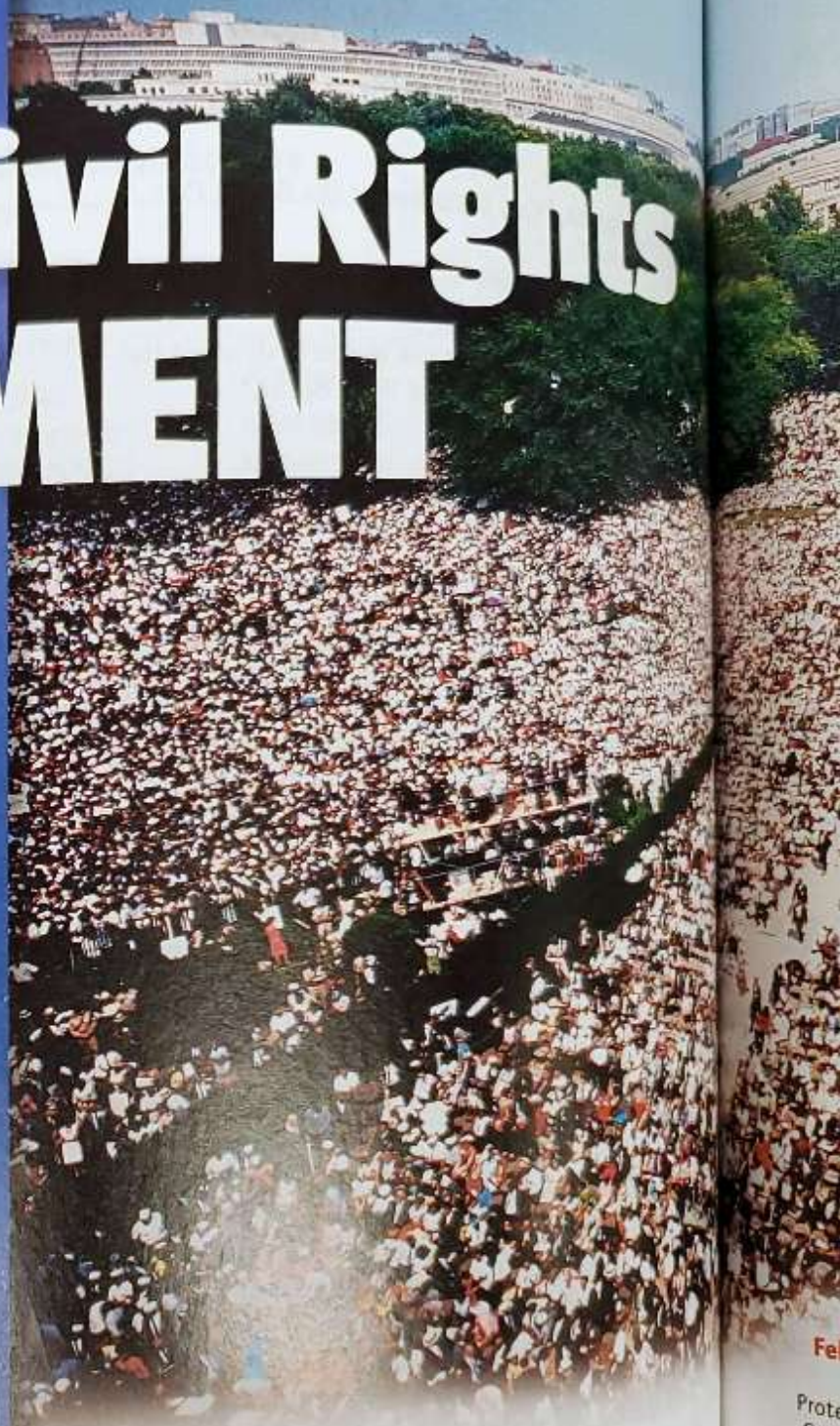


1954–1975

# The Civil Rights Movement

## THE BIG PICTURE

In the mid-1900s, many African Americans rose up against the treatment they had endured for decades. They fought discrimination through court cases and through nonviolent resistance, marches, boycotts, and "freedom rides." Their efforts resulted in meaningful government protections of basic civil rights.

Skills  
FOCUS

### READING LIKE A HISTORIAN

More than 200,000 civil rights demonstrators gathered peacefully at the Lincoln Memorial in Washington, D.C., in 1963. In his most famous speech, civil rights leader Martin Luther King Jr. told those gathered that "we have come here today to dramatize a shameful condition."

**Interpreting Visuals** How do you think this event affected public opinion? Explain.

See **Skills Handbook**, p. H30

U.S.



**May 1954**  
Supreme Court rules that segregation in public schools is unconstitutional.

1954



World

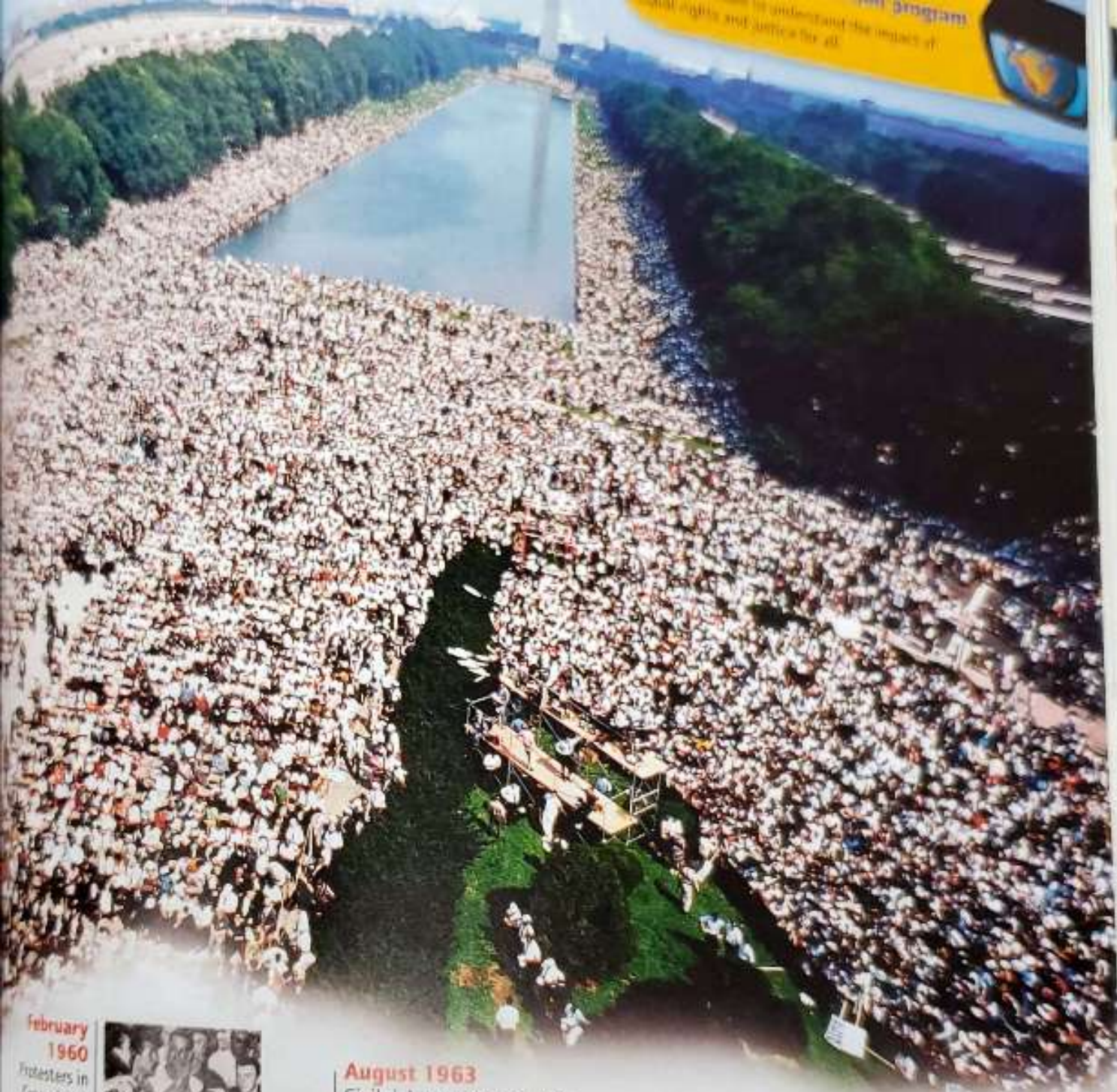
1956

The Soviet army brutally crushes a revolt against Communist rule in Hungary.



1958





**February 1960**

Protesters in Greensboro, North Carolina, challenge racial segregation of public facilities.



**August 1963**

Civil rights protesters stage March on Washington.

**July 1964**

President Johnson signs the Civil Rights Act of 1964 into law.

**April 1968**

Civil rights leader Martin Luther King Jr. is killed.

**April 1971**

The Supreme Court upholds the use of busing to integrate schools.

**1960**

Nazi war criminal Adolf Eichmann is captured in Argentina.

**1962**



**1968**

**1967**

South African surgeon Christian Barnard performs first successful human heart transplant.

**1970**

**1970**

Rhodesian prime minister declares the country an independent and racially segregated republic.

**1974**

**1975**

Khmer Rouge leader Pol Pot takes over in Cambodia.



# Fighting Segregation

## BEFORE YOU READ

### MAIN IDEA

In the mid-1900s, the civil rights movement began to make major progress in correcting the national problem of racial segregation.

### READING FOCUS

1. What was the status of the civil rights movement prior to 1954?
2. What were the key issues in the Supreme Court's ruling in *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas*, and what was its impact?
3. How did events in Montgomery, Alabama, help launch the modern civil rights movement?

### KEY TERMS AND PEOPLE

#### CORE

Jackie Robinson  
Thurgood Marshall  
Little Rock Nine  
Rosa Parks  
Montgomery bus boycott  
Martin Luther King Jr.  
SCLC

### TAKING NOTES

As you read, take notes on major events in the civil rights movement from the end of the 1940s through 1957. Record your notes in a graphic organizer like the one shown here. You may need to add more rows.

Event	Date

## Civil Rights PIONEERS

▼ Harry and Eliza Briggs (middle row, at either side of their child Catherine) with plaintiffs and supporters of *Briggs v. Elliott*.



### THE INSIDE STORY

*What does it take to turn ordinary people into activists?*

For Harry and Eliza Briggs, it was bad enough that their child had to attend a segregated school in their South Carolina community. But when the school board refused a request for school bus transportation—in spite of the fact that some African American children had to walk as much as 10 miles to school—they had had enough. Harry and Eliza Briggs joined 18 other parents in a legal challenge aimed at ending segregation of the local schools. With the help of the NAACP, they filed *Briggs v.*

*Elliott* in 1950. Harry and Eliza Briggs paid dearly for their actions. Both of them lost their jobs. Harry had to leave the state to find work to support his family.

Yet their legal challenge went forward. Soon, it was joined together with four other cases, including a case from Topeka, Kansas, for argument before the Supreme Court of the United States. In 2004, Congressional Gold Medals of Honor were awarded posthumously to civil rights pioneers Harry and Eliza Briggs and two other South Carolina citizens, the Reverend Joseph S. DeLaine and Levi Pearson, who were part of their lawsuit. ■



## The Civil Rights Movement Prior to 1954

The Bridges played a key role in launching the modern civil rights movement in the United States. Yet this movement was not really new. You read in earlier chapters about the long struggle for African American rights. This fight had its start with the opposition to slavery in colonial days. It continued in the 1800s with the abolition movement and the Civil War. Slavery ended after the Civil War, and formerly enslaved people enjoyed some rights for a time during Reconstruction.

African American rights suffered setbacks after Reconstruction. In the late 1800s, legal racism returned to the South. Supported by the Supreme Court's 1896 ruling in *Plessy v. Ferguson*, the segregation of African Americans and whites was the law of the land in much of the United States in the early 1900s.

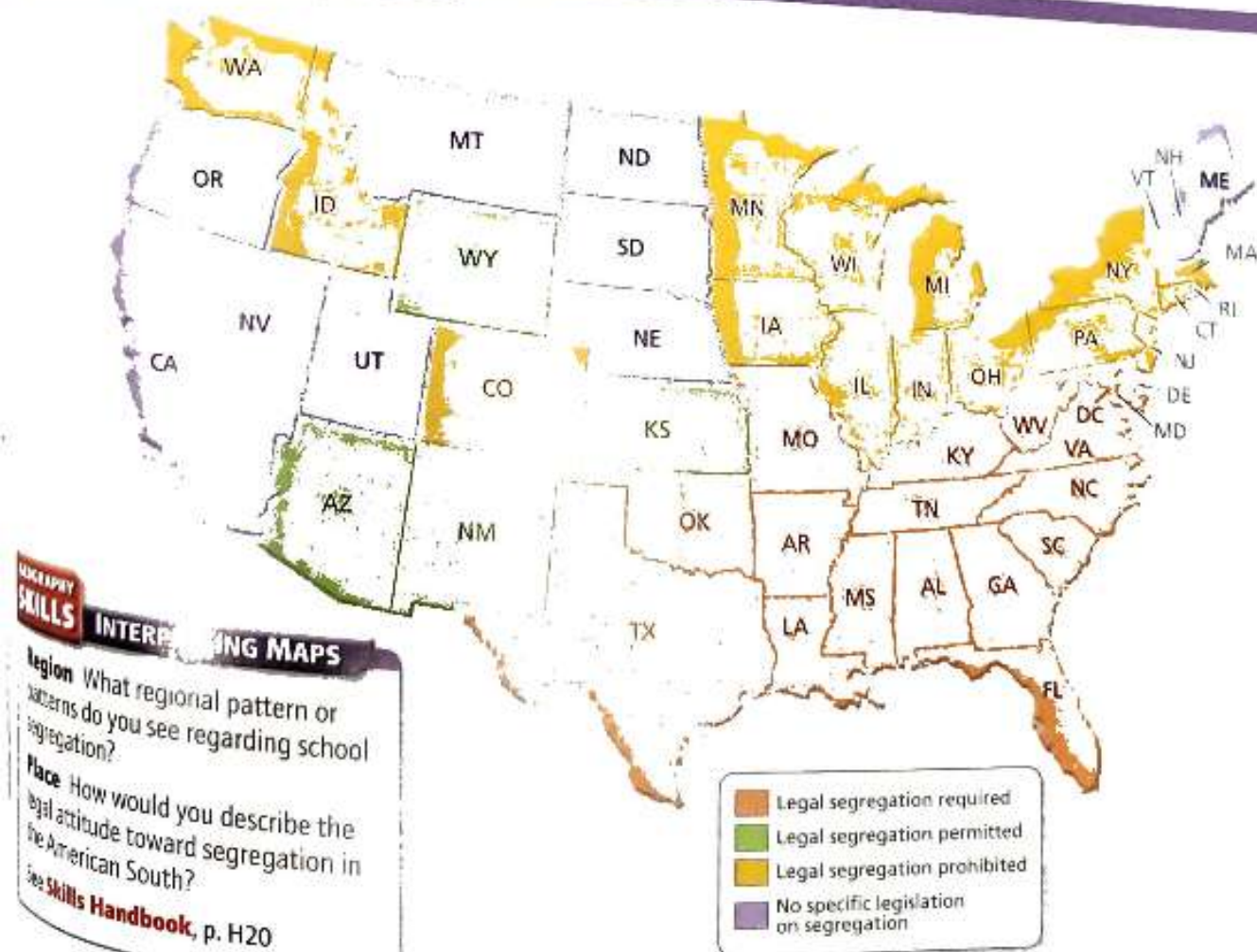
In the late 1800s and early 1900s, a new group of champions joined the battle for civil rights. They included Booker T. Washington

and W.E.B. Du Bois. You read about the role of Du Bois in the founding of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, or NAACP. This organization formed in 1909. In the decades ahead, it would be a powerful voice in the struggle to improve the legal rights of African Americans. The NAACP also fought to bring an end to racial violence.

