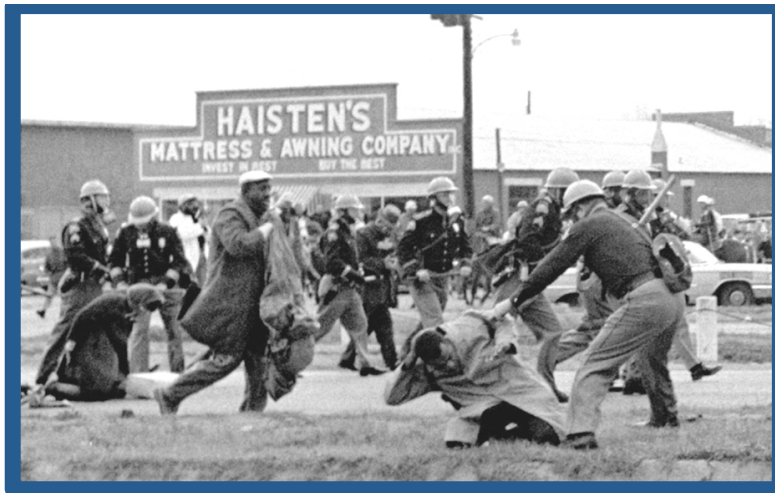




## 5011th Grade Civil Rights Inquiry

# What Made Nonviolent Protest Effective during the Civil Rights Movement?



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### Supporting Questions

1. What was the impact of the Greensboro sit-in protest?
2. What made the Montgomery bus boycott, Birmingham campaign, and Selma to Montgomery marches effective?
3. How did others use nonviolence effectively during the civil rights movement?



## 11th Grade Civil Rights Inquiry

### What Made Nonviolent Protest Effective during the Civil Rights Movement?

<p><b>New York State Social Studies Framework Key Idea &amp; Practices</b></p>	<p><b>11.10 SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC CHANGE/DOMESTIC ISSUES (1945 – PRESENT):</b> Racial, gender, and socioeconomic inequalities were addressed by individuals, groups, and organizations. Varying political philosophies prompted debates over the role of federal government in regulating the economy and providing a social safety net.</p> <p>✔ <b>Gathering, Using, and Interpreting Evidence</b>   ✔ <b>Chronological Reasoning and Causation</b></p>
<p><b>Staging the Question</b></p>	<p>Discuss the recent die-in protests and the extent to which they are an effective form of nonviolent direct-action protest.</p>

<p><b>Supporting Question 1</b></p>
<p>What was the impact of the Greensboro sit-in protest?</p>
<p><b>Formative Performance Task</b></p>
<p>Create a cause-and-effect diagram that demonstrates the impact of the sit-in protest by the Greensboro Four.</p>
<p><b>Featured Sources</b></p>
<p><b>Source A:</b> Photograph of the Greensboro Four  <b>Source B:</b> <i>Join the Student Sit-Ins</i>  <b>Source C:</b> “1960: Sitting Down to Take a Stand”</p>

<p><b>Supporting Question 2</b></p>
<p><b>Guided Student Research</b></p>
<p>What made the Montgomery bus boycott, the Birmingham campaign, and the Selma to Montgomery marches effective?</p>
<p><b>Formative Performance Task</b></p>
<p>Detail the impacts of a range of actors and the actions they took to make the efforts effective.</p>
<p><b>Featured Sources</b></p>
<p><b>Sources A–D:</b> Source packet on the Montgomery bus boycott  <b>Sources A–D:</b> Source packet on the Birmingham campaign  <b>Sources A–E:</b> Source packet on the Selma to Montgomery marches</p>

<p><b>Supporting Question 3</b></p>
<p><b>Independent Student Research</b></p>
<p>How did others use nonviolence effectively during the civil rights movement?</p>
<p><b>Formative Performance Task</b></p>
<p>Research the impact of a range of actors and the effective nonviolent direct actions they used in events during the civil rights movement.</p>
<p><b>Featured Sources</b></p>
<p><b>Source A:</b> To be determined by students; see possible resources in the Events for Research table</p>

<p><b>Summative Performance Task</b></p>	<p><b>ARGUMENT</b> What made nonviolent protest effective during the civil rights movement? Construct an argument (e.g., detailed outline, poster, or essay) using specific claims and relevant evidence from historical sources. Express these arguments by creating a monument or memorial for nonviolent heroes of the civil rights movement and provide a rationale for its design.</p> <p><b>EXTENSION</b> Discuss the following: If the country were to build a monument or memorial (e.g., Mount Rushmore or the Vietnam War Memorial) for nonviolent heroes of the civil rights movement, what type of monument should it be and who, if anyone, should be on it?</p>
<p><b>Taking Informed Action</b></p>	<p><b>UNDERSTAND</b> Examine several oral history archives. Focus on archives that feature individuals who participated in nonviolent protest within the civil rights movement.</p> <p><b>ASSESS</b> Discuss the limitations of oral history and note its contribution to our understanding of the past.</p> <p><b>ACT</b> Create an oral history archive of individuals who participated in or witnessed a nonviolent direct-action protest.</p>



## Overview

### Inquiry Description

This inquiry leads students through an investigation of the civil rights movement using the lens of nonviolent direct-action protest. The content of this inquiry relates to Key Idea 11.10, Social and Economic Change/Domestic Issues (1945 – Present). The compelling question “What made nonviolent protest effective during the civil rights movement?” asks students to grapple with the means of achieving the various ends of the civil rights movement—an end to segregation as well as the achievement of voting rights and true equality as citizens. This investigation is situated in the unique time of the civil rights movement in which a large number of individuals and organizations strategically chose to use tactics that on the surface may have seemed counterintuitive and yet yielded effective results.

As students move through the inquiry, they are asked to consider what makes a social movement successful by thinking about the many actors involved and the strategies they employ. Using a range of primary and secondary historical sources, they focus on the following key questions: (1) What role do individuals play in a social movement? (2) How does individual and collective action interact? (3) What role do organizations play in facilitating and sustaining action? and (4) How did nonviolent direct action contribute to the success of an event and help to accelerate the larger civil rights movement?

NOTE: This inquiry is expected to take seven to ten 40-minute class periods. The inquiry time frame could expand if teachers think their students need additional instructional experiences (i.e., supporting questions, formative performance tasks, and featured sources). Teachers are encouraged to adapt the inquiries in order to meet the needs and interests of their particular students. Resources can also be modified as necessary to meet individualized education programs (IEPs) or Section 504 Plans for students with disabilities.

### Content Background

The civil rights movement, as it is conventionally named, marks the collective efforts to dismantle the Jim Crow system of segregation and discrimination in the South. While scholars problematize identifying the movement as a distinct effort that went from the early 1950s to the mid 1960s, this inquiry focuses on those years because they cover the key legislative and judicial victories of the movement, beginning with *Brown v. Board of Education* in 1954 and culminating with the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965.

The conventional story of the movement focuses heavily on the roles of Rosa Parks and Martin Luther King, Jr. over others and the efforts of collective organizations. Students’ understandings of what happened during the civil rights movement are thus often simplistic and limited.

Rather than trying to be comprehensive, this inquiry focuses on the impact of nonviolence as a form of resistance through the actions of key actors, both individuals and organizations. Although there are numerous notable events throughout this time period, this inquiry focuses on four in particular: the Greensboro sit-ins, the Montgomery bus boycott, the Birmingham campaign, and the Selma to Montgomery marches. The third formative performance task opens up to an additional four events (Freedom Rides in 1961, the 1963 March on Washington, the Freedom Summer of 1964, and the Chicago Freedom Movement that began in 1966) that further students’ understanding of the movement as a collective call to action and one that is characterized by a large-scale commitment to nonviolent means in achieving its goals.



## Content, Practices, and Literacies

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In addressing the compelling question “What made nonviolent protest effective during the civil rights movement?” students need to weigh evidence from a variety of sources. The first formative performance task asks students to make a graphic organizer that traces the impact of the initial Greensboro sit-in. The second formative performance task features a graphic organizer that asks students to articulate the significance of an individual or organization and the reason(s) for it. Although many actors contributed to the success of the civil rights movement, each task features three individuals and one organization that helped define the effort. Students’ research is focused on four sections: (1) actor: an individual or organization that practiced nonviolent direct action during the civil rights movement; (2) actions: the effective contributions this individual or organization made to the particular event; (3) impact: a claim about the individual or organization’s impact on the event or movement; and (4) evidence: specific evidence from historical sources that states the direct nonviolent action this individual or organization took.

Throughout the inquiry, students are asked to reason historically using the social studies practices of Gathering, Using, and Interpreting Sources and Chronological Reasoning and Causation. In the Summative Performance Task, students construct an argument answering the compelling question using specific claims and relevant evidence from historical sources from the inquiry. Then, students deliberate on the construction of a monument that would honor the individual and collective efforts of those who used nonviolence direct action during the movement.

It is important to note two important threads that run through this inquiry. First, oral history is a focus of this inquiry, and students might benefit from listening to the retelling of the events by the key players and considering the value of these accounts as well as the limitations of oral history in general. Appendix C includes a list of questions that students may want to use in considering the unique nature of oral history. The second thread is the focus on research. Staged throughout the inquiry is guided research that is scaffolded with a graphic organizer and vetted sources. The third formative performance task gives students an opportunity to become more independent while utilizing the guided research opportunities in the first two tasks.

Given additional instructional time, teachers might want to expand this inquiry by incorporating additional formative performance tasks. Additional supporting questions might be: (1) What are the foundations of nonviolence direct action protest? This task could feature the writings of Mahatma Gandhi, Henry David Thoreau, and Martin Luther King, Jr.; (2) How do the events within the civil rights movement emerge chronologically? This exercise could have students developing a timeline of events and creating cause-and-effect claims using some of the elements of Formative Performance Task 1; (3) Did everyone agree with nonviolent direct action protest during the civil rights movement? This task could feature the reactions of Malcolm X, Stokely Carmichael, the Black Panthers, and others who thought the movement needed to radicalize; and (4) What role did the media play in the civil rights movement? This investigation could have students examine newspaper reports from around the country as well as other forms of media such as television that reported on the issues and how it affected public perception and policy.

The New York State P–12 Common Core Learning Standards for English Language Arts & Literacy offer social studies teachers numerous opportunities to integrate literacy goals and skills into their social studies instruction. The Common Core supports the inquiry process through reading rich informational texts, writing evidence-based arguments, and speaking and listening in public venues, and using academic vocabulary to complement the pedagogical directions advocated in the New York State K–12 Social Studies Framework. At the end of this inquiry is an explication of how teachers might integrate literacy skills throughout the content, instruction, and resource decisions they make.



## Staging the Compelling Question

<b>Compelling Question</b>	What made nonviolent protest effective during the civil rights movement?
<b>Featured Sources</b>	<p><b>Source A:</b> “When Did ‘Die-ins’ Become a Form of Protest?”</p> <p><b>Source B:</b> “Students See New Hope in Bias Protests”</p>

For this inquiry, students examine the effectiveness of nonviolent direct action protest as led by individual and group actors during the civil rights movement. Students could begin in the modern era at a time when people, primarily students, around the country are using die-in protests to raise awareness after the decision not to indict a police officer in the chokehold death of Eric Garner in Staten Island, New York, in July 2014.

Students could start by reading news articles from the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) and the *New York Times* that provide background on the recent die-in protests. The article from the BBC, “When Did ‘Die-Ins’ Become a Form of Protest?” examines how die-ins have been used as a form of nonviolent protest dating back to the 1960s. Next, students could read through the article from the *New York Times* titled “Students See New Hope in Bias Protests.” This article examines the die-in demonstrations by students on the campus of Harvard University and then problematizes how effective the demonstrations may be in a larger context, as shown in the following quote:

[S]tudents and professors question whether this movement will mark the beginning of the kind of student activism that has been largely absent since the Civil Rights and Vietnam War era. “There are a lot of planes on the runway, and there are many fewer that get off the ground,” said Richard Parker, a Harvard lecturer on public policy and a veteran 1960s activist. “Those in the air are even fewer.”

He said that although Harvard’s student body had changed considerably since the 1960s, students today were more cautious and career-oriented. “There is diversity on the input side, and standardization on the output side,” Mr. Parker said. “If you give the students a clear structure, they function well. Give them a range of autonomy, they’re more tentative. They’re more risk-averse because they see acts as having social consequences.”

Teachers may want students to follow up these readings with other images and news stories covering the die-in protests. Students could discuss the extent to which die-in protests are an effective form of nonviolent protest and the role that media and social media play in making these protests effective or not. From there, teachers can preview the rest of the inquiry and let students know that they will be investigating nonviolent tactics to protest racial injustice during the civil rights movement. In doing so, they will look at the individuals and organizations who made up the movement and the various forms of nonviolent protest used that made the civil rights movement a movement.

### Additional Resources

Teachers may also want to explore nonviolent direct action more broadly. In a TEDx talk (“TED” stands for technology, entertainment, design), political scientist Erica Chenoweth argues that peaceful protest is more effective than violence in getting rid of dictators. Using data from all major nonviolent and violent campaigns for the overthrow of a government or a territorial liberation since 1900, she demonstrates that nonviolent campaigns have become increasingly successful over time.

