

CHAPTER
29

GUIDED READING *Taking on Segregation*

Section 1

A. As you read, answer questions about important events in the civil rights movement.

1875	Civil Rights Act is passed.	→	1. What did the Civil Rights Act of 1875 do?	
1883	Supreme Court rules 1875 Civil Rights Act unconstitutional.			
1896	<i>Plessy v. Ferguson</i>	→	2. How did the Court rule in <i>Plessy</i> ?	
1945	World War II ends.	→	3. In what three ways did World War II help set the stage for the modern civil rights movement? a. b. c.	
1946	<i>Morgan v. Virginia</i> outlaws mandatory segregation on interstate buses.			
1950	<i>Sweat v. Painter</i> declares that state law schools must admit black applicants.			
1954	<i>Brown v. Board of Education</i>	→	4. Who argued <i>Brown's</i> case?	5. What did the <i>Brown</i> ruling declare?
1955	Supreme Court orders school desegregation. Emmett Till is murdered.		6. Why did the Court rule as it did in <i>Brown</i> ?	
	Rosa Parks is arrested.	→	7. What organization was formed to support Rosa Parks?	8. What did it do?
1956	Supreme Court outlaws bus segregation.			
1957	Little Rock faces school desegregation crisis.	→	9. How did President Eisenhower respond to the Little Rock crisis?	
	Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) is formed.	→	10. Who was the president of SCLC?	11. What was SCLC's purpose?
1960	Student Nonviolent Coordination Committee (SNCC) is formed.	→	12. What did SNCC accomplish, and how?	

CHAPTER
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Section 2

PRIMARY SOURCE *from* **“I Have a Dream”**
by Martin Luther King, Jr.

On August 28, 1963, more than 250,000 people took part in a march on Washington, D.C., in support of the civil rights bill. As you read this part of the speech that Dr. King delivered that day, think about his dream and whether it has come true.

I say to you today, my friends, even though we face the difficulties of today and tomorrow, I still have a dream. It is a dream deeply rooted in the American dream. 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, 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 one day even the state of Mississippi, a state sweltering with the heat of injustice, sweltering with the heat of oppression, will be transformed into an oasis of freedom and justice. 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.

I have a dream today!

I have a dream that one day down in Alabama—with its vicious racists, with its Governor having his lips dripping with the words of interposition and nullification—one day right there in Alabama, little black boys and black girls will be able to join hands with little white boys and white girls as sisters and brothers.

I have a dream today!

I have a dream that one day every valley shall be exalted, and every hill and mountain shall be made low. The rough places will be plain and the crooked places will be made straight, “and the glory of the Lord shall be revealed, and all flesh shall see it together.”

This is our hope. This is the faith that I go back to the South with. With this faith we will be able to hew out of the mountain of despair a stone of hope. With this faith we will be able to transform the jangling discords of our nation into a beautiful symphony of brotherhood. With this faith we will be able to work together, to pray together, to struggle together, to go to jail together, to stand up for free-

dom together, knowing that we will be free one day. And this will be the day. This will be the day when all of God’s children will be able to sing with new meaning, “My country ’tis of thee, sweet land of liberty, of thee I sing. Land where my fathers died, land of the pilgrims’ pride, from every mountainside, let freedom ring.” And if America is to be a great nation, this must become true.

So let freedom ring from the prodigious hilltops of New Hampshire, let freedom ring from the mighty mountains of New York; let freedom ring from the heightening Alleghenies of Pennsylvania; let freedom ring from the snow-capped Rockies of Colorado; let freedom ring from the curvaceous slopes of California. But not only that. Let freedom ring from Stone Mountain of Georgia; let freedom ring from Lookout Mountain of Tennessee; let freedom ring from every hill and molehill of Mississippi. “From every mountainside, let freedom ring.”

And when this happens, and when we allow freedom to ring, when we let it ring from every village and every hamlet, from every state and every city, we will be able to speed up that day when all of God’s children—black men and white men, Jews and Gentiles, Protestants and Catholics—will be able to join hands and sing in the words of the old Negro spiritual, “Free at last. Free at last. Thank God Almighty, we are free at last.”

Discussion Questions

1. What does Dr. King mean when he says he has a dream that the nation “will live out the true meaning of its creed”?
2. What criticisms does King level at American society?
3. Do you think that King’s dream has been fulfilled? Explain your response.

CHAPTER
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GUIDED READING *The Triumphs of a Crusade*

Section 2

A. As you read this section, take notes to answer the questions about the time line.

1961	Freedom riders travel through the South. →	1. What was the goal of the freedom riders?	2. What was the Kennedy administration's response?
1962	James Meredith integrates Ole Miss.		
1963	Birmingham and the University of Alabama are integrated. Kennedy sends civil rights bill to Congress. Medgar Evers is murdered. March on Washington → Birmingham church bombing kills four girls.	3. What was the goal of the march on Washington?	4. Who attended the march?
1964	Kennedy is assassinated. Freedom Summer → Three civil rights workers are murdered. Civil Rights Act is passed.	5. What was the goal of the Freedom Summer project?	6. Who led the project? Who volunteered for it?
1965	March from Selma to Montgomery → Voting Rights Act is passed. →	7. What role did the violence shown on television play in this march?	8. What did the march encourage President Johnson to do?
		9. What did the Voting Rights Act outlaw?	10. What did the law accomplish?

B. On the back of this paper, explain **Fannie Lou Hamer's** role in the civil rights movement.

CHAPTER
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Section 2

PRIMARY SOURCE **Civil Rights Song**

"We Shall Overcome," the anthem of the civil rights movement, derives from an African-American hymn that was written in the early 1900s by Reverend C. A. Tindley. Later brought by South Carolina tobacco workers to Highlander Folk School in the Tennessee mountains, the hymn was first adapted for protest and sung in support of the 1930s labor movement.

We Shall Overcome

We shall overcome,
we shall overcome,
We shall overcome some day.
Oh, deep in my heart, I do believe,
We shall overcome some day.

We are not afraid,
we are not afraid,
We are not afraid today.
Oh, deep in my heart, I do believe,
We shall overcome some day.

We are not alone,
we are not alone,
We are not alone today.
Oh, deep in my heart, I do believe,
We shall overcome some day.

The truth will make us free,
the truth will make us free.
The truth will make us free some day.
Oh, deep in my heart, I do believe,
We shall overcome some day.

We'll walk hand in hand,
we'll walk hand in hand,
We'll walk hand in hand some day.
Oh, deep in my heart, I do believe,
We shall overcome some day.

The Lord will see us through,
the Lord will see us through,
The Lord will see us through today.
Oh, deep in my heart, I do believe,
We shall overcome some day.

from We Shall Overcome! Songs of the Southern Freedom Movement compiled by Guy and Candie Carawan for The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, Oak Publications.

Activity Options

1. Listen to a recording of this song or perform the song with classmates. If possible, have classmates who play musical instruments accompany you as you sing. Then discuss your response to the song and why you think it became the best-known protest song of the civil rights movement.
2. Listen to recordings of other civil rights songs such as "Keep Your Eyes on the Prize," "This Little Light of Mine," "Ain't Gonna Let Nobody Turn Me Round," "We Shall Not Be Moved," and "I'm Gonna Sit at the Welcome Table." Then compare and contrast these songs with "We Shall Overcome" in terms of lyrics, tempo, melody, and rhythm.

CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT

Civil Rights Timeline

People have taken a stand for civil and human rights since the beginning of time. Here, we honor the courage and commitment displayed by countless individuals — some who lost their lives — in the struggle for equal rights during a time known as “the modern American Civil Rights Movement.”

1954

May 17, 1954
Supreme Court outlaws school segregation in *Brown v. Board of Education*

1956

November 13, 1956
Supreme court bans segregated seating on Montgomery buses

1955

May 7, 1955
THE REV. GEORGE LEE Killed for leading voter-registration drive in Selma, Alabama

1957

January 23, 1957
WILLIE EDWARDS, JR. Killed by Klansmen in Montgomery, Alabama

August 13, 1955

LAMAR SMITH Murdered for organizing black voters in Brookhaven, Mississippi

August 28, 1955

EMMETT LOUIS TILL Murdered for speaking to a white woman in Money, Mississippi

September 24, 1957

President Eisenhower orders federal troops to enforce school desegregation in Little Rock, Arkansas

1959

April 25, 1959
MACK CHARLES PARKER Taken from jail and lynched in Poplarville, Mississippi

1960

February 1, 1960
Black students stage lunch counter in Greensboro, North Carolina

December 5, 1960

Supreme court outlaws segregation in bus terminals

1961

May 14, 1961
Freedom Riders attacked in Alabama while testing compliance with bus desegregation laws

September 25, 1961

HERBERT LEE Voter registration worker killed by white legislator in Liberty, Mississippi

1962

April 1, 1962
Civil rights groups join forces to launch voter registration drive

April 9, 1962

CPL ROMAN DUCKSWORTH, JR. Taken from bus and killed by police in Taylorsville, Mississippi

September 30, 1962

Riots erupt when James Meredith, a black student, enralls at Ole Miss

September 30, 1962

PAUL GUIHARD French reporter killed during Ole Miss riot in Oxford, Mississippi

1963

April 23, 1963
WILLIAM LEWIS MOORE Slain during one-man march against segregation in Atalla, Alabama

