Chapter 16


I AM
A MAN
I AM
A MAN

UNIT 5

YEARS OF TURBULENCE

THE UNITED STATES

1960
John F. Kennedy is elected president. *(Kennedy campaign button)*

1955
African Americans in Montgomery, Alabama, boycott the city's buses shortly after Rosa Parks is arrested for refusing to give up her seat on one of them to a white man. *(bus Rosa Parks was riding when she refused to give up her seat)*

1954
The ruling in *Brown* v. *Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas*, ends the legal segregation of public schools.

1963
Martin Luther King, Jr., leads the March on Washington and delivers his "I Have a Dream" speech; Kennedy is assassinated, and Lyndon Johnson assumes the presidency.

1964
After a North Vietnamese torpedo boat allegedly fires on an American destroyer in Southeast Asia's Gulf of Tonkin, the United States greatly expands its role in the Vietnam War.

1950

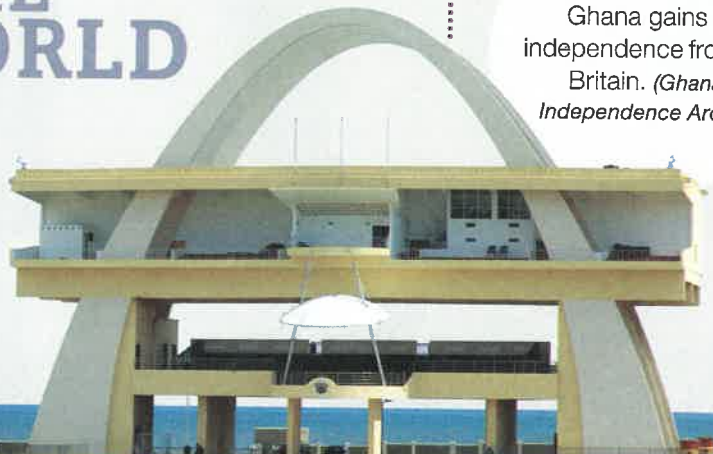
1960

1954 ASIA
After the overthrow of France, Vietnam is divided into North Vietnam and South Vietnam.

1959 AMERICAS
Fidel Castro becomes the communist leader of Cuba.

THE WORLD

1957 AFRICA
Ghana gains its independence from Britain. *(Ghana's Independence Arch)*



1962 EUROPE
The Soviet Union places missiles in Cuba, triggering the Cuban Missile Crisis. *(political cartoon depicting Soviet leader Nikita Khrushchev as a dentist pulling out Fidel Castro's teeth, which are shaped like missiles)*

HISTORICAL THINKING

DETERMINE CHRONOLOGY **What happened two years after the United States withdrew from Vietnam?**

1965
Johnson sends the first U.S. ground troops to Vietnam.
(radio used during Vietnam War)

1966
César Chávez leads a march to Sacramento, California's capital, to protest the low wages and poor working conditions of the state's farmworkers.

1968
Martin Luther King, Jr., is assassinated at the age of 39; Richard Nixon is elected president.

1969
American astronauts are the first to land and walk on the moon.

1970

1972
The American Indian Movement occupies the Bureau of Indian Affairs to protest broken treaties; the Equal Rights Amendment for women passes Congress but fails to be ratified.

1973
The United States pulls its troops from Vietnam, ending its involvement in the war in Southeast Asia.

1975

1975 ASIA
South Vietnam falls to the communists, ending the civil war in Vietnam.

1967 AFRICA
Civil war breaks out in Nigeria after the Republic of Biafra secedes from the African nation.
(flag of Biafra)

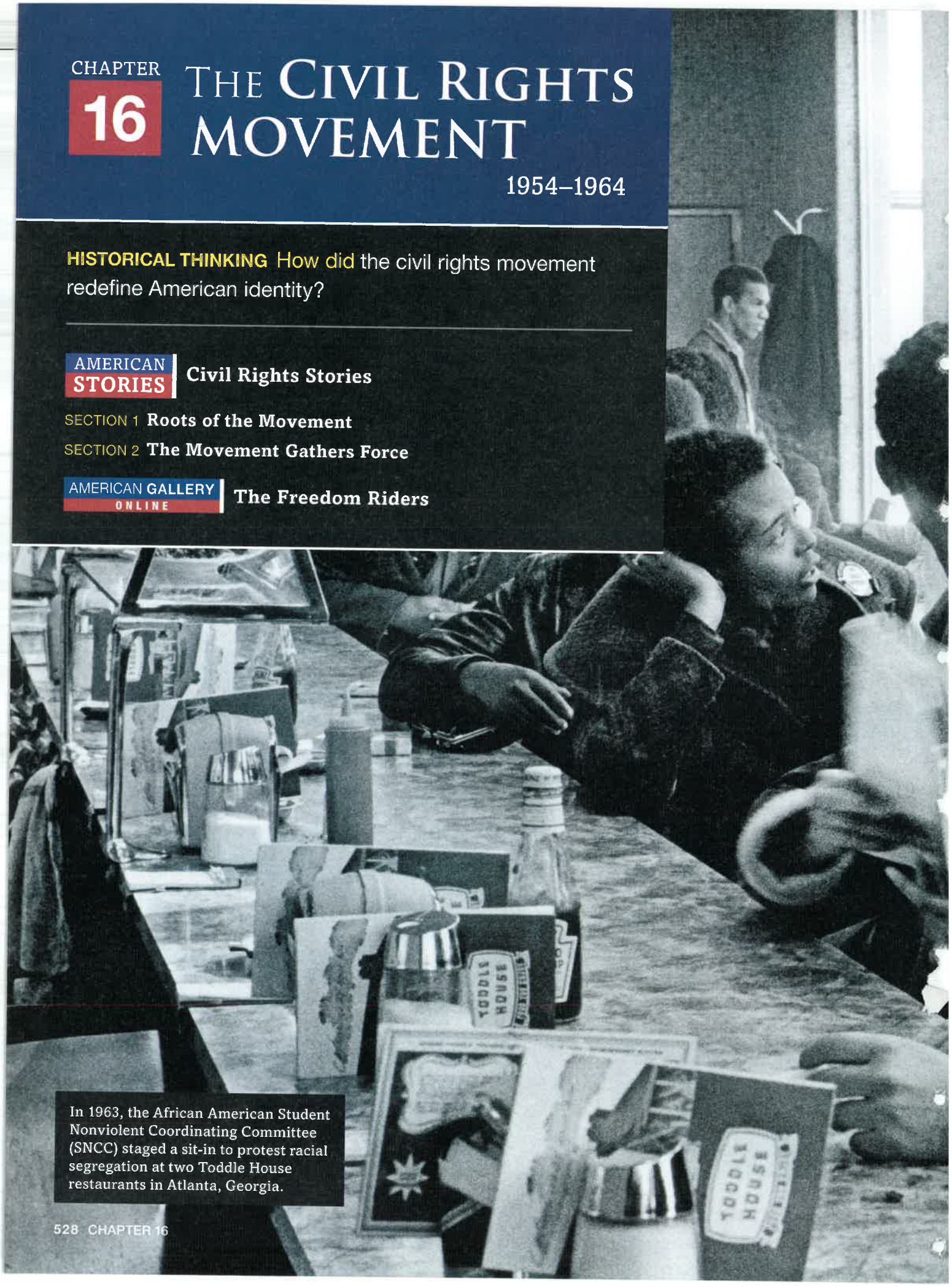
1968 ASIA
North Vietnamese forces launch the Tet Offensive and attack many cities and towns in South Vietnam.
(Troops battle in Saigon following the Tet Offensive.)

CHAPTER 16

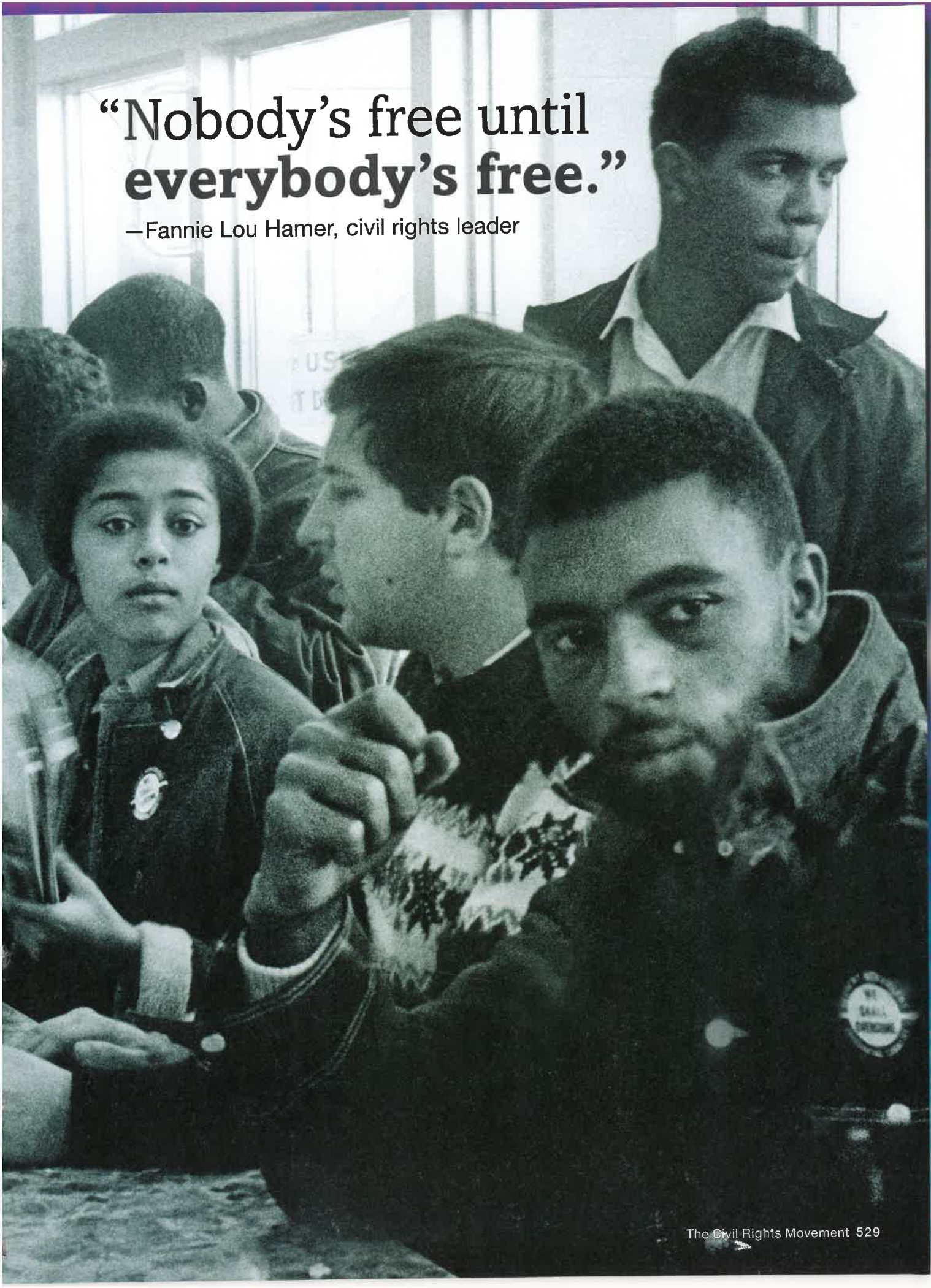
THE CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT

1954–1964

HISTORICAL THINKING How did the civil rights movement redefine American identity?



In 1963, the African American Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) staged a sit-in to protest racial segregation at two Toddle House restaurants in Atlanta, Georgia.