- Erica Chenoweth, “The Success of Nonviolent Civil Resistance: Erica Chenoweth at TEDxBoulder,” TEDx channel on YouTube, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=YJSehRIU34w>.



Teachers may also want to consider examples of students in New York who have taken action in response to the death of Eric Garner. The first article focuses on the actions of two groups of students the day after the ruling. The second article looks at a group who defied a ban on their action by the New York City Department of Education. In discussing the articles, teachers should push students to analyze the goals of each action and the extent to which they were achieved.

- Geoff Decker, "Students Stage 'Die-ins' after Indictment Decision in Eric Garner Case," *Chalkbeat* New York website, December 4, 2014. <http://ny.chalkbeat.org/2014/12/04/students-stage-die-ins-after-indictment-decision-in-eric-garner-case/>.
- Colin Moynihan, "Defying Ban, Students March to Brooklyn in Protest of Eric Garner Decision," *New York Times*, December 9, 2014. [http://www.nytimes.com/2014/12/10/nyregion/defying-ban-students-march-to-brooklyn-in-protest-of-eric-garner-decision.html?\\_r=0](http://www.nytimes.com/2014/12/10/nyregion/defying-ban-students-march-to-brooklyn-in-protest-of-eric-garner-decision.html?_r=0).



## Staging the Compelling Question

### Featured Source

**Source A:** Micah Luxen, post on the Magazine Monitor blog about die-in protests, “When Did ‘Die-ins’ Become a Form of Protest?” British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) website, December 16, 2014

*NOTE: Teachers and students can read this article by clicking on the following link: <http://www.bbc.com/news/blogs-magazine-monitor-30402637>.*



## Staging the Compelling Question

### Featured Source

**Source B:** Celestine Bohlen, article about die-ins and current student activism, “Students See New Hope in Bias Protests,” *New York Times* December 16, 2014

## Students See New Hope in Bias Protests

CAMBRIDGE, Mass. — As student activism goes, the sporadic demonstrations at [Harvard](#) protesting the deaths of two unarmed black men by white police officers — and the decisions by the American justice system not to prosecute either case — hardly measure up to the massive turnouts back in the late 1960s.

There have been a couple of marches, drawing as many as 600 students from Harvard and nearby universities; a series of “die-ins” where protesters lay motionless on the ground in tribute to the victims; a clash between some 30 demonstrators and a group of naked pranksters on a traditional midnight run through campus on the eve of exams; and a controversial letter from a group of Harvard law students, challenging their dean to grant them an extension on their exams as a way of supporting the protests.

As they headed into a final weekend of demonstrations before the winter break, student activists said they were determined to bring renewed momentum to the “Black Lives Matter” movement so that it avoids the slow fizzle that ended the Occupy Wall Street movement in 2011.

“People understand that if we all come together and have one voice, we will have more impact,” said Fadhil Moore, a Harvard senior from Atlanta who joined other black students at the university to draw up demands before a second march on Friday — from mandatory body cameras for the police and a national data base on police shootings to a sharing of best practices for neighborhood patrols.

Students say the countrywide protests over racial bias in United States law enforcement have hit a nerve that the Occupy movement never did.

“It feels stronger than Occupy,” said Matthew Disler, a junior from Richmond, Va. “These deaths were galvanizing events.”

Yet students and professors question whether this movement will mark the beginning of the kind of student activism that has been largely absent since the Civil Rights and Vietnam War era.

“There are a lot of planes on the runway, and there are many fewer that get off the ground,” said Richard Parker, a Harvard lecturer on public policy and a veteran 1960s activist. “Those in the air are even fewer.”

He said that although Harvard’s student body had changed considerably since the 1960s, students today were more cautious and career-oriented.

“There is diversity on the input side, and standardization on the output side,” Mr. Parker said. “If you give the students a clear structure, they function well. Give them a range of autonomy, they’re more tentative. They’re more risk-averse because they see acts as having social consequences.”

It’s not for lack of issues. Some, like Occupy, which protested the power of Wall Street, evaporated. Others — such as climate change, women’s issues, minority rights — are a permanent part of the university landscape.





But strategies are changing. After a brief blockade of a university building in May, students campaigning for Harvard to divest from fossil fuels switched course and filed a lawsuit last month, asking a Massachusetts court to compel disinvestment on behalf of the students and “future generations.”

So too are tactics. Leafleting is out; Twitter is in. But activism via social media can be illusory.

“Don’t let this protest be a Facebook profile picture,” Mr. Moore said at a die-in held on Dec. 5 by the statue of the university’s founder, John Harvard, according to an account in *The Harvard Crimson*, the campus newspaper.

In the meantime, an old but newly defined debate has emerged on Harvard’s social networks. Amanda Bradley, a senior from Atlanta, defined the issue as “ally-ism,” a neologism that covers the sensitive question of how white students fit into a movement driven by racial bias against blacks. “Allies” are encouraged to join the movement, she said, but it is also important that black students remain its main representatives.

“We are all grappling with the issue of ally-ism,” Ms. Bradley said. “There is more discussion about it now than at other times.”

From the *New York Times*, December 16, 2014 © 2014, The New York Times. All Rights Reserved. Used by permission and protected by Copyright Laws of the United States. The printing, copying, redistribution, or retransmission of this Content without express written permission is prohibited. [http://www.nytimes.com/2014/12/16/education/students-see-new-hope-in-bias-protests.html?\\_r=0](http://www.nytimes.com/2014/12/16/education/students-see-new-hope-in-bias-protests.html?_r=0).



## Supporting Question 1

<b>Supporting Question</b>	What was the impact of the Greensboro sit-in protest?
<b>Formative Performance Task</b>	Create a cause-and-effect diagram that demonstrates the impact of the sit-in protest by the Greensboro Four.
<b>Featured Sources</b>	<p><b>Featured Source A:</b> Photograph of the Greensboro Four</p> <p><b>Featured Source B:</b> <i>Join the Student Sit-Ins</i></p> <p><b>Featured Source C:</b> “1960: Sitting Down to Take a Stand”</p>
<b>Conceptual Understanding</b>	(11.10a) After World War II, long-term demands for equality by African Americans led to the civil rights movement. The efforts of individuals, groups, and institutions helped to redefine African American civil rights, though numerous issues remain unresolved.
<b>Content Specifications</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Students will examine the role and impact of individuals such as Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr., Stokely Carmichael, Fannie Lou Hamer, and Malcolm X on the movement and their perspectives on change.</li> <li>• Students will examine the role of groups such as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), and Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) in the movement, their goals and strategies, and major contributions.</li> <li>• Students will examine judicial actions and legislative achievements during the movement, such as <i>Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka</i> (1954), the Civil Rights Act of 1964, <i>Heart of Atlanta Motel, Inc. v. United States</i> (1964) and the Voting Rights Act of 1965.</li> <li>• Students will analyze the significance of key events in the movement, including the Montgomery bus boycott, federal intervention at Little Rock, Arkansas; the Birmingham protest; and the March on Washington.</li> </ul>
<b>Social Studies Practices</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>✔ <b>Gathering, Using, and Interpreting Evidence</b></li> <li>✔ <b>Chronological Reasoning and Causation</b></li> </ul>

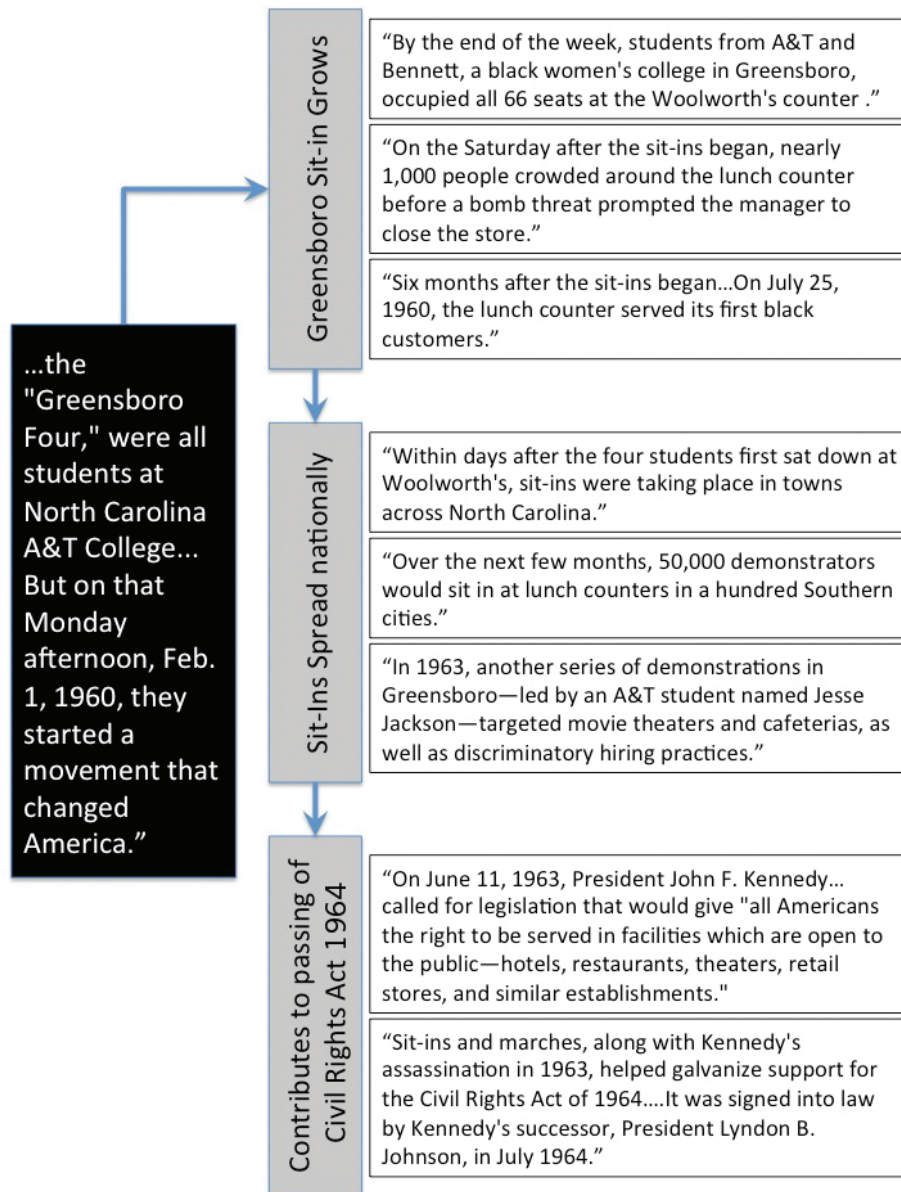
## Supporting Question

The compelling question “What made nonviolent protest effective during the civil rights movement?” focuses students on exploring the range of individuals who used nonviolence as a means to achieve greater equality for African Americans during the civil rights movement of the 1960s. The supporting question—“What was the impact of the Greensboro sit-in protest?”—asks about one of the first acts of nonviolent direct-action protest during this turbulent time: the Greensboro sit-ins in February 1960. It has students consider the rationale for nonviolence, which extended beyond a simple willingness to turn the other cheek. In the case of the Greensboro sit-ins, students consider how sit-in protest tactics were used effectively in raising awareness of the injustice of racial segregation and in inspiring hundreds of other students, civil rights organizations, and members of the community to join together in a six-month nonviolent protest that spread to other parts of the South.



## Formative Performance Task

The first formative performance task asks students to create a cause-and-effect diagram for the Greensboro sit-ins. After reading a newspaper article that details the significance of the Greensboro sit-ins (Featured Source C), students create a diagram that traces the impact of the first sit-in on the larger movement. For example, students could draft something like the following:



The sample cause-and-effect diagram features a chronological and causal sequence beginning with the initial sit-in on February 1, 1960, and then traces its impact in Greensboro, North Carolina, and nationally (e.g., additional sit-ins and the Civil Rights Act of 1964). Students could punctuate the cause-and-effect diagram using specific quotes

from the article. In this way, students are using the social studies practices of Gathering, Using, and Interpreting Evidence and Chronological Reasoning and Causation.



This formative performance task may need to be modified for struggling readers or English language learners. Teachers could consider giving students part of the sample cause-and-effect diagram and having the students reason through the missing pieces. For example, teachers could provide the quotes from the article and students could determine the main ideas (e.g., Greensboro sit-in grows, sit-ins spread nationally). Alternatively, teachers could provide the main ideas and have students find evidence from the article to support each idea.

## Featured Sources

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**FEATURED SOURCE A** Teachers may want to begin this formative performance task by providing historical background on the February 1, 1960, event using Featured Source A, a photograph of the four students—Joseph McNeil, Franklin McCain, Ezell Blair, and David Richmond—who initiated the protest after being refused service at a Woolworth lunch counter. Students should understand the immediate impact of the protest and how quickly it grew. For example, by the fifth day of the protest, more than 300 demonstrators were at the store. While they did not meet with immediate success, within six months, the Greensboro Four returned to the store and were served at the counter. The story became national news and provoked similar demonstrations throughout the South.

