he had given many officers the day off. FBI evidence later showed that Connor told the local Klan to beat the riders until "it looked like a bulldog got a hold of them." The violence made national news, shocking many Americans and drawing the federal government's attention to the plight of African Americans in the South.

Kennedy's Civil Rights Response

While campaigning for the presidency in 1960, John F. Kennedy made promises to support civil rights. Civil rights leaders, such as NAACP executive director Roy Wilkins, urged Kennedy to support civil rights

legislation after taking office, but Kennedy tried to avoid strong actions supporting racial equality. He wanted to keep the support of Southern senators to get other programs through Congress. Kennedy's response disappointed civil rights leaders.

Kennedy supported civil rights in other ways. He appointed Thurgood Marshall to a federal judgeship on the Second Circuit Appeals Court in New York. Kennedy also created the Committee on Equal Employment Opportunity (CEEEO) and allowed the Justice Department, run by his brother Robert, to actively support the civil rights movement. The department tried to help African Americans register to vote by filing lawsuits across the South.

After the Freedom Riders were attacked in Montgomery, both Kennedys publicly urged the civil rights protesters to have a "cooling off" period. CORE leader James Farmer rejected the idea and announced that the riders would head into Mississippi. To stop the violence, President Kennedy made a deal with Mississippi senator James Eastland. As a result, no violence occurred when buses arrived in Jackson, but Kennedy did not protest the riders' arrests.

When Thurgood Marshall learned that the cost of bailing the Freedom Riders out of jail used up most of CORE's funds, he offered Farmer the use of the NAACP Legal Defense Fund's bail-bond account to keep the rides going. When President Kennedy found that the Freedom Riders were still active, he ordered the Interstate Commerce Commission (ICC) to tighten its regulations against segregated bus terminals, and Attorney General Robert Kennedy ordered the Justice Department to take legal action against Southern cities that maintained segregated bus terminals. By late 1962, the committed work of activists began eliminating segregated interstate bus travel.

✓ CHECK FOR UNDERSTANDING

- 1. Making Connections** What were the goals of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee?
- 2. Summarizing** How did the Kennedy administration's Justice Department help the civil rights movement?

LESSON ACTIVITIES

- 1. Informative Writing** Assume the role of a journalist at a college newspaper in 1960. Write an article for the newspaper describing the sit-in movement, including its participants, goals, and achievements.
- 2. Presenting** Work in groups of four to research, write, and present brief monologues describing various events and milestones of the civil rights movement. Each monologue should be written and presented from the perspective of an actual participant. Ask your classmates to take notes for an after-presentation class discussion. Prepare at least two discussion questions for each event presented.

Challenging Segregation

READING STRATEGY

Key Ideas and Details As you read, use a graphic organizer like the one below to take notes.

EVENT	EFFECT
The Birmingham Campaign	
The Civil Rights Act of 1964	
Selma March	
Voting Rights Act of 1965	

The Civil Rights Act of 1964

GUIDING QUESTION

What were the causes and effects of the Civil Rights Act of 1964?

During the civil rights movement, the U.S. Congress passed two pieces of civil rights legislation before passing the historic Civil Rights Act of 1964. President Eisenhower signed the first act on September 9, 1957. It tried to protect voting rights and created the Civil Rights Division within the Justice Department. The U.S. Commission on Civil Rights was also created to investigate accusations of voter infringement. On May 6, 1960, Eisenhower signed a new law that extended the life of the Civil Rights Commission and strengthened other elements in the 1957 law.

But neither of these laws gave the federal government enough authority to enforce the spirit of the law. Civil rights activists continued planning protests that increased the pressure on Washington, D.C. Martin Luther King, Jr., Ralph Abernathy, Fred Shuttlesworth, and other activists made Birmingham, Alabama, the focus of a massive effort to expose and end the city's network of separate and unequal laws that discriminated against its African American citizens.

The Birmingham Campaign

The protests in Birmingham began in March 1963, but the momentum was slow, and the nation did not immediately pay attention. Birmingham police first arrested Dr. King and other activists in mid-April for marching without a permit. While King sat in jail, eight of the city's religious leaders wrote to the



The water pressure of the fire hoses used against protesters could be intense enough to lift people into the air, roll bodies down the street, and rip the shirts off the protesters.

Analyzing Visuals Why is this photograph unsettling?

Birmingham Times, describing the protests as untimely and unwise. This letter is sometimes called “A Call for Unity.” The protests in Birmingham seemed like they might fall apart before they truly started.

While Dr. King was in solitary confinement, he responded to the criticism by writing in the margins of newspapers and scraps of paper and paper towels. King’s lawyer smuggled this series of notes out of the jail and published them as the “Letter from Birmingham Jail.” King wanted to motivate his fellow activists to continue resisting Birmingham’s segregated society and to persuade government leaders in Washington, D.C., to support new civil rights legislation.

Birmingham activists increased the pressure on the Kennedy Administration by putting African American children at the front of the protests. In May 1963 children began marching daily through the streets of Birmingham singing “We Shall Overcome.” They were arrested for lacking city-granted parade permits and were quickly taken off the streets and into waiting police vans. But the continuing waves of children overwhelmed the city’s police. The number of children marching grew larger each day, and the city ran out of police vans. School buses were called into service to transport each day’s new crowd to the jail, but the jail cells quickly overflowed. The Birmingham police then used fire department water hoses and police dogs to hold back the youth. King sent a telegram asking President Kennedy: “Will you permit this . . . violence in Birmingham to threaten our lives and deny our rights?”

Birmingham’s brutal reputation was firmly established after World War II, as African American families began moving into formerly all-white neighborhoods. Segregationists responded by bombing their homes, businesses, and churches. Newly desegregated neighborhoods were targeted so often that one became known as “Dynamite Hill,” and Birmingham was nicknamed “Bombingham.” The violence culminated in 1963 when Addie Mae Collins, Cynthia Wesley, Carole Robertson, and Carol Denise McNair were killed and more than 20 other churchgoers were injured in the bombing of the 16th Street Baptist Church. It took more than three decades to bring all the perpetrators to justice.

Kennedy Takes Action

Events in Alabama grew more tense. At his inauguration as Alabama’s governor, George Wallace stated, “I draw the line in the dust and toss the gauntlet before the feet of tyranny. And I say, Segregation now! Segregation tomorrow! Segregation forever!”

On June 11, 1963, Wallace stood in front of the University of Alabama’s admissions office, blocking

two African Americans from enrolling in the school. Federal officials ordered Wallace to move away from the door. When Wallace refused, President Kennedy sent troops from the Alabama National Guard to help the officials. Wallace stepped down to avoid an outbreak of violence.

That same night, President Kennedy announced on national television his support for a new civil rights bill that was moving through the House of Representatives and the Senate.

“ It ought to be possible, in short, for every American to enjoy the privileges of being American without regard to his race or his color. In short, every American ought to have the right to be treated as he would wish to be treated, as one would wish his children to be treated. But this is not the case. . . .

This is not a sectional issue. Difficulties over segregation and discrimination exist in every city, in every State of the Union . . .

I am, therefore, asking the Congress to enact legislation giving all Americans the right to be served in facilities which are open to the public—hotels, restaurants, theaters, retail stores, and similar establishments.”

—President John F. Kennedy’s speech on civil rights, June 11, 1963

Kennedy’s action encouraged the activists who had worked so hard in Birmingham. They knew, however, that moving an effective civil rights bill through Congress would be a slow and difficult political process.

Hours after Kennedy’s address, a white segregationist murdered civil rights activist Medgar Evers in Mississippi. Evers had been the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People’s (NAACP) first field secretary in Mississippi. He had helped organize voter registration efforts and



Martin Luther King, Jr., acknowledges the crowd at the March on Washington.



BIOGRAPHY

JAMES FARMER (1920–1999)

James L. Farmer, Jr., grew up in Marshall, Texas. Pearl Houston, his mother, graduated from Florida's Bethune-Cookman Institute and worked as a teacher. His father, James Farmer, Sr., was a Methodist preacher with a doctorate degree in theology and taught at the historic black educational institute Wiley College. James Farmer graduated from Wiley College in 1938 when he was just 18. He earned a second degree in Divinity from Howard University in 1941. Farmer was very aware of the segregationist policies surrounding him as he grew up, and he formed an early commitment to end such discrimination. While studying at Howard, Farmer also grew interested in nonviolent methods of protest to create social change. He was a conscientious objector during World War II.

ACTIVISM IN ACTION During World War II, Farmer helped found the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) in Chicago, Illinois. A key principle of CORE, according to Farmer, was that it was led by regular citizens instead of experts, and it took direct action against segregation through nonviolence. One of CORE's largest direct-action efforts was the Freedom Rides in 1961 to force integration on interstate bus travel. Farmer himself was one of the riders jailed in Jackson, Mississippi, in 1961.

BIG SIX As a leader of CORE, Farmer was considered one of the "Big Six" who helped organize the March on Washington. The other five activists were Martin Luther King, Jr., of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), John Lewis of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), Roy Wilkins of the NAACP, Whitney Young of the National Urban League, and A. Philip Randolph.