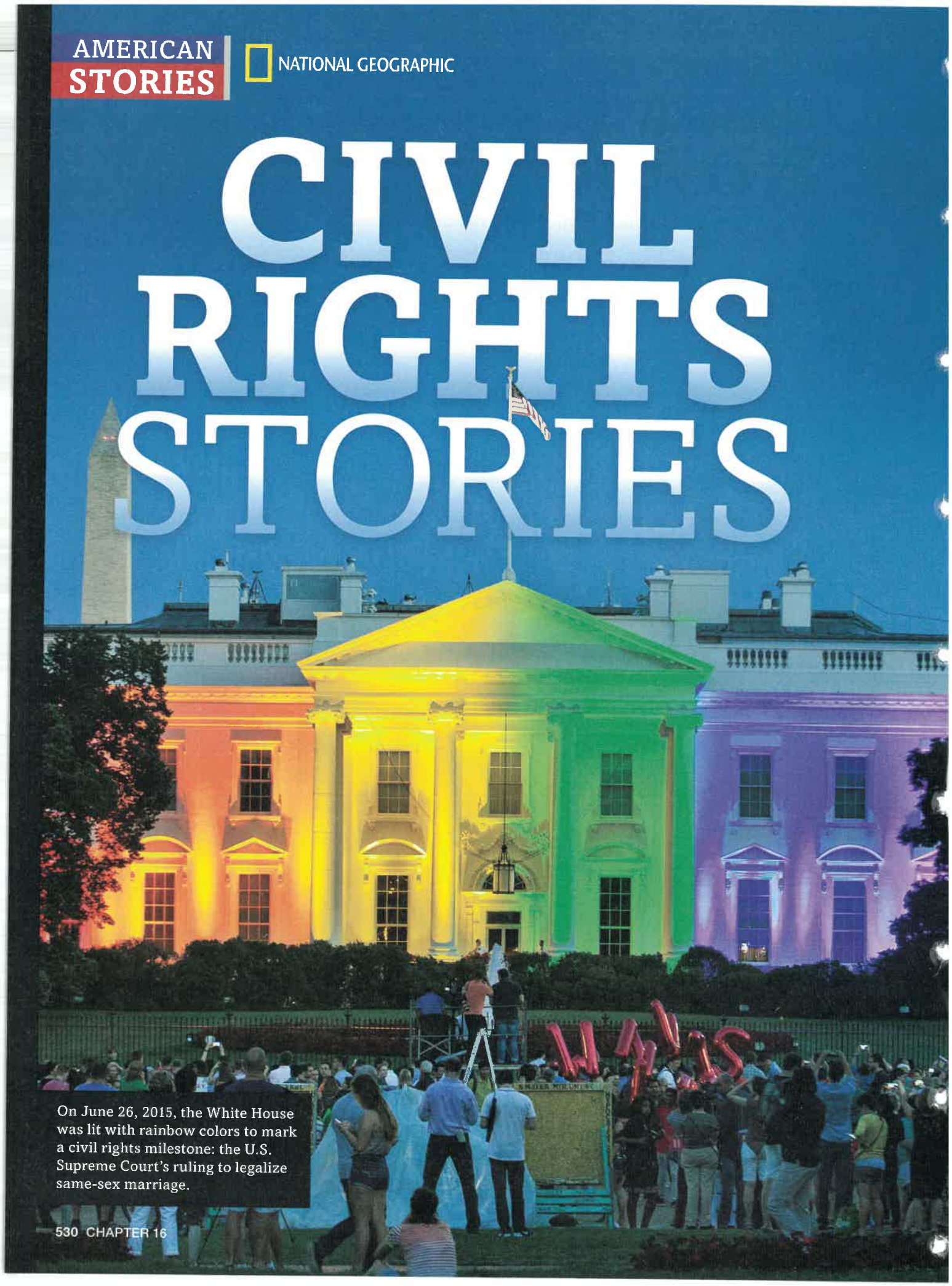
"Nobody's free until **everybody's free.**"

—Fannie Lou Hamer, civil rights leader

AMERICAN STORIES

NATIONAL GEOGRAPHIC

CIVIL RIGHTS STORIES



On June 26, 2015, the White House was lit with rainbow colors to mark a civil rights milestone: the U.S. Supreme Court's ruling to legalize same-sex marriage.

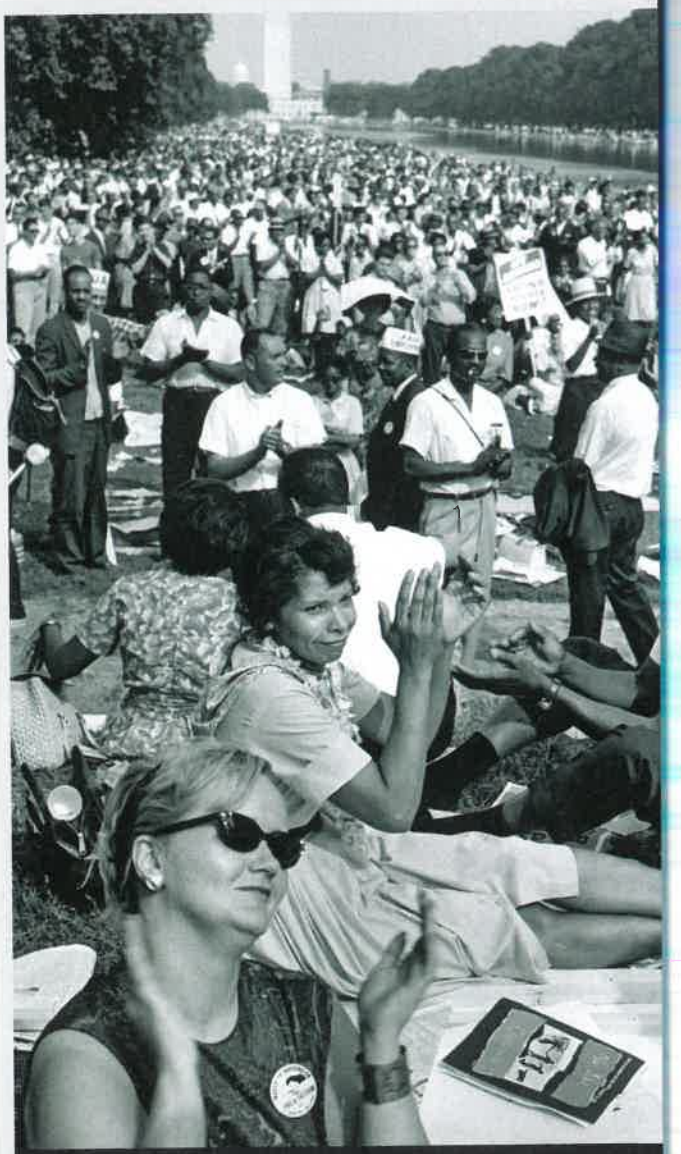
The struggle for civil rights in the 1950s and 1960s evokes powerful images in the minds of Americans: Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., delivering his "I Have a Dream" speech; young African-American children facing angry crowds of protesters trying to keep them out of school; citizens marching to demand equal voting rights or school desegregation. These images represent the long and ongoing process of establishing and defending civil rights for all citizens. This American Story highlights the stories of some of the key people, places, and events in the civil rights movements, from the 1930s to the present day.

THE MARCH ON WASHINGTON

One familiar image from the civil rights movement shows Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., standing on the steps of the Lincoln Memorial in Washington, D.C., delivering his most famous speech to a crowd of more than 200,000 people. It was a day of true unity—civil rights organizations, religious leaders, and men and women of all races came together to protest the inequalities African Americans still faced even 100 years after Abraham Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation.

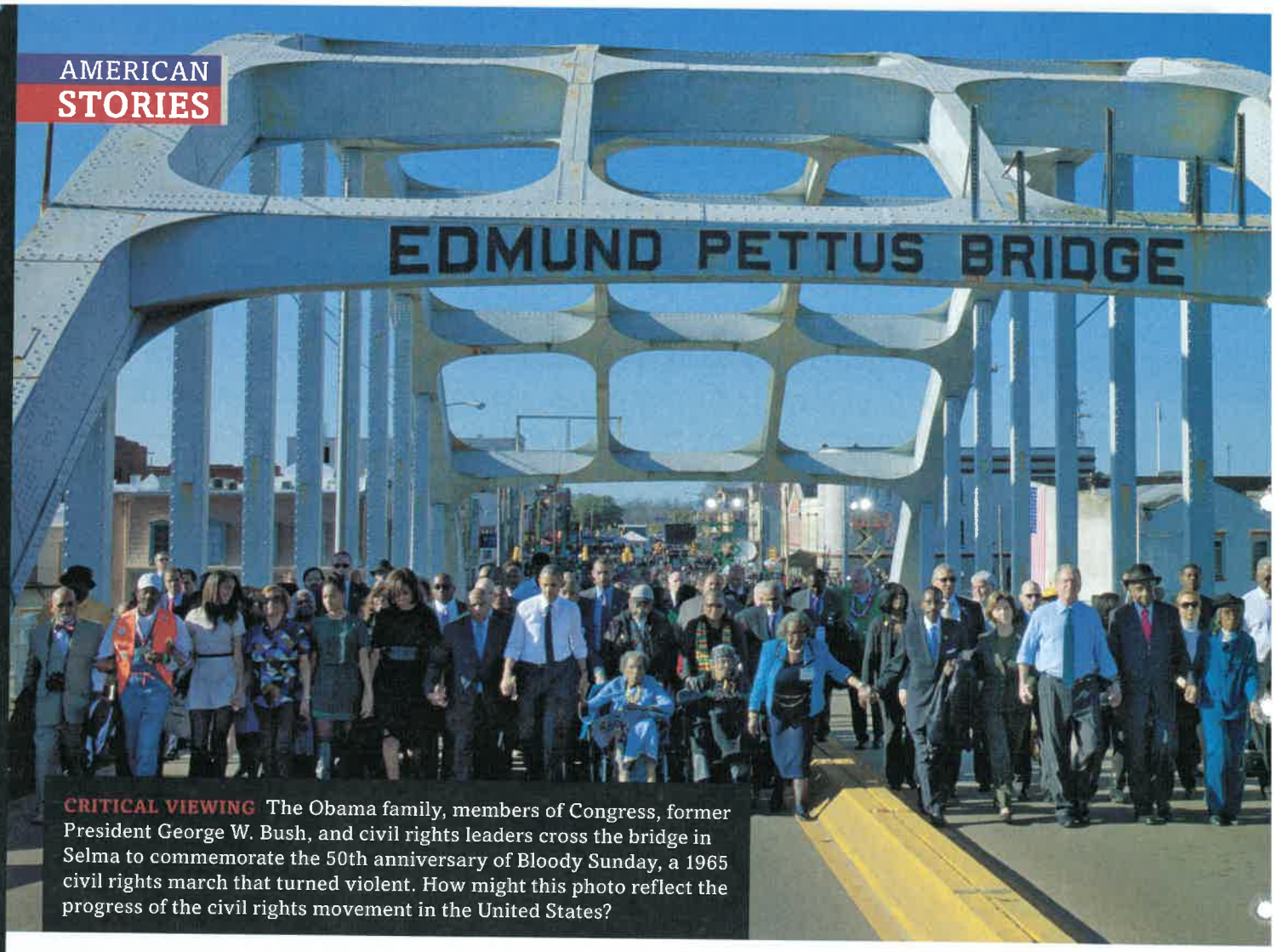
The 1963 March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom was not the first-ever march to the capital planned to support the rights of African Americans. You may recall that in 1941, A. Philip Randolph proposed a march on Washington to protest racial discrimination in the context of federal jobs. Randolph canceled the march, however, when President Franklin D. Roosevelt issued an executive order barring discrimination in the growing defense industry.

In 1963, President John F. Kennedy proposed a sweeping civil rights bill, but it was mired in a divided Congress. In an attempt to demonstrate public support for the bill and encourage Congress to act, Randolph and other civil rights leaders decided it was time to organize an even larger march on Washington. About 100,000 participants were expected to flood the city. Organizations such as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference planned the event, encouraging African Americans and whites from all states to come to Washington in a display of unified support for equal rights. And on August 28, 1963, around 200,000 people gathered peacefully in front of the Lincoln Memorial.



At the 1963 march, a multiracial crowd listened to songs by popular performers, prayers by prominent clergymen, and speeches by activists, including Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.

AMERICAN STORIES



CRITICAL VIEWING The Obama family, members of Congress, former President George W. Bush, and civil rights leaders cross the bridge in Selma to commemorate the 50th anniversary of Bloody Sunday, a 1965 civil rights march that turned violent. How might this photo reflect the progress of the civil rights movement in the United States?

COLLABORATING TO DESEGREGATE EDUCATION

As you will read in greater detail later in this chapter, well into the 1950s, many parts of the United States, especially the South, had racially segregated schools. School segregation had been made legal in 1896 by the *Plessy* v. *Ferguson* court case, which held that having separate public facilities for African Americans and whites was constitutional as long as the facilities were equal to each other.

For many decades, African-American and white civil rights lawyers worked together to challenge this "separate but equal" ruling. In 1930, the NAACP hired Nathan Margold, a white lawyer from New York. Margold conducted a study and found that African-American and white schools were not funded equally. This violated the equal protection rights provided for by the 14th Amendment. He recommended suing segregated public schools.