**FEATURED SOURCE B** Teachers could expand students' work on the supporting question and help them help think through an initial response by using Featured Source B, a 22-minute theatrical presentation about the Greensboro sit-in created by the Smithsonian's National Museum of American History. This video simulation, called *Join the Student Sit-Ins*, happens at the museum, where a portion of the actual lunch counter from the protest is on display (see a picture at the Object of History website: <http://objectofhistory.org/objects/intro/lunchcounter/>). The video features an African American student, Samuel Leonard (a fictional composite character), who is conducting a training session for people interested in joining the 1960 sit-in protests against racial segregation. (See the handout "Join the Student Sit-Ins Teacher Guide for the Classroom Video" at the National Museum of American History website for a strategy in teaching with the video: <http://amhistory.si.edu/docs/JoinTheStudentSitInsTeacherGuide.pdf>).

**FEATURED SOURCE C** is a *New York Times Upfront* magazine article written by Suzanne Bilyeu, "1960: Sitting Down to Take a Stand." The reporter traces both the immediate and historical impact of the initial Greensboro sit-in. This article should be used as the basis for Formative Performance Task 1 in which students are asked to diagram the effects of the sit-in protest that began February 1, 1960. It is important to note that Bilyeu does not mention the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), whose development was directly inspired by the sit-ins. The SNCC is featured prominently in Formative Performance Task 2.

## Additional Resources

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The following additional resources could help students further explore the Greensboro Four and the impact of the sit-ins. The first resource is a collection of oral histories of three of the four original protesters. Oral history is a focus of this inquiry, and students might benefit from listening to retellings of the event by the key players and considering the value of these accounts as well as the limitations of oral history in general. Appendix C includes a list of questions that students may want to use in considering the unique source properties when engaging with oral history. Also included in the additional resources is a link to the transcript of an interview Bilyeu conducted with Franklin McCain, one of the Greensboro Four, as part of her background research for Featured Source C.

- "Key Players," a collection of oral histories featuring Greensboro Four, Sit-ins Project website. [http://www.sitins.com/key\\_players.shtml](http://www.sitins.com/key_players.shtml).



- “Interview: Franklin McCain,” transcript of the interview conducted by Suzanne Bilyeu on November 23, 2009. *New York Times Upfront* website.  
[http://teacher.scholastic.com/scholasticnews/indepth/upfront/features/index.asp?article=f011810\\_McCain](http://teacher.scholastic.com/scholasticnews/indepth/upfront/features/index.asp?article=f011810_McCain).

**Formative Performance Task 1****Teacher's Guide to *Join the Student Sit-Ins*, National Museum of American History**

Featured Source B is a 22-minute theatrical presentation about the Greensboro sit-in created by the Smithsonian National Museum of American History. This video simulation, called *Join the Student Sit-Ins*, happens at the Museum, where a portion of the actual lunch counter from the protest is on display (<http://objectofhistory.org/objects/intro/lunchcounter/>). The video features an African-American student, Samuel Leonard (a fictional composite character), who is conducting a training session for people interested in joining the 1960 sit-in protests against racial segregation.

The video is divided into five acts, and transcripts are provided for each (<http://americanhistory.si.edu/freedomandjustice/learning-resources#classroom>). Two parts of the video are most germane to this exercise. The first part occurs in Act 1. The actor begins the video by preparing the audience to protest and does so using singing (“I am on my way to Freedomland”), chant and response (“Make America Great! Desegregate!”), and theatrical enthusiasm for the cause. As Samuel’s performance reaches a crescendo he asks, “So are you all ready for your first sit-in?” The audience responds actively, “Yes!” Samuel pauses and says:

No. No you’re not ready yet. Look, you can’t just walk in here and sit down and order lunch and expect to change anything. You’ve got to be prepared. You’ve got to be motivated. And you’ve got to be trained. So that’s what we are going to do today. We are going to get you all ready to stand up by sitting down. We are going to get you prepared to be as active and strong and powerful as you’ve ever been and probably ever will be all by being passive and nonviolent.

This would be a good time to stop the video and ask students, “What does Samuel mean they aren’t ready? What did the Greensboro Four and others have to do to prepare? Aren’t they just sitting down?” The intention behind this pause is for students to think about what would go into training students and others to protest. For example, nonviolent protesters need to brace for both verbal and physical assaults by imagining how they will respond. They may even need to simulate the events before they happen to practice their response. Teachers should facilitate this conversation by probing students’ answers and having them think critically about the context of the time and also why their response would speak so loudly to bystanders. Samuel returns to some of these preparations in Act 5 of the video.

Act 3 is another place in the video teachers may want to pause for discussion. Samuel asks the audience, “What’s the first word you think of, the first word that comes to your mind when you hear someone say the word nonviolent? Nonviolent, nonviolent, what does that make you think of?” The audience responds with words like, passive, peaceful, Gandhi, Dr. King. Samuel then responds with words that come to his mind—strong, powerful, aggressive, active. He uses this conversation to make a very important point about the purposes of nonviolent protest by discussing how many misperceive those who used nonviolent tactics:

Because they think that most of us in the movement are these mythical heroes, these self-sacrificing saints who love our enemies and look forward to suffering with love in our hearts and a smile on our lips, well I can tell you that just ain’t me. I don’t look forward to getting beaten up, do you? No I’m afraid that I will have the urge to fight back and protect myself. **But nonviolence is a tool, and it’s a tool we use because we want to win. We see nonviolence as the most effective way to accomplish our goals.** [Emphasis added.]

Certainly teachers will want students to watch the entire video, but after doing so, they should come back to Samuel’s point: “But nonviolence is a tool, and it’s a tool we use because we want to win. We see nonviolence as the most effective way to accomplish our goals.” Teachers may want students to explore this statement by discussing various tactics used within social and political movements that individuals leverage to ignite change, including



both violent and nonviolent means. Teachers will clearly want students to consider the utility of nonviolence during this time and for this particular divide in America—why would nonviolence protest be a useful tool in a racially divided country and in the 1960s in particular? In doing so, students should consider the emerging ubiquity of media, including photographs and news media, and how nonviolence would help emotionally sway both the bystander and the budding activist.

The *Join the Sit-Ins* video is found here: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=usVzJ3qngSU>.

The *Join the Sit-Ins* transcripts is found here: <http://americanhistory.si.edu/freedomandjustice/learning-resources#classroom>.

The National Museum of American History has also developed a teacher's guide for the *Join the Sit-Ins* video: <http://amhistory.si.edu/docs/JoinTheStudentSitInsTeacherGuide.pdf>.





## Supporting Question 1

**Featured Source**

**Source A:** Jack Moebes, photograph of the Greensboro Four on day 1 of the lunch counter sit-in, February 1, 1960



Ezell A. Blair Jr. (now Jibreel Khazan), Franklin E. McCain, Joseph A. McNeil, and David L. Richmond leave the Woolworth store after the first sit-in on February 1, 1960.

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## Supporting Question 1

### Featured Source

**Source B:** Smithsonian's National Museum of American History, video reenactment of events related to the Greensboro lunch counter sit-in, *Join the Student Sit-Ins*, 2010

Link to the video on YouTube: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=usVzJ3qngSU>.



### Transcript of *Join the Student Sit-In*

[Singing]

I'm gonna sit at the welcome table/I'm gonna sit at the welcome table one of these days/Hallelujah/I'm gonna sit at the welcome table/I'm gon' sit at the welcome table one of these days, one of these days.

I'm gonna eat at the Woolworth lunch counter/ I'm gonna eat at that lunch counter one of these days/Hallelujah/ I'm gonna eat at the Woolworth lunch counter/I'm gonna eat at that lunch counter one of these days, one of these days.

I'm gonna get my civil rights/I'm gonna get my civil rights one of these days/Hallelujah/I'm gonna get my civil rights/I'm gonna get my civil rights one of these days.



[End of song]

[Shouting] Make America great! Desegregate! Make America great! Desegregate!

Samuel: Make America great!

Audience: Desegregate!

Samuel: Make America great!

Audience: Desegregate!

Samuel: Make America great!

Audience: Desegregate!

Samuel: Make America great!

Audience: Desegregate!

Samuel: Make America great!

Audience: Desegregate!

Samuel: Give yourselves a hand.

[All clap]

Samuel: I am so glad to see all of you here today. You're exactly what we need. You're what we need to keep this movement going. My name is Samuel P. Lennon, and I'm a student right here in Greensboro at North Carolina A&T. When I heard what my classmates had started at their Woolworths, I was shocked. I was shocked and surprised and frightened and invigorated. And I went up to people, I said, "Did you really do that? Is this really true what I'm seeing on the television and hearing on the radio? When I read the newspaper this morning?" I knew I wanted to be a part of this movement, but I couldn't help but wondering: Am *I* strong enough?

Well, then, I finally decided to join my friends in protest. Now, my first sit-in, I walked in that store not knowing whether I would walk back out, but when I did, I felt powerful. I can't even tell you how good it felt when I left that place. I had my to-the-mountain-top experience. So I'm here today to help prepare you all to join us so that you can feel what I felt that first day. Now, you know I heard we were going to get a lot of new soldiers for this army we're creating, but I had no idea I'd have this many new recruits. I've got my work cut out for me in getting you all trained. But I'm not complaining at all; you're important. Each and every one of you is essential if we're going to be successful. So, are you all ready for your first sit-in?

Audience: Yes!

Samuel: How about it? You ready to go?

Audience: Yeah!

Samuel: No. No, you're not ready yet. Look—you can't just walk in here and sit down and order lunch and expect to change anything. You've got to be prepared; you've got to be motivated! And you've got to be trained, so that's what we are going to do today. We're going to get you all ready to stand up by sitting down. And we're going to get you



prepared to be as active and strong and powerful as you've ever been and probably ever will be. All by being passive and non-violent.

So, why do we need all of you? Well, you all remember what happened at this lunch counter, right? Right?

Audience: [mixed responses]

Samuel: You do? What happened? What happened at this lunch counter?

Man in audience: Well people came. They sat at the counter. They got arrested, and after a while, things started to change.

Samuel: Now, you said some people got arrested? You might be thinking of a different lunch counter. You might not be thinking of this one, but let's talk—you said some people came, some people sat, and it drew attention to something. Well, what? What's so important about that? How could that change something? So people came in here, and they sat down. Well that's what people do all of the time. It's a lunch counter, right? People come in here and they sit down all of the time. So what's so special about *this* lunch counter? What's so important about what happened here that we're all in front of this lunch counter here today? Maybe there's more to the story than that? All right. Well let's talk about it.

Four young Negro men who were freshmen college students right here at A&T. Now these young men did something shocking. And what they did was they stayed up all night talking. Now I realize it's not exactly shocking for college students to do, but they talked about how Rosa Parks ignited the Montgomery bus movement when she was arrested for refusing to give up her seat. They talked about Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.'s leadership, yes? They especially talked about the nine students just about their own age. Do you remember three years ago, those nine were the first colored students to attend their all white high school in Little Rock, Arkansas? Well they talked about what they could do. So, they walked in to this Woolworth's at about 3 o'clock in the afternoon. They browsed the store and they made a small purchase and then, they went to this whites-only lunch counter, quietly sat down, politely asked to be served. And when they were refused, they just kept sitting there peacefully and quietly.

All right. Now I know so far the story really doesn't sound all that shocking. You wouldn't think it would be—it is 1960! Even though the Supreme Court ruled against segregation in schools six years ago. Today, we can't walk into this store that claims to be everybody's store, sit down, and order lunch, like from one of these menus here. You know, it was five years ago Ms. Parks sat down on that bus in Montgomery, Alabama, but today, we still have to go to the colored stand-up section in the back. And so, these four young men, and we should all know their names—Franklin McCain, Ezell Blair, Joe McNeil, and David Richmond—they did something that many of us would love to have done. My classmates and I, we're sick of waiting around for change to come. Do you know when I was about twelve years old and the Supreme Court said that we could go to school anywhere—anywhere we want and my father looked at me and he said, "Everything's gonna change now."

Yes, but every day, I walk past this Woolworth's, and I know that hasn't come true. The only thing we can do now is to do something. Well these four young men, they did something extraordinary. They went first! They put their bodies on the line to force a change and the movement needs some people to wade in there first and get things started. All of us in the movement take risks, but those of us who go first and go alone are special. They might get arrested, they might get beaten up, maybe even killed, but they just might spark something. And the Greensboro four sparked something.

So, that's where we come in. Now everybody please make sure you pass those menus around, all right? So everybody gets a chance to see them. And now, let me ask you all a question. Do you all think it's okay for a lunch counter like this one to serve one person but not another solely based on the color of their skin?



Audience: [Mumbling]

Samuel: All right, I'm having some trouble hearing you all today. Are you all asleep? I'm not boring you, am I? Are you sure? Am I speaking the right language? Can you understand what I'm saying? Do you all think it's okay for a lunch counter to serve one person but not another solely based on the color of their skin?

Audience: No!

Samuel: All right. I mean you realize it's important to have a strong opinion on that, right? Because a lot of people say, "Oh yes, a business only has the right to serve and not serve whomever they choose, for whatever reason they choose."

All right, now what if we do this? What if we have two lunch counters? One will be on this side for Negroes, and then one will be on this side for whites. Is that all right?

Audience: No.

Samuel: Is that all right?

Audience: No!

Samuel: Why not? Why isn't that all right?

Woman in audience: Separate but equal isn't...

Samuel: What did you say?