The Great Depression of the 1930s presented new challenges to African Americans. Although the entire nation suffered, African Americans fared worse than others. President Roosevelt's New Deal helped win him the support of many African American voters. First Lady Eleanor Roosevelt was a staunch supporter of civil rights. Yet the president was unwilling to push too hard for greater rights for African Americans out of concern that it would anger his southern white supporters.

**The 1940s: a decade of progress** In earlier chapters, you read about some of the civil rights gains of the 1940s. For example, during World War II, A. Philip Randolph managed to force a federal ban against discrimination

## SCHOOL SEGREGATION, 1952





## EARLY CIVIL RIGHTS VICTORIES

QUICK FACTS

Early efforts in the civil rights movement included the following gains:

- |      |   |
|------|---|
| 1940 | NAACP Legal Defense Fund founded by Thurgood Marshall           |
| 1941 | Ban against discrimination in defense industry                  |
| 1942 | Founding of CORE  |
| 1947 | Integration of Major League Baseball by Jackie Robinson (right) |
| 1948 | Desegregation of armed forces                                   |



in defense-related work. Another key development in the 1940s was the founding of the Congress of Racial Equality, or **CORE**. This organization was dedicated to nonviolent protest. Its methods would have a strong effect on civil rights activists in the years ahead.

The end of the 1940s saw several key changes in the march toward greater civil rights. One was President Truman's order to desegregate the armed forces. Another came from popular culture. In 1947 the Brooklyn Dodgers became the first Major League Baseball team to put an African American on its roster. Millions admired Jackie Robinson for his great skill as an athlete. Millions more were inspired by his courage. Robinson bore with bravery and dignity the pressure of being an individual so many people wanted to see succeed—and so many others expected to see fail.

**Seeking change in the courts** While Randolph, Robinson, and others worked to bring change to American society, the NAACP continued its strategy of attacking racism through the courts. This was a method the organization had used from its earliest days to combat such discriminatory practices as the use of grandfather clauses to keep African Americans from voting.

In the 1930s Charles Hamilton Houston began an NAACP campaign to attack the concept of “separate but equal.” Houston chose to focus on segregation in education. One of his former students, **Thurgood Marshall**, soon joined him. Marshall knew firsthand the effects of discrimination in education. He was once denied admission to the University of Maryland law school because of his race.

Under Houston and Marshall, NAACP lawyers began to chip away at the 1896 Supreme Court ruling in *Plessy v. Ferguson*, which served as the legal basis of segregation. In 1938, for example, in *Missouri ex rel. Gaines v. Canada*, the *Registrar of the University of Missouri*, the NAACP successfully argued against Missouri's refusal to offer a law school education to African Americans.

In 1950 the Supreme Court ruled in *Sweatt v. Painter* that the separate law school for African Americans at the University of Texas was inferior to the one for whites. The Court also held that just being separate from the white school was likely to harm the preparation of African American students for a career in law.

### READING CHECK

#### Identifying Problems and Solutions

What were some of the methods by which civil rights were expanded in the years before 1954?



## Brown v. Board of Education

The NAACP's early success had focused on graduate schools, which affected only a small number of people around the country. In the 1940s Marshall began focusing on the nation's elementary and high schools. At the time, millions of students around the country attended segregated schools. For African Americans, these were almost always inferior schools.

To press its cause, the NAACP needed a case. As you read at the start of this section, it found one in South Carolina, with Harry and Eliza Briggs. NAACP lawyers found another one in the case of Linda Brown, in Topeka, Kansas. You will read about the details of the Kansas case in Landmark Supreme Court Cases later in this section.

**The Supreme Court hears *Brown*** In both the *Briggs* and *Brown* cases, the lower courts upheld the practice of segregation. Yet these defeats did not stop Marshall and the NAACP. In fact, they provided an opportunity to bring the issue of school segregation to the Supreme Court. The Court combined the cases and several others from around the country into a single case. It was known as *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas*.

The Supreme Court was aware of the case's great significance. It heard arguments over a two-year period. The Court also considered research about segregation's effects on African American children. In one study, black children were shown dolls that were identical except for skin color. The children had more positive feelings about the white-skinned dolls than about the dark-skinned dolls they resembled. This and other tests suggested that segregation had harmed the self-image of young students.

In 1954 Chief Justice Earl Warren issued the Supreme Court's decision. All nine justices agreed that separate schools for African Americans and whites violated the Constitution's guarantee of equal protection of the law.

### HISTORY'S VOICES

"Education is perhaps the most important function of state and local governments . . . It is doubtful that any child may reasonably be expected to succeed in life if he is denied the opportunity of an education. Such an opportunity . . . is a right that must be made available to all on equal terms . . . Does segregation of children in schools solely on the basis of race . . . deprive the children of the minority group of equal educational opportunities? We believe that it does."

—Chief Justice Earl Warren, *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas*, May 17, 1954

## American Civil Liberty

### Ending Legal Segregation

For many decades following the 1896 Supreme Court ruling in *Plessy v. Ferguson*, the concept of "separate but equal" was used to deny African Americans equal protection of the law. Segregation denied African Americans the education—and the dignity—they needed in order to achieve true social equality.

When the NAACP and its lawyers decided to attack the policy of "separate but equal," they knew it would be a long process. They understood that even if they were able to quickly overturn *Plessy*, it would take longer to destroy the attitudes that supported segregation. Instead, they sought to chip away

at the *Plessy* ruling and slowly pave the way for true social change.

The strategy worked. By 1954 several cases had weakened the "separate but equal" policy and had in fact begun to break down the walls of segregation in education. The Supreme Court's forceful, unanimous decision in *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas*, showed clearly that legally enforced segregation could be challenged.

**Identifying Problems and Solutions** Why did the NAACP try to chip away at the *Plessy* ruling bit by bit?



Thurgood Marshall (center) and colleagues in front of the Supreme Court building after their victory



## ACADEMIC VOCABULARY

**integrate** to combine two groups in such a way that one becomes fully part of the other

## THE IMPACT TODAY

### Government

In 1998 Central High School became a national historic site. It continues to educate students and is operated jointly by the Little Rock school district and the National Park Service.

**The Little Rock crisis** At the time of the *Brown* decision, 21 states had schools that were segregated by law. The Supreme Court's ruling declared segregation unconstitutional, but it offered no firm guidance about how or when desegregation should occur.

Some states quickly prepared to integrate their schools. In other states, however, there was strong opposition. Virginia Democratic senator Harry Byrd Jr. organized a movement known as massive resistance, under which officials at all levels pledged to block integration.

In Virginia, for example, the legislature passed laws forcing the closure of any school planning to integrate. Laws also assisted white students wishing to attend private schools. It was more than a year before the federal courts stopped this practice.

Little Rock, Arkansas, was another trouble spot. In 1957 Governor Orval Faubus violated a federal court order to integrate Little Rock's Central High School. Claiming that white extremists were threatening violence, he warned that "blood would run in the streets" if nine African Americans tried to attend the school. Just before the school year was to start, he ordered the Arkansas National Guard to keep them out.

On September 4, 1957, a crowd of angry whites harassed the black students as they arrived for the first day of school. When they

reached the door, the soldiers turned them away. The Guard made no effort to protect them from the hostile crowd, who spat at them and tore their clothing.

For nearly three weeks the Guard prevented the African American students, now known as the **Little Rock Nine**, from entering the school. Meanwhile, President Eisenhower tried to persuade Faubus to back down. Finally, on September 24, Eisenhower went on national television to announce that he was sending federal troops to end the standoff. The next day, protected by U. S. soldiers with fixed bayonets, the Little Rock Nine entered Central High School.

For the rest of the school year, the African American students endured great abuse. Other students constantly shoved them in the halls. Their lives were threatened. The one senior among the Little Rock Nine had to be guarded at graduation. When his name was called at the ceremony, none of his classmates or their families clapped for him.

Meanwhile, Faubus continued to seek ways to stop school integration. In the end he failed. However, the events in Little Rock revealed to many Americans just how strong racism was in some parts of the nation.

## READING CHECK

### Identifying Problems and

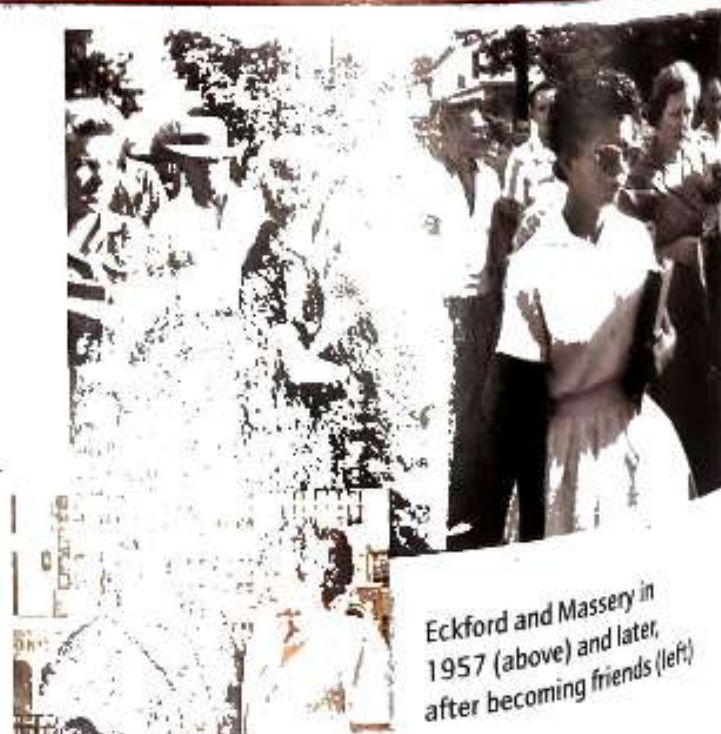
**Solutions** What kinds of issues faced the Supreme Court in making its *Brown* decision?

## Linking TO Today

### Integrating Central High School

The famous photograph at right shows Elizabeth Eckford, one of the Little Rock Nine, walking to Little Rock's Central High School on September 4, 1957. The white girl shouting at Eckford is Hazel Massery. Massery later regretted what she had done. She decided that she did not want to be, as she put it, the "poster child of the hate generation, trapped in the image captured in the photograph." In 1963 Massery apologized to Eckford. The two women later became friends and have spoken publicly together about their experiences.

**Identifying the Main Idea** Why did Hazel Massery apologize to Elizabeth Eckford?



Eckford and Massery in 1957 (above) and later, after becoming friends (left)



# SUPREME COURT CASES

Constitutional Issue: Equal Protection

## Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas (1954)

**Why It Matters** By 1950 public schools in many parts of the United States were segregated. Under the Supreme Court's decision in *Plessy v. Ferguson*, separate schools for African American and white students were legally acceptable as long as the facilities were equal in quality. In practice, schools for African American children were generally far below the quality of schools for whites.

### Background of the Case

Linda Brown, an African American third-grader in Topeka, Kansas, lived just blocks away from the nearest elementary school. However, that was a whites-only school, so she had to walk five blocks and then take a bus for two miles to reach the elementary school for blacks. The NAACP recruited Brown's parents and other Topeka residents to challenge segregation in the public schools. The Supreme Court recognized the harm segregation did to African American students. "The impact is greater when it has the sanction of law," it noted, "for the policy of separating the races is usually interpreted as denoting the inferiority of the Negro group."

### The Decision

Chief Justice Earl Warren wrote an opinion for a unanimous Supreme Court that reversed the *Plessy* decision's "separate but equal" doctrine for public schools. Warren wrote that schools segregated by race were unconstitutional:

"We conclude that in the field of public education the doctrine of 'separate but equal' has no place. Separate educational facilities are inherently [by their nature] unequal. . . . Such segregation is a denial of the equal protection of the laws."

In 1955 the Supreme Court issued a follow-up decision, now called *Brown II*, ordering that desegregation proceed "with all deliberate speed."



### THE IMPACT TODAY

A decade after *Brown*, few schools had been integrated. In the early 1970s many communities turned to busing to integrate schools by force. But busing proved highly controversial, and many communities stopped busing by the late 1990s. Nevertheless, by the early 2000s, schools were much more integrated than they had been before *Brown*. Changing demographics were largely responsible for this trend.

go.hrw.com

Research Online

Keyword: SS Court

### CRITICAL THINKING

- 1. Analyze the Impact** Using the keyword above, read about the Supreme Court's 1971 decision in *Swann v. Charlotte-Mecklenburg Board of Education*. How was this case like *Brown*? In what way did the Court's decision in *Swann* move beyond the decision in *Brown*?
- 2. You Be the Judge** *Brown* found that separate facilities were inherently unequal in education, but the case did not directly affect other types of legally imposed segregation. After *Brown*, how should a judge rule on a challenge to segregation in public transportation, restaurants, or hotels? Explain your answer in a short paragraph.



## A Boycott Begins in Montgomery, Alabama

The Supreme Court's *Brown* decision had an enormous impact on society. Yet it directly affected only schools. Elsewhere in the South, a great variety of other public places and facilities remained segregated.

**The Montgomery bus boycott** One example of these segregated public facilities was the bus system in Montgomery, Alabama. African American riders, who made up two-thirds of bus passengers, had to pay their fare at the front of the bus, leave the bus, then enter again through the rear doors. They were forbidden from sitting in the front rows, which were reserved for white passengers. If those front rows filled, all African Americans riding in the next row had to give up their seats. Sharing a row with a white passenger was not allowed.

African Americans in Montgomery had endured these conditions for years. Even before the *Brown* ruling, local groups had sought to end segregation on the buses. It was not until 1955 that decisive action was taken, however.