In 1934, Charles H. Houston, a prominent African-American lawyer, began directing the NAACP's legal campaign against segregation and focused on higher education programs. One case involved African-American student Lloyd Gaines who was denied admission to the University of Missouri's law school because of his race. At the time, no law school in the state accepted African-American students. Although Gaines was offered a scholarship to attend a school out of state, he sued the university with the help of Houston, who argued that the state must either admit Gaines or provide an equal facility in Missouri. The courts agreed.

Through numerous other cases and victories, the NAACP's lawyers worked to protect civil rights. By the 1950s, a young African-American lawyer named Thurgood Marshall made it his mission to end segregation. He won many cases, preparing him for a historic legal battle in Topeka, Kansas.

In Kansas, segregation still existed in public schools. Linda Brown was denied enrollment in

AMERICAN PLACES

The Edmund Pettus Bridge

Some places will forever remain in the national consciousness as symbols of the fight for African-American civil rights in the 1950s and 1960s. One such place is the Edmund Pettus Bridge in Selma, Alabama. Completed in 1940, the bridge was named after a Confederate general and leader of the racist Ku Klux Klan in Alabama.

On March 7, 1965, a group of 600 protesters set out from Selma on a march to the state capital of Montgomery, to protest restrictions on voting rights for African Americans. On the Edmund Pettus Bridge just outside of town, local law enforcement officers waited with clubs and tear gas. They attacked the demonstrators and forced them back into Selma in an outbreak of violence that came to be known as Bloody Sunday. The marchers tried again on March 9 and were again turned away at the bridge. On March 21, after a federal judge had ruled in favor of the protesters' right to march along a public highway in order to "petition . . . government for redress of grievances," a new Selma-to-Montgomery march began. This time, 3,200 people set out from Selma and 25,000 arrived in the state capital. You will read more about these three marches in the next chapter.

Today, the Edmund Pettus Bridge is part of the Selma to Montgomery National Historic Trail administered by the National Park Service. On March 7, 2015, President Barack Obama and his family joined thousands of Americans at the bridge to commemorate the courage of the Bloody Sunday protesters. Among the 2015 marchers were some who had been present on Bloody Sunday, including Representative John Lewis of Georgia and Amelia Boynton Robinson, one of the original march's organizers.

the all-white school in her neighborhood. She had to walk more than a mile, cross a dangerous railroad yard, and then take a bus, to attend a school that accepted African Americans. Represented by Thurgood Marshall, the Brown family and other families decided to sue the school system, and in 1954, they won what would become one of the most important Supreme Court cases of all time, *Brown* v. *Board of Education of Topeka*.

While the landmark Brown ruling legally ended segregation, it did not erase it from the United States. Today, few schools and neighborhoods are truly racially integrated.

THINK ABOUT IT

Why might it have been advantageous for African-American and white lawyers to collaborate on cases to end racial discrimination in schools?

Linda Brown, shown here in front of the all-white Sumner Elementary School in 1953, lived only a few blocks away from this school but couldn't attend it.

AMERICAN STORIES

THE RIGHTS OF THE DISABLED

Ehlena Fry, 12, of Michigan, sits with her service dog Wonder outside the Supreme Court in Washington, D.C. Fry, who has cerebral palsy, is fighting to bring Wonder to school with her for assistance.

In 1990, the Americans With Disabilities Act (ADA), a bipartisan effort, was passed by Congress and signed into law by President George H. W. Bush. It banned job discrimination against people with disabilities and required buildings, businesses, and public transportation to be accessible to all. "The ADA was a response to an appalling problem: widespread, systemic, inhumane discrimination against people with disabilities," explains Robert Burgdorf, Jr., a disability rights legal advocate.

In 1971, according to Burgdorf, a "judge described people with disabilities as 'the most discriminated [against] minority in our nation.'" He was not alone in believing this. State-run residential treatment centers were "primitive and often unsanitary, dangerous, overcrowded and inhumane," states Burgdorf. Many children with disabilities were routinely prevented from attending public schools and therefore did not have access to an adequate education. Very few public transportation systems or private vehicles accommodated the disabled, making taxis, buses, trains, and ferries virtually unusable by people with physical impairments. Accessibility aids, such as flat entrances, ramps, sidewalk curb cuts, or Braille elevator signs, were not included in parks, stores, and office buildings.

Additionally, individuals with disabilities were often excluded from rights most Americans count on, from applying for a driver's license, to voting, to running for public office. In some states, people with developmental disabilities could not legally marry or enter into a contract. Even cities, such as Columbus, Ohio, and Chicago, practiced discrimination by enacting "ugly laws" to keep people whose physical conditions were perceived as "unpleasant" from public places.

Crucial victories in the courts during the 1970s and 1980s led to gains for people with disabilities in the fight for equal access to public schools and improved conditions in live-in facilities. As activists and protesters tackled the unfair treatment of individuals with disabilities, the courts ruled against discrimination in housing, transportation, voting, contracts, and medical services.

Since its passage, the ADA has had a positive impact on the lives of people with disabilities and their families. Accessible entrances, now the norm rather than the exception, assist those with mobility limitations as they enter buildings, cross streets, and visit public parks. Conveniently located parking spaces for people with disabilities are set aside in garages and parking lots to give people better access to public and private buildings. Mass transit accessibility in cities has also progressed, even if improvements to public transportation systems under the ADA have occurred more slowly and less consistently than many would like.

Yet not all equality issues for people with disabilities have been resolved, and people see tremendous disparities in how the ADA is enforced among business owners, school districts, and communities. In fact, according to Burgdorf, "Some . . . have taken an I-won't-do-anything-until-I'm-sued attitude toward the obligations imposed on them" by the act. Although there are many battles yet to be fought, the passing of the ADA was an inarguably significant milestone for ensuring equal rights for the disabled.

MARRIAGE LEGISLATION

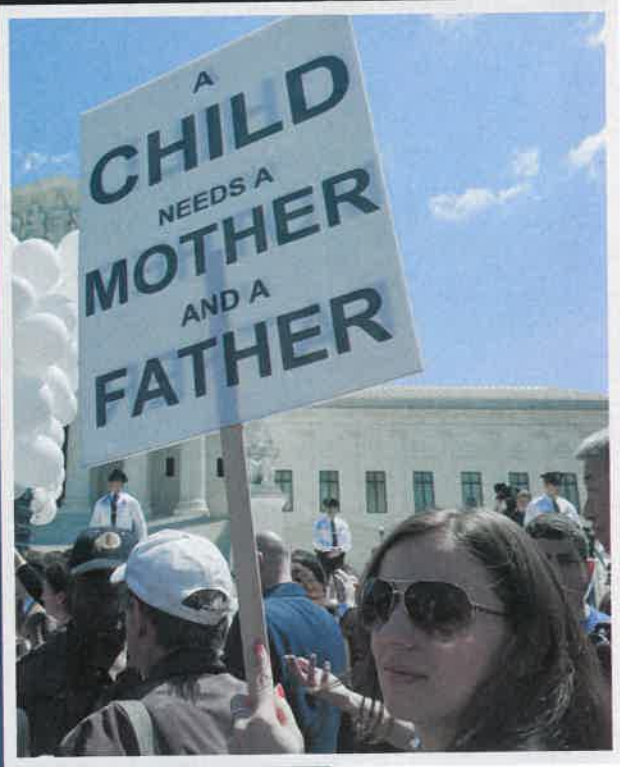
The question of marriage as a civil rights issue for same-sex couples garnered much attention in the 2010s, but the legal struggle began decades earlier. In 1970, Jack Baker and Michael McConnell applied for a marriage license in Minneapolis, Minnesota. When the men were refused a license, they took the case to court. Baker, a lawyer, made the case that prohibiting same-sex marriage was unconstitutional and a form of discrimination. He drew parallels to the 1967 case *Loving v. Virginia*, in which the Supreme Court ruled that it was unconstitutional to forbid interracial marriage. When Baker and McConnell's case was sent to the Supreme Court in 1972, however, the court refused to hear it.

The next legal test for same-sex marriage rights took place in Hawaii in 1996. There, a judge ruled that the state had no reason to prevent same-sex couples from marrying. A national backlash soon followed. Congress passed and President Bill Clinton signed the Defense of Marriage Act (DOMA), which defined marriage as existing solely between a man and a woman in federal law. Several states, Hawaii among them, enacted constitutional amendments prohibiting same-sex marriage.

With the majority of both legislators and public opinion against same-sex marriage, gay activists and their supporters began a long campaign to change the minds of individual Americans. They also worked to bring the question to courtrooms and ballot boxes throughout the country. Gay marriage advocacy groups launched extensive advertising campaigns and engaged lobbyists to meet with lawmakers. Over time and despite staunch opposition, their efforts began to pay off. In 2004, the Massachusetts Supreme Court ruled in favor of same-sex marriage, and this time, the ruling was not reversed by a constitutional amendment. By 2011, the majority of the public supported same-sex marriage.

In 2015, when the United States Supreme Court agreed to rule on the issue it had turned down in 1972, gay marriage was legal in 36 states. On June 26, 2015, the nation's highest court ruled that the Constitution guarantees the right to marriage for same-sex couples in all 50 states. In the decision, Justice Anthony Kennedy wrote, "Their hope is not to be condemned to live in loneliness, excluded from one of civilization's oldest institutions. They ask for equal dignity in the eyes of the law. The Constitution grants them that right."

In what ways were the campaigns for same-sex marriage and other civil rights campaigns similar and different?



Legislation aside, same-sex marriage remains a hotly debated topic. Some believe all individuals deserve the right to be married, regardless of gender or sexual orientation (above). Others only support marriages between a man and a woman (below). The issue has become highly politicized in the United States.

AMERICAN STORIES

THE NATIONAL MUSEUM OF AFRICAN AMERICAN HISTORY AND CULTURE

On September 24, 2016, the Smithsonian Institution in Washington, D.C., opened a new museum. Standing alongside the other Smithsonian buildings on the National Mall, the National Museum of African American History and Culture (NMAAHC) offers a unique perspective on U.S. history, civil rights, and national identity. "This museum will tell the American story through the lens of African-American history and culture," explained Lonnie G. Bunch, III, the NMAAHC's Founding Director. "This is America's Story and this museum is for all Americans."

The galleries on the lower levels of the NMAAHC display collections of original artifacts that recount African-American history from the earliest years of the country to the present day. The dark times of slavery are represented by the manacles, whips, and other items used by slaveholders to control the enslaved. The museum also gives a voice to enslaved Americans by displaying items they created to express themselves. One such object is an embroidered pillowcase given by an enslaved mother to her nine-year-old daughter when the girl was sold. The pre-emancipation collection also includes Harriet Tubman's hymn book and Frederick Douglass's cane.

PRIMARY SOURCE

At the opening of the National Museum of African American History and Culture in Washington, D.C., President Barack Obama struck a hopeful note in a speech about the need for continuing progress on civil rights and the museum's role in the quest for equality.

This national museum helps to tell a richer and fuller story of who we are. . . . Hopefully this museum can help us talk to each other. And more importantly, listen to each other. And most importantly, see each other—Black and White and Latino and Native American, and Asian American—see how our stories are bound together. And bound together with women in America, and workers in America, and entrepreneurs in America, and LGBT Americans.

—President Barack Obama, September 24, 2016

CRITICAL VIEWING At the 2016 museum dedication, President Barack Obama praised the coexistence of "protest and love of country" and referenced recent examples of racial tension in the U.S. Which other individuals do you recognize in the photo below, and why might it have been significant that they attended this event?

Other collections in the historical galleries illustrate Reconstruction and the civil rights movement. More recent events such as the 2008 election of the first African-American president of the United States and the 2012 Olympic successes of African-American gymnast Gabby Douglas are also celebrated.

The Culture and Community galleries of the museum focus on the diverse African-American communities within the United States. Exhibits highlight achievements in the arts and sports, and ongoing efforts to bring about positive social change.

In 1963, a bomb exploded at the predominantly African-American 16th Street Baptist Church in Birmingham, Alabama, killing four young girls. This stained glass rosette from that church is part of the NMAAHC collection.