Woman: Separate but equal is separate, but it's not equal.

Samuel: It's not equal? What do you mean?

Woman: It never is. Usually one is better and one is worse, and it's usually the white, rich schools that are better.

Samuel: What if, on both sides of the lunch counter, they are both good? They're both the same? They have one for one skin color over here and one for another skin color over here and both lunch counters are the exact same? Same food, same service, waitresses are twins; everything will be the same. Now can we do it?

Audience: No.

Samuel: No, we still can't? There must be another reason? Why not? Why can't we do that?

Different woman in audience: Freedom of choice.

Samuel: Freedom of choice? So I can do whatever I want?

Woman: What you choose. You should have the right to choose.

Samuel: If I wanted to go into your restroom, could I do that?

Woman: No.

Samuel: Oh, well, hold on now! Freedom of choice! I'm sure you don't want me in your restroom, yes, but do you see what I'm saying? So where does that come from? The law says it's fine, it must be right, right?



Audience: No.

Samuel: You all are awful quiet today. Are you shy? Right? Is that right?

Audience: No!

Samuel: No? Then who says that? Who says that we should have the freedom to choose wherever we sit at this lunch counter? Who is it?

Audience member: The people of the Civil Rights Movement.

Samuel: The people of the Civil Rights Movement is pretty big. You're going to have to be more specific.

Audience member: The four boys sitting at the counter.

Samuel: Now maybe they do, but they're not here today, are they? They can't speak for themselves.

Audience member: We do.

Samuel: What'd you say? Who's we?

Audience member: We do. Us sitting right here.

Samuel: You speak for everybody in this group?

Audience: Yes. Yeah.

Samuel: I don't think she does. I don't think you can do that. You're not speaking for me, that's for sure.

Audience member: Well, I say it's wrong.

Samuel: What'd you say?

Audience member: I say it's wrong.

Samuel: Who?

Audience member: Me.

Samuel: You?

Audience member: I do.

Samuel: Really? Are you sure?

Audience member: Yes.

Samuel: Are you the only one person?

Audience: [mixed protests]

Samuel: Oh, some other people do, too. Anybody else? Now I told you all before, it's important to have a strong opinion on this. We're not joking. We're not playing around. If you're not willing to say that 'I do,' then how in the world are you going to be able to sit here. So maybe I should ask it again. Who says that it's wrong? We shouldn't



do that, it's just plain wrong, and we should have the right to sit wherever we want at a lunch counter based on our skin color? Who says that?

Audience: I do!

Samuel: You know why that's so important? You know why I had to take so long to get you all to say that? 'Cause this is the next step. What are you going to do about it? The law says it's perfectly fine for someone to separate us at this lunch counter based on our skin color, so if the law says that but we all believe today, you know, I don't think they should do that, I think that we should have the freedom to sit wherever we want, then let me ask you this. What are we going to do about it? What can you do to change those laws? Maybe I should ask you another way. When there is a law you don't like, what do you do about it? You don't have to raise your hand. You can just say it!

Audience member: You could write to people like congressmen and—

Samuel: Well I suppose we could, you mean write your congressmen? Yes, I suppose you could do that, but you know sometimes your congressmen don't listen. Some of them don't listen to what you write. So today, we're going to teach you all some even more aggressive tactics. Before we do that, though, let me ask you another question. And, you know, this one is really easy, but I need everybody to answer this and I want you to be honest. What's the first word you think of, the first word that comes to your mind, when you hear someone say the word *nonviolent*? Nonviolent. Nonviolent. What does that make you think of?

Audience: [mumbles]

Samuel: Did someone say passive? That's a good one. What else? Peaceful? Peace is usually the first thing people think of. What else? Gandhi? Oh, people all over the world would think Gandhi. Dr. King? That's the easy one. Dr. King nowadays, right? What else? Nonviolent. That's it? It can't be it. Let me tell you some words that come to my mind when someone says "nonviolent," and you want to know something funny? We didn't hear any of these today. We usually don't. Strong. Powerful. Aggressive. Active. Now how come, and all those were good, but how come we don't hear any of those kind of words? You see, a lot of people come to these training sessions. They say, "Nonviolence? That's not for me." Because they think most of us in this movement are these mythical heroes, these self-sacrificing saints who love our enemies and look forward to suffering with love in our hearts and a smile on our lips. Well I can tell you that just ain't me. I don't look forward to getting beaten up, do you? No, I'm afraid I have the urge to fight back and protect myself, but nonviolence is a tool. And it's a tool we use because we want to win. We see nonviolence as the most effective way to accomplish our goals. But even though it's effective, in order for it to work, we need people. We need trained activists to take the place of those who do get arrested. We need to fill up every seat at lunch counters, and every jail cell if necessary until we get noticed by the nation. We need all of you to force the country to decide whether segregation is wrong or right.

Now, does anybody still have one of my menus? Please don't walk off with my menus. All right, listen, if you have a menu in your hand right now, can you come up here and bring it to me please? Come on. Come up here and bring it to me. All right. Miss, can you have a seat right here in this chair? All right. And miss, can you have a seat right here in this chair? We'll put you right in the middle. And sir, can you have a seat right here in this chair? All right, there you are. And today, you three are going to take the role of protesters at a sit-in. Now, don't be nervous. I'm not going to give you a microphone. I'm not going to put a funny costume on you. As a matter of fact, what do we do at a sit-in?

Audience: Sit.



Samuel: Sit. That's all you have to do. You three have the easy job today, but the rest of us have a tougher job. We're going to give them a taste of what to expect at a real sit-in. Now before we do that, the rules are simple, and this is very serious. Protestors, there is to be no physical retaliation, no verbal response, no non-verbal reaction to any kind of an attack. Now, everyone, remember to dress in your Sunday best. Although men should actually wear clip-on ties rather than these regular ones, all right? And women should not wear pierced earrings or high heels. Do not bring anything with you that can in any way be seen as a weapon. Not even a pocket full of change. Stay together. Never leave or arrive by yourself. We're always much stronger as a group, and that's what's going to get us through in this situation. All right, now what I want you three to do today is really think about these things. Think about how it's going to feel when you first sit down and are surrounded by people who hate you. And while you imagine that, I'm going to give everybody else some instructions.

Please do not touch any of our three protestors today. It's very important. Keep your hands to yourself at all times. Also, do not talk to them today. Even if there is somebody up here who you know, don't say a word. The only thing we're going to do today is look at them, and that means you can stand either here beside them and look at them, or behind them and look at them. Look at how close I am. But do not touch any of our three protestors, all right? Does everybody understand that?

Audience: Yes.

Samuel: Yes?

Audience: Yes.

Samuel: All right. Now we all have to do this together for it to work, so everybody stand up. Step forward. Come on in and fill in the space. All right. Come on. Come on in, everyone. Yes, that's perfect. That's excellent. Now protestors, as that mob is closing in around them, how will you feel? Are you determined to be free? Can you control your fear and your emotions? Now, I want you to imagine, all right? Just imagine feeling all these angry stares on the back of your neck. Imagine hearing people say, "What do they think they're doing here?" And then I also want you to imagine the Negro women in the kitchen whom you thought would be on your side, they're saying, "You're making the race look bad."

Now the crowd starts to yell at you and call you the worst kind of names. And now, they begin to touch you—pushing and poking and spitting and then a milkshake gets poured on your head. They might start attacking at any moment. What will you do? Can you stay strong? Can you stay focused? Can you stay non-violent?

All right. Everyone, can we back away to our seats? Let's give these three some space. And also, let's give them a hand for participating today.

You all realize what we just practiced was very mild. You'll all have to expect much worse treatment at a real sit-in, but the same rules apply, and if you follow them, usually you won't be attacked physically. Now, if you are, do *not* fight back, but do protect your head from being beaten and protect each other. One thing you can do: you can move yourself up against the wall and curl up into a tight ball and cover your face as best you can. Now let's say we have one person who's taking a severe beating. We can all get up and put our bodies between them and the violence. Imagine with more people, the violence is more evenly distributed, and then hopefully no one will get seriously injured. And in future sessions, we're going to practice some of these techniques.

All right. I think we're starting to become a real group of believers here today. There's one more lesson I'd like to share with you all before we go. That lesson is on the power of song. You know singing is one of our most important nonviolent tactics. Hey, you should all know there's a good chance we could all be arrested, but through singing, we can all stay together, even from a jail cell. When they arrested us, they took us out to this jail house with





hardened criminals, put the women on one side and the men on the other. That means we couldn't talk to, we couldn't comfort each other, but we could still sing, and we sang song after song. This made everybody feel better, except the guards, but even the worst convicts whom the guards bribed to attack us were moved by our devotion.

Now here's the rule we have about singing: it's protest singing. It ain't like a concert. We're not singing to sound good; we're singing to make our country a better place, to make it live up to the words of the Declaration of Independence, to create another new birth of freedom, and because of that, everyone sings—no exceptions. All right? Now, if you can't sing, can't carry a tune, can't hold a note, can't sing at all, then what I want you to do is sing louder. All right? And it's real simple. All you have to do is repeat after me. This is how it goes:

Samuel: [singing] I'm on my way...

Audience: [singing] I'm on my way...

Samuel: [speaking] Pretty good.

Samuel: [singing]...to freedom land.

Audience: [singing]...to freedom land.

Samuel: I'm on my way...

Audience: I'm on my way...

Samuel: ...to freedom land.

Audience: ...to freedom land.

Samuel: I'm on my way...

Audience: I'm on my way...

Samuel: ...to freedom land.

Audience: ...to freedom land.

Samuel: [speaking] All right, now try this part with me.

Together: [singing] I'm on my way, oh Lord, to freedom land.

Samuel: [speaking] That's everybody together. You got it? All right, so you ready? Here we go!

[Samuel and audience repeat first verse, then move to next one, below]

Samuel: [singing] I ask my mother...

Audience: I ask my mother...

Samuel: ...come go with me.

Audience: ...come go with me.

Samuel: I ask my mother...

Audience: I ask my mother...



Samuel: ...come go with me.

Audience: ...come go with me.

Together: I'm on my way, oh Lord, to freedom land.

Samuel: And if she don't go...

Audience: If she don't go...

Samuel: I'm going anyhow.

Audience: I'm going anyhow.

Samuel: If she don't go...

Audience: If she don't go...

Samuel: I'm going anyhow.

Audience: I'm going anyhow.

Samuel: And if she don't go...

Audience: If she don't go...

Samuel: I'm going anyhow.

Audience: I'm going anyhow.

Together: I'm on my way, oh Lord, to freedom land.

[repeat first verse]

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## Supporting Question 1

### Featured Source

**Source C:** Suzanne Bilyeu, article about the historical effects of the Greensboro sit-in, "1960: Sitting Down to Take a Stand," *The New York Times Upfront*, January 18, 2010

It was shortly after four in the afternoon when four college freshmen entered the Woolworth's store in downtown Greensboro, North Carolina. They purchased a few small items—school supplies, toothpaste—and were careful to keep their receipts. Then they sat down at the store's lunch counter and ordered coffee.

"I'm sorry," said the waitress. "We don't serve Negroes here."

"I beg to differ," said one of the students. He pointed out that the store had just served them—and accepted their money—at a counter just a few feet away. They had the receipts to prove it.

A black woman working at the lunch counter scolded the students for trying to stir up trouble, and the store manager asked them to leave. But the four young men sat quietly at the lunch counter until the store closed at 5:30.

Ezell Blair Jr., Franklin McCain, Joseph McNeil, and David Richmond, now known as the "Greensboro Four," were all students at North Carolina A&T (Agricultural and Technical) College, a black college in Greensboro. They were teenagers, barely out of high school. But on that Monday afternoon, Feb. 1, 1960, they started a movement that changed America.

## A Decade of Protest

The Greensboro sit-in 50 years ago, and those that followed, ignited a decade of civil rights protests in the U.S. It was a departure from the approach of the N.A.A.C.P. (National Association for the Advancement of Colored People), the leading civil rights group at the time, which focused on challenging segregation in the courts, a process that could take years. The sit-ins showed that Americans, and young people in particular, could protest against segregation directly and have a real impact. (They also served as a model for later activism, such as the women's movement and student protests against the Vietnam War.)

"The civil rights movement would have moved much slower, would have accomplished far fewer victories if you had not had those student sit-ins and the entry into the movement of all this young energy," says Aldon Morris, author of *The Origins of the Civil Rights Movement*.

Six years after the landmark Supreme Court ruling in *Brown v. Board of Education*, the civil rights movement seemed to have stalled. In *Brown*, the Court had ruled that "separate but equal" facilities were unconstitutional, making segregation in public schools illegal. But some states virtually ignored the ruling, especially in the South where "Jim Crow" laws and customs often prevailed, and public facilities like hospitals and parks remained segregated, with water fountains and restrooms often designated "White" or "Colored." In many places, blacks could not eat in the same restaurants as whites.

Earlier sit-ins in the Midwest and the South had, in some cases, led to the integration of local lunch counters. But they were mostly isolated incidents that hadn't gained momentum. The Greensboro sit-ins happened at just the right time and place, according to William Chafe, author of *Civilities and Civil Rights*, a history of civil rights in Greensboro.