Understanding Significance What leadership role did Farmer play in the civil rights movement?

boycotts. Evers was seen by many to be a **martyr** of the civil rights movement.

The March on Washington

Civil rights leaders searched for a way to speed the legislative process while also growing national support. When A. Philip Randolph suggested a march on Washington D.C. Bayard Rustin was named Deputy Director of the event and began the process of planning and organizing the march.

On August 28, 1963, more than 200,000 demonstrators of all races converged on the nation's capital. The audience heard speeches and sang hymns and songs as they gathered peacefully near the Lincoln Memorial. The most memorable moment was Dr. King's "I Have a Dream" speech describing his vision of freedom and equality for all Americans.

“ I have a dream that one day this nation will rise up and live out the true meaning of its creed: ‘We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal.’

I have a dream that one day on the red hills of Georgia, the sons of former slaves and the sons of former slave owners will be able to sit down together at the table of brotherhood. . . .

I have a dream that my four little children will one day live in a nation where they will not be judged by the color of their skin but by the content of their character.”

—Martin Luther King, Jr., from the “Address in Washington,” August 28, 1963

That speech and the dignity of the March on Washington built momentum for the civil rights bill that was already being debated in Congress. The bill's opponents continued to slow down the bill, dragging out their committee investigations and using procedural rules to delay votes.

Legislative Delays

President Kennedy was not able to push the civil rights legislation to a final vote before his shocking

martyr a person who sacrifices greatly or perhaps gives their life for the sake of important principles

assassination in November 1963. Vice President Lyndon Johnson—a former member of the Senate Democrats—became president. Johnson had helped pass the Civil Rights Acts of 1957 and 1960 but only by weakening their provisions through compromises with other Southern senators.

On November 27, 1963, the newly sworn-in President Johnson spoke to a joint session of Congress. Johnson pledged to continue Kennedy's work and made the passage of a new civil rights bill a key piece of honoring Kennedy's legacy.

The bill, however, was stuck in the House of Representatives Rules Committee—where all House versions of bills must begin. The chairman of the Rules Committee, Howard W. Smith of Virginia, was a determined segregationist and had effectively blocked civil rights bills since 1955. This delaying tactic was a key component of the Southern Democrats anti-civil rights strategy. They believed that if they could hold up legislation long enough, frustrated civil rights activists might initiate more violent militant actions, causing a backlash against desegregation and diminishing the public passion for Kennedy's memory.

While Southern senators worked openly to oppose the civil rights bill, many of them realized that they were fighting a losing battle against changes that would soon transform the nation.

“ I believe the Negro has been imposed upon. He has been subjected to indignities. But we shouldn't upset the whole scheme of constitutional government and expect people to swallow laws governing their most intimate social relations. The tempo of change is the crux of the whole matter. Any realist knows that the 'separate but equal' doctrine is finished.”

—Senator Richard Russell, *Congressional Record*, August 1963

The civil rights bill passed the House of Representatives in February 1964. It then moved to the Senate, where the bill's opponents used another tactic to delay passage.

Democrats used the **filibuster**, a tactic in which senators speak continuously to prevent a vote. On March 30, the full Senate began its debate on the legislation. To carry out the filibuster, the bill's opponents divided themselves into three teams. One team controlled the debate on the Senate floor, then passed off speaking time to another team. Each day a new team took over from the senators who spoke on the previous day, while another group rested.

filibuster an attempt to kill or delay a bill by having a group of senators take turns speaking continuously so that a vote cannot take place



Southern Senators including (l to r) Sam Ervin, James Eastland, Allen Ellender, Harry Byrd, and Olin Johnston meet before a Senate session to plan their strategy to filibuster the Civil Rights bill in March 1964.

Analyzing Visuals Based on the Senators' expression, what attitude toward the filibuster did they hold?

Democrats held onto the debate for the next 60 days. The key members of this so-called Southern Resistance group included Sam Ervin of North Carolina, John Stennis and James Eastland from Mississippi, Richard Russell from Georgia, Spessard Holland from Florida, Allen Ellender and Russell Long from Louisiana, A. Willis Robertson from Virginia, and Strom Thurmond from South Carolina.

While the filibuster was going on, Senator Hubert Humphrey of Minnesota, the Democrat Whip, was working against his more conservative-leaning Southern party members to get the 67 votes needed to achieve **cloture**—the procedure needed to end a filibuster debate and force a vote. Illinois Senator Everett Dirksen also tried to increase the chances of compromise by introducing a revised version of the Senate bill that weakened the scope of the federal government's regulations on private businesses and civil rights.

On June 10, the Senate voted 71 to 29 to stop the filibuster delay and call a final approval vote. The Senate then easily passed Dirksen's revised bill.

cloture a motion that ends debate and calls for an immediate vote

On July 2, 1964, Johnson signed the final version of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 into law.

The Law Changes the Nation

The Civil Rights Act of 1964 was the most comprehensive civil rights law ever enacted by Congress. The law made segregation illegal in most places and banned racial discrimination in places that served the general public, specifically any type of hotel, restaurant, theater, or entertainment venue. Yet, it was unclear whether the federal government had jurisdiction to regulate these businesses—so the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 immediately raised constitutional issues.

The owner of the Heart of Atlanta Motel refused to allow African Americans to stay at his hotel and filed suit in federal court. In *Heart of Atlanta Motel v. United States* (1964), the Supreme Court ruled that the interstate commerce clause (Article I, Section 8, of the Constitution) did give Congress the power to ban discrimination in facilities serving the public. The Civil Rights Act also gave the U.S. attorney general more power to enforce school desegregation, and it required private employers to end workplace discrimination. It also established the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC) as a permanent federal agency.

The Civil Rights Act went further than simply banning discrimination based on race. It also banned discrimination based on religion, gender, and national origin. For religious minorities, immigrants, and women, the act represented a dramatic step forward in expanding their political rights and economic opportunities.

✓ CHECK FOR UNDERSTANDING

1. **Analyzing Effects** What happened as a result of the Birmingham campaign? Was the campaign successful?
2. **Summarizing** How did the Civil Rights Act of 1964 give the federal government new authority to fight discrimination?

The Voting Rights Struggle

GUIDING QUESTION

Why was the passage of the Voting Rights Act of 1965 a turning point in the civil rights movement?

In December 1964, Dr. King received the Nobel Peace Prize in Oslo, Norway, for his work in the civil rights movement. Yet, despite the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, African Americans still faced voting barriers.

The Twenty-fourth Amendment, ratified in 1964, helped by eliminating poll taxes in federal (but not state) elections. As the SCLC and the SNCC stepped

up their voter registration efforts in the South, their members were often attacked and beaten, and several were murdered. A few weeks later, King announced, “We are not asking, we are demanding the ballot.” Convinced that a new law was needed to protect African American voting rights, Dr. King decided to hold another dramatic protest.

The Selma March

To keep pressure on the president and the Congress to pass voting legislation, Dr. King joined with SNCC activists and organized a march for freedom from Selma, Alabama, to the state capitol in Montgomery about 50 miles (80 km) away. Selma was the focal point for this voting rights campaign because although African Americans made up most of Selma’s population, they only made up one or two percent of registered voters.

The march began on Sunday, March 7, 1965. The SCLC’s Hosea Williams and SNCC’s John Lewis led some 600 protesters toward Montgomery. As the protesters approached the Edmund Pettus Bridge, which led out of Selma, Sheriff Jim Clark and a deputized group of armed white citizens ordered them to disperse. Lewis and the marchers refused to stop the protest, and Clark’s posse responded violently.

Many protesters were beaten in full view of television cameras. This brutal attack, known later as “Bloody Sunday,” left 17 marchers hospitalized and another 70 injured. The nation was shocked by the media’s footage of law enforcement officers beating peaceful demonstrators. Watching the events from the White House, President Johnson grew furious. Eight days later, he appeared before a nationally televised joint session of Congress to propose a new voting rights law. When King would march across the Edmund Pettus Bridge with a second group of protesters, they would be protected by federal troops to prevent the same violence.