May 3, 1963

Birmingham police attack marching children with dogs and fire hoses

June 11, 1963

Alabama Governor George Wallace stands in schoolhouse door to stop university integration

June 12, 1963

MEDGAR EVERS Civil rights leader assassinated in Jackson, Mississippi

August 28, 1963

250,000 Americans march on Washington for civil rights

September 15, 1963

ADDIE MAE COLLINS, DENISE MCNAIR, CAROLE ROBERTSON, CYNTHIA WESLEY School girls killed in bombing of Sixteenth Street Baptist Church in Birmingham, Alabama

September 15, 1963

VIRGIL LAMAR WARE Youth killed during wave of racist violence in Birmingham, Alabama

1964

January 23, 1964
Poll tax outlawed in federal elections

January 31, 1964
LOUIS ALLEN Witness to murder of civil rights worker assassinated in Liberty, Mississippi

1965

February 26, 1965
JIMMIE LEE JACKSON Civil rights marcher killed by state trooper in Marion, Alabama

March 7, 1965

State troopers beat back marchers at Edmund Pettus Bridge in Selma, Alabama

March 11, 1965

THE REV. JAMES REEB March volunteer beaten to death in Selma, Alabama

March 25, 1965

Thousands complete the Selma to Montgomery Voting Rights March

March 25, 1965

VIOLA GREGG LUZZO Killed by Klansmen while transporting marchers in Selma Highway, Alabama

June 2, 1965

ONEAL MOORE Black deputy killed by nightriders in Varnada, Louisiana

July 9, 1965

Congress passes Voting Rights Act of 1965

July 18, 1965

WILLIE BREWSTER Killed by nightriders in Anniston, Alabama

August 20, 1965

JONATHAN DANIELS Seminary student killed by deputy in Haynesville, Alabama

1966

January 3, 1966
SAMUEL YOUNG, JR. Student civil rights activist killed in dispute in Tuskegee, Alabama

January 10, 1966

VERNON DAHMER Black community leader killed in Klan bombing in Hattiesburg, Mississippi

June 10, 1966

BEN CHESTER WHITE Killed by Klansmen in Natchez, Mississippi

July 30, 1966

CLARENCE TRIGGS Slain by nightriders in Bogalusa, Louisiana

1967

February 27, 1967
WHARLEST JACKSON Civil rights leader killed after promotion to white job in Natchez, Mississippi

May 13, 1967

BENJAMIN BROWN Civil rights worker killed when police fired on protesters in Jackson, Mississippi

October 2, 1967

Thurgood Marshall sworn in as first black Supreme Court justice

1968

February 8, 1968
SAMUEL HAMMOND, JR., DELANO MIDDLETON, HENRY SMITH Students killed when highway patrolmen fire on protesters in Orangeburg, South Carolina

April 4, 1968

THE REV. DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR. Assassinated in Memphis, Tennessee



When Did It Happen?

Draw a line from the event that took place during the Civil Rights Movement to the year it happened.

March on Washington



Thurgood Marshall joins the Supreme Court



President Johnson signs the Civil Rights Act



Lunch Counter Sit-In



Montgomery Bus Boycott



Congress passes the Voting Rights Act



1965

1964

1955

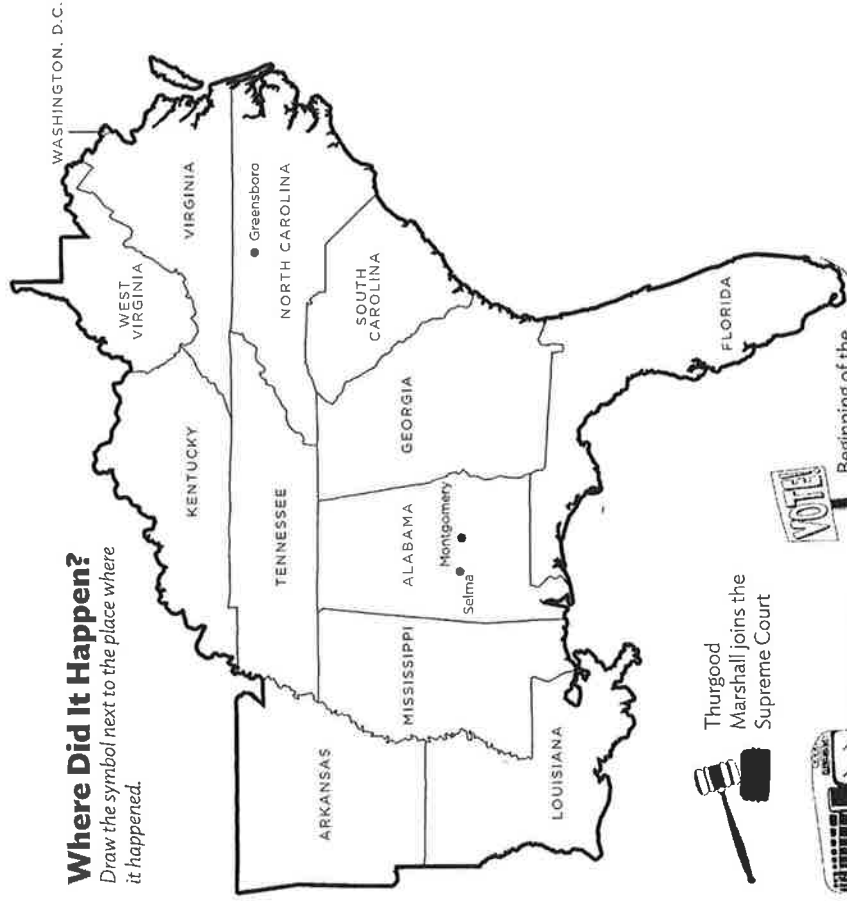
1960

1967

1963

Where Did It Happen?

Draw the symbol next to the place where it happened.



Thurgood Marshall joins the Supreme Court



Beginning of the Voting Rights March



Montgomery Bus Boycott



March on Washington



President Johnson signs the Civil Rights Act



Lunch Counter Sit-In



GUIDED READING *Challenges and Changes
in the Movement*

Section 3

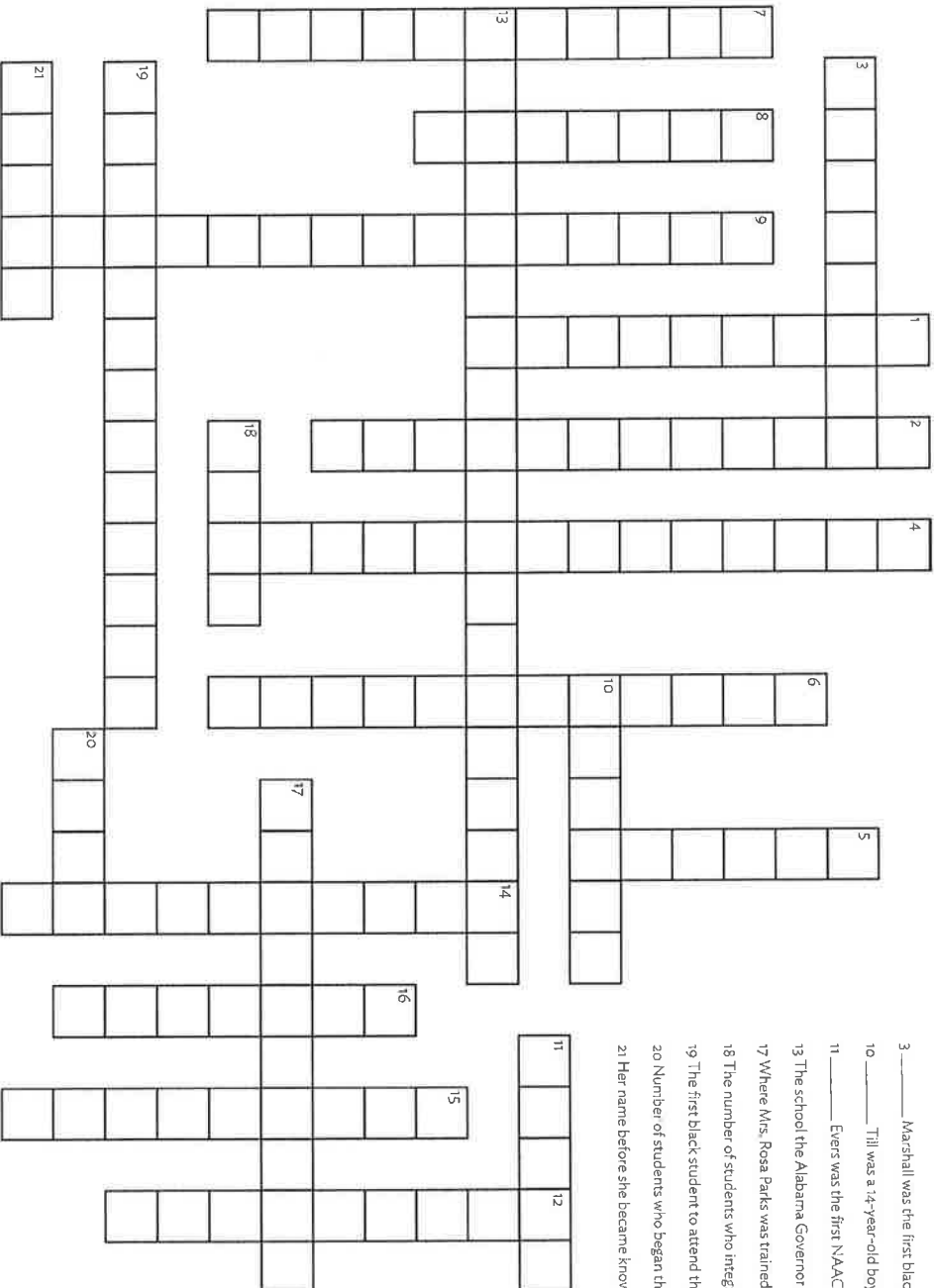
A. As you read this section, make notes to answer the questions.