"There was growing impatience within the black community over the absence of any significant progress on desegregation after *Brown*, both in Greensboro and throughout the country," says Chafe. "It was like pent-up pressure ready to burst at the appropriate moment—and February 1st provided that moment."

But the four A&T students didn't go to Woolworth's on a whim. They'd been discussing it in their dorm rooms for months: Why was it that a store could cheerfully accept their money at one counter then refuse to serve them at another?

## 'We Absolutely Had No Choice'

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Before heading to Woolworth's, the students rehearsed how they would act and what they would say. When they sat down at the lunch counter, they fully expected to be arrested—or worse.

"I felt that this could be the last day of my life" recalls Franklin McCain, now 67 and living in Charlotte, North Carolina. "But I thought that it was well worth it. Because to continue to live the way we had been living—I questioned that. It's an incomplete life. I'd made up my mind that we absolutely had no choice."

When it came to serving blacks at its lunch counters, the policy of the F. W. Woolworth Company, based in New York City, was to "abide by local custom." In the North, blacks sat alongside whites at Woolworth's, but not in the South.

At the time, Woolworth's was one of the world's largest retailers, and the store in downtown Greensboro was one of its most profitable. It was a typical "five and dime" that sold all kinds of merchandise for less than a dollar, and its lunch counter served about 2,000 meals a day. Curly Harris, the manager, didn't want any disruptions that would scare away customers. When the four black men sitting at the lunch counter refused to leave, Harris told his staff, "Ignore them. Just let them sit."

The four returned the next morning, along with two more A&T students, and took seats at the lunch counter. Some opened textbooks and studied, and occasionally they tried to order something. Otherwise, they were silent. By the end of the week, students from A&T and Bennett, a black women's college in Greensboro, occupied all 66 seats at the Woolworth's counter. A few white students joined in. Soon, the sit-in spread to S.H. Kress, another variety store down the street.

Some whites in Greensboro supported the sit-ins, but others, including some Ku Klux Klan members, resisted, taunting demonstrators with racial epithets and taking seats at the Woolworth's counter to keep blacks from sitting there. On the Saturday after the sit-ins began, nearly 1,000 people crowded around the lunch counter before a bomb threat prompted the manager to close the store.

That weekend, a truce was called: The sit-ins were suspended, and Woolworth's and Kress's temporarily closed their lunch counters. Greensboro's mayor formed a negotiating committee of local businessmen.

## The Role of the Media

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During earlier sit-ins in other cities, newspapers had buried the stories in the back pages or didn't cover them at all. But the *Greensboro Record* ran the story on the front page of its local-news section. Reporters from other news organizations began arriving, and on February 3, *The New York Times* ran the first of many articles about the sit-ins. Media coverage was one reason that the movement spread so quickly.



While the Greensboro sit-ins were suspended, the movement took off in other cities. Within days after the four students first sat down at Woolworth's, sit-ins were taking place in towns across North Carolina. Students in Nashville, Tennessee, held sit-ins at a number of stores. In New York, demonstrators picketed Woolworth's stores in support of the students in North Carolina. Word of the sit-ins spread through a network of black colleges and groups like CORE (the Congress of Racial Equality) and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (S.C.L.C.), led by Martin Luther King, Jr.

Over the next few months, 50,000 demonstrators would sit in at lunch counters in a hundred Southern cities. King encouraged the students in their nonviolent campaign, telling them to prepare to be arrested. (In October, King was jailed along with dozens of students during a sit-in at Rich's department store in Atlanta.)

In Greensboro, the sit-ins resumed in April after the mayor's committee failed to come up with a solution. Students began picketing Woolworth's and Kress's, and local civil rights leaders urged blacks to boycott downtown businesses.

Six months after the sit-ins began, Harris, the manager of the Greensboro Woolworth's, finally relented: The sit-ins had already cost him \$150,000 in lost business. On July 25, 1960, the lunch counter served its first black customers—four Woolworth's employees who worked in the store's kitchen.

In some cities, police used tear gas or fire hoses on demonstrators. In Jacksonville, Florida, whites beat sit-in participants with ax handles and baseball bats. But by the end of the year, lunch counters were integrated in many cities across the South.

The civil rights protests didn't end with a cup of coffee at Woolworth's. In 1963, another series of demonstrations in Greensboro—led by an A&T student named Jesse Jackson—targeted movie theaters and cafeterias, as well as discriminatory hiring practices. That same year, police in Birmingham, Alabama, responded violently to marches and sit-ins led by King. In both Greensboro and Birmingham, the jails overflowed with black students.

On June 11, 1963, President John F. Kennedy, in a live television address from the Oval Office, called for legislation that would give "all Americans the right to be served in facilities which are open to the public—hotels, restaurants, theaters, retail stores, and similar establishments."

## Civil Rights Act

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Sit-ins and marches, along with Kennedy's assassination in 1963, helped galvanize support for the Civil Rights Act of 1964, which outlawed racial segregation in public facilities and employment. It was signed into law by Kennedy's successor, President Lyndon B. Johnson, in July 1964.

Today, there is no longer a Woolworth's store in downtown Greensboro—the company closed the last of its U.S. stores in 1997. But on February 1, the 50th anniversary of the sit-ins, the building that once housed the Greensboro store will reopen as the International Civil Rights Center & Museum.

McCain, who plans to attend the opening, says he'll never forget how he felt on Feb. 1, 1960, at age 17.



"I've never had a feeling like that in my life—just sitting on a stool," he says. "It was the most relieving, and the most cleansing feeling that I ever felt—the kind of feeling that I'll never have in my life again."

*The New York Times Upfront*, January 18, 2010. Copyright © 2010 by Scholastic Inc. Reprinted by permission of Scholastic Inc. [http://teacher.scholastic.com/scholasticnews/indepth/upfront/features/index.asp?article=f011810\\_greensboro](http://teacher.scholastic.com/scholasticnews/indepth/upfront/features/index.asp?article=f011810_greensboro).



## Supporting Question 2

<b>Supporting Question</b>	What made the Montgomery bus boycott, the Birmingham campaign, and the Selma to Montgomery marches effective?
<b>Formative Performance Task</b>	Detail the impact of a range of actors and the actions they took to make the protest efforts effective.
<b>Featured Sources</b>	<p><b>Featured Sources A–D:</b> Source packet on the Montgomery bus boycott</p> <p><b>Featured Sources A–D:</b> Source packet on the Birmingham campaign</p> <p><b>Featured Sources A–E:</b> Source packet on the Selma to Montgomery marches</p>
<b>Conceptual Understanding</b>	(11.10a) After World War II, long-term demands for equality by African Americans led to the civil rights movement. The efforts of individuals, groups, and institutions helped to redefine African American civil rights, though numerous issues remain unresolved.
<b>Content Specifications</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Students will examine the role and impact of individuals such as Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr., Stokely Carmichael, Fannie Lou Hamer, and Malcolm X on the movement and their perspectives on change.</li> <li>• Students will examine the role of groups such as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), and Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) in the movement, their goals and strategies, and major contributions.</li> <li>• Students will examine judicial actions and legislative achievements during the movement, such as <i>Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka</i> (1954), the Civil Rights Act of 1964, <i>Heart of Atlanta Motel, Inc. v. United States</i> (1964) and the Voting Rights Act of 1965.</li> <li>• Students will analyze the significance of key events in the movement, including the Montgomery bus boycott, federal intervention at Little Rock, Arkansas; the Birmingham protest; and the March on Washington.</li> </ul>
<b>Social Studies Practices</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>✔ <b>Gathering, Using, and Interpreting Evidence</b></li> <li>✔ <b>Chronological Reasoning and Causation</b></li> </ul>

### Supporting Question

To answer the compelling question “What made nonviolent protest effective during the civil rights movement?” students need to understand other key events and efforts that helped characterize nonviolent direct action within the civil rights movement. The 1955 Montgomery bus boycott, 1963 Birmingham campaign, and 1965 Selma to Montgomery marches led to some of the major victories. The first supporting question—“What made the Montgomery bus boycott, Birmingham Campaign, and Selma to Montgomery marches effective?”—builds on the previous task by helping students uncover a range of actors involved in the movement and broadens students understanding of the many nonviolent actions that were used effectively within this seminal period in American history.

### Formative Performance Task

The second formative performance task in this inquiry features a graphic organizer that asks students to articulate an individual’s or a group’s significance and the reason(s) for it. Although many actors and organizations contributed to the success of the Montgomery bus boycott, Birmingham campaign, and Selma to Montgomery marches, this formative performance task features three individuals and one organization that helped define each effort. In this task, students are broken into groups and teachers employ a jigsaw strategy in which students use



the graphic organizer to investigate the event. Students’ research is broken into the following four sections as shown in the graphic organizer:

- **Actor:** An individual or organization that practiced nonviolent direct action during the civil rights movement
- **Actions:** The effective contributions this individual or organization made to the particular event
- **Impact:** A claim about the individual or organization’s impact on the event or movement
- **Evidence:** Specific evidence from sources (e.g., featured sources, textbooks, and website information) that states the action this individual or organization took or its impact

Students use the featured sources along with additional sources to fill in the chart. In doing so, they are utilizing the social studies practices Gathering, Using and Interpreting Evidence as well as Chronological Reasoning and Causation. Included later in this section is a blank graphic organizer.

It is important to note that students will likely need assistance in working through the sources and the task. One recommendation is to begin by working as a class to define Rosa Parks’ role and impact on the Montgomery bus boycott. Teachers could use students’ familiarity with Parks along with two documents (a quote from her autobiography and her entry in the encyclopedia on Martin Luther King and the Global Freedom Struggle at Stanford University’s Martin Luther King, Jr. Research and Education Institute) to guide students through the four parts of the organizer. Then, depending on students’ comfort level with sources and research, they could work in pairs or groups to complete the rest of the chart in their event groups.

What made the Montgomery bus boycott effective? (Teacher’s guide to possible student responses)			
Actor(s)	Actions	Impact	Evidence
<b>Rosa Parks</b>	Refused to give up her seat to a white person on a bus in Montgomery, Alabama. Through her nonviolent actions and arrest, she inspired the boycott of the city buses.	Rosa Parks helped to end legal segregation by intentionally not giving up her seat on the bus and getting arrested. Additionally, her vocal support of the Montgomery Improvement Association throughout the boycott helped raise funding and awareness of the campaign.	Quote from Rosa Parks’ autobiography: “I had no idea when I refused to give up my seat on that Montgomery bus that my small action would help put an end to the segregation laws in the South.” Encyclopedia entry on Parks: “Parks inspired tens of thousands of black citizens to boycott the Montgomery city buses for over a year. During that period she served as a dispatcher to coordinate rides for protesters and was indicted, along with King and over 80 others, for participation in the boycott. Parks also made appearances in churches and other organizations, including some in the North, to raise funds and publicize the Montgomery Improvement Association (MIA).”

This formative performance task may need to be further modified for struggling readers or English language learners. Each of the source packets includes a teacher’s guide to possible student answers. Teachers could consider giving students partially completed graphic organizers to assist them in reading the documents or developing claims. For example, teachers could provide the quotes from the sources and students could determine the claims. Alternatively, teachers could provide the claims and have students find evidence from the sources to support each idea.





After working through the packets, teachers should return to the larger questions of this inquiry. The following questions could frame a discussion that helps students situate the actors, their actions, and their individual and collective impact within the larger movement:

1. What role do individuals play in a social movement?
2. How do individual and collective actions interact?
3. What role do organizations like the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) play in facilitating and sustaining action?
4. How did nonviolent direct action contribute to the success of the event and the larger civil rights movement?
5. How did actions like the Freedom Rides help end both legal and social segregation?

## Featured Sources

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The Featured Sources here include three source packets containing key historical sources for the Montgomery bus boycott, the Birmingham campaign, and the Selma to Montgomery marches. Each source packet includes (1) a description of the sources in the packet, (2) a list of additional people and sources worth investigating, (3) four or five historical sources directly connected to the event, and (4) a teacher's guide of possible students' answers for the graphic organizer. Because of the density of the texts and the focus on guided student research, these graphic organizers are included to help teachers modify the exercise for struggling readers or students new to research.

## Additional Resources

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A list of additional sources is included in each source packet. A list of other potential resources is found in Appendix B.



What made the _____ effective?			
Actors	Actions	Impact	Evidence



## Source Packet: Montgomery Bus Boycott

There are four featured sources for the Montgomery bus boycott and additional web-based sources to support student research. While many actors contributed to the success of the Montgomery bus boycott, this source packet features three individuals and one organization that helped define the effort:

- Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.
- Rosa Parks
- Jo Ann Robinson
- Montgomery Improvement Association (MIA)

The first two sources in this packet feature Jo Ann Robinson, president of the Women’s Political Council (WPC), who helped organize the march. Featured Source A is from her 1987 memoir, *The Montgomery Bus Boycott and the Women Who Started It*, in which she recounts how, after Rosa Parks’ arrest, she drafted and, with the help of volunteers, disseminated 50,000 copies of a leaflet (Featured Source B) calling for African Americans to boycott Montgomery’s city buses on December 5, 1955. An additional source that teachers may want to use is an excerpt from a letter Robinson wrote a year before the boycott (See “Letter from Robinson to the Mayor,” May 21, 1954, Historical Thinking Matters website: <http://historicalthinkingmatters.org/rosaparks/1/sources/19/fulltext/>.) Her letter describes the social and economic conditions of Montgomery that served as root causes for the boycott. Perhaps most significantly, it gives evidence of the organizing work that was done well before Parks’ act of civil disobedience. Students should understand that Parks’ action did not occur in a vacuum but, rather, that efforts had been made, which Parks was aware of, to ready the community for action. It is also worth emphasizing that the boycott was not simply a reaction to the arrest but something that was intentionally organized and planned.