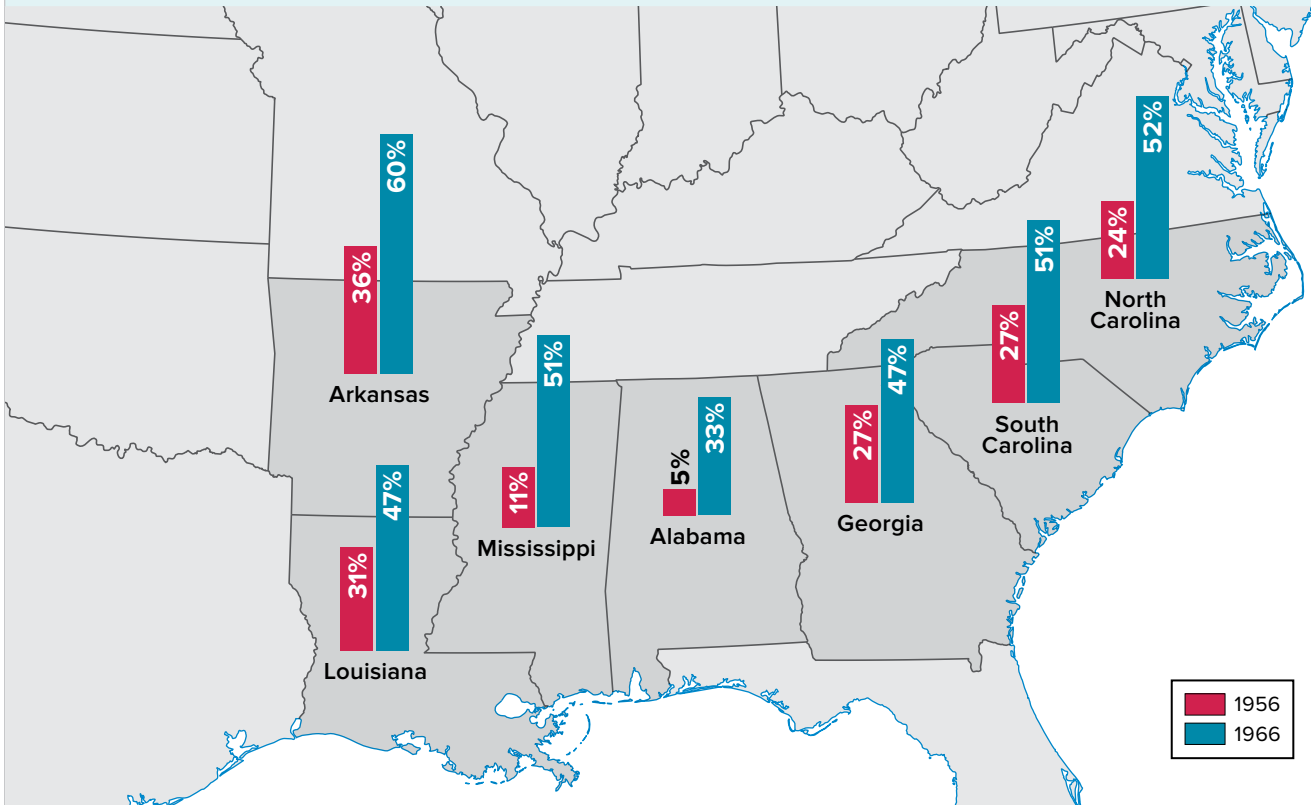
The Voting Rights Act of 1965

On August 3, 1965, the House of Representatives passed the voting rights bill by a wide margin. The following day, the Senate also passed the bill. The Voting Rights Act of 1965 authorized the U.S. attorney general to send federal examiners to register qualified voters, bypassing local officials who often refused to register African Americans. The law also suspended discriminatory devices, such as literacy tests, in counties where less than half of all adults were registered to vote.

The Voting Rights Act of 1965, like the Civil Rights Act of 1964, immediately raised constitutional questions. Article 1, Section 2, of the Constitution says that each state must use the same rules for choosing members of Congress as for choosing state legislators. When the Voting Rights

Percentage Change of Southern African Americans Registered to Vote

The Voting Rights Act of 1965 was a turning point of the civil rights movement that resulted in immediate changes to voter registration in the Southern states.



CIVICS CONNECTION

- Analyzing Graphs** Which states had the largest percentage of African Americans registered to vote in 1956 and 1966? Which had the lowest? What can you infer about the states that show the least changes?
- Drawing Conclusions** How might the Voting Rights Act of 1965 have changed political campaigns in these states?

Act of 1965 banned literacy tests, Congress created a new voting rule for the states. This made it legally unclear if the newly-created federal ban on literacy tests violated the other voting rules already established by the states. If it did, then the Voting Rights Act of 1965 would conflict with the Constitution.

The Supreme Court resolved this in 1966 when it ruled in the *Katzenbach v. Morgan* case. With a 7-2 majority, Justice William Brennan explained that the Fourteenth Amendment did allow Congress to ban literacy tests and impose similar voting rules on state governments.

By the end of 1965, almost 250,000 African Americans had registered as new voters. Between 1960 and 2018, the number of African American members of Congress rose from 4 to 52.

✓ CHECK FOR UNDERSTANDING

Explaining What was the Selma March and why was it significant?

LESSON ACTIVITIES

- Writing an Informative/Explanatory Essay** Why was the civil rights movement successful at achieving legislation to extend and protect civil rights for African Americans?
- Collaborating** Imagine you and a partner are newspaper reporters in 1966 and have been assigned to write an article about the effects of the Voting Rights Act of 1965 in your community. Work together to create a profile of someone you would have wanted to interview and create a list of interview questions.

Analyzing Sources: Civil Rights Movement Activists



COMPELLING QUESTION

How did activists move the civil rights movement forward?

Plan Your Inquiry

In this lesson, you will investigate the role and contributions of key civil rights activists.

DEVELOP QUESTIONS

Developing Questions About Civil Rights Activists Read the Compelling Question for this lesson. Think about the key events that made up the civil rights movement and how different individuals and groups contributed to these events. Develop a list of Supporting Questions that would help you answer the Compelling Question in this lesson.

APPLY HISTORICAL TOOLS

Analyzing Primary Sources You will work with a variety of primary sources in this lesson. These sources focus on contributions of several key civil rights activists in the 1960s. As you read, use a graphic organizer like the one below to record information about the sources that will help you examine them and check for historical understanding. Note ways in which each source helps you answer your Supporting Questions.

Source	Author/Creator	Description/Notes	Which Supporting Question does this source help me answer?
A			
B			
C			
D			
E			
F			
G			

After you analyze the sources, you will:

- use the evidence from the sources
- communicate your conclusions
- take informed action

Background Information

Beginning in 1909, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) mounted legal challenges against segregation laws. W.E.B. Du Bois and Ida B. Wells-Barnett were among its founders. They also served as editors and writers for *The Crisis*, which argued the NAACP's civil rights platform. In 1942 James Farmer launched the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), which began holding sit-ins to call attention to discrimination and protest segregation. Their actions helped inspire the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), founded by Diane Nash, John Lewis and others, which led the lunch counter sit-ins and the Freedom Rides in the 1960s.

You have read about the actions led by Medgar Evers, Rosa Parks, Ella Baker, and Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., founder of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC). In this Inquiry, you'll learn about the actions and goals of civil rights activists in their own words.



» Organizing picket lines, such as this one in front of a school board office, was a strategic activity in the civil rights movement.

A

Interview with C.T. Vivian

Inspired by the nonviolent acts of civil disobedience practiced by India's Mohandas Gandhi, activist Reverend James M. Lawson supported a nonviolent approach in the struggle for civil rights in the South. He developed workshops in Nashville, Tennessee, on effective nonviolent protest and trained many leaders of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) and the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), including Diane Nash, John Lewis, and Reverend C.T. Vivian. In this interview excerpt, conducted in Atlanta, Georgia, in 2011, Vivian recalls Lawson's workshops and how his message was received at the time.

PRIMARY SOURCE : INTERVIEW

“ **Interviewer:** [A] number of the people that I've talked to who were in [James] Lawson's workshops said that there were psychological aspects to [nonviolent protests] as well, besides the religious, the patriotic, that what you were doing was that they'd come into the workshops thinking that nonviolence meant a kind of curling into the fetal position and that sort of thing to protect yourself and Lawson would tell them no, you need to make eye contact and keep eye contact with people. They have a harder time being violent with you when you're looking at them and making human contact with them. . . .

Reverend Vivian: Well, see, the thing, there was a lot of conversation about it. It was easy to understand it, but you see here again are these various parts of the movement . . . SNCC was the one that wanted to curl up and get beaten and put over your head and all that sort of thing. . . . That was not true with SCLC at any point. ”

—Interview with Reverend C.T. Vivian, Civil Rights History Project, 2011

EXAMINE THE SOURCE

- Explaining** What self-defense technique does Lawson advise against? Why?
- Interpreting** Based on what Vivian says about SNCC and SCLC, what do you think is a difference he sees between the two groups?

B

Letter to the DNC

In 1964 civil rights groups organized the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party and sent their own elected delegates to the Democratic National Committee (DNC) convention.

PRIMARY SOURCE : LETTER

“ Dear Convention Delegate:

Three mother's sons who sought to secure political democracy for the people of Mississippi probably lie buried beneath the murky swamps near Philadelphia, a small town in that state.

If they have paid with their lives for believing in the right . . . to have a voice in the election . . . all Democrats who can register and vote with freedom are now challenged as never before. The long and systematic denial of the Negro's right to vote in Mississippi, and the flagrant disloyalty of the 'regular' Mississippi Democratic Party to the principles of the National Democratic Party demand that new channels be created through which all the people of Mississippi can be represented in the 1964 Democratic National Convention. To do less at this historic moment would be a disgrace.

The Freedom Democratic Party parallels the structure and the proceedings of the existing Democratic Party, with the notable exceptions that it is open to all citizens. . . .