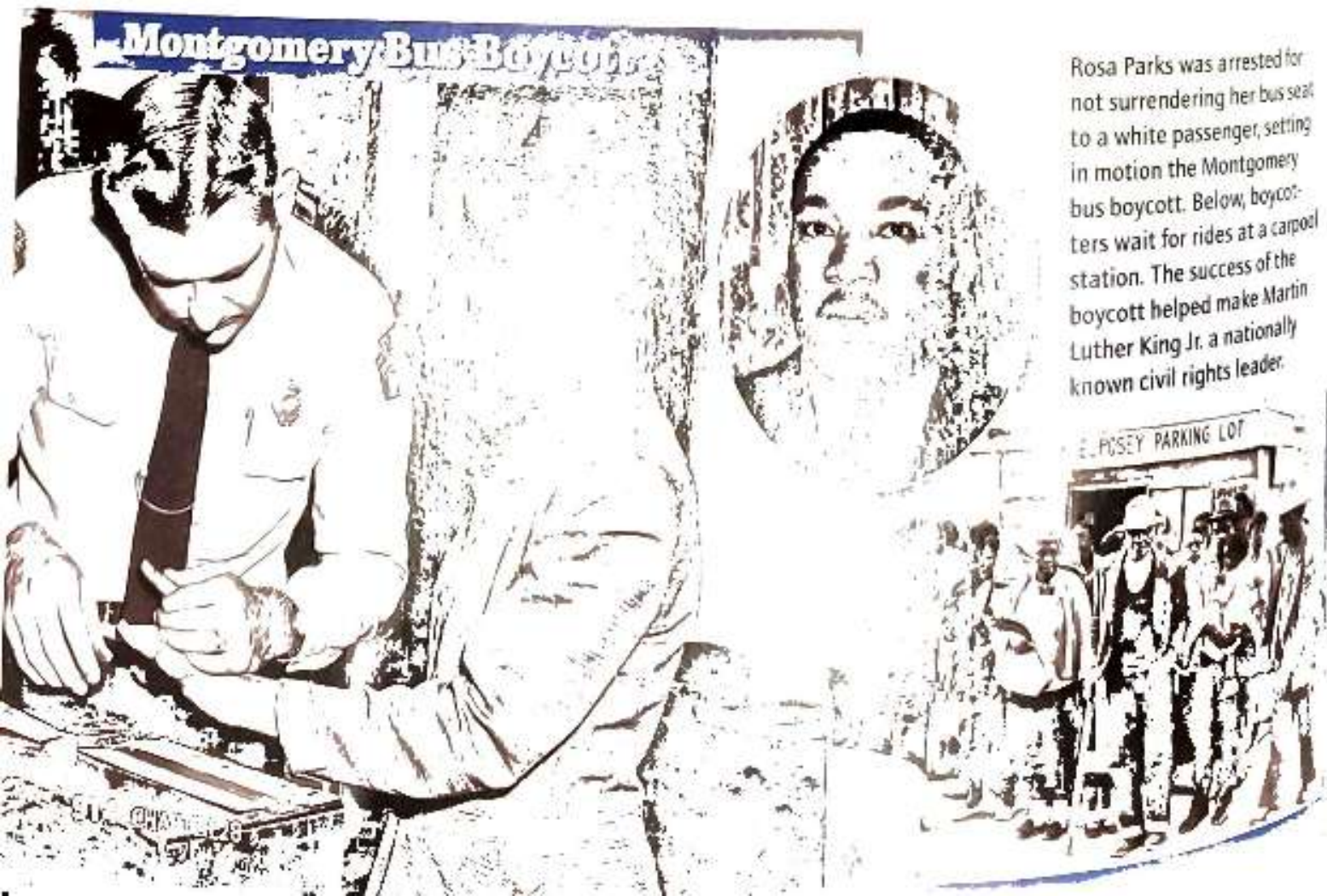
In that year, a local NAACP member named Rosa Parks boarded a Montgomery bus after a

day of work. She sat in the section reserved for African Americans. The white section was filled, however. Parks was ordered to give up her seat and make her row available to white riders. She refused and was arrested.

The NAACP recognized the opportunity Parks's arrest presented. With her cooperation, the organization called for a one-day boycott of the city bus system. Some 90 percent of African American riders stayed off the buses that day. This response convinced community leaders to continue the **Montgomery bus boycott**. To lead this effort, they formed the Montgomery Improvement Association. The group selected as its leader a young minister of a local Baptist church named **Martin Luther King Jr.**

The boycott created hardship for Montgomery's African Americans. Many depended on the buses to get to work and to do errands.

The boycott also hurt the bus system and other white businesses. As a result, many of the city's whites tried to weaken it. Police harassed African Americans who took part in the boycott. When the city's black churches set up car pools to help their members get around, insurers cancelled the auto insurance policies of the cars' owners. King and other African American leaders became targets of violent threats.



Rosa Parks was arrested for not surrendering her bus seat to a white passenger, setting in motion the Montgomery bus boycott. Below, boycotters wait for rides at a carpool station. The success of the boycott helped make Martin Luther King Jr. a nationally known civil rights leader.



As the boycott continued, court challenges to segregation of city buses also moved forward. The Supreme Court finally ruled on the subject in late 1956. By then, the boycott was a year old. The Court held that segregation on buses was unconstitutional.

Integration of the buses moved forward. There were some tense moments, including threats of violence against buses and local African American leaders. The tension, however, eventually faded. Integrated buses became a fact of life in Montgomery and elsewhere.

**Birth of the SCLC** The success of the Montgomery bus boycott inspired African Americans elsewhere. In communities across the South, groups organized boycotts of their own.

In January 1957, representatives of the Montgomery Improvement Association and several other groups met in Atlanta, Georgia. The goal was to form a new group that would organize protest activities taking place all across the region. This group became known as the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, or **SCLC**. Martin Luther King Jr., the leader of the successful Montgomery boycott, was elected leader of the SCLC.

As its name suggests, the SCLC was heavily influenced by the Christian faith. Many of its members, such as King, were members of the clergy. However, the SCLC was open to people of all races and faiths. At its heart was a com-

## FACES OF HISTORY

**Rosa PARKS**  
1913–2005



When Rosa Parks refused to give up her seat on a bus in 1955, she already had a long history of community activism. In 1943 she

became one of the first women to join the local NAACP chapter, where she served as its secretary. She also had experience protesting discrimination on the city's buses. In 1943 her protest of mistreatment on a bus resulted in the driver forcefully removing her from the bus.

In 1957 Parks and her family moved to Detroit. She joined the staff of Representative John Conyers Jr. in 1965, working there for 22 years. For her role in the civil rights movement, Parks received the Presidential Medal of Freedom in 1996 and the Congressional Gold Medal in 1999. After her death in 2005, she became the first woman to lie in honor in the U.S. Capitol rotunda, a tribute only given to the most significant national leaders.

**Make Inferences** Why was it significant that Rosa Parks had experience as an activist before her 1955 bus protest?

mitment to mass, nonviolent action. You will read more about nonviolent protest in the next section. You will also read about the spread of the campaign to end segregation from the bus stops of Montgomery to other public places throughout the South.

### READING CHECK

#### Making Generalizations

What was the nature of the movement created by the successful Montgomery bus boycott?

## SECTION 1 ASSESSMENT

go.hrw.com

Online Quiz

Keyword: SD7 HP38

### Reviewing Ideas, Terms, and People

1. **a. Describe** How did Jackie Robinson bring change to American society?
- b. Compare** How were the NAACP and CORE similar?
- c. Predict** What do you think will be the final result of Charles Hamilton Houston and Thurgood Marshall's challenges to segregated education?
2. **a. Identify** What Supreme Court decision had been the legal basis for the segregation of public schools?
- b. Make Inferences** Why do you think African American students want to attend integrated schools, despite hardships?
- c. Evaluate** How successful was the *Brown v. Board of Education* of Topeka, Kansas decision in desegregating schools?
3. **a. Describe** What was the goal of the SCLC?
- b. Analyze** Why was Rosa Parks arrested?

- c. Evaluate** Did the Montgomery bus boycott achieve its goals? Explain why or why not.

### Critical Thinking

4. **Categorizing** Review your notes on the major events of the early civil rights movement. Then copy the graphic organizer below and use it to list legal and social civil rights victories.

Legal Victories	Social Victories

### FOCUS ON WRITING

5. **Persuasive** Write a flyer encouraging African Americans to join in the Montgomery bus boycott. Make sure your flyer explains why it is important for people to participate.



## BEFORE YOU READ

## MAIN IDEA

The quest for civil rights became a nationwide movement in the 1960s as African Americans won political and legal rights, and segregation was largely abolished.

## READING FOCUS

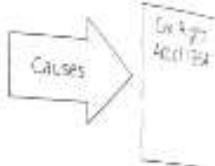
1. What are sit-ins and Freedom Rides, and why were they important in the 1960s?
2. How was the integration of higher education achieved in the South?
3. What role did Albany, Georgia, and Birmingham, Alabama, play in the history of civil rights?
4. What concerns and events led to the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964?

## KEY TERMS AND PEOPLE

Mohandas Gandhi  
James Farmer  
SNCC  
Freedom Riders  
James Meredith  
Medgar Evers  
Civil Rights Act of 1964

## TAKING NOTES

As you read, take notes on major activities that helped lead to the enactment of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. Record your notes in a graphic organizer like the one shown here.



# SITTING DOWN FOR CIVIL RIGHTS

## THE INSIDE STORY

*How can you win by being beaten?* On May 28, 1963, Anne Moody, Memphis

Norman, and Pearlina Lewis, three students from Tougaloo College in Jackson, Mississippi, attempted to place an order at a whites-only lunch counter. The waitress told them to move to the back counter, which was for African Americans. "We would like to be served here," Moody replied. Instead, the waitress closed the counter. The three black students remained seated as a form of protest.

A hostile crowd gathered around the protesters. A man pulled Norman from his stool and beat him. Joan Trumpauer, one of Tougaloo's two white students, took his place. Lois Chaffee, a white faculty member, and John Salter, a Native American professor, soon joined the protesters.

The crowd dumped food on the protesters. Someone hit Salter with brass knuckles, and others poured table salt into his open wound. Still the protesters sat at the counter, refusing to leave or fight back. Finally, fearing greater violence, Tougaloo's president convinced the demonstrators to end their sit-in.

That night the protesters were honored at a huge rally for civil rights. Local NAACP leader Medgar Evers announced that the sit-in was the start of a campaign to end segregation not only in Jackson but throughout Mississippi.



▲ Student protesters hold their ground at a lunch counter sit-in.



## Sit-ins and Freedom Rides

The events in Jackson, Mississippi, illustrate tactics that had become common in the civil rights movement in late 1950s and early 1960s. In addition to boycotts, such as the one in Montgomery you read about in Section 1, civil rights workers used other direct, nonviolent methods to confront discrimination and racism. These tactics frequently provoked a violent response from their opponents.

**The strategy of nonviolence** Many of the tactics used in the civil rights movement were based on those of **Mohandas Gandhi**. Gandhi, who died in 1948, had been a leader in India's struggle for independence from Great Britain. Gandhi organized actions in which protesters were willing to suffer harm instead of inflicting it. He taught that this nonviolent approach could expose injustice and force those in power to end it. Nonviolent resistance, he believed, was the best way to achieve change in a society in which others held most of the power.

American civil rights leaders such as **James Farmer** of CORE, **Martin Luther King Jr.** of SCLC, and others shared Gandhi's views. "There is more power in socially organized masses . . . than there is in guns in the hands of a few desperate men," King wrote. "We shall appeal to your heart and conscience that we will win you in the process."

In the early 1950s, **James Lawson**, an African American minister, visited India and studied Gandhi's teachings. With King's encouragement, Lawson began conducting workshops on nonviolent methods in Nashville, Tennessee, and on the campuses of African American colleges across the South. He trained hundreds of students, including some whites who supported the civil rights movement. One participant described the weekly workshops.

### HISTORY'S VOICES

"We would practice such things as how to protect your head from a beating and how to protect each other. If one person was taking a severe beating, we would practice other people putting their bodies in between that person and the violence, so that the violence would be more distributed and hopefully no one would get seriously injured. We would practice not striking back if someone struck us."

—Diane Nash in *Voices of Freedom* (1990)

## FACES OF HISTORY

**James  
FARMER**  
1920–1999



Born in Marshall, Texas, James Farmer moved to Washington, D.C., to attend college at Howard University. After graduating, Farmer moved to Chicago, Illinois, where at age 22, he founded the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) to push for an end to segregation. Farmer believed that direct, nonviolent action was the best way to achieve this goal.

CORE's first actions were sit-ins, in which African American and mixed-race groups tried to get service in Chicago restaurants. The tactic was so successful that years later it was copied by other civil rights activists. In 1947 Farmer organized an integrated bus trip through the South to challenge segregation on interstate buses. He used this tactic again in 1961, in the famous Freedom Rides.

Farmer retired from politics in 1971 but continued to lecture and teach. In 1998 he was awarded the Presidential Medal of Freedom.

**Make Inferences** What do Farmer's early sit-ins suggest about the civil rights of northern African Americans in the 1940s?

**The sit-in movement** Lawson was nearly ready to launch a sit-in campaign in Nashville when on February 1, 1960, four college students in Greensboro, North Carolina, began a sit-in of their own after ordering coffee at a lunch counter in a Woolworth's store. Denied service because of their race, the four young men stayed in their seats, expecting to be arrested. When they were not, they remained at the lunch counter until the store closed.

The next day, they returned with more students. By day three, protesters filled 63 of the lunch counter's 66 seats. The daily sit-ins soon attracted hundreds of supporters. The story of these dedicated and well-behaved students, who ended each day's protest with a prayer, quickly became national news. In mid-February, Lawson's Nashville sit-ins began.

The four students who began the sit-in at Greensboro had not attended Lawson's workshops. They had read about his methods, however. The Greensboro protest won important white support. "As long as those who seek a change . . . seek it in a peaceful manner, their power (and their haunting image on the white man's conscience) will not diminish," the *Greensboro Daily News* wrote in an editorial.



## FREEDOM RIDES, 1961



- 1 May 4: Riders depart Washington, D.C.
  - 2 May 9: Riders assaulted at bus terminal in Rock Hill, SC.
  - 3 May 14: Bus attacked in Anniston, AL and set on fire; some riders are beaten.
  - 4 May 14: Riders severely beaten in Birmingham, AL.
  - 5 May 17: Group of students set out from Nashville, TN to resume rides in Birmingham, AL.
  - 6 May 20: Riders meet more violence in Montgomery, AL; federal marshals arrive and Martin Luther King, Jr. leads rally.
  - 7 May 25: More than 300 riders are jailed in Jackson, MS.
  - 8 New Orleans, LA, the original destination is never reached.
- Freedom Rides routes

### GEOGRAPHY SKILLS

### INTERPRETING MAPS

1. **Movement** What was the planned route of the Freedom Rides? How far did the riders make it?
  2. **Place** Which event seems most significant to you? Explain.
- See **Skills Handbook**, p. H19

### ACADEMIC VOCABULARY

**enforce** to require something to happen

During the next two months, protesters in about 50 southern cities began to use the sit-in tactic. In many places, white onlookers attacked the participants with food and other objects. Demonstrators, some of whom were white, were sometimes beaten. By April some 2,000 protesters had been arrested. "We do not consider going to jail a sacrifice but a privilege," a jailed demonstrator proclaimed. "Sixty days is not long to spend in jail. We will do it again for a cause as great as this one."