Featured Source C is an eight-minute oral history with Thomas Gray, the brother of Fred Gray, the attorney who tried the federal district court case that ended segregation on the buses. Gray speaks about the formation of the Montgomery Improvement Association (MIA) with the help and assistance of women like Robinson and about what the MIA did to continue to carry the movement past the first day. He discusses such actions as giving rides to people and eventually establishing an alternative transportation system. By investigating the MIA, students can begin to see how organizations can sustain the efforts of individuals working systematically toward a common goal. It is important to note a common thread throughout this inquiry in utilizing oral histories of those who lived through and participated in the civil rights movement. Teachers should help students understand the affordances and constraints of these important sources of information. Appendix C of this inquiry, Key Questions to Ask When Analyzing Oral History Online, is a good place to start students in their thinking about the veracity, complexity, and utility of oral history accounts. Additional information about oral history may be found in the article “Oral History Online” at the History Matters website (<http://historymatters.gmu.edu/mse/oral/online.html>).

Featured Source D is Dr. Martin Luther King’s address to the first MIA mass meeting on December 5, 1955. King was asked to speak at the first official rally of the MIA after the first day of the boycott, and his speech encouraged and ignited MIA members and the community to continue the boycott. Links to a recording of a portion of the speech and a transcript of the full speech are provided. This particular speech sets the tone for nonviolent action, which is in part what made the boycott effective. In looking back on the speech in his 1958 book *Stride Toward Freedom: The Montgomery Story*, Dr. King recounted the following:

How could I make a speech that would be militant enough to keep my people aroused to positive action and yet moderate enough to keep this fervor within controllable and Christian bounds? I knew that many of the Negro people were victims of bitterness that could easily rise to flood proportions. What could I say to keep



them courageous and prepared for positive action and yet devoid of hate and resentment? Could the militant and the moderate be combined in a single speech?

In the speech, Dr. King describes the mistreatment of African American bus passengers and then justifies nonviolent protest using a Christian faith-based appeal.

## Additional Resources

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Teachers may wish to highlight other people and groups who played a role in the boycott. Possible actors to study, along with a key additional source, include the following:

- *Rev. Ralph Abernathy*: In the following excerpt from his 1958 master's degree thesis, *The Natural History of a Social Movement*, Abernathy remembers the first mass meeting of the MIA at a local Baptist church on the first day of the boycott. After this, the MIA held regular weekly meetings until the boycott ended: "Abernathy Remembers the First Meeting of the Montgomery Improvement Association," Historical Thinking Matters website, <http://historicalthinkingmatters.org/rosaparks/0/inquiry/main/resources/22/>.
- *Claudette Colvin*: At age 15, Colvin was arrested for not giving up her seat to a white woman months before Parks. Her story is recounted here: Brooks Barnes, "From Footnote to Fame in Civil Rights History," *New York Times*, November 25, 2009, [http://www.nytimes.com/2009/11/26/books/26colvin.html?\\_r=0](http://www.nytimes.com/2009/11/26/books/26colvin.html?_r=0).
- *Clifford Durr*: Durr was an Alabama lawyer and activist who helped E. D. Nixon bail Rosa Parks out of jail. A biography can be found at "Clifford Durr," Montgomery Boycott website, <http://www.montgomeryboycott.com/clifford-durr/>.
- *Fred Gray*: Gray (Thomas Gray's brother) was an attorney, preacher, and former elected official who defended Rosa Parks and successfully argued the case *Browder v. Gayle*, which integrated the buses in the city of Montgomery in 1956. An article and an oral history in which he recounts some of his experiences can be found here: "Fred Gray Sr.," Montgomery Boycott website, <http://www.montgomeryboycott.com/fred-gray-sr/>.
- *E. D. Nixon*: Nixon was the primary leader and organizer in Montgomery's African American community, and his contributions to the bus boycott are captured in his obituary: E. D. Nixon, Leader in Civil Rights, Dies," *New York Times*, February 27, 1987 <http://www.nytimes.com/1987/02/27/obituaries/ed-nixon-leader-in-civil-rights-dies.html>.

In addition, the following two websites feature the Montgomery bus boycott prominently:

- Montgomery bus boycott: <http://www.montgomeryboycott.com/>.
- Historical Thinking Matters: <http://historicalthinkingmatters.org/rosaparks/>.



## Supporting Question 2

### Montgomery Bus Boycott Featured Source

**Source A:** Jo Ann Robinson, memoir, *The Montgomery Bus Boycott and the Women Who Started It* (excerpts), 1987

I sat down and quickly drafted a message and then called a good friend and colleague...who had access to the college's mimeograph equipment. When I told him that the WPC was staging a boycott and needed to run off the notices, he told me that he too had suffered embarrassment on the city buses....Along with two of my most trusted senior students, we quickly agreed to meet almost immediately, in the middle of the night, at the college's duplicating room. We were able to get three messages to a page...in order to produce the tens of thousands of leaflets we knew would be needed. By 4 a.m. Friday, the sheets had been duplicated, cut in thirds, and bundled....

Between 4 and 7 a.m., the two students and I mapped out distribution routes for the notices. Some of the WPC officers previously had discussed how and where to deliver thousands of leaflets announcing a boycott, and those plans now stood me in good stead....

After class my two students and I quickly finalized our plans for distributing the thousands of leaflets so that one would reach every black home in Montgomery. I took out the WPC membership roster and called [them]....I alerted all of them to the forthcoming distribution of the leaflets, and enlisted their aid in speeding and organizing the distribution network....

Throughout the late morning and early afternoon hours we dropped off tens of thousands of leaflets. Some of our bundles were dropped off at schools. . . . Leaflets were also dropped off at business places, storefronts, beauty parlors, beer halls, factories, barbershops, and every other available place. Workers would pass along notices both to other employees as well as to customers....

By 2 o'clock thousands of the mimeographed handbills had changed hands many times. Practically every black man, woman, and child in Montgomery knew the plan and was passing the word along.

From *The Montgomery Bus Boycott and the Women Who Started It* by JoAnn Robinson. Edited by David J. Garrow. Copyright 1987 by the University of Tennessee Press. Reprinted by permission.



## Supporting Question 2

Montgomery Bus Boycott  
Featured Source

Source B: Jo Ann Robinson, reproduction and transcript of the leaflet calling for the Montgomery bus boycott, December 5, 1955

This is for Monday, December 5, 1955

Another Negro woman has been arrested and thrown into jail because she refused to get up out of her seat on the bus for a white person to sit down.

It is the second time since the Claudette Colbert case that a Negro woman has been arrested for the same thing. This has to be stopped.

Negroes have rights, too, for if Negroes did not ride the buses, they could not operate. Three-fourths of the riders are Negroes, yet we are arrested, or have to stand over empty seats. If we do not do something to stop these arrests, they will continue. The next time it may be you, or your daughter, or mother.

This woman's case will come up on Monday. We are, therefore, asking every Negro to stay off the buses Monday in protest of the arrest and trial. Don't ride the buses to work, to town, to school, or anywhere on Monday.

You can afford to stay out of school for one day if you have no other way to go except by bus.

You can also afford to stay out of town for one day. If you work, take a cab, or walk. But please, children and grown-ups, don't ride the bus at all on Monday. Please stay off of all buses ~~Monday~~.

From The Montgomery Bus Boycott and the Women Who Started It by JoAnn Robinson. Edited by David J. Garrow. Copyright 1987 by the University of Tennessee Press. Reprinted by permission.

### Transcript of the leaflet calling for the Montgomery bus boycott:

This is for Monday, December 5, 1955

Another Negro woman has been arrested and thrown into jail because she refused to get up out of her seat on the bus for a white person to sit down.

It is the second time since the Claudette Colbert case that a Negro woman has been arrested for the same thing. This has to be stopped.

Negroes have rights, too, for if Negroes did not ride the buses, they could not operate. Three-fourths of the riders are Negroes, yet we are arrested, or have to stand over empty seats. If we do not do something to stop these arrests, they will continue. The next time it may be you, or your daughter, or mother.

This woman's case will come up on Monday. We are, therefore, asking every Negro to stay off the buses Monday in protest of the arrest and trial. Don't ride the bus to work, to town, to school, or anywhere, on Monday.

You can afford to stay out of school for one day if you have no other way to go except by bus.

You can also afford to stay out of town for one day. If you work, take a cab, or walk. But please, children and grown-ups, don't ride the bus at all on Monday. Please stay off of all buses.



## Supporting Question 2

Montgomery Bus Boycott

**Source C:** Thomas Gray, oral history Interview describing the Montgomery bus boycott conducted on, no date

Featured Source

*NOTE: Teachers and their students can listen to an oral history with Thomas Gray talking about the Montgomery Bus Boycott by clicking on this link: <http://www.montgomeryboycott.com/thomas-gray/>*





## Supporting Question 2

### Montgomery Bus Boycott Featured Source

**Source D:** Martin Luther King, Jr., address to the first Montgomery Improvement Association (MIA) mass meeting about the bus boycott, December 5, 1955

NOTE: On December 1, 1955, Mrs. Rosa Parks, an African American woman, refused to relinquish her seat on a Montgomery, Alabama, city bus to a white passenger. She was arrested by the Montgomery police for her act of protest, and the community quickly rallied to her defense, founding the Montgomery Improvement Association (MIA) and organizing a bus boycott. Four days after her arrest, on December 5, 1955, Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. addressed the very first mass meeting of the MIA as the group's president. Teachers and students can read a transcript of King's speech and hear an excerpt of original recording on the website of the Martin Luther King, Jr. Research and Education Institute of Stanford University (<http://mlk-kpp01.stanford.edu>) by performing a site search for "Address to the first Montgomery Improvement Association (MIA) Mass Meeting."



### What made the Montgomery bus boycott effective? (Teacher's guide to possible student responses)

Actors	Actions	Impact	Evidence
<b>Rosa Parks</b>	Refused to give up her seat to a white person on a bus in Montgomery, Alabama. Through her actions and arrest, she inspired the boycott of the city buses.	Rosa Parks helped to end legal segregation by intentionally not giving up her seat on the bus and getting arrested. Additionally, her vocal support of the Montgomery Improvement Association throughout the boycott helped raise funding and awareness of the campaign.	Quote from Rosa Parks autobiography: "I had no idea when I refused to give up my seat on that Montgomery bus that my small action would help put an end to the segregation laws in the South."  Encyclopedia entry on Parks: "Parks inspired tens of thousands of black citizens to boycott the Montgomery city buses for over a year. During that period she served as a dispatcher to coordinate rides for protesters and was indicted, along with King and over 80 others, for participation in the boycott. Parks also made appearances in churches and other organizations, including some in the North, to raise funds and publicize the Montgomery Improvement Association (MIA)."
<b>Jo Ann Robinson</b>	Drafted a leaflet that encouraged all African Americans in Montgomery to NOT ride the buses the Monday after Rosa Parks' arrest. With the help of other women in the Women's Political Council (WPC) she distributed tens of thousands of leaflets across the city of Montgomery, Alabama.	The leaflets were successful in getting out the word to tens of thousands of people to not ride the buses following the arrest of Rosa Parks. This helped make the Montgomery bus boycott effective because without the actions of Robinson, the opportunity to capitalize on the arrest of Parks could have passed.	Excerpt from Robinson's 1987 memoir: "After class my two students and I quickly finalized our plans for distributing the thousands of leaflets so that one would reach every black home in Montgomery. I took out the WPC membership roster and called [them].... I alerted all of them to the forthcoming distribution of the leaflets, and enlisted their aid in speeding and organizing the distribution network."  Excerpts from the December 5, 1955, leaflet:  "We are, therefore, asking every Negro to stay off the buses Friday in protest of the arrest and trial."  "...for if Negroes did not ride the buses, they could not operate. Three-fourths of the riders are Negroes."
<b>Montgomery Improvement Association (MIA)</b>	MIA was organized to help out after Parks was arrested because she was a citizen everyone knew. MIA members helped with the distribution of the leaflets. MIA members also transported African Americans to their jobs	The MIA helped make the Montgomery bus boycott effective because it helped to organize citizens across the city to boycott. Furthermore, by establishing the group, they were able to keep the boycott moving past the first day.	From oral history with Thomas Gray (no date): "We knew we were going to have to get moving if the boycott was going to last longer than a day."  "We did that [picking people up] until we were able to acquire a better transportation system. We then acquired some station wagons and



	after the initial boycott and eventually got station wagons to formally transport people.		insurance.”
<b>Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.</b>	King gave a speech at the first mass meeting of the MIA that encouraged the continuation of the bus boycott in Montgomery. He spoke about how everyone needed to stick together and practice nonviolent direct actions.	Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.’s speech helped make the Montgomery bus boycott effective because it inspired people and gave them a sense of purpose in moving forward with the boycott. He helped to unite the community with religious and moral purpose.	Excerpts from Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. speech on December 5, 1955: “I want to say that in all of our actions, we must stick together. {That's right} [applause] Unity is the great need of the hour [Well, that's right], and if we are united we can get many of the things that we not only desire but which we justly deserve.” “May I say to you, my friends, as I come to a close, and just giving some idea of why we are assembled here, that we must keep—and I want to stress this, in all of our doings, in all of our deliberations here this evening and all of the week and while,—whatever we do—, we must keep God in the forefront....But I want to tell you this evening that it is not enough for us to talk about love, love is one of the pivotal points of the Christian faith. There is another side called justice. And justice is really love in calculation. [All right] Justice is love correcting that which revolts against love. [Well]”



## Source Packet: Birmingham Campaign

There are four featured sources for the Birmingham campaign and additional web-based sources to support student research. While many actors contributed to the success of the Birmingham campaign, this source packet features three individuals and one organization that helped define the effort:

- James Bevel
- Bull Connor
- Martin Luther King, Jr.
- Alabama Christian Movement for Human Rights

**FEATURED SOURCE A** is an excerpt from Martin Luther King, Jr.'s Letter from a Birmingham Jail. This document serves two purposes here. First, it sheds light on the role of the Alabama Christian Movement for Human Rights in laying the groundwork for the campaign and inviting the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) to help escalate it. Second, this letter contains the most comprehensive argument for the use of nonviolent direct action from the civil rights movement and will therefore be crucial for students as they construct their summative arguments. King highlights the goal of creating a crisis situation:

You may well ask: "Why direct action? Why sit ins, marches and so forth? Isn't negotiation a better path?" You are quite right in calling for negotiation. Indeed, this is the very purpose of direct action. Nonviolent direct action seeks to create such a crisis and foster such a tension that a community which has constantly refused to negotiate is forced to confront the issue. It seeks so to dramatize the issue that it can no longer be ignored.