1. What is the main difference between de facto and de jure segregation?			
2. How did the ideas of SNCC differ from those of the Nation of Islam?			
3. How did the early views of Malcolm X differ from his later ideas?			
4. What changes took place in Stokely Carmichael's membership in civil rights organizations?			
5. How did the ideas of SNCC differ from those of the Black Panthers?			
6. What gains were made by the civil rights and Black Power movements? Identify four.			
a.	b.	c.	d.

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B. On the back of this paper, briefly explain what changes or reforms each of the following called for: **Black Power**, the **Kerner Commission**, and the **Civil Rights Act of 1968**.

Facts About the Movement



ACROSS

- 3 _____ Marshall was the first black Supreme Court justice.
- 10 _____ Till was a 14-year-old boy from Chicago, Illinois.
- 11 _____ Evers was the first NAACP Field Secretary for Mississippi.
- 13 The school the Alabama Governor fought to keep segregated.
- 17 Where Mrs. Rosa Parks was trained in nonviolent civil disobedience.
- 18 The number of students who integrated Central High School in Little Rock, Arkansas.
- 19 The first black student to attend the University of Mississippi.
- 20 Number of students who began the Woolworth Lunch Counter Sit-In in Greensboro, North Carolina.
- 21 Her name before she became known as Mrs. Coretta King.

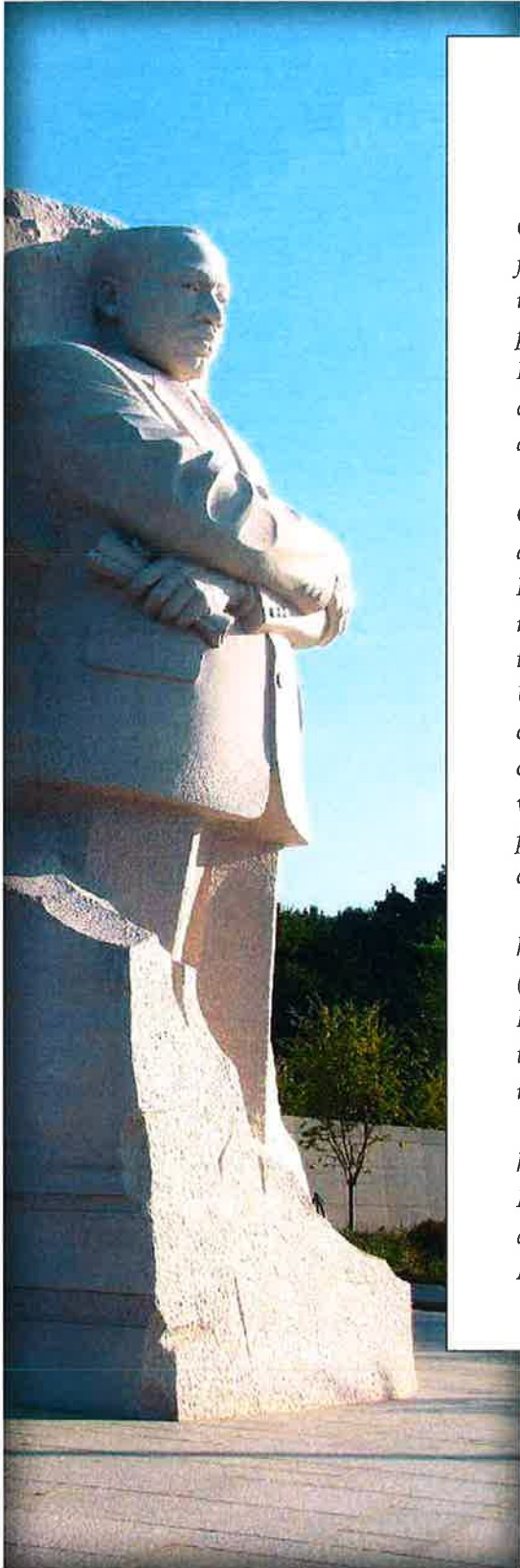
DOWN

- 1 During the 1960s, he was a Freedom Rider and led the "Bloody Sunday" march. He became a member of the U.S. House of Representatives.
- 2 "Bloody Sunday" protesters marched across this bridge.
- 4 President of the United States who signed the Civil Rights Act of 1964.
- 5 _____ Edwards was forced to jump to his death in the Alabama River.
- 6 This reverend was killed protesting construction of segregated schools in Cleveland, Ohio.
- 7 French reporter killed during a riot at Ole Miss.
- 8 The Tennessee city where Dr. King was killed.
- 9 The Baptist Church where four schoolgirls were killed in Birmingham.
- 12 He preached about voting rights at his church in Mississippi.
- 14 City that is home to the Civil Rights Memorial.
- 15 16-year-old Texan shot while with his cousin in a little café.
- 16 George _____ was the Alabama governor who blocked the schoolhouse door.

THE CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT



A Newspaper in Education Supplement to *The Washington Times*



It is challenging to calculate an exact start or finish date for the modern American Civil Rights Movement. The 14th Amendment and 15th Amendments to the U.S.

Constitution, passed in 1868 and 1870 respectively, paved the way for equal rights for African Americans in the letter of the law, yet inequality and racism persisted. During the century between the passage of the Emancipation Proclamation (1863) and the Civil Rights Act (1964), African Americans and their supporters fought courageously to achieve full citizenship rights both legally (*de jure*) and in actuality (*de facto*).

The long continuum which has been referred to as the period “From Civil War to Civil Rights” consisted of multiple phases, movements and events which culminated in the decades following World War II. Along the way, the civil rights struggles of African Americans inspired a diverse set of other minority groups in American society in their own efforts to achieve equality and full access to the promises of U.S. democracy. Landmark events such as the 1954 *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas* Supreme Court decision helped catalyze major momentum in the American Civil Rights Movement, which exploded in the late 1950s and 1960s. Behind major turning points such as *Brown* were countless individuals and leaders who courageously fought for civil rights.

From 2013 through 2015, Americans will look back on several historic civil rights anniversaries, including the March on Washington (August 28, 1963), the Civil Rights Act (July 1964), and the Voting Rights Act (August 1965). These anniversaries provide an opportunity to reflect on the history of the Civil Rights Movement and its relevance in our lives today.

This supplement is intended as an introduction to many of the key people, events, and turning points in the American Civil Rights Movement, with resources that will give teachers and students additional starting points for further explorations of the Civil Rights Movement and the other movements for change that it inspired.

Note to teachers: This supplement provides narrative background about the Civil Rights Movement. You may want to have students read individual sections and discuss them with the class or group. Additional activities and suggested research topics are included in each section of the supplement, with additional links at the end of the guide.

The Paradox of Slavery

From the transport of the first African slaves to Jamestown, Virginia in 1619, the contours of slavery and freedom were linked with race. Over the course of the next 150 years, racialized slavery developed into what historian Edmund Morgan called “the American paradox” in which the contradictions between slavery and freedom became increasingly stark. Slaves, who were almost entirely of African descent, were treated brutally and were denied freedom at every level.

While slaves fought against the terms of slavery and an abolitionist movement started to percolate in the 17th and 18th centuries, slavery continued to spread throughout the colonies. Even as revolutionary sentiment against the injustices of the British crown percolated, slavery continued. As revolutionary fervor turned into a war for independence, the language of liberty and equality circulated throughout the colonies.

The Declaration of Independence (1776) proclaims, “all men are created equal.” Yet Thomas Jefferson was forced by pro-slavery colonies to remove any text related to the issue of slavery in his drafts of the Declaration. A great new nation would not be born free of slavery. Slaves and free blacks fought on both sides of the Revolution. Among the most well-known free African Americans to fight on the American side was Crispus Attucks, who was the first casualty in the Boston Massacre. Attucks and others like him were among the first in a long line of African Americans who fought for American democracy even as they were denied access to full citizenship rights.



After an enormous debate about the way slavery would be treated in the Constitution, the Founding Fathers came to a compromise which allowed slavery to continue for the time being. The institution of slavery is alluded to in Article 1, Section 2, which counted those “other Persons,”

who were not “free Persons,” as three-fifths of a person. Article 1, Section 9, prohibits Congress from limiting “importation of Persons [slaves]” before 1808. Slave importation did end at that time, but this did not end the ownership or sale of slaves within the country.

The Fugitive Slave Clause, Article 4, Section 2, required all states to return escaped slaves to their owners.