We urge that your entire delegation use the full weight of its . . . voting strength to see that the challenge raised by the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party receives a full and open hearing before the Credentials Committee of the Convention, and if the . . . Committee fails to seat the Freedom Democratic Party, that your delegation call for . . . a roll-call vote to permit the Mississippi issue to be discussed on the floor of the convention. . . . ”

—Ella J. Baker, July 20, 1964

EXAMINE THE SOURCE

- Drawing Conclusions** What does Baker ask the DNC to do, and to what end?
- Identifying Cause and Effect** What conditions led Baker and other activists to take this action?

The Courage of the Freedom Riders

In 1946 the U.S. Supreme Court ruled segregation of interstate transportation unconstitutional in *Morgan v. Virginia*. Then in *Boynton v. Virginia* (1960), the Court ruled that segregation in facilities that served interstate travelers was also unconstitutional. CORE and then SNCC decided to enforce these rulings within the South with the Freedom Rides. The first Freedom Riders—seven of whom were African American and six white—departed Washington, D.C., for New Orleans on May 4, 1961. The riders first met with resistance in Virginia and encountered violence in South Carolina. In Alabama an angry mob beat the riders and firebombed one of the buses. The bus journey ended, and the group flew on to New Orleans. John Seigenthaler was an assistant to Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy (RFK), and Diane Nash was a key leader of SNCC involved in orchestrating the Freedom Rides. PBS produced the documentary *Freedom Riders*, excerpted below, in 2011.

PRIMARY SOURCE : FILM TRANSCRIPT

“ **John Seigenthaler, Assistant to RFK:** I went to a motel to spend the night. And you know, I thought, ‘What a great hero I am, you know? How easy this was, you know? I just took care of everything the President and the Attorney General wanted done. Mission Accomplished.’

My phone in the hotel room rings and it’s the Attorney General. He has received word from the FBI in Nashville that another wave of Freedom Riders is coming down to Birmingham from Nashville to continue the Freedom Rides. And he opened the conversation, ‘Who the hell is Diane Nash?’ . . .

Diane Nash, Student, Fisk University: It was clear to me that if we allowed the Freedom Ride to stop at that point, just after so much violence had been inflicted, the message would have been sent that all you have to do to stop a nonviolent campaign is inflict massive violence. It was critical that the Freedom Ride not stop, and that it be continued immediately. . . .

Seigenthaler: So I called her. I said, ‘I understand that there are more Freedom Riders coming down from Nashville. You must stop them if you can.’ Her response was, ‘They’re not gonna turn back. They’re on their way to Birmingham and they’ll be there, shortly.’

You know that spiritual—‘Like a tree standing by the water, I will not be moved’? She would not be moved. And, and I felt my voice go up another decibel and another and soon I was shouting, ‘Young woman, do you understand what you’re doing? You’re gonna get somebody . . . [D]o you understand you’re gonna get somebody killed?’

And, there’s a pause, and she said, ‘Sir, you should know, we all signed our last wills and testaments last night before they left. We know someone will be killed. But we cannot let violence overcome non-violence.’

That’s virtually a direct quote of the words that came out of that child’s mouth. Here I am, an official of the United States government, representing the President and the Attorney General, talking to a student at Fisk University. And she in a very quiet but strong way gave me a lecture.”

—Diane Nash and John Seigenthaler, in *Freedom Riders*

EXAMINE THE SOURCE

1. **Determining Central Ideas** Why does Nash say that she insisted on the Freedom Rides going forward?
2. **Analyzing Perspectives** How did Seigenthaler react to Nash’s comments, and how might his exchange with her have influenced events?



» The Birmingham Freedom Riders wait to board a bus.

D

Black Panther Party Leaflet

The Black Panther Party for Self Defense was founded in 1966 in Oakland, California, by Huey P. Newton and Bobby Seale. The Black Panthers believed that nonviolent methods and tactics were not always enough to liberate African Americans, give them control over their lives, or to protect them from police brutality. The following excerpt comes from a leaflet handed out at a Black Panther Party meeting in Greensboro, North Carolina, in the spring of 1969.

PRIMARY SOURCE : LEAFLET

“ You must discipline yourselves to concentrate because revolution is not a party or a joke. There will be no revolution without a revolutionary party. The Black Panther Party is truly a revolutionary party. We must work very hard. Please feel free to ask about anything you don’t understand and don’t be afraid to challenge your instructor at any point.

You must memorize and understand the TEN POINT PROGRAM.

You must memorize and understand the POLITICAL DEFINITIONS.

You must memorize and understand the 3 RULES OF DISCIPLINE & 8 POINTS OF ATTENTION.

You must obtain or liberate a copy of CHAIRMEN MAO TSE-TUNG QUOTATION (REDBOOK).

You must obtain or liberate a BERET.

During the six week training period you will be put through test and given special assignments to test your fiber. You will be expected to do some community work and help get together a community organizational chart. We must always have the respect of the community. A Panther must always carry him self like a gentleman. We are the peoples heroes and the peoples liberation force. The first army that black people have ever had.”

—Federal Bureau of Investigation,
File 105-165706-8

EXAMINE THE SOURCE

Summarizing Why does this leaflet emphasize that the Black Panthers must “always have the respect of the community”?

E

Learning More About Living Conditions

Gloria Hayes Richardson worked with the Cambridge Nonviolent Action Committee in Cambridge, Maryland in the early 1960s. One of her leadership tasks was to create and help distribute a survey of the living conditions of African Americans in Cambridge. The survey was handed out to school children who then took them home for completion by parents. Student volunteers from Swarthmore College evaluated the data and used it to persuade government leaders.

PRIMARY SOURCE : TRANSCRIPT

“ **Joseph Mosnier:** Yeah, so you surveyed, you sampled—I think, uh, the same children who were—high school students and others—who were active in the community in the Movement . . . [t]ook the survey cards to high schools across the Second Ward.

Gloria Hayes Richardson: Took the survey, and it really was more the grammar school kids, because in the summer the high school kids were out working, picking up jobs.

JM: Yeah. And your card, you had—so, on the whole series of questions on the card: your priorities in the Movement, aspects about your—the condition of the house you live in, are you employed, all those things. . . . So, you really did a, in a sense, a basic solid systematic survey of conditions in—

GR: . . . And then after they . . . wrote it up and did the correlations . . . I think that’s what changed Robert Kennedy’s mind, was it was perfectly clear that it was just abysmally poor people, that most of the component to them being poor over generations was racism.”

—interview by the Southern Oral History Program, for the Smithsonian Institute’s National Museum of African American History & Culture, July 19, 2011

EXAMINE THE SOURCE

Interpreting How does this interview help you understand the types of tactics that were used by participants in the civil rights movement?

Conflict Between SNCC and the NAACP

Ella Baker, a prominent member of the NAACP and SCLC, organized the 1960 students' conference that created SNCC. She sent Bob Moses to recruit young activists to participate in what they hoped would become a student-led counterpart to the NAACP. One of these recruits, Fannie Lou Hamer, grew up in a sharecropper's family in Mississippi. Angry at the treatment of African American voters, she joined SNCC. She was fired when her employer learned that she had attempted to register to vote despite failing a required literacy test. In 1963 Hamer participated in a sit-in at a segregated bus station restaurant. Then, in 1966 she helped start the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party (MFDP).

PRIMARY SOURCE : NEWSPAPER

“ **Hamer:** . . . I haven't seen Bob [Moses, of the NAACP] in quite a while. I miss that man. . . . I've seen so many . . . things in this country. What we thought were different things. . . . Bob became sick of it all, I guess. . . .

Interviewer: What did he do? That's one of the things we've been interested in . . . interviewing people . . . different style that SNCC brought in Mississippi when they first came in and so different from NAACP.

Hamer: It worked with the people. NAACP didn't work with the people. You know, I used to write membership for the [NAACP] and they don't care. They care about folk. You see I'm not particular about working with nobody that don't say yes sir to everything to Mr. Charlie, and that's all [NAACP] does. . . . Now the legal affairs. I don't fight the legal affairs because they have some good attorneys. . . . The [NAACP] is different from everything, 'cause the people in the [NAACP], most of 'em is white man. . . . But [SNCC treated me] for the first time I ever been treated like a human being, whether the kids was white or black. I was respected with the kids and they never told nobody what to say. . . . Everything you heard, us screaming and saying . . . nobody tell us to say that. This is what's been there all the time and we had a chance to get it off our chests and nobody else had ever give us that chance. . . .

Interviewer: When did you first meet up with SNCC kids? When did they first come in?

Hamer: In '62 and before '62 . . . I'd never heard of a mass meeting in my life. . . . [NAACP] was all over the state then. They didn't tell nobody but the people here in town that had their own homes.”

—Fannie Lou Hamer, interviewed by Anne and Howard Romaine, 1966



» Fannie Lou Hamer speaks out for the members of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party delegation to the 1964 Democratic National Convention in Atlantic City, New Jersey.

EXAMINE THE SOURCE

1. **Comparing and Contrasting** How does Hamer say that SNCC differed from the NAACP?
2. **Speculating** What gap might SNCC have filled that the NAACP did not?