**FEATURED SOURCE B** consists of two famous images from the Birmingham campaign that show the crisis situation. The images of police using dogs and fire hoses on young protesters serve two primary purposes. First, they help students further consider the intentionality of protests. In looking at the photos, it is important to think about the question "Why might the protesters have wanted these actions to occur?" Second, the images also raise the issue of the role of the media in covering the movement and supporting its successes.

**FEATURED SOURCE C** is an excerpt from an interview with Rev. James Bevel, who was responsible for the decision to use children in the campaign. Bevel explains the rationale behind the decision and how it influenced more adults to get involved with the movement.

**FEATURED SOURCE D** is an excerpt from President John F. Kennedy's June 11, 1963, speech on civil rights. In a direct response to the events in Birmingham, Kennedy made the strongest declaration on civil rights by a US president, naming it a "moral issue" and calling for Congress to draft and pass what would become the Civil Rights Act of 1964, which banned segregation.

### Additional Resources

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Teachers may wish to highlight other people and groups who played a role in the Birmingham campaign. Possible actors to study, along with related sources, include the following:

- *Miriam McClendon*: McClendon was 14 years old when she participated in the Birmingham campaign and even spent several days in jail. In the following interview, she recounts her experience. Miriam McClendon, oral history video, PBS Learning Media website, November 8, 1995, <http://www.pbslearningmedia.org/resource/iml04.soc.ush.civil.mcclendn/miriam-mcclendon/>. A transcript is also available: [http://d43fweuh3sg51.cloudfront.net/media/assets/wgbh/iml04/iml04\\_doc\\_fullmcln/iml04\\_doc\\_fullmcln.pdf](http://d43fweuh3sg51.cloudfront.net/media/assets/wgbh/iml04/iml04_doc_fullmcln/iml04_doc_fullmcln.pdf).



- *Rev. Fred Shuttlesworth*: Shuttlesworth founded the Alabama Christian Movement for Human Rights and initiated the boycott that began the Birmingham campaign. A summary of his life and work is available here: “Fred Lee Shuttlesworth,” Encyclopedia of Alabama website, updated August 27, 2014, <http://www.encyclopediaofalabama.org/face/Article.jsp?id=h-1093>.
- *Rev. Wyatt Tee Walker*: Walker was responsible for the SCLC’s plan in Birmingham, known as Project C. He discusses it and the subsequent campaign starting with question 23 in the following interview: “Interview with Wyatt Tee Walker,” Eyes on the Prize Interviews: The Complete Series, Washington University Digital Gateway, October 11, 1985, <http://digital.wustl.edu/e/eop/eopweb/wal0015.0843.105wyattteewalker.html>.
- *Other participants*: Hundreds participated in the campaign. In the following video, a number recount their experiences: “First Person Accounts from 1963 Birmingham Campaign,” C-Span website, April 25, 2013, <http://www.c-span.org/video/?312240-1/first-person-accounts-1963-birmingham-campaign>.

More general information on the Birmingham campaign can be found at the following websites.

- “Explore: The Birmingham Campaign,” Black Culture Connection, PBS website: <http://www.pbs.org/black-culture/explore/civil-rights-movement-birmingham-campaign/#.VjGIAC0A>.
- Eyes on the Prize, PBS website: [http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/amex/eyesontheprize/story/07\\_c.html](http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/amex/eyesontheprize/story/07_c.html).



## Supporting Question 2

**Birmingham Campaign**  
**Featured Source**

**Source A:** Martin Luther King, Jr., open letter to those who questioned the Birmingham campaign tactics, “Letter from a Birmingham Jail,” April 16, 1963

NOTE: An extensive excerpt of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.’s famous “Letter from Birmingham Jail” was reprinted in *The Atlantic* on April 16, 2013, the occasion of its 50th anniversary. Teachers and students can locate the excerpt on *The Atlantic*’s site ([www.theatlantic.com](http://www.theatlantic.com)) by performing a search for “Letter from Birmingham Jail.” The unabridged letter is also available at a number of university websites, including that of the Martin Luther King, Jr. Research and Education Institute at Stanford University (<https://kinginstitute.stanford.edu>). Under “Featured Documents” in its “King Papers” area, the site contains links to electronic versions of the original letter and an audio version.



## Supporting Question 2

Birmingham Campaign  
Featured Source

Source B: Image bank: Photographs of attacks on protesters during the Birmingham campaign, 1963



Image 1: Police dogs attack high school student Walter Gadsden during the Birmingham campaign. The photograph by Bill Hudson was published in the May 4, 1963, *New York Times*.

© AP Photo/Bill Hudson.



Image 2: Marchers being sprayed by a high-pressure fire hose during the Birmingham campaign. The photograph by Charles Moore was published in the May 17, 1963, issue of *Life* magazine.

© Bettmann/Corbis / AP Images



## Supporting Question 2

**Birmingham Campaign**  
**Featured Source**

**Source C:** James Bevel, Civil Rights leader of Southern Christian Leadership Conference during the 1960s, oral history interview conducted by James A. Devinney about the Birmingham campaign (excerpt), November 13, 1985

**JAMES A. DEVINNEY:** What made Birmingham a city to focus on?

**JAMES BEVEL:** Well, it had a reputation equal to the Mississippi—Birmingham had a reputation equal to the Mississippi Delta in terms of its brutalization of people. It was known for its—Bull Connor, its police department, its violation and bombing, and denigrating black people and it was very resistant city. Klan, a lot of Klan activity. A lot of suppression. And so, that made it special because the greater the resistance in the application of the science of nonviolence, the clearer the issues become for the onlooker.

**JAMES A. DEVINNEY:** So, are you saying that in order for nonviolence to work, it has to be met with violence?

**JAMES BEVEL:** No, I said that it, it crystallizes when it's like contrasts. You have a better means of showing and revealing and bringing out the contradiction when there is an adamant attitude in people about superimposing their attitudes upon other people. So that you get a better contrast when you have people who are very adamant about that.

**JAMES A. DEVINNEY:** You've talked about the oppression of a city like Birmingham, Bull Connor's reputation and things like that. I want to move forward to the point where you decided to involve children. I mean, if it was such an oppressive environment, wasn't that kind of risky to involve children?

**JAMES BEVEL:** Well, in terms of the nature of the situation because of the intense suppression and the conditioning of the adults, it was necessary to use children because children had not been indoctrinated into that kind of violence and suppression. So they could come on the situation with an—a fresh approach. But it wasn't particularly dangerous from our point of view of using children. At that particular point children were in Vietnam. Guys seventeen was in Vietnam and our thinking was that if a young person could go to Vietnam and engage in a war, then the person certainly the same age and younger could engage in a nonviolent war that didn't violate the constitution of the people, property, and that when you use that method the chances of getting injured is very little anyway.

**JAMES A. DEVINNEY:** OK, tell me about the adult response to your use of the children.

**JAMES BEVEL:** Well it was good. A lot of adults would come out. One of the things we were interested in was getting the American black community involved. And in a city like Birmingham, you can't hardly go to a church, say in Chicago, where there is not a member in that church that is not related to Birmingham. So if you put several thousand children from Birmingham, say in jail, you sort of affected the religious community in Cleveland, Philadelphia, Chicago, Cincinnati, so you wanted to get the black community involved in it. We wanted to get the black community in Birmingham involved and the way you get the people involved is get their children involved. A lot of people were afraid to come to mass meetings in terms of the—the Alabama Bureau of Investigation would be around taking pictures and harassing people. So when the children became involved, they became involved, which meant they started coming to workshops and mass meetings. And our position was, rather than, kind of, get your children out of the movement, join the movement with your children. That the reason we had was faced with segregation because they themselves hadn't assessed the responsibility of breaking the attitudes and the patterns of misbehavior, say from their parents, and if the students didn't break those patterns then they would live a life of degeneracy in that kind of state. So, it was like the parents pretty much agreed that, and most parents even when





it's dangerous and risky, they have a deep sense of appreciation and respect for young people when they're doing what's right. I mean, all of them knew it was potentially dangerous, but they knew it was honorable, and they knew it was noble and they knew it was right. So they didn't fight against it. And then you had myself, and Fred Shuttlesworth, Abernathy, and Martin King preaching, and it's very difficult to go against the logic and the reasoning of a preacher who is really in the—about the business of preaching and all.

**JAMES A. DEVINNEY:** All right, let's just go on. Tell me, tell me a story about what it was like when you started to train all those children. You had thousands of children that you were trying to train. There must have been some funny incidents.

**JAMES BEVEL:** Well, what happened—I had come out of the Nashville movement and the Mississippi movements where we had basically used young people all the time. And, well, at first King didn't want me to use young people because I had eighty charges of contributing to the delinquency of a minor—minors—against me in Jackson, Mississippi for sending young people on the Freedom Ride. Well, that was about five to ten, twelve people would go on demonstrations each day and my position was well, you can't get the dialogues you need with a few people. Besides, most adults have bills to pay, house notes, rents, car notes, utility bills, but the young people wherein they can think at the same level are not, at this point, hooked with all those responsibilities. So, a boy from high school, he get the same effect in terms of being in jail in terms of putting the pressure on the city as his father and yet he is not, there is no economic threat on the family because the father is still on the job. So the strategy was, OK, let's use thousands of people who won't create an economic crisis because they're off the job, so the high school students was like our choice. And we brought that to them in terms of you're adults, but you're still sort of living on your mamas and your daddies, so it is your responsibility in that you don't have to pay the bills, to take the responsibility, to confront the segregation question. And what we did, we went around and started organizing say like, the queens of the high schools, the basketball stars, the football stars, so you get the influence and power leaders involved. And then, they in turn got all the other students involved. Because it was only about, like I said, 15 people a day demonstrating was willing to go to jail because the black community did not have that kind of cohesion in terms of a camaraderie. People knew each other, but only in terms of on their way to jobs, on their way to church, but the students they have sort of community they'd been in for say, ten, eleven, twelve years since they were in elementary school, so they had bonded well. So if one went to jail, that was a direct effect upon another when because they was classmates. Wherein parents, people live in the community do not have that kind of closeness, so the strategy for using the students was to get the whole involvement. To help them overcome the crippling fears of dogs, and jails, and to help them start thinking through problems on their feet, to think through a living problem causes you to think. Wherein if you're just reading books and referring, but once you get involved, you have to think.

© Copyright Washington University Libraries 2004. Excerpt from Interview with James Bevel, conducted by Blackside, Inc. on November 13, 1985, for *Eyes on the Prize: America's Civil Rights Years (1954-1965)*. Washington University Libraries, Film and Media Archive, Henry Hampton Collection. <http://digital.wustl.edu/cgi/t/text/text-idx?c=eop;cc=eop;rgn=main;view=toc;idno=bev0015.0491.010>.



## Supporting Question 2

Birmingham Campaign  
Featured Source

**Source D:** John F. Kennedy, presidential address on civil rights (excerpts), June 11, 1963

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

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

We are confronted primarily with a moral issue. It is as old as the Scriptures and is as clear as the American Constitution.

The heart of the question is whether all Americans are to be afforded equal rights and equal opportunities, whether we are going to treat our fellow Americans as we want to be treated. If an American, because his skin is dark, cannot eat lunch in a restaurant open to the public, if he cannot send his children to the best public school available, if he cannot vote for the public officials who represent him, if, in short, he cannot enjoy the full and free life which all of us want, then who among us would be content to have the color of his skin changed and stand in his place? Who among us would be content with the counsels of patience and delay?...