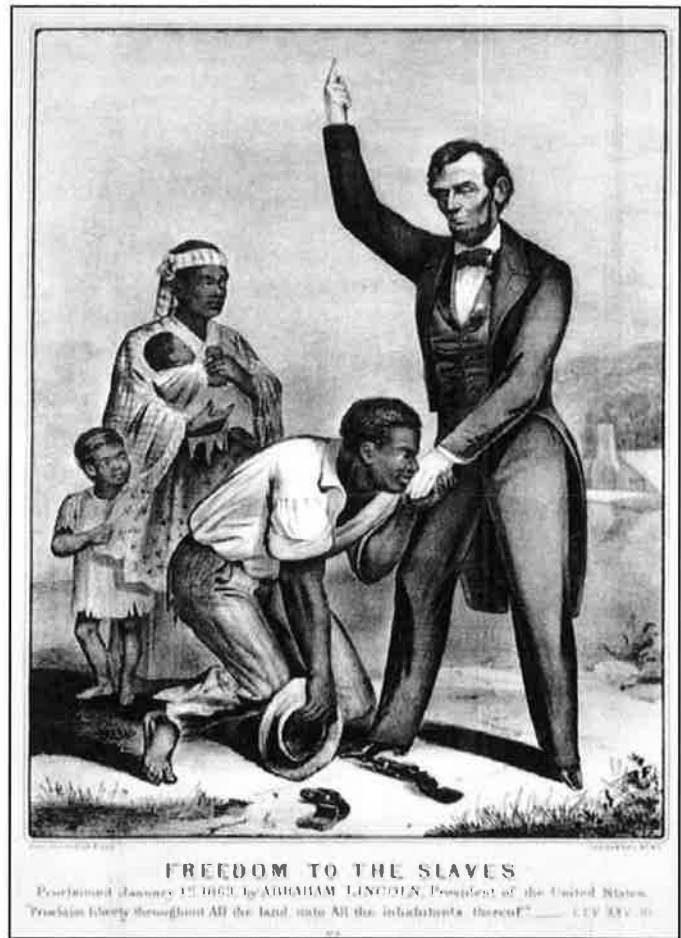
By 1804, all Northern states had ended slavery. But in the meantime, the numbers of slaves in the South grew from about 200,000 in 1750 to 4,000,000 by 1861, driven in large part by the demand for cotton.

The seeds of the Civil War were sown in the compromises of the Constitution and in the continued controversy over the laws concerning slavery that followed. Throughout this time period, abolitionists made powerful arguments against human bondage, yet slave owners and their supporters continued to tighten the grip of slavery in the South. Slaves themselves resisted enslavement in the few ways they could—through work slowdowns, running away, and even rebellion, but the power of the institution of slavery could not be easily overturned.

Rifts over slavery continued to grow until the nation exploded into Civil War in 1861. During the Civil War, President Abraham Lincoln issued the Emancipation Proclamation on January 1, 1863 as a war measure that freed slaves in states or part of states in rebellion against the U.S. Though the Civil War would rage on for 2 more years, the Emancipation Proclamation was among the most important documents of the 19th century and was a key catalyst in ending the vice-grip of slavery.

After the Union victory, the 13th, 14th and 15th Amendments to the Constitution were ratified, officially outlawing slavery and spelling out the voting and citizenship rights of all U.S. citizens, including African Americans. During the Reconstruction era (1865-1877), the Federal government implemented new programs and policies to rebuild the South and help ensure the rights of former slaves.

These amendments marked a transformative



change in the legal rights of African Americans. Former slaves were eager to vote and run for office. During Reconstruction, over 2,000 African Americans held public office; fourteen African Americans were elected to the House of Representatives, two to the U.S. Senate, 700 in state legislatures, and hundreds more in local offices.

But African Americans were met with extreme resistance as they attempted to participate fully in American society. In less than a decade, reactionary forces—including the Ku Klux Klan—would reverse the changes wrought by Reconstruction in a violent backlash that restored white supremacy in the South.

Resource: The Emancipation Proclamation marked a major turning point in the Civil War and in the lives of African Americans in the United States. Visit the California History Blueprint at <http://historyblueprint.dss.ucdavis.edu/site/unit/> for primary-source based activities related to the Emancipation Proclamation and other documents.

Related App: The Smithsonian Institution has created an App entitled “Changing America” which includes reactions to the Emancipation Proclamation. The App is a companion to the exhibition entitled “Changing America, The Emancipation Proclamation, 1863 and the March on Washington, 1963.” To learn more visit: www.si.edu/Exhibitions/Details/Changing-America-Emancipation-Proclamation-1863-and-March-on-Washington-1963

A Century of Inequality

In the decades following the end of slavery, blacks faced formidable barriers to political, economic, and social equality. The U.S. Supreme Court institutionalized segregation with the 1896 Plessy v. Ferguson “separate but equal” decision. This decision upheld laws requiring racial segregation, as long as those laws did not dictate that separate accommodations and facilities for blacks would be inferior to those for whites.

In the South, Jim Crow laws enforced a rigid racial segregation. (“Jim Crow” was a pejorative term for blacks which became a term used to describe discriminatory race-based segregation practices and laws.) Local poll taxes and literacy tests were aimed at preventing blacks from voting. In the North and West, there were fewer legal barriers, but widespread, blatant discrimination occurred in employment, housing, schools, and other aspects of life.

Race-based violence was also common, and thousands of blacks were lynched or assassinated in the South and elsewhere from the 1870s until the 1960s.

Even though progress was difficult, African Americans leaders such as W.E.B. Du Bois, Mary McLeod Bethune, Booker T. Washington, George Edmund Haynes, and many others worked to establish organizations to work for their civil rights. In 1909, the National Negro Committee convened, leading to the founding of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP). In 1910, The National Urban League was founded to help African Americans migrating to northern

cities to find jobs and housing.

During the 1911-1930 Great Migration, millions of southern African Americans moved north to industrial towns looking for work and better opportunities. More than five million more blacks migrated North and West in the Second Great Migration from 1940 to 1970.

To obtain more employment rights, blacks made efforts to participate in and develop unions, a movement led by A. Philip Randolph. Among Randolph’s many contributions was his leadership in organizing a March on Washington Movement in the 1930s and 1940s aimed at ensuring fair employment and other rights for African Americans. Randolph and others helped motivate President Franklin D. Roosevelt to sign an executive order during World War II to bar discrimination in the defense industries.

There were individuals who broke into their “field of dreams.” In 1947, Jackie Robinson played his first game for the Brooklyn Dodgers, becoming the first black baseball player in modern professional baseball.

But it was desegregation in the military that opened the first major opportunity for blacks. In 1948 President Harry S. Truman issued Executive Order 9981 ending segregation in the Armed Forces “without regard to race, color, religion or national origin.” Though racism and discrimination did not come to a halt in the armed forces, the military rapidly integrated, providing new opportunities.

In fact it was one million Black soldiers returning from World War II in 1945 who lent



support to the modern Civil Rights Movement. They sacrificed their lives for their country and they felt they deserved equal rights and opportunity under the law. They were not willing to put up with discrimination and Jim Crow laws any longer.

Primary Source Activity: Ask students to read Executive Order 9981 which desegregated the armed forces at the Our Documents site of the National Archives: www.ourdocuments.gov/doc.php?doc=84. What did this order say, and how did it change the U.S.? Respond in a short essay or class discussion.

Resource: The Montford Point Marine Association, Inc. has an excellent website devoted to the role of African American marines who received training at Montford Point during the World War II era. Visit them at www.montfordpointmarines.com/History.html to learn more about the role of these marines, listen to oral histories, and find links to other relevant sites.

Primary Source Activity: Japanese Americans were sent to internment camps during World War II after President Roosevelt signed Executive Order 9066. Ask students to read this order at www.ourdocuments.gov/doc.php?doc=74 and discuss the internment policy in relation to the civil rights of Japanese Americans. For an extended activity, students can also research Asian American civil rights efforts.

Cesar Chavez and the United Farmworkers

At the same time that African Americans were struggling to achieve civil rights, Mexican-American farmworkers started movements to secure their rights as laborers. A key leader in this movement was Cesar Chavez. Chavez was born into a family of migrant workers in Yuma, Arizona in 1927. Throughout the agricultural regions of the U.S., Latino families like his worked long hours harvesting crops for meager wages, with no guarantee of work and no protection from harsh working conditions. In the early 1960s, Chavez helped form the National Farm Workers Association to address these injustices, which later bloomed into the United Farmworkers Union (UFW). Led by Chavez, the UFW launched a boycott of California grapes in March of 1968, urging all consumers to refuse to buy grapes until agribusiness leaders negotiated with the UFW. Learn more at: <http://ufw.org>

Important Publishing Note:

The word that we have obscured (“n----r”) is deeply offensive. This word is used four times in speeches, quotations and stories from Martin Luther King, Jr., Malcolm X, and Elizabeth Eckford, one of the Little Rock Nine students. We have included these references to the word because of its role in understanding their experiences during their fight for civil rights.

The term “Negro,” which is not used as an offensive word, is in quotes and stories over two dozen times. Although the word is seldom used today, people of African descent were by definition referred to as “Negro” or, in plural form, “Negroes.” The terms’ first known use was in 1555 and they were in constant use until recent years.