THE CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT'S NEW ERA

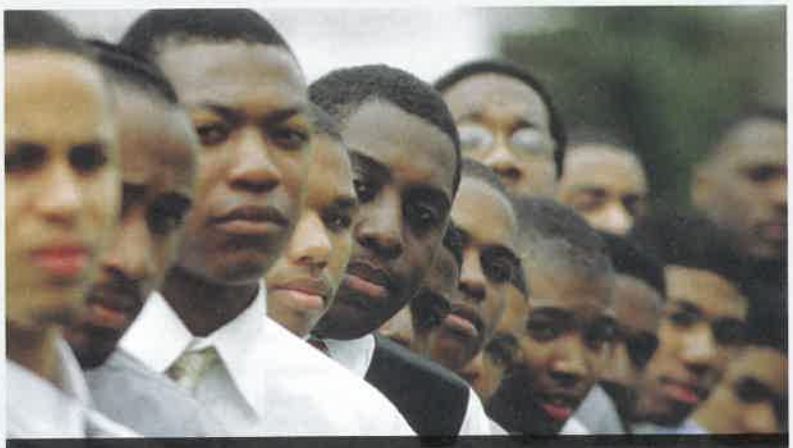
The civil rights movement of the 1950s and 1960s achieved notable advancements for African Americans, such as desegregation and bans on many forms of discrimination. Yet many issues remain, such as poverty and lack of jobs in African-American neighborhoods, and the disproportionate numbers of African Americans who are jailed.

Present-day organizations such as Black Lives Matter (BLM) utilize social media and public protests to make their voices heard. BLM began in July 2013, after a white man named George Zimmerman was acquitted of the shooting death of black teenager Trayvon Martin. Alicia Garza wrote in a Facebook post, "I continue to be surprised at how little Black lives matter." Patrice Cullors, a friend of Garza's, was struck by that sentence and created the hashtag #BlackLivesMatter. Another friend built a social-media platform around the hashtag.

Many Americans became aware of Black Lives Matter in 2014, after a black teenager named Michael Brown was shot and killed by a white police officer in Ferguson, Missouri. People from all parts of the country used the platform to express their outrage and to plan protests in Ferguson and other cities. BLM groups continue to stage protests following other police shootings of African Americans and to strongly advocate for reform.

Black Lives Matter is sometimes described as "not your grandfather's civil rights movement." For one thing, social media was not an option years ago. And unlike groups such as the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, which had centralized leadership, Black Lives Matter chapters operate independently to plan local events. BLM also pursues civil rights for women and the LGBTQ community, while earlier civil rights groups often marginalized female leaders and put men at the forefront.

Some believe that Black Lives Matter's methods are most effective for today's civil rights issues. Others feel modern civil rights groups should more closely follow the structures and techniques that succeeded in the 1950s and 1960s.



Photojournalist Eli Reed's book *Black in America* includes this 1999 photo of members of the Minority Achievement Committee at Shaker Heights High School in Ohio. Reed captures the diversity of the African-American experience, the consequences of prejudice, and the continuing efforts to secure a better life for all.

1.1 **MAIN IDEA** After World War II, the Truman administration, the NAACP, and African-American authors helped bring civil rights to the forefront of American society.

PROGRESS AFTER THE WAR

The struggle for civil rights in America spans many decades, many presidents, and across many states, and it continues today. Change has come slowly. But with each court ruling and protest, more people have seen the need for all Americans to have the same rights. This chapter highlights some of the key events and people who have inspired racially based social changes throughout the mid-20th century in America.

CHANGE DRIVEN BY THE PEOPLE

In many ways, World War II changed race relations in the United States and gave momentum to the civil rights movement. Millions of African Americans, Native Americans, and Mexican Americans had contributed to the U.S. war effort through military service or work in the defense industry. Having served their country in a war often framed as being against two racist empires (Germany and Japan), they were determined to claim their rights as guaranteed by the Constitution. Minority groups began fighting against laws that prevented them from voting and kept their children from attending public schools. Some Native American veterans filed lawsuits challenging these practices. Furthermore, many minorities did not want to lose the economic foothold they had gained from their wartime jobs.

Individuals engaged in **grassroots activism** to bring about the equality they desired. Grassroots activism refers to political movements driven by people who individually do not have much power, but who, working together, can be very effective. Churches in the rural South and urban North played important roles in the grassroots diffusion of the civil rights movement. Church leaders stressed the value of equality and communal support, which inspired church members to make sacrifices for racial justice. Groups also used churches as meeting places. The NAACP, a grassroots group, began with 60 members in 1909. By 1946, it had 600,000 members and was working to persuade Congress to pass federal anti-lynching laws. NAACP leaders, including **Walter White**, **Thurgood Marshall**, and the writer James Weldon Johnson, organized lawsuits against people accused of civil rights violations and used those cases to command the public's attention.

A. Philip Randolph and **Bayard Rustin** were also notable civil rights leaders. As you've read, Randolph, a journalist and labor organizer, established the country's first African-American trade union, the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car

PRIMARY SOURCES

Today, the American people enjoy more freedom and opportunity than ever before. Never in our history has there been better reason to hope for the complete realization of the ideals of liberty and equality.

We shall not, however, finally achieve the ideals for which this Nation was founded so long as any American suffers discrimination as a result of his race, or religion, or color, or the land of origin of his forefathers.

—from "Special Message to the Congress on Civil Rights," by President Harry S. Truman, February 2, 1948

Mr. Speaker, not since the first gun was fired on Fort Sumter . . . has any message of any President of these glorious United States provoked so much controversy . . . as did President Truman's so-called civil-rights message. Not only did that message provoke serious racial controversies, but it raised anew the issue of the rights of the sovereign States as against a strong centralized government and drove a devastating wedge into the unity of the Democratic Party at a time when that party was riding high on a wave of popularity in the entire country.

—from Mississippi Representative William M. Colmer's response to President Truman's "Special Message to Congress on Civil Rights," April 8, 1948

At a press conference in New York City in 1964 (from left) Norman Hill, Frederick D. Jones, and Bayard Rustin called for New York City to desegregate its public schools or face a series of coordinated boycotts. The three civil rights leaders were lifelong anti-violence activists who orchestrated demonstrations and boycotts and negotiated with government officials.

Porters. Rustin became a leader in movements for civil rights and nonviolence beginning in the 1940s and for gay rights in the 1950s. He would eventually become a close advisor to Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. In 1941, Randolph and Rustin threatened to lead tens of thousands of people in a march on Washington, D.C., to protest employment discrimination in the federal government. President Franklin D. Roosevelt averted the march by issuing an executive order prohibiting discriminatory hiring in government jobs. The order also established the Fair Employment Practices Committee, whose mission was to investigate violations of the new policy.

In 1942, civil rights activist **James Farmer** helped to found the interracial **Congress of Racial Equality (CORE)**. The organization fought discrimination through nonviolent acts of protest. It would play a crucial role in future decades of the civil rights movement. Activist and NAACP member **Mary Church Terrell** led the antidiscrimination struggle in deeply segregated Washington, D.C. In 1950, she entered a restaurant and ordered lunch, knowing the owners would refuse to serve her. In a lawsuit, she cited laws from the 1870s that guaranteed equal rights to African Americans in all "places of public accommodation." Her case reached the Supreme Court, which ruled unanimously in her favor.

TRUMAN'S SUPPORT FOR CIVIL RIGHTS

After Franklin D. Roosevelt's death in 1945, his vice president Harry Truman became the 33rd president. Truman was the grandchild of slave owners and had grown up in a segregated town in Missouri. But Truman proved to be a strong supporter of civil rights. In 1946, he established the **President's Committee on Civil Rights (PCCR)**. Its mission was to protect all Americans' civil rights. The PCCR report, "To Secure These Rights," detailed widespread discrimination and recommended 34 immediate actions, including desegregating the U.S. military. Truman sent to Congress a plan for stronger civil rights statutes, better protection of the right to vote, and federal protection against lynching. But Republicans and conservative southern Democrats blocked the plan.

At the 1948 Democratic National Convention, Senate candidate Hubert Humphrey implored his fellow Democrats to strongly support the civil rights movement. Moderates, including aides to Truman, favored a weaker stance on civil rights, fearing the loss of votes in the South. In the end, Humphrey got his way. Shortly after the convention, Truman abolished segregation in the U.S. military and prohibited discriminatory hiring practices in the federal civil service. When Americans cast their ballots in 1948, Truman won re-election, thanks in part to the support of African-American voters.

HISTORICAL THINKING

1. **READING CHECK** How did World War II stimulate the civil rights movement?
2. **DRAW CONCLUSIONS** How can grassroots activism cause change? Use examples from the text.
3. **SYNTHESIZE** How does Truman's message to Congress and William Colmer's response reflect the idea that change is complicated?

1.2 **MAIN IDEA** Artists of every medium created works to draw public awareness to the civil rights movement.

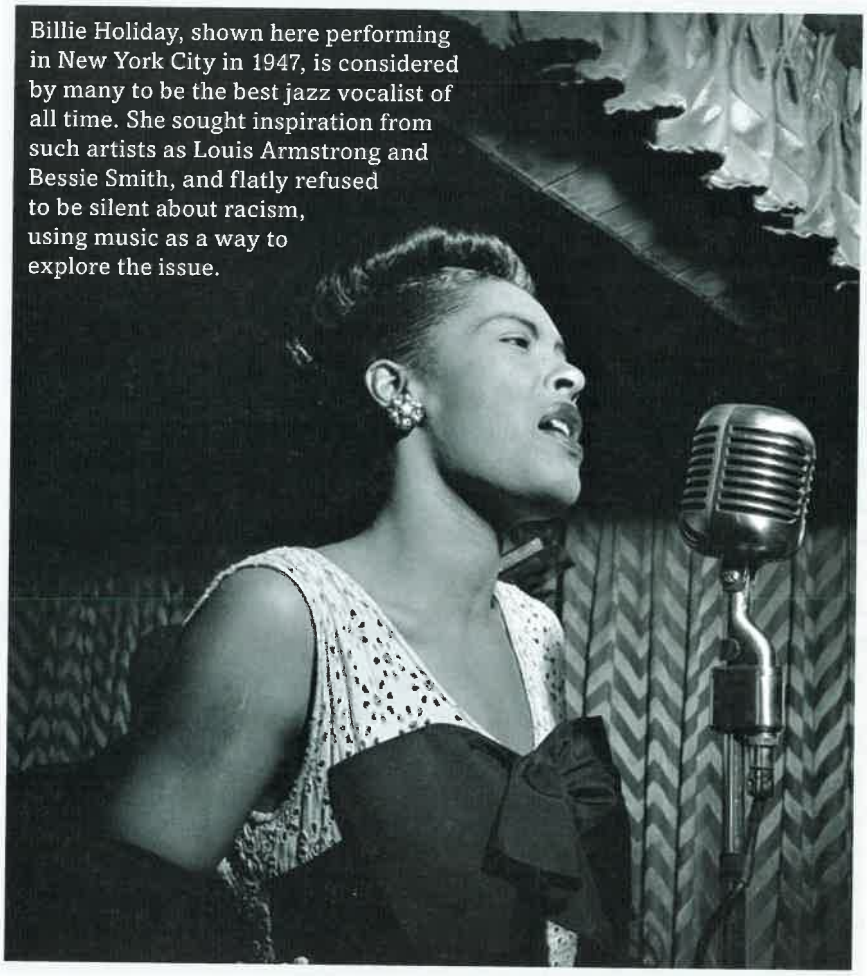
RESISTANCE THROUGH THE ARTS

Looking at a painting, listening to a song from another culture, and reading a book can help us understand how another person views the world. With that idea in mind, artists, musicians, and writers use their art to influence public opinion.

FREEDOM THROUGH ART AND SONG

The civil rights movement wasn't limited to nonviolent student and political organizations or the leadership of individual activists, such as Martin Luther King, Jr. Other forms of social advocacy sprang up around the country, notably in its art and music scenes. Activists took ideas from earlier artists and musicians and incorporated them into their own works as a way to express the connections between generations of African-American creativity.

The folk-inspired style of artist **William H. Johnson**, who painted from roughly 1920 to 1945, showed scenes of African-American soldiers and people doing everyday activities. His expressionistic subjects and use of bright colors are reflected in the paintings of **Jacob Lawrence** and **Charles Henry Alston**, artists working at the beginning of the civil rights movement.



Billie Holiday, shown here performing in New York City in 1947, is considered by many to be the best jazz vocalist of all time. She sought inspiration from such artists as Louis Armstrong and Bessie Smith, and flatly refused to be silent about racism, using music as a way to explore the issue.

Some artists working in the 1960s saw the civil unrest happening around them and found ways to incorporate their passion and solidarity with the protesters into their art. The subject matter of many African-American artists became more political. For example, artist **Norman Lewis** chose to use red, white, and blue in his work. Sculptor **Elizabeth Catlett** posed her figures in defiant positions, with crossed arms or a fist to the sky.