Julian Bond's Campaign

In 1964 a Supreme Court ruling barred states from gerrymandering districts to weaken the votes of African American citizens. Georgia redrew its districts to create three new majority-African American districts. Julian Bond of SNCC ran for a seat in the Georgia House of Representatives, and in early 1965, he and six other African American leaders were elected. *The Student Voice*, a newspaper produced by SNCC, reported on his campaign.

PRIMARY SOURCE : NEWSPAPER

“ The successful campaign of a young SNCC worker for the Georgia House of Representatives has begun a new phase of political organizing for SNCC. . . .

‘The campaign was a new one for Atlanta for several reasons,’ Bond said. ‘For one, we tried to run on issues and not labels, on people’s concerns and not their prejudices. Atlanta has never had a house-to-house, block meeting campaign like this one, where people knew the candidate and got a chance to question him.’

‘The next step,’ a campaign worker said, ‘is to put people inside Julian’s District in touch with each other, so they can use each other to get things for themselves.’ . . .

‘But more important,’ Bond says, ‘they’ve begun to talk about including in the strike others across the city who live in the same kind of houses. They want to organize everyone who wants a better house through their actions.’

The campaign was unique because Bond and his campaign workers asked residents of the District—voters and non-voters alike—what it was that they expected from a State Representative and what they were prepared to do themselves. . . .

‘The state of Georgia says anyone who is 21-years old and who has \$500 is ‘qualified’ . . .’ Bond said, ‘and I agree with them completely. The real qualification is interest and a willingness to work.’ ”

—*The Student Voice*, July 5, 1965

EXAMINE THE SOURCE

1. **Inferring** What roles did Bond play in civil rights?
2. **Drawing Conclusions** How did Bond and his campaign influence the political climate in Georgia?

Your Inquiry Analysis

EVALUATE SOURCES AND USE EVIDENCE

Reflect back to the Compelling Question and the Supporting Questions you developed at the beginning of this lesson.

1. **Gathering Sources** Refer back to the graphic organizer you created as you read through the sources. Which sources most helped you answer the Supporting Questions you wrote? Circle or highlight those sources in your graphic organizer. Then, write a sentence or two in which you explain how helpful your Supporting Questions were in guiding your inquiry. Note any additional questions that you might have as well as any questions that were left unanswered.
2. **Evaluating Sources** Review the sources that you found the most helpful, and evaluate their credibility. What biases does each source reveal, and how do those biases shape the content of each source? What additional research might you do to confirm the details provided by each source? What insights do these personal perspectives offer?
3. **Comparing and Contrasting** Select two of the activists from the sources. Compare and contrast the roles that they played, the goals that they had, and the ideas that they espoused, as related in the sources.

COMMUNICATE CONCLUSIONS

Using Multimedia Write an answer to each of your Supporting Questions. Then share your responses with a partner. Together, write a paragraph in response to the Compelling Question in which you cite evidence from the sources. Locate images and quotes from each of the sources, and assemble these in a slideshow along with your response to the Compelling Question. Present your slideshow to the class.

TAKE INFORMED ACTION

Teaching the Value of Nonviolent Action

Protests remain an important part of civil action and discourse today. Research the history of nonviolence as a tool of political and social protest, including its use during the civil rights movement and in response to current events. Then, write a guide for your own nonviolent protest workshop in which you explain the value and intent of nonviolent protest as well as at least three strategies for sustaining a nonviolent position in the face of critical or violent opposition. Your instruction should include what NOT to do during nonviolent protest and why and should discuss the legal implications of some forms of protest. Present your plan as a tutorial guide, website, or workshop session.

The Civil Rights Movement Continues

READING STRATEGY

Analyzing Key Ideas and

Details As you read, use a graphic organizer like the one below to list major violent events in the civil rights movement and their results.

Event	Result

Urban Problems Outside the South

GUIDING QUESTION

How did the methods and the goals of the civil rights movement change in the 1960s and what were the results?

Despite the passage of civil rights laws in the 1950s and 1960s, **racism** still existed across the United States and was not confined to the South. Such racism created a series of disadvantages that placed African Americans in poverty. In 1960, only 15 percent of African Americans held professional or managerial white collar jobs, as compared to 44 percent of whites. African Americans held low-paying jobs and the average income of African American families was 55 percent of the income of a white family. These income disadvantages and existing legal restrictions prevented African Americans from freely moving out of the depressed urban centers to the growing suburbs.

Several northern cities also saw civil rights protests erupt. In 1963 Ruth Batson and members of the NAACP led protests against school segregation in Boston, culminating in multiple school boycotts by thousands of African American high school students. In 1964 nearly half a million students in New York City boycotted school to protest segregation policies.

The Watts Riot and the Kerner Commission

Just five days after President Johnson signed the Voting Rights Act, a riot erupted in Watts, a predominantly African American neighborhood in Los Angeles. Allegations of police brutality along with existing housing segregation, job discrimination, and social and economic inequality sparked an uprising. This revolt lasted six days and more than 14,000 National Guard members and 1,500 law officers were sent to restore order. Uprisings broke out in dozens of American cities between 1965 and 1968. In Detroit alone during 1967, burning, looting, and conflicts with police and the National Guard resulted in 43 deaths and more than 1,000 wounded. Property loss was estimated at almost \$200 million.

That same year President Johnson appointed the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders, headed by Governor Otto Kerner of Illinois, to study the causes of the urban riots. The Kerner Commission, as it became known, blamed racism for most urban problems. The commission reported that “[o]ur nation is moving toward two societies, one black, one white—separate and unequal.” The commission recommended the creation of inner-city jobs and the construction of new public housing, but due to the spending for the Vietnam War, Johnson never endorsed these recommendations.

The Poor People’s Campaign

In the mid-1960s, Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., decided to focus on the economic problems that African Americans faced. King was inspired by the work of Albert Raby, an organizer for the Coordinating Council of Community Organizations (CCCO) in Chicago. The CCCO contained various groups that worked to reform Chicago’s public school policies. Raby led a school boycott in 1963. Two years later, King joined Raby for a series of rallies in Chicago, and King later relocated to the city in 1966. To call attention to deplorable housing conditions, Dr. King and his wife Coretta moved into a slum apartment in an

racism prejudice or discrimination against someone of a particular racial or ethnic group



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ANALYZING SUPREME COURT CASES

Heart of Atlanta Motel, Inc. v. United States, 1964

BACKGROUND OF THE CASE Title II of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 made it illegal for establishments engaged in interstate commerce to discriminate based on race. All businesses or establishments that provided goods, facilities, or services to the public were bound by Title II. Prior to the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, the owner of the Heart of Atlanta Motel refused to rent rooms to African American customers. Intending to continue this practice in violation of the law, the motel's owner sued the government in federal court, challenging the Civil Rights Act and arguing that Congress had exceeded its power to regulate interstate commerce. The motel owner also argued that his Fifth Amendment rights were violated because he was not allowed to run the business as he saw fit, such as by choosing his own customers. After a federal district court ruled against the owner, the case was taken up by the U.S. Supreme Court.

HOW THE COURT RULED The Court explained that the motel was engaged in interstate commerce because, due to its location near two interstate highways, most of its patrons were from out of state. In addition, the motel advertised on a national scale. The Court's opinions noted that, because racial discrimination impeded interstate commerce, Congress was authorized to prohibit it. In its decision, the Court affirmed the right of the federal government to regulate local private businesses, not just state or government entities. This decision would set a precedent later used to revoke Jim Crow laws.



» Morton Rolleston, owner, stands outside the Heart of Atlanta Motel.

1. **Citing Text Evidence** What text evidence supports the idea that the Heart of Atlanta Motel engaged in interstate commerce?
2. **Explaining** What was especially significant about the Supreme Court's ruling?

African American neighborhood. He and the SCLC hoped to improve the economic status of African Americans in poor neighborhoods.

The Chicago Movement made some headway in the face of adversity, although it never fully achieved its goals. When Dr. King led a march for open housing through the all-white neighborhood of Marquette Park, he was met by angry whites more hostile than those in Birmingham and Selma.

Mayor Richard J. Daley met with King to discuss a new program to clean up the slums, and realtors and bankers also agreed to promote open housing. In theory, mortgages and rental property would be available to everyone. In practice, little changed. Dr. King had been drawn to Chicago partly in response to Al Raby's work with the Coordinating Council of Community Organizations (CCCO). The CCCO partnered with the SCLC and conducted sit-ins, boycotts, and marches.

✓ CHECK FOR UNDERSTANDING

Identifying Cause and Effect Why did riots break out in dozens of U.S. cities in the late 1960s?

Black Power and the Black Panthers

GUIDING QUESTION

What attracted some African Americans to the Black Power movement?

Dr. King's lack of progress in Chicago convinced some activists that nonviolent protests could not solve economic problems. Even before this, some members of SCLC had promoted more drastic measures to enact change. After 1965, many African Americans began to turn away from King. Some called for more aggressive forms of protest, and organizations such as CORE and SNCC believed that African Americans alone should lead their struggle. Many young African Americans called for black power, a term with many meanings. A few, including Robert F. Williams and H. Rap Brown, interpreted black power to include the idea that physical self-defense was an appropriate response when threatened.