Jim Crow

Jim Crow was the name of the racial caste system that operated primarily, but not exclusively, in Southern and border states between 1877 and the mid-1960s. Jim Crow was more than a series of strict laws. It was a way of life. Under Jim Crow, African Americans were considered second-class citizens. Jim Crow laws legitimized racism. Christian and political leaders preached about the dangers of having an integrated society. All major societal institutions reflected and supported the oppression of African Americans.

Jim Crow laws touched every aspect of everyday life.

Examples of Jim Crow laws from some southern states included:

- **Education:** The schools for white children and the schools for Negro children shall be conducted separately. – Florida
- **Textbooks:** Books shall not be interchangeable between the white and colored schools, but shall continue to be used by the race first using them. — North Carolina
- **Lunch Counters:** No persons, firms, or corporations, who or which furnish meals to passengers at station restaurants or station eating houses, in times limited by common carriers of said passengers, shall furnish said meals to white and colored passengers in the same room, or at the same table, or at the same counter. – South Carolina
- **Nurses:** No person or corporation shall require any white female nurse to nurse in wards or rooms in hospitals, either public or private, in which Negro men are placed. – Alabama
- **Intermarriage:** All marriages between a white person and a Negro, or between a white person and a person of Negro descent to the fourth generation inclusive, are hereby forever prohibited. – Florida

Examples of Jim Crow etiquette norms show how inclusive and pervasive they were:

- A black male could not offer to shake hands with a white male.
- Black and white people were not supposed to eat together.
- Under no circumstance was a black male to offer to light the cigarette of a white female.
- Whites did not use courtesy titles of respect (Mr., Mrs., miss, sir, or ma'am) when referring to blacks.

Learn more at:

www.ferris.edu/jimcrow

Source: Jim Crow Museum of Racist Memorabilia at Ferris State University

(Researched by Jodi Pushkin, Tampa Bay Times)



Bus station in Durham, NC May 1940.

Credit: Library of Congress

The U.S. Supreme Court decision in *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas* ended legal racial segregation in public schools.

In 1896 the controversial *Plessy v. Ferguson* Supreme Court decision made racial segregation in public facilities, including schools, legal. It allowed states to have separate schools for blacks and whites as long as they were of equal quality. The term the Court used was "separate but equal." The schools were separate, but unequal in every way. Black schools had poor quality buildings, fewer teachers, and less financial funding than white schools.

On May 17, 1954, the U.S. Supreme Court reversed that decision, proclaiming, "In the field of public education 'separate but equal' has no place." The historic ruling in *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka* overturned the Court's *Plessy* ruling. The landmark case was a victory for civil rights after a decades-long legal battle waged by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) and residents of several communities.

Although people often associate the case with Linda Brown, a young girl whose parent, Reverend Oliver Brown (the source of the name of the decision), sued so that she could attend an all-white school, *Brown v. Board* actually consisted of five separate cases. Originating in four states and the District of Columbia, all began as grassroots efforts to either enroll black students in

all-white schools or obtain improved facilities for black students. By the fall of 1952, the Supreme Court had accepted the cases independently on appeal and decided to hear arguments collectively. The NAACP's chief counsel, Thurgood Marshall—who was later appointed to the U.S. Supreme Court in 1967—argued the case before the Supreme Court for the plaintiffs.

On May 17, 1954, Chief Justice Earl Warren read the unanimous Supreme Court decision (excerpt): "We come then to the question presented: Does segregation of children in public schools solely on the basis of race, even though the physical facilities and other "tangible" factors may be equal, deprive the children of the minority group of equal educational opportunities? We believe that it does...We conclude that in the field of public education the doctrine of 'separate but equal' has no place. Separate educational facilities are inherently unequal. Therefore, we hold that the plaintiffs and others similarly situated for whom the actions have been brought are, by reason of the segregation complained of, deprived of the equal protection of the laws guaranteed by the Fourteenth Amendment."

None of these cases would have been possible without individuals who were courageous enough to take a stand against the inequalities of segrega-



George E. C. Hayes, Thurgood Marshall, and James M. Nabrit congratulating each other on the *Brown* decision, May 17, 1954.

Credit: Library of Congress, *New York World-Telegram and Sun* Collection

tion. Today, several of the schools represented in *Brown v. Board of Education* stand as historic reminders of the struggle to abolish segregation in public education.

Learn more at:

www.nps.gov/brvb/index.htm

Credit: National Park Service

Resource: The National Park Service has created excellent lesson plans entitled Teaching With Historic Places. Learn more about the landmark Brown v. Board case and find a related Teaching With Historic Places lesson plan at: www.nps.gov/history/nr/twhp/wwwlps/lessons/121brown/index.htm

...My dad spoke with someone and then he went into the inner office with the principal and they left me outside. And while he was in the inner office, I could hear voices and hear his voice raised... And then he immediately came out of the office, took me by the hand and we walked home from the school. I just couldn't understand what was happening because I was so sure that I was going to go to school with Mona and Guinevere, Wanda, and all of my playmates.

– Linda Brown Thompson



Source: *Black/White & Brown*, transcript of program produced by KTWU Channel 11 in Topeka, Kansas aired May 3, 2004

Emmett "Bobo" Till, Murder in Mississippi



On August 28, 1955, Emmett Louis Till, a 14-year old African-American boy, was murdered in Mississippi after reportedly flirting with a white woman. Bobo, his nickname, was from Chicago, Illinois. He was visiting relatives in the Mississippi Delta region.

There were reports that he asked 21-year-old Carolyn Bryant, the married proprietor of a small grocery store, for a date and whistled at her as he left the store. This violated accepted Jim Crow norms in the South. A black male was never to ask a white woman for a date or whistle at her.

Several nights later, Bryant's husband Roy and his half-brother J. W. Milam

arrived at Till's great-uncle's house where they took him, transported him to a barn, beat him and gouged out one of his eyes, before shooting him through the head and disposing of his body in the Tallahatchie River, weighting it with a 70-pound cotton gin fan tied around his neck with barbed wire. His body was discovered and retrieved from the river three days later.

His body was returned to his mother, Mamie Till, in Chicago. She insisted on a public funeral service with an open casket to show the world the brutality of the killing. Tens of thousands attended his funeral or viewed his casket. Images of his mutilated body were published in black magazines and newspapers, rallying popular black support and white sympathy across the U.S.

...There was a clear plate glass over the coffin. And I just remember looking down, and an awful scene. I remember the kids saying, "Is that Bobo?" Some of the kids were saying, "Look what they did to Bobo." Kids were just in awe; just frightened and saying, "Why did they do that? What did he do? What happened?" It didn't make any sense.

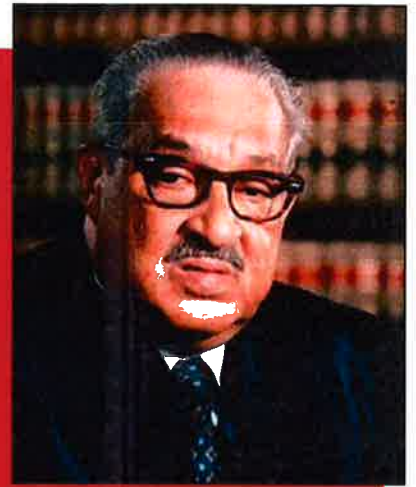
— Theresa Joiner, a neighborhood friend

Bryant and Milam were acquitted of Till's kidnapping and murder by a sympathetic white jury. Justice did not prevail. Months later, protected against a second trial by double jeopardy, they admitted to killing him in a magazine interview. Till's murder is noted as a pivotal event motivating the African-American Civil Rights Movement.

Thurgood Marshall

Born in Baltimore, Maryland on July 2, 1908, Thurgood Marshall was the grandson of a slave. His father, William Marshall, instilled in him from youth an appreciation for the United States Constitution and the rule of law. His accomplishments include:

- 1930, Graduated with honors from the historically black Lincoln University in Chester County, PA.
- 1930, Applied to the University of Maryland Law School, but was denied admission because he was black.
- 1933, Received law degree from Howard U. (magna cum laude); begins private practice in Baltimore.
- 1935, Successfully sued the University of Maryland, which had rejected him, to admit a young African American graduate Donald Gaines Murray.
- 1936, Became Chief Counsel for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP).
- 1940, Won first of 29 Supreme Court victories (*Chambers v. Florida*).
- 1954, Won *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka*, landmark case that demolishes legal basis for segregation in America.
- 1965, Appointed U.S. solicitor general by President Lyndon Johnson; wins 14 of the 19 cases he argues for the government.
- 1967, Became first African American elevated to U.S. Supreme Court (1967-1991).



Learn more at: www.biography.com/people/thurgood-marshall-9400241

Rosa Parks & the Montgomery Bus Boycott

On December 1, 1955 Rosa Parks, an African American woman, was arrested after she refused to move to the back of a bus, as required under city law in Montgomery, Alabama, triggering the citywide Montgomery Bus Boycott.

Rosa Parks was a seamstress by profession; she was also the secretary for the Montgomery chapter of the NAACP. Twelve years before her history-making arrest, Parks was kept from boarding a city bus. Driver James F. Blake took her payment at the front door, ordered her off to board at the back door, and then drove off without her.

On December 1, when all the seats on the bus were full and a white man entered the bus, that same driver Blake said to four black passengers, "Y'all better make it light on yourselves and let me have those seats." Parks said "The driver wanted us to stand up, the four of us, We didn't move at the beginning, but he says, 'Let me have these seats.' And the other three people moved, but I didn't."