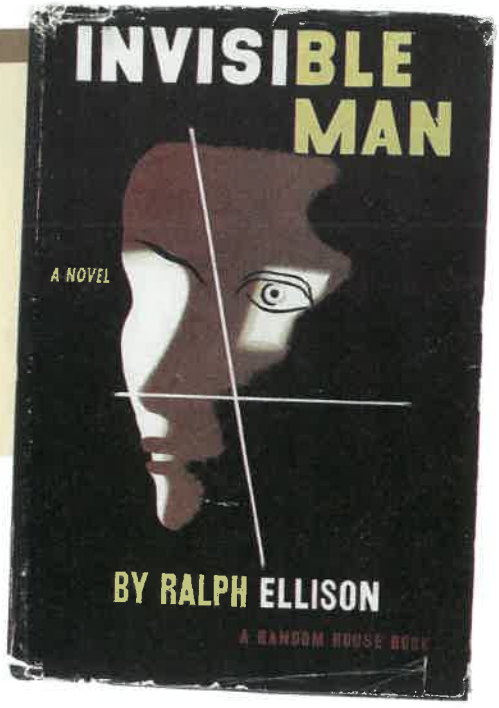
Musicians also built public awareness about civil rights. In 1939, jazz singer **Billie Holiday** recorded "Strange Fruit," a song about lynching in the South. It was the first time a popular African-American singer had spoken out against racism through music. She inspired other

PRIMARY SOURCE

Recipient of the 1953 National Book Award for fiction, Ralph Ellison wrote *Invisible Man* in an experimental style, hoping to portray a truth about the human condition, race, and identity.

I am an invisible man. No, I am not a spook like those who haunted Edgar Allan Poe; nor am I one of your Hollywood-movie ectoplasms [ghosts]. I am a man of substance, of flesh and bone, fiber and liquids—and I might even be said to possess a mind. I am invisible, understand, simply because people refuse to see me.

—from *Invisible Man* by Ralph Ellison, 1952



singers to do so as well. Throughout her career, jazz singer **Nina Simone** performed songs protesting lynching, segregation, and the Vietnam War. **Harry Belafonte**, a singer famous for a style of Caribbean music called calypso, was a social activist who donated time and money to civil rights efforts.

Many African-American musicians incorporated the spirituals and gospel songs that arose out of the slavery era to help fuel the civil rights movement. African-American folk singer **Odetta** taught her audiences the lyrics to spirituals as a way to unite the protesters. Odetta knew the old work songs, such as "We Shall Overcome" and "Go Tell It on the Mountain," from her childhood in Birmingham, Alabama. The spirituals inspired white folk singers, including Pete Seeger, **Bob Dylan**, and **Joan Baez**, to perform them at concerts and raise money and popular support for the civil rights cause.

Other activist musicians fought racism not with the words they sang but through the concert halls where they performed. In 1955, Marian Anderson became the first African-American opera singer to perform at New York's Metropolitan Opera. People flocked to hear the well-respected artist. "Men as well as women were dabbing at their eyes," reported the *New York Times*. Anderson's success at the Met was considered an important step toward racial equality because she proved African-American artists could draw large and diverse crowds.

THE POWER OF THE WRITTEN WORD

African-American authors bolstered the civil rights movement with words. In his 1940 novel *Native Son*, **Richard Wright** explored poverty and oppression in the lives of African Americans. Another novel, *Invisible Man* by **Ralph Ellison**, told of an unnamed African-American civil rights worker who moves from the South to New York City to escape segregation. The civil rights worker in the novel feels **dehumanized**, no longer regarded as a person, after he encounters racism in the city.

Playwright **Lorraine Hansberry** examined racial harassment as experienced by a working-class African-American family in the groundbreaking 1959 play *A Raisin in the Sun*. The character Beneatha decides to wear her hair in the natural style of people living in Africa, instead of in the straightened style of white women. Her decision symbolized a shift in African-American identity because Beneatha embraced her African heritage.

Civil-rights activist and influential African-American author **James Baldwin** released a book of two essays in 1963 called *The Fire Next Time*. In the book, he uses his personal experiences to explain what it was like to live in the United States as an African American. "[White people] have had to believe for many years, and for innumerable reasons, that black men are inferior to white men," he wrote. "Many of them, indeed, know better, but, as you will discover, people find it very difficult to act on what they know."

HISTORICAL THINKING

1. **READING CHECK** How did artists raise awareness of the civil rights movement among the public?
2. **ANALYZE LANGUAGE USE** What does Ralph Ellison mean when he writes, "I am an invisible man"?
3. **MAKE INFERENCES** How might spirituals and gospel songs from the slavery era help fuel the civil rights movement?

1.3 **MAIN IDEA** In the 1950s, civil rights activists successfully challenged segregation and discrimination in public education.

CHALLENGING SCHOOL SEGREGATION

Third-grader Linda Brown lived just a short walk from an elementary school in Topeka, Kansas. But because she was an African American, she was forced to walk to a school farther from her home. This injustice became the focus of a landmark civil rights case.

CHALLENGING "SEPARATE BUT EQUAL"

In the 1940s, civil rights activists such as Thurgood Marshall and **William Hastie** began to mount legal attacks on *Plessy* v. *Ferguson*, the 1896 case that established the doctrine of "separate but equal." Marshall was chief of the NAACP's Legal Defense and Education Fund, a group of lawyers who pursued inequality and segregation lawsuits against educational institutions. In 1946, a federal lawsuit known as ***Mendez* v. *Westminster*** successfully challenged "separate but equal." Five Mexican American families sued their local school board in California for forcing their children to attend schools for Mexican students only. The court ruled in favor of the families, declaring that the segregation of Mexican American, Native American, and Asian American students was unconstitutional. This case provided a basis for further challenges.

On September 4, 1957, 15-year-old Elizabeth Eckford was followed by an angry mob as she tried to enter Central High School. Eckford was one of the Little Rock Nine, a group of African-American students who desegregated the school in Little Rock, Arkansas.

In 1946, Thurgood Marshall took the case of Heman Marion Sweatt, an African American seeking admission to the University of Texas School of Law. The university rejected Sweatt because of his race, but to comply with the "separate but equal" doctrine, it established a law school solely for African Americans. In 1950, the U.S. Supreme Court ruled in ***Sweatt* v. *Painter*** that the university must admit Sweatt to the original law school under the 14th Amendment. That same day, the Supreme Court ruled against segregation in ***McLaurin* v. *Oklahoma State Regents***. Because of these decisions, college classes throughout the nation were to be **integrated**, meaning they would have to allow the free association of people of all races and ethnicities.

By 1953, five civil rights lawsuits had reached the Supreme Court, including ***Brown* v. *Board of Education of Topeka***. That year, President Eisenhower had appointed **Earl Warren** as the court's Chief Justice, even though Warren's political views were more liberal than his own.

BROWN v. *BOARD OF EDUCATION*

Remember that *Brown* v. *Board of Education* centered on a Kansas law permitting cities to segregate their public schools. The case began when a team of six NAACP lawyers—five black, one white—represented the Reverend Oliver Brown in suing the Topeka school board. The lawyers argued that Brown's 8-year-old daughter should not have to attend a segregated school 21 blocks from her home when a white public school was much closer. One of the lawyers' strategies was to present social science studies showing that segregated schools had a negative effect on the self-esteem of African-American children, especially that of girls.

Eventually, the Supreme Court agreed to hear the case. The African-American and white lawyers collaborated on finding documented evidence of unequal education in several states. In a unanimous decision delivered on May 17, 1954, the Supreme Court ruled that the doctrine of "separate but equal" had no place in public education. Chief Justice Warren wrote, "Separate educational facilities are inherently [essentially] unequal." The court ordered the speedy integration of the nation's public schools. Because of the decision, the definition of *equal rights* included the equal opportunity for education and inspired a new generation of civil rights activists.

Many white southerners were outraged and reacted violently to **desegregation** efforts, or stopping the practice of separating groups of people in public spaces. To them, the ruling was an example of the federal government misusing its power. President Eisenhower was quiet about the issue. When asked directly about the *Brown* decision, he replied: "The Supreme Court has spoken . . . and I will obey."

PRIMARY SOURCE

Segregation of white and colored children in public schools has a detrimental effect upon the colored children. The impact is greater when it has the sanction of the law, for the policy of separating the races is usually interpreted as denoting the inferiority of the negro group. A sense of inferiority affects the motivation of a child to learn. Segregation with the sanction of law, therefore, has a tendency to [retard] the educational and mental development of negro children and to deprive them of some of the benefits they would receive in a racial[ly] integrated school system.

—from *Brown* v. *Board of Education of Topeka*, Supreme Court Decision, May 17, 1954

In 1956, about 100 members of Congress from former Confederate states issued a document called "The Southern Manifesto on Integration." Vowing to use "all lawful means" to resist the *Brown* decision and court-ordered integration, they claimed *Brown* was a misinterpretation of the 14th Amendment and that the government was forcing states to carry out a law no one had voted for.

In 1957, this conflict over federal authority and states' rights erupted in Little Rock, Arkansas, when nine African-American students who tried to integrate a local high school were denied access to the school by the governor, the National Guard, and local citizens. President Eisenhower finally sent federal troops to escort the **Little Rock Nine** to their classes and to restore order. That month, he signed the **Civil Rights Act of 1957**, which protected the voting rights of African Americans. To remedy the act's shortcomings, he later signed the **Civil Rights Act of 1960**. Neither act proved to be effective.

HISTORICAL THINKING

1. **READING CHECK** How did many white southerners, including those in Congress, react to desegregation?
2. **ANALYZE CAUSE AND EFFECT** How did the court decisions in *Mendez*, *Sweatt*, and *McLaurin* affect the Brown ruling?

THURGOOD MARSHALL 1908–1993

"To protest against injustice is the foundation of all our American democracy."—Thurgood Marshall

Fighting for justice and the rights of others became Thurgood Marshall's life's work. In his first case as a lawyer, he helped defend Donald Murray, a young African American who had been denied admission to the University of Maryland School of Law in 1935 because of his race. The case hit home. In 1930, Marshall himself had been refused entry to the school because he was black. He took on the Murray case to battle against the school's blatant discrimination and won. The young man became the first African American admitted to the law school.

In his early years as chief counsel of the NAACP, Marshall successfully challenged the practice in several southern states of holding "white primaries" and preventing African Americans from voting.

CIVIL RIGHTS LAWYER

Instead of Maryland's law school, Marshall attended the Howard University School of Law in Washington, D.C., the oldest historically black law school in the United States. There he found a mentor in Charles Hamilton Houston, the school's vice-dean from 1929 to 1935 and an early civil rights lawyer. After graduating in 1933 from Howard—*cum laude*, or "with distinction"—Marshall eventually followed Houston to New York City. In time, Marshall became the chief counsel of the NAACP Legal Defense and Education Fund, a position he held for 21 years.

During his career at the NAACP, Marshall took on cases involving segregation and discrimination and, as you know, helped to successfully overturn the entire legal basis of "separate but equal." Sometimes his work took him to the Deep South where he experienced firsthand the racism his clients suffered. After winning one case in Tennessee, Marshall was nearly lynched. Many of his cases went to the Supreme Court, including the one for which he is most famous, *Brown* v. *Board of Education*. Of the 32 cases he argued before the Court, Marshall won 29. In fact, over his career, he won more Supreme Court cases than any other lawyer in American history.

Those who witnessed him in action said that Marshall's oratorical style was not flowery and emotional. Rather, he spoke eloquently and with great dignity, often addressing the moral and social implications of a case. Most of all, he conveyed his deep respect for the law and the Constitution, which he had been forced to memorize as punishment for

Marshall is sworn in as U.S. solicitor general while his family (front left) and Johnson (behind left) look on. The solicitor general is often called the 10th justice because he or she works closely with Supreme Court justices.

misbehaving when he was a high school student in Baltimore. When asked by a journalist why he had become a lawyer, Marshall (who had once wanted to be a dentist) replied that he didn't know. "The nearest I can get," he said, "is that my dad, my brother, and I had the most violent arguments you ever heard about anything. I guess we argued five out of seven nights at the dinner table."

JUDGE AND JUSTICE

In recognition of his brilliance, Marshall was appointed to high-level judicial positions during the 1960s. In 1961, President John Kennedy nominated him to the U.S. Court of Appeals. Four years later, President Lyndon Johnson made Marshall the first African-American U.S. solicitor general, the lawyer representing the federal government before the Supreme Court. Finally, in 1967, Johnson appointed Marshall as a justice on the Court, claiming that it was "the right thing to do, the right time to do it, the right man and the right place." And so the great-grandson of a slave became the first African American on the Supreme Court.