In 1964 Stokely Carmichael, a young African American activist and Freedom Rider, traveled to Alabama, where he organized an independent



Members of the Black Panther Party assemble in front of the courthouse in Oakland, California, in 1968 to support leader Huey P. Newton, who was charged with killing a police officer. After several trials, the charges were dropped.

Making Connections How does this image of the Black Panther Party reflect the values and purpose of the party?

political party called the Lowndes County Freedom Organization (LCFO). White supremacists in the mostly African American county had a history of terrorizing African Americans who attempted to vote, and the LCFO sought to empower African Americans to claim that constitutional right. The organization's symbol was a black panther. In 1966 Carmichael first spoke of a new Black Power movement, which both promoted African American pride and advocated the necessity of self-defense in violent situations.

In 1966 most supporters of the black power movement believed African Americans should control the social, political, and economic direction of their civil rights struggle:

“ This is the significance of black power as a slogan. For once, black people are going to use the words they want to use—not just the words whites want to hear. . . . The need for psychological equality is the reason why SNCC today believes that blacks must organize in the black community. Only black people can . . . create in the community an aroused and continuing black consciousness.”

—from “What We Want,” the *New York Review of Books*, September 1966

Black power emphasized racial distinctiveness instead of adapting to the dominant culture. African Americans showed pride in their racial heritage through “Afro” hairstyles and African-style clothing. Many also took African names. Dr. King and some other civil rights leaders criticized black power as a philosophy of hopelessness and despair.

By the early 1960s, a young man named Malcolm X had become a symbol of the black power movement. Born Malcolm Little in Omaha, Nebraska, he experienced a difficult childhood and adolescence. In 1946 he was imprisoned for burglary. While in prison, Malcolm educated himself and played an active role in the prison debate society.

Eventually he joined the Nation of Islam, commonly known as the Black Muslims. Despite its name, the Nation of Islam is very different from mainstream Islam. It preached black nationalism. After joining the Nation of Islam, Malcolm Little became Malcolm X. The X symbolized the unknown family name of his enslaved African ancestors. He declared that his true name had been stolen from him by enslavement, and he would no longer use his former name. Malcolm X's criticisms of white society and the mainstream civil rights movement gained national attention for the Nation of Islam.

By 1964, however, Malcolm X had broken with the group. Discouraged by scandals involving the Nation of Islam's leader, he went to the Muslim holy city of Makkah (Mecca) in Saudi Arabia. After seeing Muslims from many races worshiping together, he no longer promoted separatism. After Malcolm X left the Nation of Islam, he continued to criticize it. Organization members shot and killed him in February 1965.

Malcolm X's speeches and ideas influenced a new generation of militant African American leaders who supported black power, black nationalism, and economic self-sufficiency. In 1966 in Oakland, California, Huey P. Newton and Bobby Seale organized the Black Panther Party for Self Defense. Black Panther leaders called for an end to racial oppression and for control of major institutions in the African American community, such as schools, law enforcement, housing, and hospitals.

Like Malcolm X, the Black Panthers believed that nonviolent methods and tactics were not always enough to liberate African Americans or give them control over their lives. California law permitted citizens to openly carry firearms. Black Panther members sent armed patrols into neighborhoods to protect citizens from police misconduct and brutality. In 1967 Seale led a small group of armed Black Panthers into the California state capitol to protest legislation prohibiting the Panthers' armed patrols.

Originally founded to fight police brutality, the Black Panther Party later established and promoted social reform, creating dozens of community assistance programs in cities with Black Panther chapters. These programs featured health care services, legal aid, clothing, and education for children. One of the party's most successful offerings was the Free Breakfast for Children Program for school-aged children. This idea spread across the country and helped lead to an increase in federal food programs.

Many of these events were organized by women, who made up about half of the party's membership. Some, like Kathleen Neal Cleaver, Ericka Huggins, Lynn French, and Elaine Brown, held leadership roles within the party, while radical scholar and activist Angela Davis taught political education classes to party members.

✓ CHECK FOR UNDERSTANDING

Summarizing Why did many young African Americans join the black power movement?

Dr. King is Assassinated

GUIDING QUESTION

How did Dr. King's assassination affect the civil rights movement?

In March 1968, Dr. King went to Memphis, Tennessee, to support a strike of African American sanitation workers. At the time, the SCLC planned a national Poor People's Campaign to promote economic advancement for impoverished Americans. The campaign planned to lobby the federal government to commit billions of dollars to end poverty and unemployment in the United States. People of all races and nationalities converged on Washington, D.C., to camp out until both Congress and President Johnson passed the legislation to fund the proposal.

On April 4, 1968, as he stood on his hotel balcony in Memphis, Dr. King was assassinated by a gunshot. In a speech the previous night, King had told a gathering at a local church, "I've been to the mountaintop. . . I've looked over. And I've seen the promised land. I may not get there with you, but I want you to know tonight that we as a people will get to the promised land." Dr. King's death touched off both national mourning and violence in more than 100 cities, including Washington, D.C., where President Johnson sent almost 14,000 federal troops to suppress the protests.

Dr. King's death ignited the violence, but frustration over the continuing issues of segregation, police brutality, school and housing inequalities, and unemployment fueled the anger. People were reacting to the long-standing systemic disparities that Dr. King and the civil rights movements had spent over a decade trying to end. Around 27,000 people were arrested during the violence and 3,500 were injured. About 125 fires blazed throughout Chicago, while city leaders in Baltimore called in 5,000 federal soldiers to prevent arson in their neighborhoods. Not all cities experienced such violence. Los Angeles and New York City brought together city and social leaders to reach out to citizens to diffuse the anger.

The Reverend Ralph Abernathy served as a trusted assistant to Dr. King for many years, and led the Poor People's Campaign in King's absence.

However, the demonstration was a very public failure. It did not achieve any of the major objectives that either King or the SCLC had hoped it would.

In the wake of Dr. King's death, Congress passed the Civil Rights Act of 1968. This law, sometimes known as the Fair Housing Act of 1968, outlawed discrimination on the basis of race, color, religion, or national origin when selling, renting, or financing housing. In many communities across the nation, African Americans were prevented from purchasing homes in defined neighborhoods. Banks would not approve loans because of racist attitudes or assumptions made by the loan officers. The Civil Rights Act of 1968 tried to end these practices, but additional legislation was later passed to strengthen the attempt.

The law also benefited immigrants and religious minorities. Historically, in many places in the United States, Jewish Americans had encountered rules preventing them from buying or renting property in certain neighborhoods. The Civil Rights Act of 1968 expanded their economic opportunities as well.

The assassination of Dr. King was a turning point in the civil rights movement. After his death, the movement began to fragment. With formal laws in place banning segregation and discrimination and guaranteeing voting rights, the movement lost some of its unity of purpose. The shift to economic rights was already underway at the time of his death, and it was clear that the struggle to end poverty and provide more economic opportunity would have to involve different approaches than those used before.

✓ CHECK FOR UNDERSTANDING

Identifying Cause and Effect What was the nation's reaction to Dr. King's assassination?



A funeral procession of over 100,000 mourners accompany the casket of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., for a public memorial service.

PHOTO: Bettmann/Getty Images; TEXT: Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., I've Been to the Mountaintop delivered April 3, 1968, Mason Temple.

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Seeking Greater Opportunities

GUIDING QUESTION

How did African American civil rights reformers change their focus?

Although various forms of racial discrimination had become illegal, many African Americans saw little improvement in their daily lives. Access to good jobs and equal schooling remained prevalent issues. Civil rights leaders began to focus on these problems.

Equal Access to Education

In the 1970s, African Americans and their allies began to push harder for improvements in public education and access to good schools. In the 1954 case *Brown v. Board of Education*, the Supreme Court had ordered an end to segregated public schools. In the 1960s, however, many schools remained segregated as communities moved slowly to comply with the Court. Since children usually attended a school in their neighborhood, segregation in public schools reflected the racial segregation of neighborhoods.

In many cases where such segregation existed, the white schools were superior, as Ruth Batson of the NAACP noted about Boston schools in 1965:

“ When we would go to white schools, we’d see . . . a small number of children in each class. The teachers were permanent. We’d see wonderful materials. When we’d go to our schools, we would see overcrowded classrooms, children sitting out in the corridors, and so forth. And so then we decided that where there were a large number of white students, that’s where the care went. That’s where the books went. That’s where the money went.”

—quoted in *Voices of Freedom*, 1990

Courts began ordering local governments to bus children to schools outside their neighborhoods to achieve greater racial balance. The practice led to protests and even riots in several white communities. The Supreme Court, however, upheld the constitutionality of **busing** in the 1971 case *Swann v. Charlotte-Mecklenburg Board of Education*.