Parks moved, but toward the window seat; she did not get up to move to the newly repositioned colored section. Blake said, "Why don't you stand up?" Parks responded, "I don't think I should have to stand up." ... "When he saw me still sitting, he asked if I was going to stand up, and I said, 'No, I'm not.' And he said, 'Well, if you don't stand up, I'm going to have to call the police and have you arrested.' I said, 'You may do that.'" Blake called the police.

When arrested "I asked the policeman why we had to be pushed around? He said 'I don't know, but the law's the law, and you're under arrest.'" (Source: *Voices of Freedom*, Bantam, New York, 1990, p. 19-20.)



Mrs. Rosa Parks being fingerprinted in Montgomery, Alabama, 1956.

Credit: Library of Congress, *New York World-Telegram and Sun Collection*

Parks was charged with a violation of Chapter 6, Section 11 segregation law of the Montgomery City code, even though she technically had not taken up a white-only seat—she had been in a

colored section. Edgar Nixon, president of the Montgomery chapter of the NAACP and leader of the Pullman Union, and her friend Clifford Durr bailed Parks out of jail the evening of December 2. Found guilty on December 5, Parks was fined \$10 plus a court cost of \$4, but she appealed, formally challenged the legality of racial segregation, which would go all the way to the Supreme Court.

On the night of Rosa Parks' arrest, the Women's Political Council, led by Jo Ann Robinson, printed and circulated 35,000 flyers throughout Montgomery's black community which read:

"Another woman has been arrested and thrown in jail because she refused to get up out of her seat on the bus for a white person to sit down. It is the second time since the Claudette Colvin case that a Negro woman has been arrested for the same thing. This has to be stopped. Negroes have rights too, for if Negroes did not ride the buses, they could not operate. Three-fourths of the riders are Negro, yet we are arrested, or have to stand over empty seats. If we do not do something to stop these arrests, they will continue. The next time it may be you, or your daughter, or mother. This woman's case will come up on Monday. We are, therefore, asking every Negro to stay off the buses Monday in protest of the arrest and trial. Don't ride the buses to work, to town, to school, or anywhere on Monday. You can afford to stay out of school for one day if you have no other way to go except by bus. You can also afford to stay out of town for one day. If you work, take a cab, or walk. But please, children and grown-ups, don't ride the bus at all on Monday. Please stay off all buses Monday."

Parks was the ideal plaintiff for a test case against city and state segregation laws, as she was a responsible, mature woman with an excellent reputation. Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr. said that Mrs. Parks was regarded as "...not one of the finest Negro citizens, but one of the finest citizens of Montgomery." Parks was married and employed, possessed a quiet and dignified demeanor, and was politically savvy.

Edgar Nixon asked her, "Mrs. Parks, with your permission we can break down segregation on the bus with your case..." Rosa's mother gave support, "I'll go along with Mr. Nixon." Her husband said, "I'll support it." Mr. Nixon told his wife, "Baby, we're going to boycott the Montgomery buses."

Nixon called 18 ministers, the first three being Ralph D. Abernathy, Rev. H.H. Hubbard, who said they'd go along with a bus boycott, and Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr., who had just started his first ministry assignment at the Dexter Street Baptist Church. King initially said, "Brother Nixon, let me think about it a while and call me back." When he called back the response was, "Yeah,

Brother Nixon, I'll go along with it." Nixon replied, "I'm glad of that Reverend King, because I talked to 18 other people, I told them to meet at your church at 3 o'clock."

On December 5th there was a mass meeting at the Holt Street Baptist Church followed by a leadership meeting that established the Montgomery Improvement Association. Nixon proposed Rev. King as its leader, who humbly offered, "Well, I'm not sure I'm the best person for this position, since I'm new in the community, but if no one else is going to serve, I'd be glad to try."



Twenty minutes later he gave his first speech of the boycott, which included his first reference to non-violent action (excerpts): "We are here...because of our love for democracy...the greatest form of government on earth. But we are here in a specific sense because of the bus situation in Montgomery. ... There comes a time when people get tired of being trampled over by the iron feet of oppression. I want to say that we are not here advocating violence. We have never done that... The only weapon that we have in our hands this evening is the weapon of protest."

"Taxi cabs agreed to give rides for 10 cents," said Mrs. Parks. "Get tough policy began by forcing cabs to charge 45 cents minimum. Several persons have been fired from their jobs for not riding the bus. Some for driving in the pool..."

The people have walked when they could not get rides in the most inclement weather. Many are still saying they will walk forever before they will go back to riding the bus under the same conditions..."

She knew on January 30, 1956 that, "We are really in the thick of it now. Rev. King's home was bombed last night while we were in the First Baptist Church mass meeting. His wife and baby were in the house, but not hurt."

Rev. King and the community were not intimidated by the bombing. King said, "We must meet violence with non-violence."

In June 1956, the U.S. District Court ruled for the Montgomery Improvement Association. The city appealed to the U.S. Supreme Court, which reaffirmed the decision that the segregation of Alabama buses was unconstitutional. The decision took effect December 20, 1956, 381 days after Rosa Parks' arrest.

Primary Source Activity: The National Archives has digitized records from the Rosa Parks case including her arrest records. Visit www.archives.gov/education/lessons/rosa-parks to find a related lesson plan including a helpful Document Analysis Worksheet.

Little Rock Nine



After the Brown Decision of the Supreme Court ordering desegregation in schools, the Little Rock, Arkansas school board was the first in the South to announce it would comply. The choice was made even though Superintendent of Schools Virgil Blossom felt “the people of Little Rock, a vast majority of them, were not in favor of integration as a principle.”

As the school year was about to begin, Jefferson Thomas, one of the Little Rock Nine students who volunteered and was selected by school authorities to attend Central High School, asked Daisy Bates, president of the Arkansas NAACP, “Is there anything they can do now that they lost in court? Is there any way they can stop us from

entering Central tomorrow morning?” She replied, “I don’t think so.” Shortly after, a local news reporter stopped by and asked, “Mrs. Bates, do you know that National Guardsmen are surrounding Central High?”

As the start of the school year approached, resistance to integration grew rapidly. Arkansas Governor Orval Faubus addressed the citizens of Arkansas on TV on Labor Day, September 2, 1957. He told them he had called out the National Guard to prevent the nine students from entering Central High because of threats to their lives. He said he was doing it for their “protection.”

In his infamous, and ill-advised words, he stated, “Blood will run in the streets” if Negro students should attempt to enter Central High School. This contributed to mass hysteria gripping Little Rock.

On September 14 Gov. Faubus met with President Eisenhower. Eisenhower refused the governor’s request to help defy the federal court order to integrate. He wanted Faubus to change the mission of the Arkansas Guardsmen to protect the students, not bar them. Faubus refused and removed the Guardsmen on September 23, leaving angry mobs determined to stop the students from entering.

Pres. Eisenhower felt upholding the Constitution, and the Supreme Court Brown Decision, was his duty. After receiving a request for federal assistance from the Mayor of Little Rock, Eisenhower made the decision to send in federal troops. With protection from the 101st Airborne Division, the Little Rock Nine started attending Central High School on September 25, 1957.

One of the students, Melba Pattillo remem-



Arkansas Gov. Orval Faubus,
Credit: AP

bered, “The troops were wonderful... They were disciplined, they were attentive, they were caring.”

“Inside Central High, day after day, the Little Rock Nine endure cruel hardship and abuse from the white students—beatings, shoving, jeers, insults, and constant humiliation.” — Veterans of the Civil Rights Movement.

Despite the abuse, eight of the students would complete the year, including Ernest Green, who became the first black student to graduate from Central High. Minniejean Brown was expelled in January after twice responding to hecklers.

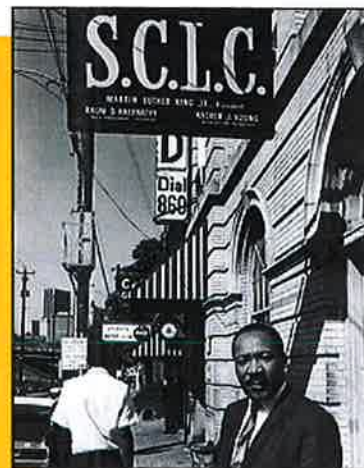
Sadly, Gov. Faubus closed every public school in Little Rock after the end of the school year rather than continue integration. The schools remained closed for a year until August 12, 1959 after the Supreme Court ruled the closing unconstitutional and an “evasive scheme.”

At that time many Americans agreed with Faubus and didn’t agree with the Supreme Court upholding integration. In Decem-

Southern Christian Leadership Conference

In January and February of 1957, the Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr., Charles K. Steele, Fred L. Shuttlesworth, and other ministers established the Southern Christian Leadership Conference dedicated to abolishing legalized segregation and ending the disfranchisement of black southerners in a non-violent manner. Female leaders such as Ella Baker also played key roles in the SCLC. King was the first president. The SCLC became a major force in organizing the civil rights movement and based its principles on nonviolence and civil disobedience. According to King, it was essential that the civil rights movement not sink to the level of the racists and hate-mongers who oppose them: “We must forever conduct our struggle on the high plane of dignity and discipline.”