During Marshall's first years there, the Court, headed by Chief Justice Earl Warren, was decidedly liberal. Most of the justices agreed on such issues as racial discrimination and immigration. However, after Johnson, a Democrat, left the White House, Republican presidents picked the next eight justices. When President Richard Nixon made Warren Burger chief justice in 1969, the Court became more ideologically conservative, and Marshall grew more and more marginalized. As the Court's rulings chipped away at abortion rights, limited affirmative action laws, and reinstated the death penalty, Marshall voiced his disagreement with these decisions in forceful dissents.

Marshall retired from the Supreme Court in 1991 and was replaced by Clarence Thomas, a conservative African American. Though Marshall was less celebrated than Martin Luther King, Jr., and Malcolm X—an African-American civil rights activist in the 1960s—he arguably had the greatest impact on the civil rights movement of the three. As one obituary declared after Marshall died in 1993, "We make movies about Malcolm X, we get a holiday to honor Dr. Martin Luther King, but every day we live with the legacy of Justice Thurgood Marshall."

HISTORICAL THINKING

1. **READING CHECK** What was particularly meaningful about Marshall's first case?
2. **MAKE INFERENCES** Why do you think it was important to Marshall to express his disagreement with some of the Supreme Court decisions made under Warren Burger?
3. **DRAW CONCLUSIONS** What did the writer of the obituary mean by the statement: "every day we live with the legacy of Justice Thurgood Marshall"?

2.1 **MAIN IDEA** A yearlong bus boycott by African Americans in Montgomery, Alabama, led to a landmark Supreme Court decision against segregation on city buses.

WOMEN TAKE A STAND

Sometimes people have to break the rules to prove a point. A woman stepped onto a city bus in Montgomery, Alabama, one fateful evening in 1955 to do just that. Her action sparked a national debate over civil rights.

A BOYCOTT BEGINS

A year and a half after the Supreme Court's ruling in *Brown* v. *Board of Education*, its decision continued to rock the nation. Meanwhile, in Montgomery, Alabama, another major civil rights development was taking shape.

Segregation and discrimination were firmly established and strictly enforced in Montgomery, "the cradle of the Confederacy." African Americans were expected to tip their hats to whites, stand in the presence of whites unless told to sit, and address whites with titles of respect. City buses were segregated, and the first four rows of seats were reserved for whites, according to a Montgomery ordinance. African Americans had to pay their fares in the front, then get off the bus and enter the designated "colored section" through the rear door. They could also sit in the middle rows of the bus, but they had to relinquish their seat to white passengers when the front section filled up.

One regular bus rider was **Rosa Parks**, an African-American woman and longtime civil rights activist who worked as an assistant tailor at a downtown Montgomery department store. She also served as secretary for the Montgomery chapter of the NAACP, which she had joined in 1943. In the summer of 1955, the 42-year-old Parks traveled to the Highlander Folk School in Tennessee for a two-week interracial conference focused on leadership in the struggle against segregation. She later revealed that through this experience, she "gained strength to persevere in my work for freedom, not just for [African Americans] but for all oppressed people."

Rosa Parks holds up the identification number in her booking photo after being arrested during the Montgomery Bus Boycott in 1956.

PRIMARY SOURCE

Four months after refusing to give up her bus seat, Rosa Parks spoke to an interviewer about that fateful evening.

I felt that I was not being treated right, and that I had a right to retain the seat that I had taken as a passenger on the bus. The time had just come when I had been pushed as far as I could stand to be pushed, I suppose. They placed me under arrest. No, I wasn't frightened at all. I don't know why I wasn't, but I didn't feel afraid. I had decided that I would have to know once and for all what rights I had as a human being and a citizen, even in Montgomery, Alabama.

—from a transcript of a radio interview with Rosa Parks, April 1956

During the Montgomery Bus Boycott, many people chose to carpool rather than take the bus, as shown in this 1956 photo. The empty bus in the background is a sign of the boycott's success.

Earlier in 1955, other African-American women had refused to give up their bus seats in Montgomery. In March, 15-year-old Claudette Colvin was arrested after refusing to give up her seat in the black section of the bus for a white woman. "It's my constitutional right to sit here as much as that lady. I paid my fare!" she yelled as the policemen dragged her off the bus. Rosa Parks was one of the volunteers who raised money for Colvin's court hearing, but in addition to segregation violations, police charged Colvin with assaulting the officers, so civil rights activists decided not to pursue her case. In October, police arrested 18-year-old Mary Louise Smith for violating the same segregation policies. Civil rights leaders deemed Smith an unsympathetic plaintiff because she was poor and young.

Knowing that the NAACP was looking for a lead plaintiff in a case to test Montgomery's segregated bus law, Parks boarded a bus on December 1, 1955. She took a seat in the middle section of the mostly empty bus, but after a few stops, the white section of the bus filled up. When more white passengers stepped aboard, the driver asked Parks and three other African-American passengers sitting in the same row to move to the back of the bus, where they would have had to stand. The others reluctantly complied, but Parks refused to give up her seat. The driver called the police, who arrested Parks for violating the ordinance.

Parks's **civil disobedience**, or act of purposely breaking a law in protest, and her arrest galvanized Montgomery's African-American community. **Jo Ann Robinson**, the president of a local political group called the Women's Political Council, organized volunteers who distributed 50,000 flyers declaring a one-day boycott of the city's buses. The initial **Montgomery Bus Boycott** was so successful that Robinson and other civil rights leaders decided to extend it to a long-term campaign. Activists, including Robinson's Women's Political Council and members of the NAACP, joined with a group of local ministers at the Holy Street Baptist Church to form the Montgomery Improvement Association (MIA). For its president, the MIA chose an eloquent, energetic young minister named **Martin Luther King, Jr.**, who had just arrived in Montgomery the previous year.

THE MURDER OF EMMETT TILL

While some women fought for civil rights through activism, staging and engaging in boycotts and marches, others took very personal stands that led to national action. In August of 1955, Mamie Till-Mobley sent her 14-year-old son Emmett on a train to visit relatives in Mississippi. A few days after Emmett had left his home in Chicago, Mrs. Till-Mobley received a phone call. Two white men had killed her child. The men claimed Emmett had flirted with a white woman in a local grocery store. They beat Till, shot him, and hung a 75-pound metal fan around his neck to keep his body hidden at the bottom of the Tallahatchie River.

A jury quickly released the white men. It wasn't until 2008 that the woman who claimed Till had physically and verbally attacked her admitted that she had made up those accusations.

Mrs. Till-Mobley brought Emmett's body back home to Chicago. The condition of Emmett's maimed body would usually call for a closed casket, but Mrs. Till-Mobley insisted on keeping his casket open during the funeral. "Let the people see what I've seen," she said. *Jet* magazine published photos of Mrs. Till-Mobley mourning over her son's body and forced the American public to witness the glaring brutality of racism in their country. Till's casket is now at the Smithsonian National Museum of African American History and Culture in Washington, D.C.

An undated photograph shows the young Emmett Till before his murder in 1955.

Mamie Till-Mobley mourns for her son as she leans against his glass-covered coffin. Following Emmett's funeral, she helped form a campaign for justice and civil rights.

THE BOYCOTT GAINS MOMENTUM

Boycott organizers knew their protest would be effective because African Americans accounted for roughly three-quarters of Montgomery's bus ridership. Losing most of these riders would have harsh economic consequences for the city's bus company. The organizers also knew that since few African Americans owned cars, the boycott would be difficult to sustain. However, the community was determined to keep the protest going. Friends, coworkers, and neighbors formed carpools to get people to their jobs and other destinations. Churches hosted boycott-related meetings and raised money for fuel, and African-American-owned garages did auto repair work free of charge. Many people rode bicycles or simply walked.

Days stretched into weeks, weeks into months, and still the boycott continued. It pushed the bus company to the brink of bankruptcy and dealt a severe financial blow to white-owned businesses in downtown Montgomery. Some whites retaliated by firing or threatening to fire African-American workers, and others threw bombs into churches and homes, including King's home.

On June 5, 1956, a federal district court, citing the *Brown* v. *Board of Education* decision as precedent, ruled that Alabama state statutes and Montgomery city ordinances requiring segregation on buses were unconstitutional. The Supreme Court affirmed this ruling on November 13 of that year, and on December 20, a U.S. marshal delivered a court order to Montgomery City Hall requiring the integration of the city's buses. King immediately called off the boycott and urged African Americans to begin riding the buses again the following day. The 381-day boycott had demonstrated both the power of collective action and the possibility of social change.

Coretta and Martin Luther King, Jr., leave the courthouse after his arrest for conspiring to boycott Montgomery city buses in 1956.

HISTORICAL THINKING

1. **READING CHECK** How did the African-American community work together to sustain the bus boycott?
2. **DESCRIBE** How might historical events have taken a different direction if Claudette Colvin, Mary Louise Smith, and Rosa Parks had not taken a stand?
3. **MAKE INFERENCES** What personal traits do you think Rosa Parks and other civil rights activists must have had in order to work for the freedom of all people?

2.2 **MAIN IDEA** In the mid-1950s, the struggle for civil rights developed into a mass movement, and Martin Luther King, Jr., emerged as its leader.

MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR., AND A GROWING MOVEMENT

When he was 15 years old, Martin Luther King, Jr., left the segregated South for the first time and spent the summer in Connecticut. Seeing African Americans and whites eating in the same restaurants, shopping in the same stores, and worshiping in the same churches shaped his vision of what the United States could be: a multiracial, peaceful society.

THE EMERGENCE OF DR. KING

King was born on January 15, 1929, in Atlanta, Georgia. His parents were college educated, and the family lived in a middle-class neighborhood known for its thriving African-American businesses and churches. His father was a pastor at the highly regarded Ebenezer Baptist Church, a position his maternal grandfather had also held.

In 1944, King graduated from high school and entered Atlanta's Morehouse College. His studies there focused on medicine and law, but by the time of his graduation, he had decided to follow the example of his father and join the ministry. His spiritual and intellectual mentor, Morehouse president Benjamin Mays, also influenced his decision. Mays was not only an influential educator and minister, but also a strong voice for racial equality. King enrolled at the liberal-leaning Crozer Theological Seminary in Pennsylvania and graduated three years later with a bachelor's degree in divinity. He then earned a doctoral degree in theology from Boston University.

While completing his studies, King accepted a position in Montgomery, Alabama, as pastor at Dexter Avenue Baptist Church. The following year, in 1955, he led the Montgomery Bus Boycott, which helped bring an end to segregation on the city's buses. In the wake of that successful protest, King joined with other African-American ministers and civil rights activists to form the **Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC)** in 1957. This organization, whose strength came from the leadership of African-American churches, promoted racial justice through peaceful means and provided assistance and guidance to local protest groups.

Official signs enforcing segregated seating were common, particularly across the South, during the first half of the 20th century.

King was convinced that nonviolent civil disobedience was the best way for African Americans to fight injustice and bring about social change. His philosophical and religious dedication to nonviolence took shape while he was in the seminary where his studies exposed him to the teachings of **Mohandas Gandhi**. A lawyer, politician, writer, and civil rights activist, Gandhi advocated peaceful protest and noncooperation in the struggle against colonial injustice in India. Through this approach, Gandhi had helped free his country from British imperial rule. King applied Gandhi's use of nonviolent methods throughout his career as a civil rights activist.

A MASS MOVEMENT FORMS

The Supreme Court's *Brown* v. *Board of Education* decision and the success of the Montgomery Bus Boycott profoundly altered race relations in the United States. Thanks to the extraordinary courage of ordinary African-American men, women, and children who joined the battle, the call for civil rights transformed into a mass movement that included Americans of all races.

Developments in North Carolina in 1960 ushered in a new phase in the movement. On February 1, four African-American college students entered a Woolworth's store and restaurant in Greensboro, took seats at the lunch counter marked "For Whites Only," and politely attempted to order lunch. The waitstaff refused to serve them and the manager asked them to leave, but they stayed until closing time. The next day, they returned with 25 fellow students. On the third day, the number of student protesters rose to 63, and by the fifth day it exceeded 300.

News outlets around the country reported the story, and soon more people in many other cities were staging **sit-ins**, coordinated protests in which people occupy seats or floor space in places that are the targets of protest. There also were other "ins." African-American churches organized kneel-ins at segregated churches and wade-ins at segregated pools. These protests were remarkably effective. In the following months, segregation began to yield to integration in cities across the South. On July 25, nearly six months after the first day of the Greensboro sit-in, the four original protesters were finally served at the Woolworth's lunch counter.