In response, many white parents took their children out of public schools or moved to suburban districts with no busing. For example, thousands of white students left Boston’s public school system to attend parochial and private schools. By late 1976, minorities made up the majority of Boston’s public school students. This “white flight” also occurred in other cities. The city of Detroit, Michigan, tried to

busing the practice of transporting children to schools outside of their neighborhoods to achieve a more equal racial balance

address the issue of continuing school inequality by busing students between districts in 1974. However, the Supreme Court ruled in *Milliken v. Bradley* that busing across district lines was unconstitutional unless it was proven that those school district boundaries had been purposely drawn to create segregation.

Affirmative Action and the Bakke Case

In addition to supporting busing, civil rights leaders began advocating **affirmative action** as a new way to solve discrimination. Political leaders such as President Kennedy and President Johnson supported the strategy as an effective solution to address racial inequality.

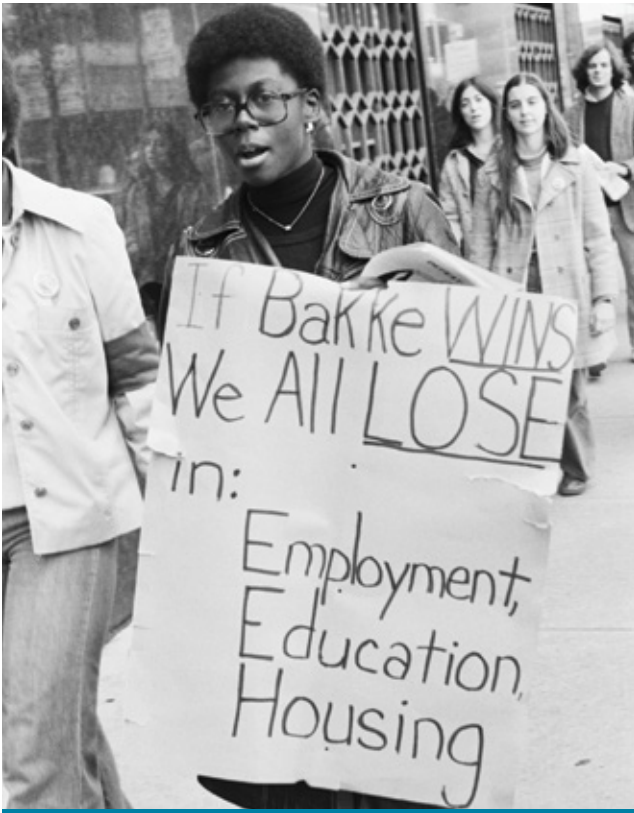
Affirmative action was enforced through executive orders and federal policies. It called for companies, schools, and institutions doing business with the federal government to recruit African Americans candidates for new hiring positions and for educational enrollment. Supporters hoped that this intentional targeting of African American candidates would improve their social and economic status. Officials later expanded affirmative action to include other minority groups and women.

Through affirmative action, the city of Atlanta, Georgia, witnessed a significant increase in minority job opportunities. In 1974 Maynard Jackson took office as Atlanta’s first African American mayor. When Jackson was elected, African Americans made up a large part of Atlanta’s population, but only a few city contracts went to African American companies. Through Jackson’s efforts, small companies and minority-owned firms took on a higher percentage of all city contracts. This helped these African American business owners experience financial success.

Some critics argued that an unintended consequence of affirmative action programs was reverse discrimination against white males. They claimed that affirmative action led to the use of quotas on the basis of race or gender. They argued that white men were denied opportunities because slots were set aside for minorities or women.

In 1978 the Supreme Court addressed affirmative action in *Regents of the University of California v. Bakke*. Officials at the University of California at Davis medical school had twice denied the application of Allan Bakke. When Bakke learned that slots had been set aside for minorities, he sued the school. Bakke pointed out that the school had admitted minority applicants with lower exam scores than his. He claimed that the school had discriminated against him based he was Caucasian.

affirmative action an approach used to improve employment or educational opportunities for minorities and women



Protesters demonstrated as the Supreme Court deliberated the *Regents of the University of California v. Bakke* case.

Summarizing What is the meaning of the sign that the protester is carrying?

In a 5-to-4 ruling, the Supreme Court declared that the university had violated Bakke’s civil rights. It said that schools should encourage racial diversity and could consider race as an admissions criteria, but that they could not set aside “fixed quotas,” for minorities.

Affirmative action policies have regularly been challenged and debated in the decades since *Bakke*. In the 2003 case *Grutter v. Bollinger*, the Court ruled that affirmative action is allowed when race is used as one factor in admissions decisions to promote student diversity. But that same year, in *Gratz v. Bollinger*, the Court prohibited a points- or quota-based system of affirmative action, upholding *Bakke*. In the 2016 case *Fisher v. University of Texas at Austin*, the Court, referring back to the language of the *Grutter* decision, determined that affirmative action policies are constitutional and allowed when they are “narrowly tailored” to serve the state’s compelling interest in “the educational benefits that flow from student body diversity.”

New Political Leaders

New political leaders emerged in the African American community in the 1970s to continue fighting for

economic, social, and political equality for African Americans. For the first time since Reconstruction, African Americans became more influential in national politics. Jesse Jackson, a former aide to Martin Luther King, Jr., was among this new generation of activists. In 1971 Jackson founded Operation PUSH (People United to Save Humanity). Operation PUSH was dedicated to developing African American businesses, educational opportunities, and social and political development. Jackson sought the Democratic presidential nomination and lost in 1984 and 1988. Yet he won over millions of voters.

In 1971 African American members of Congress organized the Congressional Black Caucus (CBC) to more clearly represent their concerns. One of the CBC’s founding members was Shirley Chisholm of New York, the first African American woman to serve in Congress. In 1972 Chisholm entered the race for the Democratic nomination for president, becoming the first woman and the first African American to run for a major party’s nomination. Chisholm received the votes of 152 delegates at the Democratic National Convention but did not win the nomination.

In 1977 another former assistant to Dr. King, U.S. Representative Andrew Young, became the first African American to serve as U.S. ambassador to the United Nations. He later served as the mayor of Atlanta. By the mid-1980s, African American mayors had been elected in Atlanta, Detroit, Chicago, Los Angeles, New Orleans, Philadelphia, and Washington, D.C.

In 1990 Virginia voters elected L. Douglas Wilder, who became the first African American governor of a state. That same year, David Dinkins took office as the first African American mayor of New York City.

✓ CHECK FOR UNDERSTANDING

- Identifying** How was busing used to desegregate public schools?
- Explaining** What was the goal of affirmative action?

LESSON ACTIVITIES

- Informative/Explanatory Writing** Write a paragraph in which you summarize the issues involved in the Supreme Court cases of *Swann v. Charlotte-Mecklenburg Board of Education* and *Regents of the University of California v. Bakke*.
- Presenting** Work in small groups to prepare a short theater piece in which newscasters relate three to five highlights of civil rights history set between the years 1954 and 1968. Ask your classmates to take notes for an after-presentation class discussion.

Reviewing the Civil Rights Movement

Summary

Origin of the Movement

During Reconstruction, Congress took some steps to protect African Americans' civil rights. But in 1896 the *Plessy v. Ferguson* decision allowed those rights to be severely curtailed by state statutes known as Jim Crow laws. These laws legalized segregation, restricting African American mobility, labor, and voting rights. Even where it was not enforced by law, de facto segregation limited African Americans lives.

In response to institutional racism and segregation, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) and other organizations began to chip away at Jim Crow laws by challenging them in court. The NAACP scored a major victory in 1954 when the U.S. Supreme Court struck down segregation in public education in *Brown v. Board of Education*. The decision caused some Southern governors to increase their resistance to integration.

The Montgomery Bus Boycott

One year after *Brown v. Board*, Rosa Parks's refusal to yield her seat on a city bus to a white man led to the Montgomery Bus Boycott. A young minister named Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., emerged as a leading voice of the civil rights movement during the boycott. After more than a year, the boycott and legal challenges achieved the desegregation of the city transportation system. That success inspired more resistance throughout the South and led to the formation of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC).

Also in 1955, two white men murdered 14-year-old Emmett Till. Till's death highlighted the dangers of racist violence protected by the Southern judicial system.

The Little Rock Nine

President Eisenhower had been reluctant to get involved in civil rights issues. After the governor of Arkansas used the National Guard to try to prevent nine African American students from integrating Little Rock's Central High School, Eisenhower intervened, ordering federal forces to protect the students and enforce integration at Central High School in 1957.

Sit-Ins and Freedom Rides

Civil rights activism continued into the 1960s, spearheaded by young college students. One group in Greensboro, North Carolina, used sit-ins to challenge segregation in public restaurants. Soon activists throughout the South staged sit-ins to protest segregation, many of them part of groups like the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) and the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), led by young leaders such as John Lewis and Diane Nash.

In 1961 a group of African American and white students challenged de facto segregation on interstate buses and terminals. The Freedom Riders were attacked by violent mobs and arrested in several cities. More Freedom Riders expanded the effort. President Kennedy finally sent in federal marshals to protect the riders, but tensions continued until the Interstate

Challenging Segregation

The activism of individuals and organizations led to nation-wide legal changes. Pictured below (l to r) James Farmer, Roy Wilkins, Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., and Ella Baker.