The SCLC was not without controversy, even within the black community. Some black churches thought their mission was to focus on spiritual needs, not political involvement. They thought direct action like non-violent protests and boycotts were radical actions and would excite white resistance, hostility, and violence. The SCLC became one of the most effective Civil Rights organizations in the South, responsible for some of the most important campaigns of the Civil Rights Movement.



Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr. in front of SCLC Headquarters in Atlanta, GA



Troops from the 327th Regiment, 101st Airborne escorting the Little Rock Nine African-American students up the steps of Central High.

ber 1958 Faubus was named one of the ten most admired men in the world by a Gallup poll along with Pres. Eisenhower, Sir Winston Churchill, Dr. Jonas Salk (polio vaccine), and other prominent leaders.

Resource: The Library of Congress features an online exhibition entitled “NAACP: A Century

in the Fight for Freedom 1909-2009” which includes many primary source documents from the Civil Rights era, including documents related to the Little Rock school desegregation effort. Visit <http://myloc.gov/Exhibitions/naacp/civilrights-era/Pages/SIObjectList.aspx> to explore these resources. Students can pick one primary source to analyze.

Greensboro Four Lunch Counter Sit-Ins

On February 1, 1960, four African American students from North Carolina A&T University held a sit-in to integrate a Woolworth’s lunch counter in Greensboro, N.C., launching a decade wave of similar student protests across the South with over 70,000 participants and 3,000 arrests. The sit-ins attracted national media attention and federal intervention in the South. The sit-ins were also the foundation to establish the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) in April 1960.

“After selecting the technique, then we said, ‘Let’s go down and just ask for service,’” said Franklin McCain. “It certainly wasn’t titled a ‘sit-in’ or ‘sit-down’ at that time. ...A policeman who walked in off the street...just looked mean and red and a little bit upset and a little bit disgusted. ... You had the feeling that this is the first time that this big bad man with the gun and the club has been pushed in a corner...—he doesn’t know what

he can or what he cannot do. He’s defenseless. ... We’ve provoked him, yes, but we haven’t provoked him outwardly enough for him to resort to violence. And I think this is just killing him; you can see it all over him.” (Source: Howell Raines, *My Soul is Rested*, 1977)

As the sit-ins continued, tensions grew in

There was a little old white lady who was finishing up her coffee at the counter. She strode toward me and I said to myself, “Oh my, someone to spit in my face or slap my face.” I was prepared for it. But she stands behind Joseph McNeil and me and puts her hands on our shoulders. She said, “Boys, I’m so proud of you. I only regret that you didn’t do this 10 years ago.” That was the biggest boost, morally, that I got that whole day, and probably the biggest boost for me during the entire movement. — Franklin E. McCain, Sr. (Source of image & quote: www.loc.gov/exhibits/civilrights/exhibit.html)



Elizabeth Eckford attempting to enter Little Rock High

On September 4, the day they were to enter the school, eight of the students arrived at the meeting location at 12th Street and Park Avenue, but 15-year-old Elizabeth Eckford was not aware of the meeting place and arrived alone at Central High. She was soon surrounded by the jeering mob. She recounted, “Someone shouted ‘Here she comes, get ready.’ ...When I steadied my knees, I walked up to the guard who had let the white students in. He didn’t move. When I tried to squeeze past him, he raised his bayonet... Somebody started yelling, ‘Lynch her! Lynch her!’ I tried to see a friendly face somewhere in the mob—someone who maybe would help. I looked into the face of an old woman and it seemed a kind face, but when I looked at her again, she spat on me. They came closer, shouting, ‘No n—r bitch is going to get in our school. Get out of here!’ I turned back to the guards but their faces told me I wouldn’t get any help from them. Then I looked down the block and saw a bench at the bus stop. ...Kept saying to myself, ‘If I can only make it to the bench I will be safe.’ ...Someone hollered, ‘Drag her over to this tree! Let’s take care of that n—r!’ Just then a white man sat down beside me, put his arm around me...and said, Don’t let them see you cry!’ Then a white lady—she was very nice—she came over to me on the bench. ...She put me on the bus and sat next to me. ...The next thing I remember was standing in front of the School for the Blind, where Mother works.”

Quote Source: *The Eye on the Prize Civil Rights Reader*, Penguin Books, 1991, p. 102-103

Resource: View a related video on History.com at <http://www.history.com/topics/freedom-rides/videos#little-rock-9>

Ask students to analyze the video and respond to the imagery. What kinds of sources are used in this video? What story does the video tell?



Greensboro Four: Franklin McCain, Ezell Blair Jr. (later known as Jibreel Khazan), Joseph McNeil, and David Richmond

Greensboro as more students began a far-reaching boycott of stores that had segregated lunch counters. Sales at the boycotted stores dropped by a third, leading the stores' owners to abandon their segregation policies. Black employees of the Greensboro Woolworth store were the first to



Ministers outside an F.W. Woolworth store in New York City, April 14, 1960, protest the store's lunch counter segregation at the chain's southern branches.

Credit: Library of Congress, New York World-Telegram and Sun Collection

be served at the store's lunch counter on July 25, 1960. The next day, the entire Woolworth's chain was desegregated, serving blacks and whites alike.

Freedom Riders

In 1961 the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) began to organize Freedom Rides throughout the South to determine whether bus stations were complying with the Supreme Court ruling to integrate interstate public bus travel. Student volunteers were bused in to test the ruling and new laws prohibiting segregation.

The initial plan called for an interracial group to travel south on Trailway and Greyhound buses from Washington, D.C. to Atlanta, then through Alabama and Mississippi to arrive in New Orleans on May 17, 1961, the 7th anniversary of the Supreme Court Brown Decision.

John Lewis, who became SNCC chairman in 1963 and a Georgia Congressman in 1986, was one of 13 Freedom Riders, seven black and six white. As they traveled south they stopped at Rock Hall, S.C. Lewis told of the experience, "As we started in the door of the white waiting room, we were met by a group of white young men that beat us and hit us, knocking us out, left us lying on the sidewalk..."

When the Greyhound bus arrived at Anniston, Alabama, a mob was waiting for them. They decided not to test the terminal, but the crowd slashed at the tires. James Farmer, one of the founders of CORE, said, "The bus got to the outskirts of Anniston and the tires blew out... Members of the mob had boarded cars and followed the bus...the members of the mob surrounded it, held the door closed, and a member of the mob threw a firebomb into the bus... [while] local police mingling with the mob..."

The riders managed to escape the burning bus before it was totally engulfed in flames.

The Freedom Rides expanded even with the violence occurring and the certainty of jail sentences.

"We want the world to know that we no longer accept the inferior position of second-class citizenship. We are willing to go to jail, be ridiculed, spat upon and even suffer physical violence to obtain First Class Citizenship."
— newsletter of students at Barber-Scotia College, Concord, N.C.

Hundreds were jailed, a quarter of them women. Most served time in the southern state penitentiaries.

In the summer of 1961, while the Freedom Riders were serving their sentences, U.S. Attorney General Robert Kennedy, brother of President John F. Kennedy, petitioned the Interstate Commerce Commission to develop regulations banning segregation in interstate travel. In late September, the ICC issued regulations enabling the federal government to enforce the Supreme Court ruling that segregation in interstate bus travel is unconstitutional.



Freedom Riders gather with authorities alongside their burning bus after a mob attack outside Anniston, AL. The photo circulated in the national and world press helping people understand the horror of hatred and prejudice.

Credit: FBI

Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee Statement of Purpose

We affirm the philosophical or religious ideal of nonviolence as the foundation of our purpose, the presupposition of our faith, and the manner of our action. Nonviolence as it grows from the Judeo-Christian tradition seeks a social order of justice permeated by love. Integration of human endeavor represents the crucial first step towards such a society.



This SNCC poster showing John Lewis praying with others. Lewis became SNCC chairman in 1963.

Through nonviolence, courage displaces fear; love transforms hate. Acceptance dissipates prejudice; hopes ends despair. Peace dominates war; faith reconciles doubt. Mutual regard cancels enmity. Justice for all overcomes injustice. The redemptive community supersedes systems of gross social immorality.

Love is the central motif of nonviolence. Love is the force by which God binds man to himself and man to man. Such love goes to the extreme; it remains loving and forgiving even in the midst of hostility. It matches the capacity of evil to inflict suffering with an even more enduring capacity to absorb evil, all the while persisting in love.

By appealing to conscience and standing on the moral nature of human existence, nonviolence nurtures the atmosphere in which reconciliation and justice become actual possibilities.

James Meredith & Ole Miss



Integration at University of Mississippi—James Meredith accompanied to class by U.S. marshals at Oxford, MS, October 1, 1962. Credit: Marion S. Trikosko / Library of Congress

A 28-year-old married veteran of the Air Force, James Meredith had studied for two years at Jackson State University. But Meredith wanted a better legal education than the historically black

university could offer, and he wanted to get it at Ole Miss.

He tried to enroll at Ole Miss (University of Mississippi). His application was neither ac-

cepted nor rejected, leaving his status in limbo. All universities in the South were segregated. With the help of the NAACP his case was fought in the courts for 16 months. On September 10, 1962 the Supreme Court upheld Meredith's right to attend Ole Miss.