The success of the sit-ins and similar nonviolent protests inspired a group of African-American students to create their own political organization, the **Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC)**. A cofounder of SCLC, **Ella Baker**, had become frustrated with its cautious approach and hierarchical nature, so she left that organization to become an advisor to SNCC. Baker had also served as a national director for the NAACP and had co-founded an organization called In Friendship, which raised money to fight Jim Crow laws in the South. While serving at SCLC, Baker helped to organize a "prayer pilgrimage" to Washington, D.C., and an ambitious voter registration campaign called the Crusade for Citizenship.

North Carolina A&T College students (left to right) Ronald Martin, Robert Patterson, and Mark Martin joined the second day of the sit-in at the Greensboro lunch counter.

Barely escaping alive from their burning bus, a group of Freedom Riders waits on the roadside outside Anniston, Alabama. The 13 men and women who set out on an interstate trip to test desegregation laws were assaulted by Ku Klux Klan members before they were rescued several hours later. News of this and other vicious attacks led hundreds of people to join the Freedom Riders throughout 1961.

Another prominent leader of SNCC was a woman named **Fannie Lou Hamer**. Hamer had been born into poverty and oppression in the Mississippi Delta, the 20th child of sharecropper parents, and her education had ended at the 6th-grade level. Her background made her later accomplishments all the more remarkable.

As a SNCC field secretary whose job was to assist in building membership, Hamer fought to end segregation and protect the rights of African Americans. Angered that Mississippi's conservative, white-dominated Democratic Party did not allow African Americans to participate in meetings, she helped to establish the **Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party**, a grassroots political group established as an alternative to the larger, more conservative state arm of the Democratic Party. The Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party was dedicated to encouraging African-American voter registration. Hamer earned the respect of many, and in 1964, she delivered a powerful speech at a Democratic National Convention about the intimidation and violence that African Americans in her state faced when they attempted to register to vote. Because of their strong leadership, Baker and Hamer joined Rosa Parks as influential women in the civil rights movement.

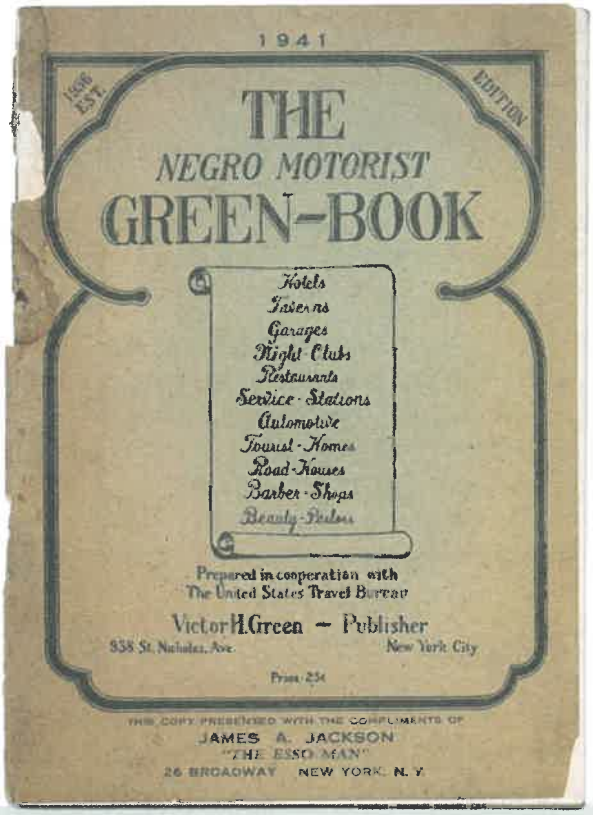
THE FREEDOM RIDERS

In November 1960, **John F. Kennedy** was elected president of the United States. (Read more about Kennedy's election and presidency in the next chapter.) Although he was more sympathetic to the civil rights cause than Eisenhower had been, Kennedy wanted change to come slowly, without the mass protests and violent incidents that had made headlines around the world. He worried, too, that White House support for immediate desegregation would cost him the goodwill of powerful southern Democrats in Congress.

In December 1960, the Supreme Court had ruled in a case called *Boynton* v. *Virginia*, finding that racial segregation was illegal in bus terminals, restrooms, and other facilities serving passengers traveling

across state lines. Shortly thereafter, CORE, which you read about earlier in this chapter, announced plans to test that court decision to see if local police were upholding the law. CORE's stated objective was "to provoke the southern authorities into arresting us and thereby prod the Justice Department into enforcing the law of the land."

In May 1961, seven African-American and six white "**Freedom Riders**" left Washington, D.C., on two buses bound for New Orleans. At stops along the way, they ignored "white" and "colored" signs that hung by the restrooms, lunch counters, and waiting rooms in defiance of federal law. Trouble erupted in Anniston, Alabama, when white segregationists firebombed one of the buses. As the passengers escaped, a mob beat them with fists and clubs. Riders on the second bus suffered a similar attack in Birmingham. Local police in these and other cities made little effort to stop the attacks. The continuing violence finally compelled Attorney General **Robert F. Kennedy**, who was President Kennedy's younger brother and close aide, to send U.S. marshals to protect the riders. CORE, with assistance from SNCC, continued to organize freedom rides until September of that year, when the federal government banned interstate buses and trains from using any terminal that segregated people by race.



THE GREEN BOOK

In 1936, publisher Victor Green saw the need for a national guide for African-American travelers. Titled *The Negro Motorist Green Book*, the book listed restaurants, rooming houses, barbers, and tourist activities that welcomed African Americans in the time of segregation, particularly in areas with strict Jim Crow laws. Unlike most book publishers, Green looked forward to the time when his Green Book was not necessary. "That is when we as a race will have equal opportunities and privileges in the United States," he wrote in an introduction to his book.

Meanwhile, another key development in the civil rights movement unfolded in Mississippi. After repeatedly being denied admission to the all-white University of Mississippi, an African-American student named James Meredith filed a discrimination lawsuit against the university. Supported by the NAACP, Meredith took his case all the way to the Supreme Court, which ruled in his favor. When he attempted to register at the university, however, state troopers, acting on the orders of Mississippi governor Ross Barnett, turned him away. U.S. marshals accompanied Meredith during several more attempts to register, but large numbers of protesters and state troopers blocked him. Riots broke out as the situation escalated. After the federal government sent hundreds of agents to the scene, Meredith was finally able to register and attend classes as the university's first African-American student.

This period in Mississippi's civil rights movement is memorably captured in *Coming of Age in Mississippi*, an autobiography by activist and writer Anne Moody. With bracing honesty, she tells of growing up desperately poor in rural southern Mississippi, of the brutal racism that she and her family faced, and of fighting for the rights of African Americans.

HISTORICAL THINKING

1. **READING CHECK** What legal action did the federal government take in response to the Freedom Rides?
2. **FORM AND SUPPORT OPINIONS** Do you think nonviolent civil disobedience proved to be a good strategy for bringing about social change? Support your opinion with evidence from the text.
3. **MAKE INFERENCES** Why do you think Fannie Lou Hamer focused her efforts on African-American voter registration?
4. **ANALYZE CAUSE AND EFFECT** What caused the sit-in protest in Greensboro, and what effect did the protest have on the larger civil rights movement?

2.3 **MAIN IDEA** In 1963, a brutal police response to peaceful protests in Birmingham, Alabama, prompted President John F. Kennedy to propose strong new civil rights legislation.

PROTESTS IN BIRMINGHAM

In Kelly Ingram Park in Birmingham, Alabama, vicious police dogs lunge at peaceful protesters. Children cower before a powerful water cannon. Church ministers kneel in prayer. These scenes, depicted in sculptures, tell of a dark time in the city's history.

CONFRONTATION IN BIRMINGHAM

In December 1962, three months after James Meredith's lawsuit to be admitted into the University of Mississippi was successful, President Kennedy received a telegraph from Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., with this message: "A virtual reign of terror is still alive in Birmingham, Alabama. It is by far the worst big city in race relations in the United States."

The previous day, Birmingham's Bethel Baptist Church had been bombed for the third time in 6 years. For 15 years, white segregationists had committed numerous other acts of intimidation and violence against African Americans, including the 1961 attack on the Freedom Riders. The police, under the command of **Eugene T. "Bull" Connor**, the Commissioner of Public Safety, strictly enforced segregation ordinances. Connor was an active white segregationist with close ties to the Ku Klux Klan.

The following spring, King and other leaders of SCLC developed plans for an all-out campaign to confront segregation in Birmingham. They scheduled the campaign to coincide with the busy Easter shopping season. The organizers kicked off the campaign in early April 1963 with mass meetings, lunch-counter sit-ins, a boycott of downtown merchants, and marches, each intended to provoke confrontation and sympathy for the civil rights cause. As days passed, more people joined in the protests, and the police made more arrests.

"LETTER FROM BIRMINGHAM CITY JAIL"

On April 12, 1963, King himself was arrested. That same day, the *Birmingham News* published a letter from eight white ministers titled "A Call for Unity." The ministers appealed to African Americans to withdraw their support for the demonstrations, and they denounced King and others for inciting hatred and violence. From his jail cell, King responded with what would become known as his "Letter from Birmingham City Jail." The letter eloquently rebutted the ministers' arguments and defended the morality of nonviolent civil disobedience. King was released from jail after eight days of **solitary confinement**, being locked in an enclosed cell alone.

As support for the protests began to fade, King and the other organizers seized upon the idea of bringing local students into the campaign in order to re-energize it. On May 2, more than 1,000 students, some as young as 6, marched from the 16th Street Baptist Church to City Hall. Police arrested and held 969 students, among others, packing the city's jails.

Abandoning restraint, Bull Connor ordered the police and fire departments to use police dogs and high-pressure fire hoses to break up the protest. News outlets across the United States and around the world carried shocking images of Birmingham police officers striking peaceful protestors with batons, vicious dogs attacking children and adults alike, and officials blasting people with powerful fire hoses.

On May 10, the campaign's organizers announced that they had worked out an agreement with Birmingham city leaders to end the public demonstrations. The agreement established specific steps and a timetable for ending segregation in Birmingham's public facilities and for creating an employment program for African Americans.

Once again Alabama was headlined in national newspapers when, on June 11, 1963, its segregationist governor **George Wallace**, flanked

By 1963, major news media sent reporters and photographers to cover the unfolding civil rights demonstrations that targeted the segregated city of Birmingham, Alabama. As the Birmingham fire department turned high velocity water hoses on peaceful demonstrators, a photographer recorded one of the assaults that shocked Americans.

by state troopers, physically blocked two African-American students from registering at the University of Alabama in Tuscaloosa. President Kennedy and Attorney General Robert Kennedy responded to Wallace's symbolic action by authorizing the Alabama National Guard to physically remove the governor and by allowing the students to register.

On national television that evening, President Kennedy delivered an impassioned speech on civil rights. He spoke of the "moral crisis" facing the country and declared that "The events in Birmingham . . . have so increased the cries for equality that no city or state or legislative body can prudently choose to ignore them." Just hours after the broadcast, a white segregationist in Mississippi shot and killed civil rights activist **Medgar Evers** in front of his home.

The following week, Kennedy expanded the role of the federal government as a guarantor of civil rights by sending Congress a proposal for a civil rights bill that was far stronger than the civil rights bills that had passed in 1957 and 1960. In fact, it was the most sweeping civil rights bill since Reconstruction.

The turmoil in Alabama had a powerful impact on race relations in the United States, as well as on the perception of how protesters were being treated. Many white Americans had been indifferent to the plight of African Americans. But because the violence and brutality in Birmingham was widely televised, most Americans, no matter what their backgrounds, were horrified by the violence. They began to pay attention to and support the civil rights movement.

HISTORICAL THINKING

1. **READING CHECK** What was the goal of the Birmingham campaign, and what caused the organizers to end the campaign?
2. **EXPLAIN** How did the television footage of police officers attacking protesters contribute to the diffusion of the civil rights movement?
3. **FORM AND SUPPORT OPINIONS** What effect do you think President Kennedy's address about the events in Birmingham had on the nation?
4. **IDENTIFY** What was the role of Martin Luther King, Jr., in the Birmingham protests?

DEMANDING REFORM

African-American civil rights activists worked through the nation's judicial and legislative systems to win the rights of full citizenship, but they also turned to nonviolent protest to raise awareness of their cause and win support for their movement. Sometimes that meant paying a legal cost.

CRITICAL VIEWING In 1967, four years after he wrote "Letter from Birmingham City Jail," Martin Luther King, Jr., returned to the Alabama jail to complete serving his sentence for participating in the 1963 civil rights demonstration. In 10 years, King was arrested more than 10 times for conducting peaceful protests. Why do you think this photo of King in an Alabama jail cell has become a symbol of the civil rights movement?