Despite the arrests and violence—or perhaps because of them—sit-ins were generally successful at getting business owners to change their policies. In May several stores in Nashville ended segregation at their lunch counters. The Greensboro sit-ins ended in July with the integration of lunch counters there. In October, Woolworth's and three other national chains integrated lunch counters nationwide.

The sit-ins marked a shift in the civil rights movement. They showed young African Americans' growing impatience with the slow pace of change. Sit-in leaders formed the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, or **SNCC**, to conduct other nonviolent protests.

**The Freedom Rides** The success of the student sit-ins inspired CORE to plan its own nonviolent action in 1961. In December 1960 the Supreme Court had ordered that facilities in bus stations serving interstate travelers be open to all passengers, regardless of race. The Court's order, however, was not being enforced. Newly elected president John F. Kennedy, though a supporter of civil rights, seemed unwilling to anger southern whites.

Members of CORE decided to draw attention to the situation by sending a group of **Freedom Riders** on a bus trip through the South. At each stop the African American riders would go into the whites-only waiting rooms and try to use facilities such as restrooms and lunch counters. "We felt we could count on the racism of the South to create a crisis so that the federal government would be compelled to enforce the law," James Farmer later explained.

On May 4, 1961, a group of 13 volunteers, including Farmer, left Washington, D.C., by bus bound for New Orleans, Louisiana. They tried to use the facilities in bus stations in towns they passed through. At first they experienced only mild harassment. Then on May 14, on



the buses was swarmed by a mob outside of Anniston, Alabama. The mob firebombed the bus and beat the Freedom Riders as they escaped. Newspapers nationwide showed the event on their front pages.

Another Freedom Ride bus reached Birmingham, Alabama, where it was attacked by a mob armed with baseball bats and metal pipes. One Freedom Rider suffered permanent brain damage, and another required dozens of stitches to close the wounds to his head. No police arrived to stop the savage beatings. When the bus company refused to sell the Freedom Riders tickets to continue their journey, the CORE-sponsored Freedom Ride disbanded.

**Federal intervention** SNCC leader Diane Nash refused to give in to the violence, however. She gathered a group of SNCC members to continue the Freedom Rides from Nashville. Fearing death, several of them made out wills or wrote letters of farewell to loved ones before leaving for Birmingham.

Attorney General Robert Kennedy arranged with Alabama's governor to provide police protection for the SNCC volunteers. When their bus reached Montgomery, however, the police disappeared. The SNCC riders were attacked by yet another mob. An aide to President John Kennedy, at the scene as an observer, was among those beaten unconscious. Outraged at the governor's betrayal, the attorney general sent 600 federal marshals to Montgomery to protect the Freedom Riders.

On May 24 the SNCC riders reached Jackson, Mississippi. There they were arrested and jailed for using the bus station's whites-only facilities. The next day more volunteers arrived in Jackson, vowing to continue the rides. They were also arrested.

During the next four months, several hundred Freedom Riders rode buses through the lower South. The protest ended in September 1961, when the federal Interstate Commerce Commission finally issued tough new rules forcing integration of bus and train stations.

#### READING CHECK

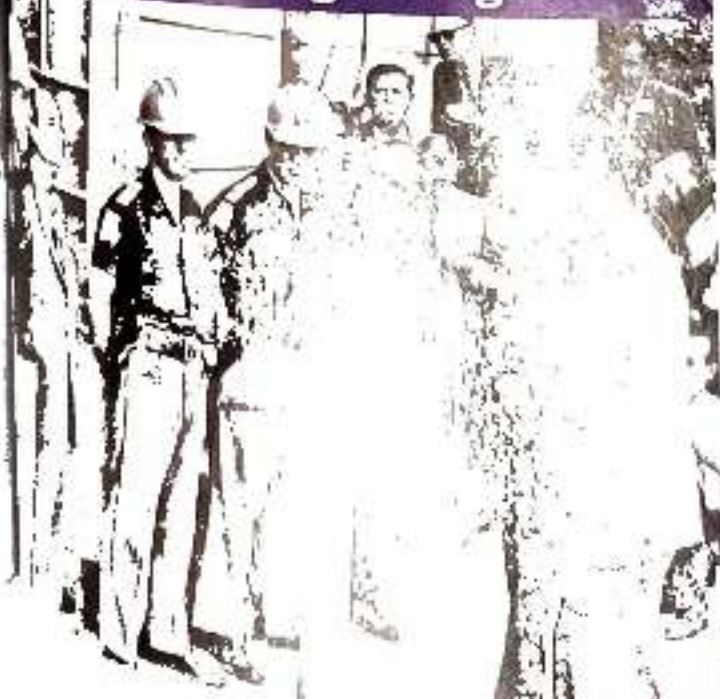
**Comparing** In what ways were the sit-ins and the Freedom Rides similar?

## Integrating Higher Education

While SNCC and CORE attempted to achieve change using nonviolent protest, the NAACP pushed ahead with its legal campaign against school segregation. By 1960 it had expanded its efforts to include colleges and universities. White lawyers collaborated with the NAACP. In 1961 the organization obtained a court order requiring the University of Georgia to admit two African American students.

Charlayne Hunter and Hamilton Holmes were only in school a few days before they were suspended after white students rioted. A federal judge ordered their reinstatement. Robert Kennedy publicly praised the school for its respect for the law. He called the two students "freedom fighters" for returning to campus.

## Desegregating Colleges



James Meredith's entrance into the University of Mississippi made him a famous name in civil rights (right). Governor Wallace of Alabama (left) blocks African American students from entering a university. **How did the defiance of state governments affect efforts to desegregate higher education?**





## FACES OF HISTORY

### Martin Luther KING Jr. 1929–1968



Martin Luther King Jr. entered Morehouse College in Atlanta, Georgia, at age 15 and graduated in 1948. He became an ordained

minister while attending Morehouse. After religious training in Pennsylvania, King attended Boston University, where he completed a doctoral degree in religion in 1955. At all three schools, King studied the teachings on nonviolent protest of Indian leader Mohandas Gandhi.

The powerful speaking abilities for which King was known developed slowly. He received C's in his first public speaking courses in Pennsylvania. By his third year there, however, his professors were praising the impression he made in public speeches and discussions.

In 1953 King married Coretta Scott, an Alabamian he met in Boston. The next year they moved to Montgomery, Alabama, where King became pastor of a Baptist church. The Montgomery bus boycott boosted him to leadership in the civil rights movement. In 1964 King was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize for his work for civil rights.

**Draw Conclusions** How did King's education prepare him for his role in the civil rights movement?

amidst all the threats. Although Hunter especially suffered continuing hostility and taunts, both she and Holmes graduated in 1963.

Greater trouble erupted at the University of Mississippi when **James Meredith** attempted to enroll there in September 1962. A federal court ruled that the university had rejected Meredith's application "solely because he was a Negro," and ordered him to be admitted. On Sunday evening, September 30, Meredith arrived on campus. He was accompanied by 500 federal marshals that Robert Kennedy had ordered to protect him. A mob of 2,500 protesters, many of them nonstudents, met the group with violence.

As the riot worsened, President Kennedy went on national television to announce that he was sending in troops. "The eyes of the nation and the world are upon you," he told Mississippians. "The honor of your university and the state are in the balance." The troops arrived in the predawn hours of Monday morning and finally ended the protest. By then, however, hundreds of people had been injured and two killed. One of the dead was a journalist from France, sent to cover Meredith's enrollment.

In the months that followed, Meredith was frequently harassed by groups of white students. Yet a few students defied their peers and drank coffee with him or sat at his table at mealtimes. A small force of marshals remained at the university to protect Meredith until he graduated in the summer of 1963.

At the University of Alabama, Governor George Wallace in June 1963 physically blocked Vivian Malone and James Hood from enrolling. "This action is in violation of rights reserved to the state by the Constitution of the United States," Wallace proclaimed. However, after his speech and symbolic defiance of a court order to integrate the university, Wallace stepped aside.

### READING CHECK

#### Making Generalizations

How were public universities in Georgia, Mississippi, and Alabama integrated?

## Albany and Birmingham

In late 1961 Albany, Georgia, became a battleground in the civil rights movement. SNCC began a sit-in in Albany's bus station in November because local officials were ignoring the Interstate Commerce Commission's new integration rules. When demonstrators were arrested, SNCC notified the U.S. Justice Department. The federal government, however, took no action.

**The Albany Movement** By mid-December more than 500 protesters had been jailed. Local civil rights leaders brought national attention to the situation by inviting Martin Luther King Jr. to lead more demonstrations. The campaign was called the Albany Movement. "We will wear them down with our capacity to suffer," King promised. He was soon arrested for leading a march on city hall. King refused to pay the fine. He vowed to remain in jail until the city agreed to desegregate. "I hope thousands [of others] will join me," he said.

Albany police chief Laurie Prichett had studied King's tactics, however. "His method was nonviolence . . . to fill the jails, same as Gandhi in India," Prichett said later. "And once they filled the jails, we'd have no capacity to arrest and then we'd have to give in to his demands." Prichett made arrangements with every jail in the surrounding area, so he was



able to arrest all the protesters. In addition, when the national press arrived to cover King's sentencing, Prichett had King's fine paid, so King was released instead.

Opponents of integration also took advantage of divisions in the Albany Movement. The local leaders who began it became upset when the SCLC took control. Sensing this, city officials refused to negotiate with anyone but local leaders and would not negotiate at all as long as King was in town. In August 1962, King called off his demonstrations and left Albany. City officials then refused to meet with the local leaders. The protests resumed without King but failed to accomplish their goals.

The nine-month Albany Movement was a major defeat for King. It proved to be an important experience, however. After Albany, King vowed that the SCLC would organize its own campaigns rather than aid campaigns begun by others. His new strategy soon proved successful in Birmingham.

**The Birmingham campaign** King next focused his efforts on Birmingham, Alabama. Birmingham was known for its strict enforcement of segregation. With help from entertainer Harry Belafonte, King raised several hundred thousand dollars to fund a campaign

against Birmingham's segregation laws. Volunteers taught local African Americans the techniques of nonviolence in the city's African American churches.

King's effort began in April 1963 with sit-ins and marches. Authorities quickly arrested the protesters. King had counted on this response to motivate more people to join the protests and focus national attention on the city. At first his strategy worked. On April 12 King and hundreds more were arrested and jailed.

The next day a group of local white clergy took out a full-page ad in the city's newspaper. They attacked King's actions as unwise and untimely. In his jail cell, King rejected these charges with a letter written in the margins of the newspaper. His response gained fame as the "Letter from a Birmingham Jail."

When King was released a few days later, he found fewer adult African Americans willing to risk losing their jobs by going to jail. Another SCLC leader urged King to use children instead. On May 2 demonstrators between the ages six and eighteen sang and chanted as they marched to lines of police set up to stop them. More than 900 were arrested and jailed.

The next day, Birmingham police chief Eugene "Bull" Connor used police and firefighters to break up a group of about 2,500



Images of peaceful protesters in Birmingham being attacked by police dogs and swept away by high-pressure fire hoses shocked the nation. How did President Kennedy react?



African American students as they gathered for another march. As television cameras and press photographers recorded the scene, the authorities struck. They blasted the protesters with fire hoses. The force of the water knocked the protesters down, tore their clothes, and left some of them bloody on the ground.

Connor repeated these actions for the next several days, as the nation watched on television. Finally, after hundreds of demonstrators had been jailed, federal negotiators succeeded in getting city officials to agree to many of

King's demands. King called the agreement "the most magnificent victory for justice we've seen in the Deep South."

Some white people in Birmingham refused to accept the compromise. The motel where King was staying and the home of his brother were bombed. When some African Americans rioted, President Kennedy declared that he would not let extremists on either side destroy the agreement. He sent federal troops to Birmingham to restore order.

#### ACADEMIC VOCABULARY

**restore** to put something back into its former or original condition

## MAJOR CIVIL RIGHTS REFORMS

### QUICK FACTS

**Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas** (1954)

- declared segregated public schools unconstitutional

**Civil Rights Act of 1957**

- established a federal Civil Rights Commission to investigate violations of civil rights
- created a civil rights division within the Justice Department to enforce civil rights laws
- authorized the federal government to prosecute anyone interfering with another person's right to vote

**Executive Order 11063**  
(November 20, 1962)

- banned racial and religious discrimination in housing built or purchased with federal aid

**Civil Rights Act of 1964**

- banned discrimination in public accommodations
- outlawed unequal voting requirements
- barred discrimination in employment based on race, gender, religion, or national origin
- established the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission
- applied federal power to speed integration of schools and other public facilities

**Voting Rights Act of 1965**

- suspended literacy tests and other devices used to exclude black voters
- authorized federal supervision of voter registration
- allowed federal workers to register voters

**Civil Rights Act of 1968**  
(Fair Housing Act)

- banned racial discrimination in the sale, rental, or financing of housing
- made harming civil rights workers a federal crime

**READING CHECK** **Comparing and Contrasting** How were the Albany and Birmingham campaigns alike, and how did they differ?

## The Civil Rights Act of 1964

You have read about Kennedy's approach on civil rights. He had believed that moving slowly was the best way to make progress. The events in Alabama, however, changed his mind.

### HISTORY'S VOICES

"The fires of frustration and discord are burning in every city, North and South . . . We face . . . a moral crisis as a country and as a people . . . We cannot say to 10 percent of the population that . . . the only way . . . to get their rights is to go into the streets and demonstrate. I think we owe them and we owe ourselves a better country than that."

—John Kennedy, June 11, 1963

Kennedy announced that he would ask for sweeping legislation designed to finally end segregation in public accommodations—hotels, restaurants, theaters, and other establishments that serve the public.

**The assassination of Medgar Evers** A murder just hours after Kennedy's speech helped put the president's concerns into sharp focus. The head of the NAACP in Mississippi, Medgar Evers, was shot dead in his front yard. Evers was one of the movement's most effective leaders. His slaying shocked many Americans.

Police quickly arrested a Ku Klux Klan member named Byron De La Beckwith. All-white juries failed to reach a verdict in two trials, and De La Beckwith went free. Some 30 years later, however, authorities tried him yet a third time. In 1994, at the age of 73, De La Beckwith was finally convicted and sentenced to life in prison.