Three days later, Mississippi Governor Ross Barnett told a TV audience, "... There is no case in history where the Caucasian race has survived social integration," and that the state, "... will not drink from the cup of genocide." He also spoke at a football game against the "tyrannical" interference by outsiders in Mississippi's affairs.

Behind the scenes Attorney General Robert Kennedy negotiated with and reached an agreement with Gov. Barnett for Meredith to attend to Ole Miss. Meredith was secretly escorted on campus on Sunday, September 30, 1962. Stationed on campus or nearby were 123 deputy federal marshals, 316 U.S. Border Patrolmen, and 97 prison guards. They were assaulted that night by a mob that reached 2,000 people with guns, bricks, and bottles. Federal troops were finally sent in to quell the warfare. Two people were killed, 28 marshals were shot, and 160 people injured.

Monday morning James Meredith became the first black person to register at Ole Miss or any college in the South. He graduated in 1963.

"Nobody handpicked me," Meredith would later say, crediting President John F. Kennedy's inaugural address as inspiring him to attempt what had never before been achieved. "I believed, and I believe now, that I have a divine responsibility to break white supremacy in Mississippi, and getting in Ole Miss was only the start."

Learn more at: <http://microsites.jfklibrary.org/olemiss/home>

President John F. Kennedy Orders Equal Opportunity in Employment and Housing

Executive Order 10925

On March 6, 1961 President John F. Kennedy issued Executive Order 10925, with the intent to affirm the government's commitment to equal opportunity and to take positive action to strengthen efforts to realize true equal opportunity for all. It established a Presidential committee that later became the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission.

An excerpt from the Executive Order states: *The contractor will not discriminate against any employee or applicant for employment because of race, color, religion, sex, or national origin. The contractor will take affirmative action to ensure that applicants are employed, and that employees are treated during employment, without regard to their race, color, religion, sex or national origin. Such action shall include, but not be limited to the following: employment, upgrading, demotion, or transfer; recruitment or recruitment advertising; layoff or termination; rates of pay or other forms of compensation; and selection for training, including apprenticeship.*

Executive Order 11063

Kennedy upheld a 1960 campaign promise to eliminate housing segregation by signing on November 20, 1962 Executive Order 11063 banning segregation in Federally funded housing. The Order "prohibits discrimination in the sale, leasing, rental, or other disposition of properties and facilities owned or operated by the federal government or provided with federal funds."



Letter From Birmingham Jail

Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr., April 16, 1963

... You may well ask: "Why direct action? Why sit-ins, marches and so forth? Isn't negotiation a better path?" You are quite right in calling for negotiation. Indeed, this is the very purpose of direct action. Nonviolent direct action seeks to create such a crisis and foster such a tension that a community, which has constantly refused to negotiate, is forced to confront the issue...

We know through painful experience that freedom is never voluntarily given by the oppressor; it must be demanded by the oppressed...

We have waited for more than 340 years for our constitutional and God-given rights. ...Perhaps it is easy for those who have never felt the stinging dark of segregation to say, "Wait." But when you have seen vicious mobs lynch your mothers and fathers at will and drown your sisters and brothers at whim; when you have seen hate-filled policemen curse, kick and even kill your black brothers and sisters; when you see the vast majority of your twenty million Negro brothers smothering in an airtight cage of poverty in the midst of an affluent society; when you suddenly find your tongue twisted and your speech stammering as you seek to explain to your six-year-old



daughter why she can't go to the public amusement park that has just been advertised on television, and see tears welling up in her eyes when she is told that Funtown is closed to colored children, and see ominous clouds of inferiority beginning to form in her little mental sky...; when you have to concoct an answer for a five-year-old son who is asking: "Daddy, why do white people treat colored

people so mean?"; ...when you are humiliated day in and day out by nagging signs reading "white" and "colored"; when your first name becomes "n---r," your middle name becomes "boy" (however old you are) and your last name becomes "John," and your wife and mother are never given the respected title "Mrs.," ...when you go forever fighting a degenerating sense of "nobodiness" then you will understand why we find it difficult to wait.

Excerpts, full text at: <http://drmartinlutherkingjr.com>

Birmingham, Alabama Campaign of Mass Protests

In April 1963, mass protests began in Birmingham, Alabama (often called Bombingham due to over 50 bombings) by the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC). The main support came from Reverend Fred Shuttlesworth of the Alabama Christian Movement for Human Rights (ACMHR). Shuttlesworth was also a cofounder of the SCLC with Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr.



Alabama governor George C. Wallace

"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," spoke Alabama Governor George C. Wallace at his inauguration January 14, 1963. Many whites in Alabama took comfort in his words.

This was the backdrop for why black leaders felt that a victory in Birmingham would shift

public opinion across America.

Wyatt Tee Walker, executive director of SCLC explained the plan: "I wrote a document called Project C—it meant confrontation. My theory was that if we mounted a strong nonviolent movement, the opposition would surely do something to attract the media, and in turn induce national sympathy and attention to the everyday segregated circumstances of a black person in the Deep South. We targeted Birmingham because it was the biggest and baddest city of the South. Dr. King's feeling was that if nonviolence wouldn't work in Birmingham then it wouldn't work anywhere."

Surprisingly, Project C was initiated with high school students. Reverend James Bevel was having trouble recruiting enough adults for the protest because they worked and were also afraid of losing their jobs. It was an economic issue. He came up with this idea: "...Let's use thousands of people who won't create an economic crisis...high school students. A boy from high school, he can get the same effect in terms of being in jail, in terms of putting pressure on the city..."

Rev. King, in his autobiography, related the case of a black teenager who decided to march in



Bill Hudson's image of Parker High School student Walter Gadsden being attacked by dogs was published in The New York Times on May 4, 1963.

the face of his father's objections:

"Daddy," the boy said, "I don't want to disobey you, but I have made my pledge. If you try to keep me home, I will sneak off. If you think I deserve to be punished for that, I'll just have to take the punishment. For, you see, I'm not doing this only because I want to be free. I'm doing it also because I want freedom for you and Mama, and I want it to come before you die." That father thought again, and gave his son his blessing.

The high school students participated by the thousands. On the first day of the Project C campaign, May 2, 1963, Police Chief Bull Connor arrested more than 600 children. The next day an angry Connor met the students with violence unleashing police attack dogs and ordering firemen to blast the students off their feet with high-pressure hoses, injuring many. The young people endured daily attacks as they demonstrated for human rights. By May 6, Bull Connor was housing thousands of child prisoners at the state fairgrounds.

The resulting photographs, video, and written accounts dominated the news across the nation and the world. For the first time Americans could see the nature of segregation and hatred in the South. They were stunned, and ashamed.

A New York Times editorial on May 4, 1963 expressed the feeling of growing numbers of

Americans: "No American schooled in respect for human dignity can read without shame of the barbarities committed by Alabama police authorities against Negro and white demonstrators for civil rights. The use of police dogs and high-pressure fire hose to subdue schoolchildren in Birmingham is a national disgrace. The herding of hundreds of teenagers and younger children into jails and detention homes for demanding their birthright of freedom made a mockery of legal process."

By May 9, Birmingham's business leaders had had enough. They negotiated an agreement with Rev. King and Rev. Shuttlesworth. Birmingham businesses would desegregate their lunch counters, restrooms, and drinking fountains. They would hire and promote black employees. The jailed protestors would be freed, and charges dropped. Bull Connor called it "the worst day of my life."



Activity: Photographs and news footage taken at Birmingham helped focus attention on the protests and raised awareness in the U.S. and throughout the world about inequality and racism. Have students analyze photos or film footage from this time. What role did the news media play in the movement? The Library of Congress has a useful Primary Source Analysis tool to help with this activity: www.loc.gov/teachers/primary-source-analysis-tool

President John F. Kennedy's Civil Rights Address



On June 11, 1963 President John F. Kennedy spoke to the nation about Civil Rights.

...This Nation was founded by men of many nations and backgrounds. It was founded on the principle that all men are created equal, and that the rights of every man are diminished when the rights of one man are threatened.

Today, we are committed to a worldwide struggle to promote and protect the rights of all who wish to be free. And when Americans are sent to Vietnam or West Berlin, we do not ask for whites only. It ought to be possible, therefore, for American students of any color to attend any public institution they select without having

to be backed up by troops. It ought to be possible for American consumers of any color to receive equal service in places of public accommodation, such as hotels and restaurants and theaters and retail stores, without being forced to resort to demonstrations in the street, and it ought to be possible for American citizens of any color to register and to vote in a free election without interference or fear of reprisal. 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...

Full text at: www.americanrhetoric.com/speeches/jfkcivilrights.htm

Medgar Evers Assassination

Medgar Evers (1925-1963), field secretary for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), was one of the first martyrs of the civil rights movement. He was killed the day after President John F. Kennedy addressed the nation on civil rights. His death prompted Pres. Kennedy to ask Congress for a comprehensive civil-rights bill, which after his assassination, President Lyndon Johnson signed into law in 1964.

The Mississippi in which Medgar Evers lived was a place of blatant discrimination where blacks dared not even speak of civil rights, much less actively campaign for them. As a civil right activist, he paid for his convictions with his life, becoming the first major civil rights leader to be assassinated in the 1960s. He was shot in the back on June 12, 1963, after returning late from a meeting. He was 37 years old.

Learn more at: www.naacp.org/pages/naacp-history-medgar-evers