CORE



1943: Founded by members such as James L. Farmer on a principle of nonviolence
1961: Organized the Freedom Rides to force integration in interstate bus travel

NAACP



1909: Founded to protest lynchings and advocate for justice
1954: Argued against school segregation in *Brown v. Board of Education*
1955–1956: Supported the Montgomery bus boycotts

SCLC



1957: Created from the Montgomery bus boycott efforts
1963: Helped organize the March on Washington
1964: Organized voter registration drives in the South
1965: Helped organize the Selma March

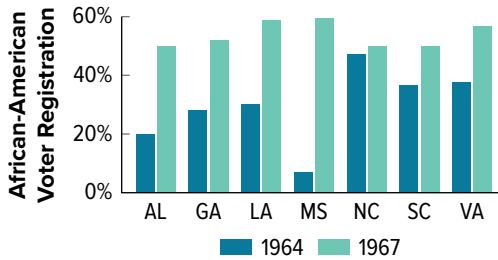
SNCC



1960: Established by African American and white college students
1963–1964: Organized voter registration drives in the South
1965: Helped organize the March for Freedom

African American Voter Registration in Selected Southern States, 1964 and 1967

The Voting Rights Act of 1965 had an almost immediate impact on African American voter registration.



Commerce Commission issued prohibitions on segregation in the interstate bus system.

The Battle Continues

Although President Eisenhower had signed civil rights bills in 1957 and 1960, they did not go far enough in protecting African American rights. Some civil rights leaders called on President Kennedy to support stronger civil rights protections, and others continued to challenge segregation directly.

The movement focused a series of protests on key Southern cities, including Birmingham, Alabama. Dr. King and others were arrested during the protests. Soon more protesters joined in, many of them children. At the direction of Bull Connor, city law enforcement forcefully attacked the peaceful protesters with hoses and dogs, and the news images shocked the public across the country.

On June 11, 1963, President Kennedy sent federal troops to Alabama to enforce integration on public college campuses. He also announced support for a strong new civil rights bill. In the early hours of June 12, a white segregationist murdered civil rights activist Medgar Evers in Mississippi. Activists organized a March on Washington. In August Dr. King delivered his "I Have a Dream" speech to over 250,000 demonstrators at the Lincoln Memorial in Washington, D.C.

Segregationists continued to stall the civil rights legislation in Congress. After Kennedy's assassination, President Lyndon Johnson pressed Congress to send him a bill, which resulted in the Civil Rights Act of 1964. The act represented the most extensive civil rights legislation ever passed by Congress, but it still did not explicitly protect voting rights. The movement next focused on securing federal voting rights protection. Those who tried to help African Americans register to vote faced resistance and, in some cases, murder. Activists marched from Selma to Montgomery in Alabama to bring national attention to the cause. On "Bloody Sunday" authorities violently attacked the

protesters. A few months later, Johnson signed the Voting Rights Act of 1965 into law.

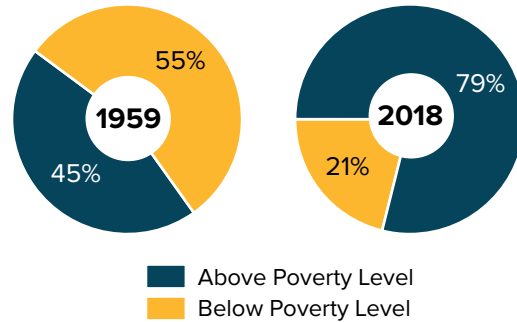
The Movement Changes

The movement faced competing priorities from groups who disagreed on the most important focus. Some wanted to address long-term effects of segregation, such as inadequate housing and low incomes. Frustration with systemic racism and police brutality sparked numerous uprisings in cities throughout the country. Al Raby's Chicago Freedom Movement drew Dr. King to put more emphasis on economic inequality through the Poor People's Campaign.

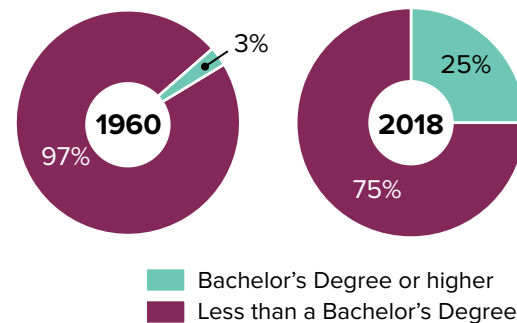
Some younger activists, inspired by figures such as Stokely Carmichael and Malcolm X, lent their voice and efforts to the Black Power movement. There were always activists who disagreed with an emphasis on nonviolent resistance. The Black Panther Party called for self-empowerment among African American communities. After Dr. King's assassination in 1968, some lost hope that further change could be achieved. Despite many successes, the movement experienced some setbacks in the 1970s, including the *Bakke* case, which limited the use of affirmative action in education.

African American Poverty Rates and Education Status

The civil rights movement affected African Americans' access to education and their economic circumstances.



Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census



Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census

Apply What You Have Learned

A Understanding Chronology

The civil rights movement spanned more than a decade of time and involved a great many people and events. Organizing these events in a simple, logical fashion can help you better understand the most important moments of this historical era. Listing the events in chronological order will also allow you to visualize change over time and understand cause-and-effect relationships.

ACTIVITY **Create a Group Time Line** Work in small groups of four people each. Each person should list what they think are the ten most important events of the civil rights movement that they learned during their studies of this topic. After each person has finished their list, compare lists with one another and discuss why each person chose their events. Be sure to add the month, days, and year for the events listed. Combine the group's events into a single list, eliminating any duplicates. Then work as a group to chronologically sequence the final events in a time line. Create either a time line poster or a digital time line with the events. Then compare and contrast the time line you created with the one found in Lesson 1 of this topic.

TITLE: _____

B Understanding Multiple Perspectives

Segregation affected all African Americans, but how people experienced it often depended on other aspects of their identities. For example, think about how segregation might have affected African American men, women, and children differently because of their age or gender.

ACTIVITY **Write an Informative/Explanatory Essay** Select two famous African Americans of different genders and research their experiences and responses to segregation. Compare and contrast their experiences and report on your findings. Prepare an essay that explains your findings. Your essay should include an introduction, a thesis statement, a presentation of your evidence, and a conclusion. Cite the sources that you used to support your thesis, evidence, and conclusion.

C Connecting to Music

Several popular songs became closely associated with the civil rights movement. Participants in the movement sang at their meetings, as they marched, and even as they were taken to jail. Other forms of music including folk and soul also became part of the soundtrack of the times with lyrics that called for equality and freedom.

ACTIVITY **Evaluate Evidence** Choose a song from the 1950s or 1960s that is associated with the civil rights movement. Analyze the song's lyrics and how they relate to the movement's purpose and goals. Evaluate the song's effectiveness as a motivating force to bring about change.

D Making Connections to Today

The 50th anniversary of “Bloody Sunday” in Selma, Alabama, was remembered on March 7, 2015. President Barack Obama delivered a speech explaining the significance of Selma to the civil rights movement:

“ . . . [T]here are places and moments in America where this nation’s destiny has been decided. . . .

Selma is such a place. In one afternoon 50 years ago, so much of our turbulent history—the stain of slavery and anguish of civil war; the yoke of segregation and tyranny of Jim Crow; the death of four little girls in Birmingham; and the dream of a Baptist preacher—met on this bridge. . . .

The Americans who crossed this bridge, they were not physically imposing. But they gave courage to millions. . . .

Because of what they did, the doors of opportunity swung open not just for black folks, but for every American. Women marched through those doors. Latinos marched through those doors. Asian Americans, gay Americans, and Americans with disabilities—they all came through those doors.”

—President Obama, “Bloody Sunday” 50th Anniversary Speech

» The right photo shows people reenacting the 1965 march across the Edmund Pettus Bridge. The left photo, taken March 7, 2015, shows President Barack Obama (center left, in white shirt), civil rights leaders from several generations, and former President and First Lady, George W. Bush and Laura Bush. They are commemorating the 50th anniversary of “Bloody Sunday” in Selma, Alabama.



As President Obama notes in his speech, the civil rights movement, directly and indirectly, inspired other activist movements in the United States. Movements for Latino and Native American civil rights as well as the modern feminist and the LGBTQ movements learned from its original example.

ACTIVITY Podcast Presentation Select one of the other movements President Obama referenced in his speech and create a podcast that compares and contrasts it to the civil rights movement of the 1950s and 1960s. In what ways has the civil rights movement inspired this other movement? How were the movements similar? In what ways did they differ?

As you seek to answer these questions, focus on the following topics and explain the similarities and differences between the movements:

- The goals of each movement
- The methods used by each movement to achieve these goals
- The judicial or legislative successes of each movement

Use your student text, library, and online sources to research the movement. Then, for your podcast, describe events that help the listeners to visualize the significant moments captured in videos or photographs. Create and submit a bibliography citing the sources you used for your podcast. Publish and share your podcast with family, friends, or a larger audience.