DOCUMENT ONE

Primary Source: Speech
from *Speech at the March on Washington*, by John Lewis, August 28, 1963

John Lewis, the son of Alabama sharecroppers, helped organize the March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom and was its youngest speaker. His speech focused on the need for civil rights legislation that would address how the economy affected African Americans and the nation's poor and homeless.

CONSTRUCTED RESPONSE What does Lewis mean when he says "we will not and cannot be patient"?

> We march today for jobs and freedom, but we have nothing to be proud of. While we stand here, there are sharecroppers in the Delta of Mississippi who are out in the fields working for less than three dollars a day, twelve hours a day.
>
> We must have legislation that will protect the Mississippi sharecropper who is put off of his farm because he dares to register to vote. We need a bill that will ensure the equality of a maid who earns five dollars a week in a home of a family whose total income is $100,000 a year. . . . For we cannot stop, and we will not and cannot be patient.

DOCUMENT TWO

Primary Source: Newspaper Article
from "A Call for Unity," by eight Alabama clergymen, April 12, 1963

During the campaign in Birmingham, as you have learned, local newspapers printed a letter titled "A Call for Unity," which was signed by eight white religious leaders. The men agreed that segregation was wrong, but believed King's tactics were "unwise and untimely."

CONSTRUCTED RESPONSE What evidence in the text suggests the clergymen are sympathetic to the protesters?

> We are now confronted by a series of demonstrations by some of our Negro citizens, directed and led in part by outsiders. We recognize the natural impatience of people who feel that their hopes are slow in being realized. But we are convinced that these demonstrations are unwise and untimely.

DOCUMENT THREE

Primary Source: Letter
from "Letter from Birmingham City Jail," by Martin Luther King, Jr., April 16, 1963

In this excerpt from the letter he wrote in response to "A Call for Unity," King addresses the ministers' assertion that the demonstrations were "directed and led in part by outsiders."

CONSTRUCTED RESPONSE What is King's response to the label of "outsider"?

> I cannot sit idly by in Atlanta and not be concerned about what happens in Birmingham. Injustice anywhere is a threat to justice everywhere. We are caught in an inescapable network of mutuality, tied in a single garment of destiny. Whatever affects one directly affects all indirectly. Never again can we afford to live with the narrow, provincial "outside agitator" idea. Anyone who lives inside the United States can never be considered an outsider anywhere in this country.

SYNTHESIZE & WRITE

1. **REVIEW** Review what you have learned about the civil rights movement from the *Speech at the March on Washington*, the Birmingham campaign, and other strategies.
2. **RECALL** On your own paper, write the main idea expressed in each of these documents: John Lewis's speech, the "A Call for Unity" letter, and the "Letter from Birmingham City Jail."
3. **CONSTRUCT** Construct a topic sentence that supports this question: In what ways did the different forms of protest work together to bring about change?
4. **WRITE** Using evidence from this chapter and the documents, write an informative paragraph that supports your topic sentence in Step 3.

2.5 **MAIN IDEA** The 1963 March on Washington demonstrated the unity of the civil rights movement and featured one of the most famous speeches in American history.

THE MARCH ON WASHINGTON

Important speeches tend to include memorable and often-quoted words. Take, for example, Patrick Henry's "Give me liberty or give me death!" Without question, the most famous speech of Martin Luther King, Jr., became a rallying point for justice, freedom, and a better world.

JOBS AND FREEDOM

As you have read, in July 1963 President Kennedy sent Congress a proposal for a sweeping civil rights bill. Recent events in Birmingham and Tuscaloosa, Alabama, had convinced him of the urgent need for strong legislation protecting the rights of African Americans. The legislation faced stiff opposition in Congress, and the bill stalled there.

Meanwhile, plans were underway for a major rally in the nation's capital in support of civil rights and the civil rights bill. The demonstration took place on August 28, 1963, and was called the **March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom.** Its chief organizer was Bayard Rustin. Starting in 1941, Rustin and A. Philip Randolph had built an alliance of civil rights, labor, and religious organizations, bringing unity to the movement.

Rustin expected 100,000 people to take part in the 1963 March on Washington, but more than twice that number arrived. They came from every region of the country and every walk of life. Most were African American, but roughly one-fourth were white. After assembling on the grounds of the Washington Monument, the participants sang "We Shall Overcome" and marched down Constitution and Independence avenues. They ended at the Lincoln Memorial for the day's main program. It featured prayers, a performance by gospel singer **Mahalia Jackson**, and speeches by civil rights leaders.

DR. KING'S DREAM

The last and most highly anticipated speaker at the March on Washington was King. The eloquent and uplifting speech he delivered that afternoon is considered one of the greatest orations in American history. King began by reminding his listeners that although almost 100 years had passed since President Lincoln emancipated enslaved people, "the Negro is still sadly crippled by the manacles of segregation and the chains of discrimination. Now is the time," he proclaimed, "to rise from the dark and desolate valley of segregation to the sunlit path of racial justice." Putting aside his prepared notes, King spoke of his dream for a brighter future:

> *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 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.*

The March on Washington demonstrated the growing power and unity of the civil rights movement. Just weeks later, however, a horrific event in Alabama was a reminder of the gulf between King's dream and the harsh reality that African Americans still faced. On Sunday morning, September 15, a bomb planted by the Ku Klux Klan killed four young African-American girls at Birmingham's 16th Street Baptist Church.

In the fall of 1963, SNCC and CORE launched a **voter registration drive** in Mississippi to sign up as many eligible African-American voters as possible. Expanded in 1964, the program was called the Mississippi Summer Project, or **Freedom Summer.** More than 700 student volunteers, most of whom were white, came from colleges in the North

CRITICAL VIEWING Martin Luther King, Jr., waves to the diverse crowd following the March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom. From the Lincoln Memorial, King began what became known as his "I Have a Dream" speech. As he spoke, his friend, gospel singer Mahalia Jackson, eagerly called out to him "Tell them about the dream." From your view of King and the crowd in the photograph, what do you think was the effect of King's message about his dream?

to work with local civil rights organizations in Mississippi. On June 21, 1964, two white workers, Andrew Goodman and Michael Schwerner from New York, and one local African-American worker, James Chaney, disappeared after investigating the burning of an African-American church. Six weeks later, acting on a tip, authorities uncovered the bodies of the workers. All three had been shot at close range. It was clear that the nonviolent civil rights movement still faced dangerous opposition.

HISTORICAL THINKING

1. **READING CHECK** In what ways did the March on Washington demonstrate the power and unity of the civil rights movement?
2. **MAKE GENERALIZATIONS** How does the fact that students volunteered to travel to Mississippi after the violence of the Birmingham campaign speak to larger developments in the civil rights movement?
3. **ANALYZE LANGUAGE USE** What was the impact of King's deliberate repetition of the phrase "I have a dream" in his speech?

CHAPTER 16

THE CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT REVIEW

VOCABULARY

Use each of the following vocabulary terms in a sentence that shows an understanding of the term's meaning.

1. **desegregation**
   The Supreme Court ruled against "separate but equal" education, which led to the desegregation of public schools.
2. **Freedom Riders**
3. **integrate**
4. **civil disobedience**
5. **sit-in**
6. **grassroots activism**
7. **dehumanized**
8. **solitary confinement**

READING STRATEGY
MAKE INFERENCES

Use a chart like the one below to make inferences about ways Americans reacted to key events in the civil rights movement. Then answer the question.

The Civil Rights Movement

Key Events	American Reactions	Inferences

9. How did the civil rights movement redefine American identity?

MAIN IDEAS

Answer the following questions. Support your answers with evidence from the chapter.

10. How did the issue of civil rights divide Democrats at their 1948 convention? LESSON 1.1
11. By writing about his own experience of living in the United States as an African-American man, what did James Baldwin hope to accomplish? LESSON 1.2
12. How did the definition of equal rights change after the Supreme Court issued the *Brown* decision? LESSON 1.3
13. How did the Montgomery African-American community react to the arrest of Rosa Parks, and what was the arrest's effect? LESSON 2.1
14. In what ways do the teachings of Gandhi still affect the civil rights movement today? LESSON 2.2
15. What impact did the Greensboro sit-in have across the South? LESSON 2.2
16. How did Dr. King respond to the letter titled "A Call for Unity" written by white ministers in Birmingham? LESSON 2.3
17. How was the March on Washington a key event in the evolution of the civil rights movement? LESSON 2.5

HISTORICAL THINKING

Answer the following questions. Support your answers with evidence from the chapter.

18. **IDENTIFY PROBLEMS AND SOLUTIONS** What was the role of various civil rights organizations in influencing public opinion and achieving civil rights legislation?
19. **DESCRIBE** Who were some of the leaders of the civil rights movement, and what were their contributions?

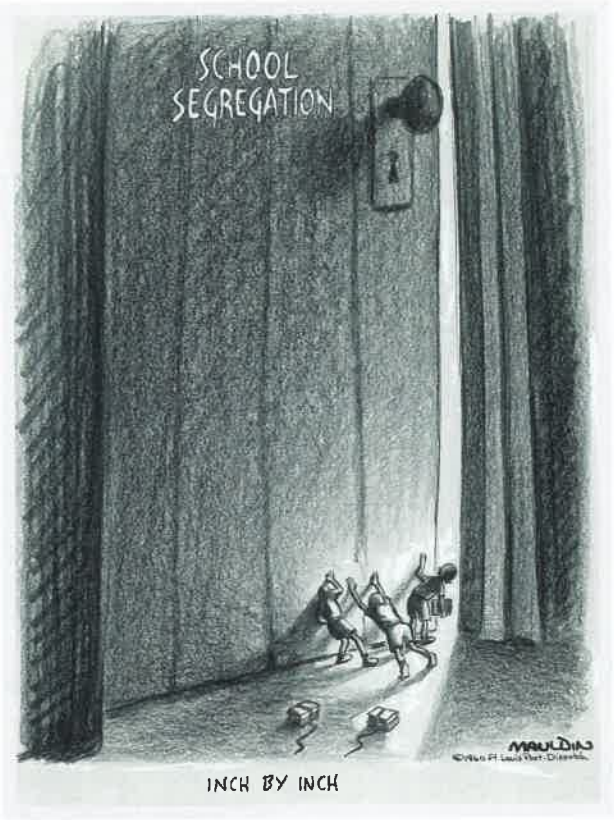
20. **SYNTHESIZE** Why was the civil rights movement able to gain momentum during the 1950s and into the 1960s?

21. **EVALUATE** What were the goals and strategies of the civil rights movement, and how did change affect those goals?

22. **DRAW CONCLUSIONS** Describe the strategy civil rights lawyers used to end segregation in education.

INTERPRET VISUALS

Pulitzer Prize-winning cartoonist Bill Mauldin drew this cartoon in 1960, six years after the Supreme Court's *Brown* v. *Board of Education* decision and five years after the court ordered that desegregation of public schools should proceed "with all deliberate speed."



23. What point is the cartoonist making about segregation in schools?

24. What details from the cartoon support this point of view?

ANALYZE SOURCES

In his January 1963 inaugural speech, Alabama governor George Wallace defied the civil rights movement and federal efforts to end discrimination and segregation in his state.

> Today I have stood, where once Jefferson Davis stood, and took an oath to my people. It is very appropriate then that from this Cradle of the Confederacy, this very Heart of the Great Anglo-Saxon Southland, that today we sound the drum for freedom as have our generations of forebears before us done, time and time again down through history. Let us rise to the call of freedom-loving blood that is in us and send our answer to the tyranny that clanks its chains upon the South. In the name of the greatest people that have ever trod this earth, I draw the line in the dust and toss the gauntlet before the feet of tyranny and I say: segregation today, segregation tomorrow, segregation forever.

25. What is Wallace referring to when he says "the tyranny that clanks its chains upon the South," and does this statement show bias?

CONNECT TO YOUR LIFE

26. **EXPOSITORY** The civil rights protesters you've read about risked their safety to achieve equal rights. Write a short paragraph describing a cause you would march for, and explain why the cause is important.

- List causes that are important to you, and if necessary, research them online.
- Decide which cause you listed is most important by evaluating how society would be affected if the cause were not supported.
- State your main idea clearly at the beginning of the paragraph.
- Provide a concluding sentence that summarizes the importance of the cause.

CHAPTER 17

REFORM IN THE 1960S

1960–1968

HISTORICAL THINKING What challenges did Americans face during the 1960s?

In October 1960, three weeks before being elected the 35th president of the United States, Senator John F. Kennedy campaigned in a parade in New York City. Kennedy and his wife, Jacqueline, charmed voters with their friendliness and energy. The couple were known as Jack and Jackie.