**the March on Washington** To build support for the civil rights movement, African American leaders planned a huge march on the nation's capital for August 1963. In June, when President Kennedy called for a civil rights law, African American leaders decided to include demands for its passage as one of the march's goals.

The March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom took place on August 28, 1963. It was the largest civil rights demonstration ever held in the United States. More than 200,000 people of all races covered the National Mall. Three civil rights figures addressed the crowd from the steps of the Lincoln Memorial. Gospel singer Mahalia Jackson, folk singer Joan Baez, and other popular entertainers of the day performed for the crowd.

Martin Luther King Jr. delivered the last speech at the day-long rally. He started by reviewing African Americans' long struggle throughout history for freedom. Then, urged on by Mahalia Jackson and other listeners nearby, King put aside his prepared remarks and began to speak from his heart. His speech became known as the "I Have a Dream" speech.

### HISTORY'S VOICES

"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 the content of their character. I have a dream today!"

—Martin Luther King Jr., August 28, 1963

**Passing the Civil Rights Act** The good feeling produced by the March on Washington was short-lived. The next month a bomb exploded in a Birmingham church, killing four young African American girls. Then in November, President Kennedy was assassinated. His vice president, Lyndon Johnson, took office.

President Johnson supported passage of a strong civil rights bill. Although some southerners in Congress fought hard to kill it, Johnson signed it into law on July 2, 1964. The **Civil Rights Act of 1964** banned discrimination in employment and in public accommodations.

### THE IMPACT TODAY

**Government**  
The conviction in Evers's killing has encouraged the FBI to reopen other old cases from the civil rights movement. In 2002 a jury convicted a man long suspected in the Birmingham church bombing.

### READING CHECK

**Summarizing** Why did a strong civil rights bill finally become law in 1964?

## SECTION 2 ASSESSMENT

go.hrw.com  
**Online Quiz**

Keyword: SD7 HP28

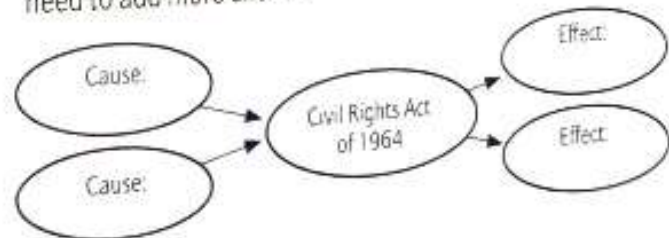
### Reviewing Ideas, Terms, and People

1. **Identify** What civil rights tactic was based on the ideas and actions of Mohandas Gandhi?
2. **Summarize** What was the basic belief behind the tactic of nonviolence?
3. **Elaborate** Why do you think the sit-ins were successful?
4. **Describe** How did the NAACP work for the integration of colleges and universities?
5. **Make Inferences** Why did so many federal marshals accompany James Meredith to the University of Mississippi?
6. **Predict** Do you think the rioting at the University of Mississippi affected people's opinions about segregation? Why or why not?
7. **Identify** What began the Albany Movement?
8. **Make Inferences** Why did Martin Luther King Jr. decide to focus on Birmingham?
9. **Elaborate** Why did federal negotiators want Birmingham officials to agree to many of King's demands?
10. **Define** What was the goal of the March on Washington?
11. **Analyze** What inspired President Kennedy to begin focusing on civil rights?

**c. Evaluate** Do you think the Civil Rights Act of 1964 went far enough? Explain why or why not. What substitute or additional provisions might the law have contained?

### Critical Thinking

**5. Identify Cause and Effect** Review your notes on the Civil Rights Act of 1964. Then copy the graphic organizer below and use it to list the causes and effects of the law. You may need to add more circles.



### FOCUS ON WRITING

**6. Persuasive** Write a letter to your representative in Congress explaining why he or she should vote for the Civil Rights Act of 1964. Be sure to include in your letter persuasive arguments that support your position.



# American Literature

MARTIN LUTHER KING JR. (1929–1968)

**About the Reading** While protesting segregation in Birmingham, Alabama, Martin Luther King Jr. was arrested and held in a Birmingham jail. The following is an excerpt from a letter that King wrote in response to a full-page ad in a local newspaper. The ad, taken out by eight members of the clergy, denounced the protests. King's letter clearly presents his philosophy on nonviolence.

**AS YOU READ** Consider the dangers that Martin Luther King Jr. as well as other social activists faced by standing up for the causes they believed in.

Excerpt from

## Letter from a Birmingham Jail

by Martin Luther King Jr.

You express a great deal of anxiety over our willingness to break laws. This is certainly a legitimate concern. Since we so diligently urge people to obey the Supreme Court's decision of 1954 outlawing segregation in the public schools, at first glance it may seem rather paradoxical for us consciously to break laws. One may well ask: "How can you advocate breaking some laws and obeying others?" The answer lies in the fact that there are two types of laws: just and unjust. I would be the first to advocate obeying just laws. One has not only a legal but a moral responsibility to obey just laws. Conversely, one has a moral responsibility to disobey unjust laws. I would agree with St. Augustine that "an unjust law is no law at all."

Now, what is the difference between the two? How does one determine whether a law is just or unjust? A just law is a man-made code that squares with the moral law or the law of God. An unjust law is a code that is out of harmony with the moral law. To put it in the terms of St. Thomas Aquinas: An unjust law is a human law that is not rooted in eternal law and natural law. Any law that uplifts human personality is just. Any law that degrades human personality is unjust.



Men drinking from segregated water fountains in the South

All segregation statutes are unjust because segregation distorts the soul and damages the personality. It gives the segregator a false sense of superiority and the segregated a false sense of inferiority. Segregation, to use the terminology of the Jewish philosopher Martin Buber, substitutes an "I-it" relationship for an "I-thou" relationship and ends up relegating persons to the status of things. Hence segregation is not only politically, economically and sociologically unsound, it is morally wrong and sinful. Paul Tillich said that sin is separation. Is not segregation an existential expression of man's tragic separation, his awful estrangement, his terrible sinfulness? Thus it is that I can urge men to obey the 1954 decision of the Supreme Court, for it is morally right; and I can urge them to disobey segregation ordinances, for they are morally wrong.

Skills  
FOCUS

READING LIKE A HISTORIAN

**Literature as Historical Evidence** How does King's letter show the importance of religious thought in the civil rights movement?

See **Skills Handbook**, p. H32.



# 3 Voting Rights

## BEFORE YOU READ

### MAIN IDEA

In the 1960s, African Americans gained voting rights and political power in the South, but only after a bitter and hard-fought struggle.

### READING FOCUS

1. What methods did civil rights workers use to gain voting rights for African Americans in the South?
2. How did African American political organizing become a national issue?
3. What events led to passage of the Voting Rights Act?

### KEY TERMS AND PEOPLE

Voter Education Project  
Twenty-fourth Amendment  
Freedom Summer  
Mississippi Freedom  
Democratic Party  
Fannie Lou Hamer  
Voting Rights Act of 1965

### TAKING NOTES

As you read, take notes on major 1960s struggles for voting rights for African Americans in the South. Record your notes in a graphic organizer like the one shown here.

Freedom Summer	MFDP	Selma Campaign

### THE INSIDE STORY

#### What did the 2000 election in Selma symbolize?

On March 7, 1965, about 600 people marching for voting rights were attacked and beaten by police as they crossed the Edmund Pettus Bridge in Selma, Alabama. The savage attack gained national attention and became one of the most notorious events of the civil rights movement.

Thirty-five years later, in 2000, Selma made national news again when James Perkins became the city's first African American mayor. Perkins was twelve years old when the march took place. He wanted to join, but his parents, fearing that violence might erupt, refused to let him go. However, like many other Selma residents, Perkins never forgot that fateful and bloody day.

The candidate Perkins defeated in 2000, Joe Smitherman, had been Selma's mayor in 1965. He did not take part

in the beatings at the bridge. But back then, Smitherman opposed voting rights for African Americans. He later apologized for his views. This helped him stay in office for ten terms, as the number of African American voters in his city increased from 150 in 1964 to 9,000—some 65 percent of Selma's voters—in 2000.

Perkins focused his campaign in 2000 on economic issues instead of race, but some Selma residents organized their own effort to defeat Smitherman. For months, demonstrators stood at the Edmund Pettus Bridge holding signs reading "Remember the Blood" and shouting to passing cars, "Joe gotta go!"

Within minutes of the announcement of James Perkins's victory, thousands of his supporters poured back and forth across the bridge in cars and on foot, honking and cheering. "This is the final step of the march over the bridge," said one supporter about the election's significance. "This is the dream that Dr. King wanted."

## SELMA, Now and Then



## Gaining Voting Rights

James Perkins and the many other African Americans who hold elective offices across the nation today owe much to the civil rights struggles of the 1960s. Voting rights for African Americans, like other victories of the civil rights movement, were achieved at great human cost and sacrifice.

**Registering voters** The nonviolent methods of the civil rights movement troubled the Kennedy administration because of the violent reactions they provoked. After the brutal attacks on the Freedom Riders in 1961, Attorney General Robert Kennedy met with SNCC leaders. He urged them to focus on voter registration rather than on protests. The vote was the key to changing things in the South, Kennedy claimed. He said that civil rights workers could count on federal government protection if they took this approach.

In 1962 SNCC, CORE, and other groups founded the **Voter Education Project** (VEP) to register southern African Americans to vote. However, the groups soon discovered that opposition to African American suffrage was as great as opposition to ending segregation. Marches to register voters were attacked by mobs or broken up by the police. Project workers routinely were beaten or jailed.

Mississippi presented the greatest challenge. VEP workers there lived in daily fear for their safety. A local farmer helping one voter registration drive was killed. The state legislator who shot him was acquitted. The lone African American witness to the crime was later found shot to death.

In spite of such terror tactics, the Voter Education Project was a success. In 1962 fewer than 1.4 million of the South's 5 million African American adults were registered to vote. By 1964 the VEP had registered more than a half million more African American voters. Only in Mississippi were results discouraging. "We are powerless to register people in significant numbers anywhere in the state," SNCC organizer Robert Moses told the VEP in a report.

**The Twenty-fourth Amendment** Congress passed the **Twenty-fourth Amendment** to the Constitution in August 1962 and submitted it to the states for ratification. The amendment banned states from taxing citizens to vote. Many southern states required these poll taxes as a way to keep African Americans from voting. Because the tax was not based on gender or race, it was constitutional. But since more African Americans than whites were poor, it affected them most.

Although the Twenty-fourth Amendment's ban on poll taxes applied only to elections

## TRACING HISTORY

### Civil Rights

The Declaration of Independence says that all people are born with "unalienable rights," but it took nearly 200 years to see that promise extended to all Americans. Study the timeline to learn about key events in the struggle for civil rights.

1700



1800

**1865–1870** The Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth Amendments abolish slavery, grant citizenship to African Americans, and give the vote to African American men.

**1791** The First Amendment in the Bill of Rights guarantees freedom of religious worship.

An Islamic prayer service



to president or Congress, it increased hopes for change was on the way. As the proposed amendment worked its way through the ratification process, voting rights leaders planned more projects, concentrating on Mississippi.

**Freedom Summer** The Twenty-fourth Amendment became part of the Constitution in January 1964. A call went out for college students willing to spend their summer in Mississippi, registering African Americans to vote.

When school let out, hundreds of volunteers gathered at an Ohio college to train for a project called **Freedom Summer**. Most of the trainees—mainly SNCC workers—were from poor southern African American families. The student volunteers were mainly white, northern, and upper middle class. One volunteer later recalled why he took part.

#### HISTORY'S VOICES

“I grew up in New York City. I had been raised in a family where being Jewish was important in terms of identifying with the underdog, with people who were suffering repression and discrimination . . . It was tremendously impressive and exciting. For me, it was a tremendous privilege to be allowed to participate in this movement for racial justice. At eighteen years old, to be able to be involved in this kind of a struggle was very important to me.”

—Peter Orris in *Voices of Freedom* (1990)

Volunteers were trained to register voters or to teach at summer school. Mississippi spent about \$82 per year to educate each white student but less than \$22 per black student. In addition, many black schools in Mississippi closed during the cotton harvest to provide cheap child labor. The project's Freedom Schools offered African American students much-needed help in reading and math as well as instruction in black history and the civil rights movement.

Besides educating children and registering voters, project workers hoped to start a freedom movement in Mississippi that would continue after the volunteers left. Project leader Robert Moses had another goal: Just getting everyone through the summer alive would be an accomplishment, he said.

**Crisis in Mississippi** The first 200 volunteers arrived in Mississippi on June 20, 1964. The very next day one of them went missing. Andrew Goodman, a college student from New York, had gone with two CORE workers, James Chaney and Michael Schwerner, to inspect an African American church that had recently been bombed. They were arrested for speeding in Philadelphia, Mississippi, and held in jail until evening. After paying a fine, the three men drove off into the night. They were never heard from again.

Intercollegiate women's basketball game



**1972** Title IX of the Higher Education Act prohibits gender discrimination in all areas of higher education, including athletics.

**1964** The Civil Rights Act of 1964 guarantees voting rights and prohibits gender-based discrimination.

**1920** The Nineteenth Amendment guarantees women the right to vote.

Georgia Supreme Court Chief Justice Leah Ward Sears



**2005** Leah Ward Sears becomes the chief justice of the Georgia Supreme Court, the first African American woman chief justice in the country.



# Twenty-fourth Amendment

In 1870 the Fifteenth Amendment granted African American men the right to vote in federal elections. Still, many states set requirements that made voting difficult for African Americans. One example was the poll tax. Many people could not afford this tax. Often, however, anyone whose father or grandfather had been eligible to vote did not have to pay it. In this way, many whites avoided the tax. Many African Americans could not.

One result of the civil rights movement of the 1950s and 1960s was a new amendment to the Constitution. The Twenty-fourth Amendment outlawed poll taxes in federal elections. This amendment was reinforced by a 1966 Supreme Court decision that poll taxes were illegal in state and local elections.

**Identifying Cause and Effect** In what ways would the Twenty-fourth Amendment increase the political power of African Americans?



All Americans today cast their ballots free of the poll tax.

President Lyndon Johnson ordered a massive hunt for the three young men. In August their bodies were found in an earthen dam near Philadelphia, Mississippi. The incident cast gloom over Freedom Summer. Two-thirds of the volunteers went home. Many of those who remained suffered through shootings, beatings, bombings, and arrests.

In December the FBI arrested 21 suspects in the murders of Goodman, Chaney, and Schwerner. Most were members of the Ku Klux Klan. When the state dropped all charges, they were brought to trial in federal court for violating civil rights laws. Seven were convicted and received prison sentences ranging from 4 to 10 years. They were the first convictions ever in Mississippi for killing a civil rights worker.

In spite of the violence, organizers considered Mississippi's Freedom Summer project a success. The Freedom Schools taught 3,000 students, and more than 17,000 African Americans in Mississippi applied to vote. When state elections officials accepted only about 1,600 of these applications helped to show that a federal law was needed to secure voting rights for African Americans.

## READING CHECK

### Summarizing

What steps were taken to help African Americans register to vote?

## Political Organizing

Freedom Summer was often overshadowed by the 1964 presidential election campaign. Most African American leaders wanted Johnson to defeat the Republican candidate Barry Goldwater, who had voted against the Civil Rights Act of 1964. You read about the election in the previous chapter. To help Johnson, Martin Luther King Jr. and other civil rights leaders agreed to suspend their protests until after election day.

SNCC, however, refused to agree. SNCC leaders wanted to protest segregation within the Democratic Party itself. "It is time for the Democratic Party to clean itself of racism," John Lewis, the head of SNCC, told the press.

As part of Freedom Summer, SNCC helped the **Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party** (MFDP) to organize. The MFDP elected sixty-eight delegates to the Democratic National Convention in August 1964. They arrived at the convention and asked to be seated instead of the all-white delegation sent by the state's Democratic Party.

The convention's credentials committee held a hearing to decide which delegates should represent Mississippi. **Fannie Lou Hamer**, an MFDP leader, presented her group's case. Her

## THE IMPACT TODAY

### Government

In 2005, another of the killers was convicted and sentenced to prison for the murders of Goodman, Chaney, and Schwerner.



testimony was carried live on national television. Hamer, a poor sharecropper, told how on the day she registered to vote she was fired from the plantation where she had lived for 18 years. She described how she was beaten in jail after being arrested for attending a voter registration meeting. Hamer wept as she concluded her powerful statement.

#### HISTORY'S VOICES

"All this on account of us wanting to register, to become first-class citizens, and if the Freedom Democratic Party is not seated now, I question America. Is this America, the land of the free and the home of the brave where we have to sleep with our telephones off the hooks because our lives be threatened daily because we want to live as decent human beings in America?"

—Fannie Lou Hamer, August 22, 1964

While Hamer's powerful testimony was on the air, President Johnson was trying to control any political damage to the Democratic Party. In a quickly arranged news conference, he offered to compromise with the MFDP.

The compromise that party leaders proposed was to seat two members of the MFDP delegation and classify the rest as nonvoting "guests" of the convention. Although the NAACP and SCLC supported the compromise, SNCC and the MFDP opposed it. "We didn't come all this way for just two votes," Hamer declared. "We must stop playing the game of token recognition for real change," the MFDP said in a statement rejecting the compromise.

The MFDP's challenge failed in the end. It also helped widen a split that was developing in the civil rights movement. But it helped pave the way for future increases in the power of minorities and women in American politics.

**READING CHECK** Identifying Problems and Solutions How did the MFDP represent the drive for political organization among African Americans?

## The Voting Rights Act

Following passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, the SCLC shifted its main focus to voting rights for African Americans. "The right to vote was the issue, replacing public accommodation as the mass concern of a people hungry for a place in the sun," Martin Luther King Jr. later wrote of the movement's new focus.

**The Selma campaign** In January 1965 King began a campaign to gain voting rights for African Americans by organizing marches in Selma, Alabama. "We will dramatize the situation to arouse the federal government by marching by the thousands to the places of registration," he declared.

By the end of January more than 2,000 marchers had been arrested. Police acted with restraint. They did not want to give King the confrontation he was seeking. King then repeated a tactic he had used earlier in Birmingham. He forced police to jail him along with several hundred other marchers, including many children.

King's arrest had the desired effect. The national media swarmed into Selma. The mass arrests and images of children being sent off to jail began appearing on the networks' evening news programs.

### March from Selma

**LIFE**

Civil rights face-off at Selma  
**THE SAVAGE SEASON BEGINS**



Above, police lay in wait for civil rights marchers as they cross the Edmund Pettus Bridge, March 7, 1965. Right, John Lewis, the SNCC leader who organized the first Selma march, is beaten by state troopers after crossing the bridge on what came to be known as Bloody Sunday.



Tensions rose in mid-February, when police attacked a march in nearby Marion, Alabama. Two state troopers shot and killed a marcher. A few days later King announced a four-day march from Selma to Montgomery, the state capital, to protest police brutality. Governor George Wallace issued an order prohibiting the march. "[It] will not be tolerated," he warned.

**The Selma march** On Sunday, March 7, 1965, about 600 African Americans began the 54-mile march. Just across the Edmund Pettus Bridge, on the way out of Selma, city and state police blocked their way. After firing tear gas at the marchers, police attacked with clubs, chains, and electric cattle prods. TV networks showed film of the savage violence.

King was not present on the March 7 march. He announced that it would resume on March 9. In a controversial decision, he led the group only to the base of the bridge—not across it. The pause was only temporary, however. After receiving promises of federal protection, the marchers finally reached Montgomery on March 25.

**The Voting Rights Act of 1965** A week later, President Johnson gave a nationally televised address to a joint session of Congress. "At times history and fate meet . . . to shape

a turning point in man's unending search for freedom," he observed. "So it was last week in Selma, Alabama." The president asked for quick passage of a tough voting rights law. "It is wrong—deadly wrong—to deny any of our fellow Americans the right to vote," Johnson declared. "Outside this chamber is the outraged conscience of a nation."

The **Voting Rights Act of 1965** passed in Congress by large majorities. King, James Farmer, Rosa Parks, and other civil rights leaders attended the president's signing ceremony on August 6.

The law proved to be one of the most important pieces of civil rights legislation ever passed. It gave the federal government powerful tools with which to break down longstanding barriers to African American voting rights. The impact was felt quickly. Within three weeks more than 27,000 African Americans in Mississippi, Alabama, and Louisiana registered to vote. African American candidates were soon elected to state and local offices, helping to break the long-held political power of those who supported segregation.

**READING CHECK** **Identifying Cause and Effect** How did the Selma march help to secure passage of the Voting Rights Act of 1965?

## SECTION 3 ASSESSMENT

go.hrw.com

Online Quiz

Keyword: SD2 HP28

### Reviewing Ideas, Terms, and People

- Identify** What was the goal of the Voter Education Project?
  - Compare** How were the obstacles faced by the Voter Education Project and **Freedom Summer** workers similar?
  - Elaborate** Why do you think African American voter registration efforts faced such fierce resistance?
- Describe** Who was Fannie Lou Hamer and what was her goal?
  - Analyze** Why did some civil rights groups suspend their protests before the election of 1964?
  - Evaluate** Do you think the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party was right to reject President Johnson's compromise? Explain your viewpoint.
- Define** What was the Selma campaign?
  - Make Inferences** How did the media help the marchers' cause in Selma?
  - Elaborate** Why do you think so many members of Congress supported the Voting Rights Act of 1965?

### Critical Thinking

- Analyze Information** Review your notes on African Americans' struggle for political equality. Then copy the graphic organizer below and use it to list the events in the struggle, what injustice each event targeted, and the effects of those actions.

Event	Targeted Injustice	Effects

### FOCUS ON WRITING

- Expository** Make a short speech supporting either the Twenty-fourth Amendment or the Voting Rights Act of 1965. In your speech, explain the likely benefits of the new law.



### Reynolds v. Sims (1964)

**Why It Matters** *Reynolds v. Sims* provided the Court's philosophy behind the "one person, one vote" standard. Because of this ruling, all states had to change their methods for electing state legislators.

#### Background of the Case

By 1960 about three-fourths of Alabama voters lived in cities, but rural voters still controlled both houses of the legislature. A group of Birmingham citizens sued, claiming that their votes had substantially less impact than the votes of people from rural counties.

In earlier cases the Supreme Court ruled that federal courts could not tell state legislatures how to handle representation issues. But in 1960 the Court struck down an Alabama law designed to keep African American votes from deciding elections. This case opened the door to judicial review of apportionment decisions. However, the Birmingham plaintiffs still had to convince the Court that Alabama's legislative districts were so unfair as to be unconstitutional.

#### The Decision

Chief Justice Earl Warren wrote the opinion of the Court. He emphasized that the individual citizen is the key component of a democratic society:

**"Legislators represent people, not trees or acres. Legislators are elected by voters, not farms or cities or economic interests . . . A citizen, a qualified voter, is no more nor no less so because he lives in the city or on the farm. This is the clear and strong command of our Constitution's Equal Protection Clause."**

The Court held that seats in both branches of state legislatures had to be apportioned based on population. Each elected official in a particular state had to represent approximately the same number of voters. This "one person, one vote" standard has become a hallmark of democracy.



#### THE IMPACT TODAY

Members of New York's state assembly wrap up a legislative session. Based on *Reynolds v. Sims*, seats in state legislatures must be apportioned based on population. The U.S. Census Bureau provides guidelines to assist states in gathering population data to redraw their district boundaries.

go.hrw.com

Research Online

Keyword: SC Court

#### CRITICAL THINKING

- Analyze the Impact** Using the keyword above, read about the decision in *Baker v. Carr*, decided two years before *Reynolds*. What was the issue in *Baker*? How did that decision pave the way for the plaintiffs in *Reynolds* to bring their case?
- You Be the Judge** The New York Education Law said that only the parents or guardians of public school children—or the owners or renters of property—could vote in school district elections. A man living in the Union School District No. 15 brought suit after he was not allowed to vote in a school district election. He was not a parent of a student and he neither rented nor owned property in the district. Does New York's law deny him equal protection? How should the court rule on his claim? Explain your reasoning in a paragraph.



# Changes and Challenges

## BEFORE YOU READ

### MAIN IDEA

Continued social and economic inequalities caused many young African Americans to lose faith in the civil rights movement and integration and seek alternative solutions.

### READING FOCUS

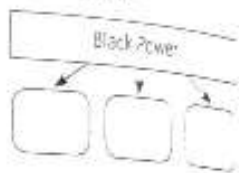
1. Why did the civil rights movement expand to the North?
2. What fractures developed in the civil rights movement, and what was the result?
3. What events led to the death of Martin Luther King Jr., and how did the nation react?

### KEY TERMS AND PEOPLE

de jure segregation  
de facto segregation  
Kerner Commission  
Stokely Carmichael  
Black Power  
Black Panther Party  
Malcolm X

### TAKING NOTES

As you read, take notes on organizations that promoted Black Power during the 1960s. In each box of a diagram like the one below, fill in the name and details about one organization.



## The March Against Fear

### THE INSIDE STORY

*How did the March Against Fear widen a split in the civil rights movement?* In June 1966 James

Meredith, the University of Mississippi's first African American graduate, began a 27-day march from Memphis, Tennessee, to Jackson, Mississippi, to encourage African Americans to register to vote. On the second day of what he called his March Against Fear, Meredith was shot and wounded. About 150 SCLC and SNCC members gathered to finish his march. Among them were Martin Luther King Jr. of SCLC and SNCC's young new leader, Stokely Carmichael.

The march was a harrowing experience. Vehicles swerved at the marchers, forcing them off the highway. People threw bottles, rocks, and firecrackers. "What are we waiting for, till they kill some of us?" some marchers began to ask. "I'm not much for that nonviolence stuff any more," an angry marcher announced on the highway one day.

As they marched, demonstrators shouted the SCLC's familiar call-and-response chant: "What do we want?" "Freedom now!" Soon, however, SNCC marchers began offering a new response: "Black power!" When ever the chant began, each side tried to drown out the other. Finally, King and Carmichael agreed to abandon the chant for the rest of the march. Journalists accompanying the march had already noticed the conflict, however. They reported this visible break in the unity of the civil rights movement. ■

▼ King (left) and Carmichael (right) on the March Against Fear in Mississippi





### THE LAW

**Fair Housing Act of 1968**  
Be It Ordained By The CITY COUNCIL of the CITY of CHICAGO That it shall be unlawful for any Real Estate Broker to Refuse to sell, Lease or Rent, any Real Estate for residential purposes because of RACE or COLOR



Percentage of population earning less than \$3,000 per year



Note: In 1960 the U.S. Census Bureau did not collect data by race at the metropolitan level. Instead, they collected data by white and non-white.

**Skills Focus**

Source: United States Census Bureau

### INTERPRETING GRAPHS

De facto segregation was reflected in the economic status of the population. How great was the difference in the incomes of whites and minorities in the cities shown in this graph?

See **Skills Handbook**, p. H16

About 350 demonstrators, guarded by police, march through an all-white Chicago neighborhood to protest housing discrimination in the Chicago real estate industry in 1966. Housing discrimination was a form of de facto segregation.

## Expanding the Movement

The March Against Fear marked a turning point in the drive for civil rights. The movement had done much to bring an end to **de jure segregation**, or segregation by law, in the South. However, Meredith's shooting provided grim evidence that changes in laws had not altered attitudes. Especially outside the South, African Americans were challenging the movement's tactics. Many began to question whether non-violent protest was the best means to genuine and permanent change.

**Conditions outside the South** African Americans in the South and outside the South faced similar but slightly different conditions. Most states did not deny African Americans voting rights. Nor did they require segregated public accommodations. Yet segregation was widespread in America. In most places it was **de facto segregation**—segregation that exists through custom and practice rather than by law. De jure segregation ends when the laws that create it are repealed. De facto segregation can be more difficult to overcome.

Most African Americans outside the South lived in cities. However, they often faced conditions like those faced by black southerners. For example, few real estate agents would take African Americans to homes for sale in white

neighborhoods. White homeowners willing to show their house to African American buyers incurred the anger of their neighbors. As a result, African Americans often had no choice but to live in all-black parts of town.

In addition, discrimination by banks made it hard to borrow money to buy or improve property in African American neighborhoods. This caused homeownership there to be low and many buildings to decay. Job discrimination against African Americans led to high unemployment and poverty in these neighborhoods, making the situation worse.

**Urban unrest** Frustration over these conditions exploded into violence. From 1964 to 1967, racial unrest erupted in most of the nation's large cities. Some of the worst violence took place in the poor, African American neighborhood of Watts in Los Angeles. In 1965, about 35,000 African Americans took part in a six-day riot that destroyed entire city blocks. Some 3,000 people were arrested and 34 were killed before police and troops restored order.

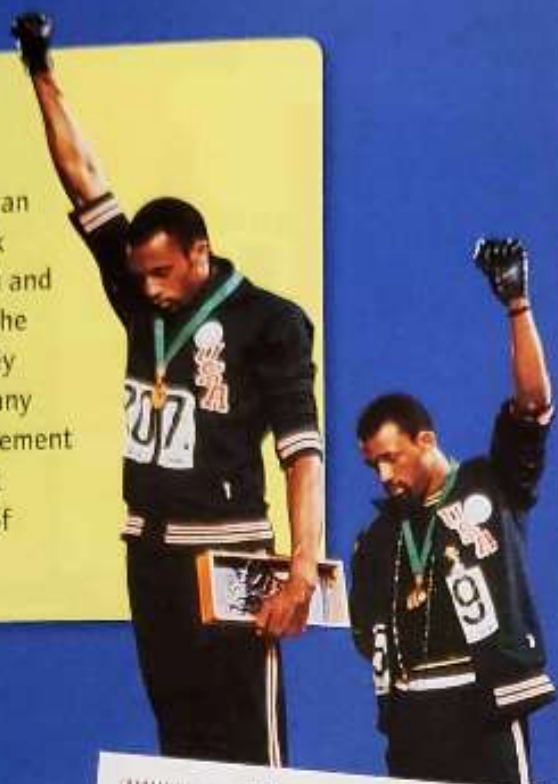
A week of violence in Detroit in July 1967 resulted in 43 deaths and thousands of injuries and arrests. After the riot, President Johnson



## Divisions within the Movement

### Black Power

At the 1968 Summer Olympics, African American members of the U.S. track team Tommie Smith (left) and John Carlos (right) gave the Black Power salute as they received their medals. Many saw the Black Power movement as threatening because it abandoned the concept of non-violence.



### Black Panther Party

The Black Panther Party formed in Oakland, California, in 1966 as a militant group that called for an armed revolution to achieve African American liberation.



### Nation of Islam

Elijah Muhammad led the Nation of Islam from 1934 to 1975. Here he is speaking to a group of followers. The Nation of Islam promoted economic independence for African Americans as well as racial separation.



appointed the **Kerner Commission** to study the causes of urban rioting. Its report placed the blame on poverty and discrimination. "Our nation," the report warned, "is moving toward two societies, one black and one white—separate and unequal."

**The movement moves north** The riots convinced King that the movement's gains in the South had bypassed millions of African Americans. This awareness spurred him to focus his attention on Chicago in 1966.

The SCLC's Chicago campaign lasted eight months. It was one of King's biggest failures. Chicago's African Americans did not share his civil rights focus. They had the right to vote, and they did not consider themselves segregated. Their concerns were mainly economic.

Chicago authorities also failed to provide the confrontations that worked so well for King in the South. Chicago police had strict orders against using force. Without such brutality, King found it hard to attract the media attention on which he relied to sway public opinion.

In July, King took his marches into Chicago's white neighborhoods. This tactic worked. Residents showered marchers with rocks and bottles. Unlike in the South, however, police protected the marchers. In addition, King's new strategy weakened his northern white support. He found that some whites who had criticized racism in the South had no interest in seeing it exposed in the North. In August, King hollowly declared victory and left Chicago.

#### READING CHECK

**Summarizing** What did King hope to accomplish by expanding the civil rights movement into Chicago?

### Fractures in the Movement

Most white Americans viewed the civil rights movement as a unified effort. In fact, it was made up of diverse groups united by the goal of ending racial discrimination. By the mid-1960s, however, conflicts among these groups had developed.

The first signs of trouble arose from Freedom Summer in 1964. As harassment of SNCC and CORE workers in Mississippi increased, some of them rejected the philosophy of non-violence. As you have read, unity was further weakened when the NAACP, CORE, and the



# Tactics of Change

*Martin Luther King's commitment to nonviolence never wavered.*

"[V]iolence... seeks to annihilate rather than convert... Nonviolence is a powerful and just weapon... which cuts without wounding and ennoble the man who wields it."

**Martin Luther King Jr., 1964**



*Malcolm X was blunt and uncompromising. He inspired hatred from some and respect from others.*

"[N]ow you're facing a situation where the young Negro's coming up. They don't want to hear that 'turn-the-other-cheek' stuff, no... There's new thinking coming in... There's new strategy coming in... It'll be ballots, or it'll be bullets. It'll be liberty, or it will be death."

**Malcolm X, 1964**

**Skills Focus**

**READING LIKE A HISTORIAN**

**Identifying Points of View** What does King mean when he says that nonviolence "cuts without wounding"? To what is Malcolm X referring when he speaks of "ballots" or "bullets"?

See **Skills Handbook**, pp. H28–H29

SCLC favored the compromise offered the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party at the Democratic National Convention. SNCC members accused the other groups of betrayal.

**Black Power** Cracks in the movement widened in May 1966, when **Stokely Carmichael** replaced the moderate John Lewis as head of SNCC. Under Carmichael's leadership, SNCC abandoned the philosophy of nonviolence.

Carmichael's support of aggressive action became clear during the March Against Fear in June 1966. The SNCC leader was among those arrested when the marchers stopped in Greenwood, Mississippi. After being released, Carmichael addressed a rally of about 3,000 protesters. With his arm raised in a clenched-fist salute, he shouted his defiance.

**HISTORY'S VOICES**

"This is the twenty-seventh time I have been arrested—and I ain't going to jail no more. The only way we're going to stop them white men from whippin' us is to take over. We been saying freedom for six years—and we ain't got nothin'. What we gonna start now is 'Black Power!'"

—Stokely Carmichael, June 17, 1966

As onlookers cheered, Carmichael yelled, "What do you want?" "Black power!" the crowd roared back. The next day the slogan became newspaper headlines across the nation.

Many critics believed the Black Power movement to be a call to violent action. Carmichael rejected this interpretation. He explained **Black Power** as African Americans' dependence on themselves to solve problems. "Integration is irrelevant," he declared. "Political and economic power is what black people have to have." He called on African Americans to form their own separate political organizations.

Like SNCC, CORE also abandoned nonviolence and endorsed Black Power in 1966. In 1967 CORE gave up its commitment to being a multiracial organization.

**The Black Panthers** Black Power appealed to many young African Americans. It inspired two young community activists, Huey Newton and Bobby Seale, to found a group called the **Black Panther Party** in Oakland, California, in October 1966. The Panthers rejected nonviolence and called for violent revolution as a means of African American liberation.



To achieve some of their goals, the Panthers carried guns and monitored African American neighborhoods to guard against police brutality. Confrontations between Black Panthers and the police in the late 1960s led to several shootouts resulting in deaths on both sides.

**Black Muslims** One of the largest and most influential groups expressing the ideas of Black Power was the Nation of Islam. Based on the Islamic religion, it was founded in 1930. Its members were called Black Muslims.

The group's leader, the Honorable Elijah Muhammad, preached a message of black nationalism, self-discipline, and self-reliance. Rules forbade smoking, gambling, and alcohol and stressed cleanliness and thrift. Men and women dressed conservatively. During the Great Depression, Black Muslims would not accept any government assistance.

By the 1960s the Nation of Islam had as many as 65,000 followers. Young African Americans, especially from the North's urban slums, were drawn to the Black Muslims' image and to a fiery minister known as **Malcolm X**. (Some Black Muslims took the surname "X" to represent the loss of their original, African identities.) Malcolm X offered a message of hope,

defiance, and black pride. "Revolutions are never hased upon . . . begging a corrupt society or a corrupt system to accept us into it," Malcolm X said. "Revolutions overturn systems."

At first, Malcolm X was also critical of King and nonviolence. "Any Negro who teaches other Negroes to turn the other cheek is disarming the Negro . . . [of] his natural right to defend himself," he charged. Many white Americans found his message frightening. King and other civil rights leaders thought him an extremist.

In 1964, however, Malcolm X broke with Elijah Muhammad and the Black Muslims. He visited Islam's holy sites in Saudi Arabia and returned a changed man. Although Malcolm X continued to preach Black Power, he began cooperating with other civil rights leaders and called for racial harmony. "If the white people realize what the alternative is," he noted, "perhaps they will be more willing to hear Dr. King." In February 1965, a few weeks after making this observation, Malcolm X was assassinated by Black Muslims who considered him a traitor to their cause.

#### READING CHECK

#### Identifying Supporting

**Details** How did Black Muslims reflect fractures in the civil rights movement?



Moments after Martin Luther King Jr. was shot, his aides frantically pointed to the source of the gunshots (left).





## The Assassination of King

King's disappointing Chicago campaign increased his awareness that economic issues must be part of the civil rights movement. With this in mind, he went to Memphis, Tennessee, in March 1968 to aid African American sanitation workers who were on strike against discrimination in the city's work and pay policies. King led a march to city hall on March 28 and then remained in Memphis to speak at a rally on April 3.

The next day James Earl Ray, a white sniper with a high-powered rifle, shot and killed King as he stood on the balcony of his motel. Within hours, rioting erupted in more than 120 cities as enraged African Americans across the nation responded to the assassination. Within three weeks, 46 people were dead, some 2,600 were injured, and more than 21,000 were arrested. Nearly 55,000 troops were required to restore order. One civil rights leader noted that King would have been outraged by the violent reaction to his death.

Robert Kennedy, who was running for president at the time, was about to give a campaign speech in an African American neighborhood of Indianapolis, Indiana, when he learned of

King's widow, Coretta Scott King, mourns at his funeral (left). Below, mules pull King's casket, symbolizing his work on behalf of the poor. Some 50,000 mourners joined the procession.



the shooting. After informing the audience of the tragedy, he recalled King's message while making an impassioned appeal for calm.

### HISTORY'S VOICES

"You can be filled with bitterness and with hatred and a desire for revenge. We can move in that direction as a country, in great polarization, black people amongst blacks and white people amongst whites, filled with hatred toward one another. Or we can make an effort, like Martin Luther King did, to understand and to comprehend, and replace that violence, that stain of bloodshed that has spread across the land, with . . . compassion and love."

—Robert Kennedy, April 4, 1968

### READING CHECK

**Summarizing** What were the circumstances of King's death?

### SECTION

## 4

### ASSESSMENT

go.hrw.com

Online Quiz

Keyword: 5D7 HP28

### Reviewing Ideas, Terms, and People

- a. Describe** What did the Kerner Commission conclude?

**b. Contrast** What is the difference between *de jure* segregation and *de facto* segregation?

**c. Predict** How do you think urban unrest could have been prevented or stopped?
- a. Identify** What was the Black Panther Party?

**b. Contrast** How were the goals of supporters of the Black Power movement different from those of other civil rights groups?

**c. Elaborate** Why do you think many African Americans were drawn to leaders such as Stokely Carmichael and Malcolm X?
- a. Describe** Why did Martin Luther King Jr. go to Memphis, Tennessee, in March 1968?

**b. Make Inferences** Why would King have been upset about the public reaction to his death?

**c. Predict** What long-term effect do you think King's death will have on the civil rights movement?

### Critical Thinking

- 4. Categorizing** Review your notes on the Black Power movement. Then copy the graphic organizer below and use it to list traditional and Black Power civil rights groups and leaders.

Traditional	

### FOCUS ON WRITING

- 5. Expository** Write a paragraph either for or against Black Power. Explain why you would or would not have supported its goals and methods.



# SECTION 5

# The Movement Continues

## BEFORE YOU READ

### MAIN IDEA

The civil rights movement was in decline by the 1970s, but its accomplishments continued to benefit American society.

### READING FOCUS

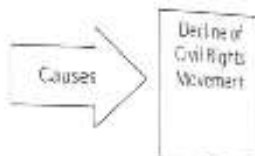
1. How did the SCLC's goals change and with what results?
2. For what reasons did the Black Power movement decline?
3. What civil rights changes took place in the 1970s, and what were their results?

### KEY TERMS AND PEOPLE

Poor People's Campaign  
Ralph Abernathy  
Civil Rights Act of 1968  
affirmative action  
John Lewis  
Andrew Young  
Jesse Jackson

### TAKING NOTES

As you read, take notes on reasons why the civil rights movement declined during the 1970s. Record your notes in a graphic organizer like the one shown here.



### THE INSIDE STORY

*Would you endure miserable conditions to seek changes that you believed to be right?* A covered

wagon pulled by mules would have attracted attention on the streets of Washington, D.C., even if not accompanied by tens of thousands of demonstrators protesting their poverty. Another strange sight was the community of tents and shacks that 2,500 of these protesters—African Americans, Native Americans, Hispanic Americans, and whites among them—occupied on the National Mall. They called their settlement Resurrection City.

Longtime SCLC leader Ralph Abernathy explained why the protesters were there. "The poor are no longer divided. We're not going to let the white man put us down any more," he declared. "It's not white power, and I'll give you some news, it's not black power, either. It's poor power and we're going to use it."

Unusually heavy spring rains quickly put Resurrection City ankle-deep in mud, making sanitation and trash collection difficult. Each day, however, determined groups of demonstrators organized marches from their miserable surroundings to federal agencies throughout the city. The marches were designed to demand that the government do more to combat poverty. "We have business on the road to freedom," Abernathy encouraged one group of protesters as they marched toward Capitol Hill. "We must prove to white America that you can kill the leader but you cannot kill the dream." ■

► The Poor People's Campaign set off to combat economic inequality as the next phase of the civil rights movement.

## The Poor People's Campaign





## A Change in Goals

The **Poor People's Campaign** marked an important expansion of the civil rights movement. By 1967 changes in the law had achieved basic rights for African Americans. Martin Luther King Jr. believed, however, that most African Americans were still prevented from achieving equality because they were poor. He decided to alert the nation to the economic plight not only of African Americans, but of all poor people.

King's death prevented him from leading this effort. That task fell to his successor as the head of the SCLC, **Ralph Abernathy**. In May 1968, thousands of protesters came to the nation's capital to be part of the Poor People's Campaign. A Mississippi woman explained why she joined the protest.

### HISTORY'S VOICES

"I'm here because when I was a child, I got taken out of school and put to work on the farm helping my family . . . Then I got married and had kids, and my husband worked in the cotton fields . . . But he got sick and don't work much no more and there ain't hardly no cotton to get picked by hand anyway . . . So I came here with the Campaign to tell people that we got to be treated like human beings—that we have a right to live because we've earned that right but we've yet to be paid."

—Henrietta Franklin, quoted in the *Washington Post*, May 24, 1968

The Poor People's Campaign turned out to be a disaster. Besides bad weather, the SCLC experienced terrible media relations. Some Resurrection City residents harassed reporters. About 200 protesters turned out to be members of inner-city gangs. The campaign's organizers eventually sent them home. After six weeks of problems, police used tear gas to empty Resurrection City and then tore it down.

Without King's eloquence and leadership, the Poor People's Campaign also failed to express clearly the protesters' needs and demands. Some conservative members of Congress believed they saw elements of communism in the campaign's beliefs and goals. All these factors combined to cause the SCLC and its role in the civil rights movement to decline.

### READING CHECK

#### Identifying the Main Idea

How did the Poor People's Campaign represent a change of goals for the civil rights movement?

## The Decline of Black Power

The civil rights movement took place at the height of the Cold War, when the nation's fear of communism was at its height. FBI director J. Edgar Hoover was convinced that the major civil rights groups were led by Communists.

In 1956 Hoover created a secret program within the FBI to keep an eye on many types of groups that were involved in the unrest that was plaguing society. Spies and informers working for the FBI posed as supporters of these groups and reported the groups' plans and activities back to the government.

At first, King was Hoover's main target in the civil rights movement. As the Black Power movement grew, however, he instructed his agents to disrupt and otherwise interfere with the activities of other civil rights groups he considered a threat to American society.

For example, to disrupt SNCC—and at the same time weaken the Black Panthers—FBI spies in SNCC spread false rumors that the Panthers intended to kill SNCC leaders. The FBI also forged harmful posters, leaflets, and correspondence that appeared to come from the groups it had targeted.

Hoover was especially concerned about the Black Panthers. The FBI encouraged local authorities to combat the Panthers by any means possible. Police raided the Panthers'







### AFRICAN AMERICAN GAINS IN THE CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT

**African American Elected Officials:**  
1,469 in 1970; 9,040 in 2000

**African Americans Not Living in Poverty:**  
45% in 1960; 78% in 2000

**African American College Graduates:**  
3.3% in 1960; 16.5% in 2000

headquarters in cities across the country. Since Black Panthers usually were armed, violent conflict sometimes resulted. Law enforcement authorities also sometimes shot Black Panther members whether they resisted or not. By the early 1970s, armed violence had led to the killing or arrest of many Black Panther leaders. Others had fled the United States in order to avoid arrest.

SNCC also collapsed with FBI help. In 1967, H. Rap Brown replaced Stokely Carmichael as head of SNCC. Urged on by his staff—many of whom were on the FBI's payroll—Brown took increasingly radical and shocking positions. As a result, SNCC's membership declined rapidly. The group disbanded in the early 1970s.

**READING CHECK Identifying Main Ideas**  
How did federal action help lead to a decline of the Black Power movement?

**Many** In spite of the challenges, the civil rights movement did make gains in the late 1960s. For example, just a week after Martin Luther King Jr.'s death, President Johnson signed the **Civil Rights Act of 1968**. Also called the Fair Housing Act, the law banned discrimination in the sale or rental of housing.

**Busing and political change** Despite the 1954 *Brown* decision, urban schools were still largely segregated in the late 1960s. This was a result of de facto segregation. Years of housing discrimination had contributed to segregated neighborhoods in many cities.

The Fair Housing Act was a step toward ending this situation. However, it would take years to overcome decades of discrimination and to achieve integrated neighborhoods. Meanwhile, many city schools would remain segregated.

To speed integration of city schools, courts began ordering that some students be bused from their neighborhoods to schools in other parts of the city. Busing met fierce opposition, especially in the North. Court-ordered busing in Boston in 1974, for example, led to two years of sometimes violent protests. Denver opponents of busing burned school buses.

Forced busing speeded the migration of whites from cities to suburbs. This development increased the political power of African Americans. By 1974 Cleveland, Detroit, Los Angeles, Washington, Atlanta, and several smaller cities had elected black mayors.

**Affirmative action** As you read in Section 2, the Civil Rights Act of 1964 banned discrimination in employment. By the late 1960s, the U.S. Justice Department was taking legal



action against employers for violating this law. At the same time, the government helped businesses and colleges set up **affirmative action** programs that gave preference to minorities and women in hiring and admissions. These programs were designed to help make up for past discrimination against these groups.

Affirmative action and busing were divisive issues in the 1970s. It is difficult to **assess** clearly their contribution to the Republican Party's success in the late 1900s and early 2000s. However, backlash against these programs helped Republicans lure two important groups of voters away from the Democratic Party—white southerners and urban, working-class whites.

**The new Black Power** As African Americans in the South exercised their newly won voting rights—and were more politically active nationwide—it became clear that Black Power did not die in the 1970s. It merely took on a new form and meaning.

By 1970 the populations of more than 100 counties in the South were at least 50 percent African American. The African Americans who took over elected offices in these and other places governed as well as the white officials they replaced. In addition, many African Americans who played important roles in the civil rights movement later provided other services to the nation. For example, Thurgood Marshall,

the NAACP lawyer who argued the *Brown* case before the Supreme Court, later became the Court's first African American justice.

**John Lewis** took part in some of the first sit-ins in 1960. He was also a Freedom Rider in 1961 and participated in the Selma march in 1965. The head of SNCC in the early 1960s, Lewis was elected in 1986 to the first of many terms representing the people of Atlanta, Georgia, in Congress.

As a staff member of the SCLC and a close adviser to King, **Andrew Young** played a key role in the 1963 Birmingham campaign and in the Selma march. In 1972 he became Georgia's first African American member of Congress since Reconstruction. Young later served as U.S. ambassador to the United Nations and as mayor of Atlanta. You will read more about Young's career later in this book.

**Jesse Jackson** was another young activist who went on to leave his own mark on the nation. Jackson founded his own civil rights organization, Operation PUSH, and became an international figure for his work on behalf of poor and oppressed peoples around the world. His campaigns for the Democratic presidential nomination in the 1980s raised the real possibility that the nation might one day have an African American president.

**READING CHECK Summarizing** What political changes did busing, affirmative action, and Black Power bring to America in the 1970s?

#### ACADEMIC VOCABULARY

**assess** determine the importance of

## SECTION 5

### ASSESSMENT

go.hrw.com

Online Quiz

Keywords: SD7 HF28

#### Reviewing Idea, Terms, and People

- Identify** Who succeeded Martin Luther King Jr. as head of the SCLC?
  - Analyze** Why did the Poor People's Campaign fail?
  - Elaborate** Why did Martin Luther King Jr. treat poverty as a civil rights issue?
- Describe** How did J. Edgar Hoover and the FBI weaken the Black Panthers?
  - Make Inferences** How did the Cold War influence Hoover and the FBI's attitude about the Black Power movement?
- Define** What was busing, and what was its purpose?
  - Contrast** How was the role of Black Power different during and after the 1970s than before the 1970s?
  - Elaborate** Why do you think many people have opposed affirmative action?

#### Critical Thinking

- Identifying Supporting Details** Review your notes on the decline of the civil rights movement. Then copy the graphic organizer below and use it to list gains and losses for African Americans that accompanied the movement's decline.


#### FOCUS ON WRITING

- Expository** Write a statement suggesting ways to prevent the civil rights movement from declining. Include an assessment of whether the civil rights movement is needed today.



# The Government and Equal Rights

**Historical Context** The documents begin with the definition and means of government intervention for equal rights.

**Task** Examine the documents and answer the questions that follow. Then you will be asked to write an essay about the federal government's role in establishing equal rights for Americans, using facts from the documents and from the chapter to support the position you take in your thesis statement.

## DOCUMENT 1

Many white southerners viewed integration as a social question that should not be answered by the federal government. Some argued that segregation would eventually end on its own. Federal intervention, they argued, would only create hostility and resentment. Robert Patterson was a white Mississippi native who opposed government-enforced integration. In the following interview, he explained his views.

"[Integration of restaurants and motels] is not social integration, that's forced integration under the might of the federal government . . . To be subjected to integration is one thing, but to submit to it is something else entirely. We are being subjected to integration; we're not submitting to it . . .

[T]he South is living under a system of force. In other words, we're integrating because we're forced to integrate. They hire Negroes down here because they're forced to do it. We send Negroes to medical school 'cause we're forced to do it. That's why we do it. That doesn't make it right, and it doesn't make it accepted . . .

That's what the federal government is trying to do to the black and the white, trying to force them together to make one race out of them. And I believe the black man resists it subconsciously, and I believe the white man resists it."

## DOCUMENT 2

Some people who supported civil rights cautioned that the federal government risked a backlash if it moved too fast to change society. Clifford H. Baldowski was a white editorial cartoonist for the *Atlanta Journal-Constitution* who supported civil rights. The following cartoon, published in 1963, depicts Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy trying to ensure the success of needed federal civil rights legislation.



"Somebody has gotta keep this thing on the track!"



Many African Americans did not believe that white officials in the South would protect equal rights unless the federal government forced them to do so. Fannie Lou Hamer called on the federal government to intervene in Mississippi, a state in which a majority black population was largely prevented from participating in local and state government. In the following interview, she recalled how Byron De La Beckwith, the assassin of civil rights leader Medgar Evers, was set free by two all-white juries.

"America that is divided against itself cannot stand, and we cannot say that we have all this unity they say we have when black people are being discriminated against in every city in America I have visited.

"I was in jail [for protesting] when Medgar Evers was murdered and nothing, I mean nothing has been done about that . . . We can no longer ignore the fact that America is NOT the 'land of the free and the home of the brave.'"

Some African American leaders warned the federal government that it needed to enforce equal rights not just because it was the right thing to do but in order to prevent violence. In the following speech from 1964, Malcolm X urged government leaders to enforce equal rights before people took matters into their own hands.

"America is the only country in history in a position to bring about a revolution without violence and bloodshed. But America is not morally equipped to do so.

Why is America in a position to bring about a bloodless revolution? Because the Negro in this country holds the balance of power and if the Negro in this country were given what the Constitution says he is supposed to have, the added power of the Negro in this country would sweep all of the racists and segregationists out of office. It would change the entire political structure of the country. It would wipe out the southern segregationism that now controls America's foreign policy, as well as America's domestic policy.

And the only way without bloodshed that this can be brought about is that the black man has to be given full use of the ballot in every one of the 50 states. But if the black man doesn't get the ballot, then you are going to be faced with another man who forgets the ballot and starts using the bullet."

1. **a. Identify** Refer to Document 1. To Patterson, what is the difference between "subjected" and "submitting"?  
**b. Elaborate** Do you think Patterson sees voluntary integration ever taking place without force? Explain.
2. **a. Describe** Refer to Document 2. Who is driving?  
**b. Interpret** What does this cartoon reflect about the role that Robert F. Kennedy played in civil rights legislation?
3. **a. Identify** Refer to Document 3. What is the main hypocrisy that Hamer sees?  
**b. Analyze** How does the example of Byron De La Beckwith support Hamer's call for federal intervention?

4. **a. Describe** Refer to Document 4. To Malcolm X, what was the most important right that the government needed to protect for African Americans?  
**b. Elaborate** Do you think Malcolm X's reasons for needing government intervention are valid? Explain.
5. **Document-Based Essay Question** Consider the question below and form a thesis statement. Using examples from Documents 1, 2, 3, and 4, create an outline and write a short essay supporting your position. What role should the government have in enforcing equal rights for Americans?



## Visual Summary: The Civil Rights Movement

### Fighting Segregation

- Early civil rights groups included the NAACP and CORE.
- In 1954 the Supreme Court ordered an end to racial segregation in public schools.
- A bus boycott in Montgomery, Alabama, launched the SCLC and the modern civil rights movement.

### Freedom Now!

- Sit-ins and Freedom Rides provoked violent reactions from some white southerners.
- Violent response to marches in Birmingham, Alabama, shocked the nation.
- The March on Washington helped lead to the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

### Voting Rights

- Some white southerners tried to block efforts of African Americans to vote.
- African Americans in Mississippi organized to increase their political power.
- A brutal attack on a protest in Selma, Alabama, helped win support for the Voting Rights Act of 1965.

### Changes and Challenges

- Civil rights leaders began attacking de facto segregation in the North in the mid-1960s.
- Differences within the civil rights movement weakened it and led to the rise of Black Power.
- The assassination of Martin Luther King Jr. caused urban unrest.

### The Movement Continues

- King's death and the Poor People's Campaign helped lead to the decline of SCLC.
- Internal divisions and an FBI campaign weakened some civil rights groups.
- The civil rights movement resulted in important gains for African Americans.

## Reviewing Key Terms and People

Identify the correct term or person from the chapter that best fits each of the following descriptions.

1. Law banning discrimination in employment and in public facilities
2. Leader of SNCC in the 1960s who many years later was elected to Congress from the state of Georgia
3. A type of discrimination that exists through custom and practice instead of by law
4. Groups of people who traveled through the South challenging segregation at bus stations
5. Project for college students to spend their summer vacation registering African Americans to vote in Mississippi
6. African American politician and civil rights leader who campaigned for the Democratic presidential nomination in the 1980s

7. Minister and civil rights leader who supported nonviolent resistance
8. NAACP leader who was murdered at his home by a member of the Ku Klux Klan
9. Part of the Constitution banning states from taxing citizens to vote in elections

## Comprehension and Critical Thinking

### SECTION 1 (pp. 908–915)

10. **a. Recall** What civil rights gains were made in the 1940s?
- b. Analyze** How did the African American community support the Montgomery bus boycott?
- c. Elaborate** How did Thurgood Marshall and the NAACP's earlier work contribute to the *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas*, decision?





## SECTION 2 (pp. 916–923)

11. **a. Identify** What were the goals of SNCC?

**b. Draw Conclusions** What effect did racial violence have on President Kennedy's approach to civil rights?

**c. Evaluate** What do you think made the strategy of nonviolence effective?

## SECTION 3 (pp. 925–930)

12. **a. Describe** What did Freedom Summer accomplish?

**b. Draw Conclusions** Why did Martin Luther King Jr. resume the march from Selma to Montgomery, Alabama after it met with violence?

**c. Predict** How do you think the actions of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party affected the Democratic Party?

## SECTION 4 (pp. 932–937)

13. **a. Identify** What slogan did Stokely Carmichael introduce at a SNCC rally?

**b. Compare** How were conditions similar for African Americans in the South and in the North?

**c. Elaborate** Why is the legacy of Martin Luther King Jr. so important?

## SECTION 5 (pp. 938–941)

14. **a. Describe** How did civil rights leaders such as John Lewis and Andrew Young continue serving the nation after the 1960s?

**b. Analyze** Why did SNCC collapse?

**c. Predict** What could have made the Poor People's Campaign more successful?

## Using Internet

15. The policy of affirmative action resulted from the civil rights movement, but it remains controversial today. Using the keyword above, do research to learn about court cases and controversies related to affirmative action. Then create a report that analyzes how these questions and decisions have shaped affirmative action policies today.

go.hrw.com  
Practice Online  
Keyword: SD7 CH28

## Analyzing Primary Sources

**Reading Like a Historian** Read the History's Voices passage in Section 2 from Diane Nash that begins: "We would practice such things ..." Nash was training to take part in civil rights demonstrations.

16. **Identify** What were the civil rights workers practicing?

17. **Draw Conclusions** Why do you think civil rights workers needed this kind of training?

## Critical Reading

Read the passage in Section 4 that begins with the heading "Fractures in the Movement." Then answer the question that follows.

18. The first major signs of trouble in the civil rights movement occurred when some workers
- A** rejected the philosophy of nonviolence.
  - B** split off and formed their own groups.
  - C** made speeches in favor of Black Power.
  - D** disagreed at the 1964 Democratic National Convention.

## WRITING FOR THE SAT

Think about the following issue.

Martin Luther King Jr. was an inspiring leader who was highly effective at communicating and motivating African Americans and whites. He was clearly the most important and influential leader of the civil rights movement in the mid-1950s through the late 1960s.

19. **Assignment** Did King's death bring an end to the civil rights movement? Write a short essay in which you develop your position on this issue. Support your point of view with reasoning and examples from your reading and studies.