Now the time has come for this nation to fulfill its promise. The events in Birmingham and elsewhere have so increased the cries for equality that no city or state or legislative body can prudently choose to ignore them.

The fires of frustration and discord are burning in every city, North and South, where legal remedies are not at hand. Redress is sought in the streets, in demonstrations, parades, and protests which create tensions and threaten violence and threaten lives.

We face, therefore, a moral crisis as a country and as a people. It cannot be met by repressive police action. It cannot be left to increased demonstrations in the streets. It cannot be quieted by token moves or talk. It is a time to act in the Congress, in your state and local legislative bodies and, above all, in all of our daily lives.

It is not enough to pin the blame on others, to say this is a problem of one section of the country or another, or deplore the facts that we face. A great change is at hand, and our task, our obligation, is to make that revolution, that change, peaceful and constructive for all....

Next week I shall ask the Congress of the United States to act, to make a commitment it has not fully made in this century to the proposition that race has no place in American life or law. The federal judiciary has upheld that proposition in the conduct of its affairs, including the employment of federal personnel, the use of federal facilities, and the sale of federally financed housing.

But there are other necessary measures which only the Congress can provide, and they must be provided at this session. The old code of equity law under which we live commands for every wrong a remedy, but in too many communities, in too many parts of the country, wrongs are inflicted on Negro citizens and there are no remedies at law. Unless the Congress acts, their only remedy is in the streets.



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

This seems to me to be an elementary right. Its denial is an arbitrary indignity that no American in 1963 should have to endure. But many do.

Public domain. Transcript is available at Primary Resources: Civil Rights Announcement, 1963, "JFK," The American Experience, PBS website, <http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/americanexperience/features/primary-resources/jfk-civilrights/>. Video is available at "President John F. Kennedy's Civil Rights Address," C-Span, YouTube website, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=7BEhKgoA86U>.



### What made the Birmingham campaign effective? (Teacher's guide to possible student responses)

Actors	Actions	Impact	Evidence
<b>Alabama Christian Movement for Human Rights</b>	The Alabama Christian Movement for Human Rights initiated a boycott of stores in Birmingham and then invited Martin Luther King and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) to begin a nonviolent direct-action campaign.	Without the Alabama Christian Movement for Human Rights, there would have been no Birmingham campaign. They began the protests and called for a larger movement using national groups.	From the Letter from a Birmingham Jail: "Several months ago our local affiliate here in Birmingham invited us to be on call to engage in a nonviolent direct action program if such were deemed necessary."
<b>Martin Luther King, Jr.</b>	King wrote the "Letter from a Birmingham Jail," which explained the rationale for using nonviolent direct action in Birmingham at that particular moment.	King's letter explained and justified the actions of the movement to a larger national and international audience. This brought attention to the campaign, so when violence against the protesters was initiated, the media was there to capture it, thereby putting pressure on Kennedy to call for a Civil Rights bill.	From the Letter from a Birmingham Jail: "You may well ask, 'Why direct action? Why sit ins, marches, etc? Isn't negotiation a better path?' You are exactly right in your call for negotiation. Indeed, this is the purpose of direct action. Nonviolent direct action seeks to create such a crisis and establish such creative tension that a community that has constantly refused to negotiate is forced to confront the issue. It seeks so to dramatize the issue that it can no longer be ignored."
<b>James Bevel</b>	Bevel decided to use children in the Birmingham campaign and trained them in nonviolent methods.	The images of children being attacked by dogs and fire hoses gained national attention and were instrumental in putting pressure on Kennedy to call for a civil rights bill. Using children also got more people from the immediate Birmingham and larger national black communities involved in the movement.	From the James Bevel interview: "So if you put several thousand children from Birmingham, say in jail, you sort of affected the religious community in Cleveland, Philadelphia, Chicago, Cincinnati, so you wanted to get the black community involved in it. We wanted to get the black community in Birmingham involved and the way you get the people involved is get their children involved."



## Source Packet: Selma to Montgomery Marches

There are five featured sources for the Selma to Montgomery marches and additional web-based sources to support student research. Although many actors contributed to the success of the Selma to Montgomery marches, this source packet features three individuals and one organization that helped define the effort:

- Martin Luther King, Jr.
- John Lewis
- Hosea Williams
- Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC)

**FEATURED SOURCE A** is a letter written by an imprisoned King that appeared in the *New York Times* in February 1965 and details voter discrimination in the South. This letter highlights the involvement of the SCLC, which King helped found. The goal of the letter was to bring media attention to voter discrimination in Alabama.

**FEATURED SOURCES B AND C** revolve around the actions of John Lewis. Source B is a photograph of Lewis leading the first march attempt through Selma, Alabama, when police stopped the protest march and ordered everyone to disperse. The protesters refused, and the police began to use violent force. The photo depicts the moment when the police violence began. Source C captures the media interpretation of the event, which came to be known as “Bloody Sunday.” The source features headlines from newspapers around the United States. Teachers may want to project the image of Lewis and the protesters as they read through the headlines. Teachers may also want students to think about whom the newspapers promote as the protagonists and antagonists. Moreover, teachers should make sure that students are aware of the role of media as a facilitator of the civil rights movement.

An additional source is a set of oral histories by John Lewis. See “Oral History Interview with John Lewis, November 20, 1973. Interview A-0073. Southern Oral History Program Collection (#4007),” Documenting the American South website, <http://docsouth.unc.edu/sohp/A-0073/menu.html>.

**FEATURED SOURCE D** is a brief from the 1965 district court case *Williams v. Wallace*. The case was in response to Governor George Wallace’s injunction on protesters who were trying to organize another march from Selma to Montgomery. The plaintiff, Hosea Williams, had to draft an itinerary of the proposed march and argue that it would be a peaceful demonstration. In the end, the court sided with the plaintiff and a final march to Montgomery was allowed.

**FEATURED SOURCE E** is a video and written transcript from President Lyndon Johnson’s speech to Congress on March 15, 1965, calling for passage of the Voting Rights Act. In the speech, Johnson makes direct reference to the Selma to Montgomery marches, thereby establishing the success of the marches.



## Additional Resources

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Teachers may wish to highlight other people and groups who played a role in the marches. Possible actors to study, along with a key additional source, include the following:

- *Jimmie Lee Jackson*: This article examines how Jackson’s death contributed to the Voting Rights Act of 1965: Peter Ognibene, “Jimmie Lee Jackson: The Death That Gave Life to Voting Rights,” Huffington Post website, updated May 25, 2011, [http://www.huffingtonpost.com/peter-j-ognibene/jimmie-lee-jackson-the-de\\_b\\_456870.html](http://www.huffingtonpost.com/peter-j-ognibene/jimmie-lee-jackson-the-de_b_456870.html).
- *Lyndon Johnson*: Johnson’s speech before Congress concerning voting rights looks at how the march to gained national attention: “Speech Before Congress on Voting Rights (March 15, 1965), Lyndon Johnson,” Miller Center website, <http://millercenter.org/president/speeches/speech-3386>. A transcript and audio of President Johnson’s comments at the passage of the Voting Rights Act of 1965 is also available: “Remarks on the Signing of the Voting Rights Act (August 6, 1965), Lyndon Johnson,” Miller Center website, <http://millercenter.org/president/speeches/speech-4034>.
- *James Reeb*: Reeb was a white minister who was answering call for clergy to get involved in Selma, Alabama, and was killed by white supremacists. A short biography of Reeb can be found here: “Reeb, James (1927-1965),” encyclopedia entry, Martin Luther King and the Global Freedom Struggle, The Martin Luther King, Jr. Research and Education Institute, Stanford University, [http://mlk-kpp01.stanford.edu/index.php/encyclopedia/encyclopedia/enc\\_reeb\\_james\\_1927\\_1965/](http://mlk-kpp01.stanford.edu/index.php/encyclopedia/encyclopedia/enc_reeb_james_1927_1965/).
- *Southern Christian Leadership Conference*: On page 4 of the following report, King outlines the importance of voter registration in the South: Martin Luther King, Jr., “Annual Report to the Southern Christian Leadership Conference,” October 2, 1964, the King Center website, <http://www.thekingcenter.org/archive/document/annual-report-mlk>.

In addition, the following two websites feature the march to Montgomery prominently:

- Mary Schons, “The Selma-to-Montgomery Marches,” *National Geographic* website, January 21, 2011, [http://education.nationalgeographic.com/education/news/selma-montgomery-marches-and-1965-voting-rights-act/?ar\\_a=1](http://education.nationalgeographic.com/education/news/selma-montgomery-marches-and-1965-voting-rights-act/?ar_a=1).
- Images, written documents, and oral histories may be found here: “Selma-Montgomery March,” Civil Rights Digital Library website, [http://crdl.usg.edu/events/selma\\_montgomery\\_march/?Welcome](http://crdl.usg.edu/events/selma_montgomery_march/?Welcome).



## Supporting Question 2

### Montgomery Marches Featured Source

**Source A:** Martin Luther King, Jr., letter included in a *New York Times* advertisement soliciting funds for the SCLC, “Letter from a Selma, Alabama, Jail” February 1, 1965

NOTE: On February 5, 1965, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) paid to run a letter written by Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. from a jail cell in Selma, Alabama in the *New York Times* as an advertisement. King’s impassioned appeal highlighted the irony of being jailed less than 60 days after receiving the Nobel Peace Prize, and he implored “decent Americans” to provide financial aid for the SCLC’s operations in Selma and many other southern cities and towns. Teachers and students can find an excerpt from the letter at the website of the Gilder Lehrman Institute of American History ([www.gilderlehrman.org](http://www.gilderlehrman.org)) by performing an Internet search for “Gilder Lehrman + A Letter from a Selma, Alabama Jail.”



## Supporting Question 2

Montgomery Marches  
Featured Source

**Source B:** Associated Press, photograph of protester John Lewis (foreground) being beaten by police on Bloody Sunday, March 7, 1965



©Bettmann/©Corbis/AP Images





## Supporting Question 2

Montgomery Marches  
Featured Source

**Source C:** Newspaper headlines from around the United States after Bloody Sunday

“Alabama Police Use Gas And Clubs To Rout Negros,” *New York Times*, March 7, 1965, front page

“Alabama Negro March Explodes Into Bloody Violence With Police,” *Fitchburg Sentinel* (MA), March 8, 1965, front page

“Tear Gas, Clubs Halt 600 in Selma March,” *The Washington Post Times Herald*, March 8, 1965, front page

“Selma’s Mayor Blocks another March Attempt,” *The Washington Post Times Herald*, March 11, 1965, front page



## Supporting Question 2

Montgomery Marches  
Featured Source

**Source D:** United States District Court, excerpt from the court brief seeking to lift Governor George Wallace’s injunction against the march (excerpts), *Williams v. Wallace*, March 1965

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**(Cite as: 240 F. Supp. 100)**

United States District Court, M.D. Alabama, Northern Division.

Hosea WILLIAMS, John Lewis and Amelia Boynton, on behalf of themselves and others similarly situated, Plaintiffs,  
United States of America, Plaintiff-

Intervenor,

v.

Honorable George C. WALLACE, as Governor of the State of Alabama, Al Lingo, as Director of Public Safety for the State of Alabama, and James G. Clark, as Sheriff of Dallas County, Alabama, Defendants.

**Civ. A. No. 2181-N.**

March 17, 1965.

Order March 19, 1965.

Action against the governor of the state of Alabama and other officials to restrain their interference with plaintiffs’ proposed march, wherein the United States by leave of court filed its complaint in intervention. The District Court, Johnson, J., held, inter alia, that evidence warranted issuance of injunction restraining defendants from interfering with proposed march by Negro citizens and other members of their class along U.S. Highway 80 from Selma to Montgomery for purpose of petitioning their government for redress of their grievances in being deprived of right to vote.

[10] This Court finds the plaintiffs’ proposed plan to the extent that it relates to a march along U.S. Highway 80 from Selma to Montgomery, Alabama, to be a reasonable one to be used and followed in the exercise of a constitutional right of assembly and free movement within the State of Alabama for the purpose of petitioning their State government for redress of their grievances....This is particularly true when the usual, basic and constitutionally-provided means of protesting in our American way—voting—have been deprived. [FN6]

### PLAINTIFFS’ PROPOSED PLAN FOR MARCH FROM SELMA, ALABAMA, TO MONTGOMERY, ALABAMA

1. The march will commence on Friday, March 19, 1965 at 10:30 a.m. or any day thereafter provided that plaintiffs will provide at least 48 hours advance notice of the march to Defendants, the United States, and the Court.
2. The number of persons marching will be as follows:



- A. There will be no limitation on the number of marchers within the Cities of Selma and Montgomery and along the 4-lane portions of Route 80-East between Selma and Montgomery.
  - B. The number of marchers will not exceed 300 persons on the 2-lane portion of Route 80.
3. The following are the approximate distances to be covered each day:
- A. First Day-march approximately 11 miles stopping at a designated private field with permission of owner which has already been granted;
  - B. Second day-march approximately 11 miles stopping at a designated field with permission of the owner which already has been granted;
  - C. Third day-march approximately 17 miles stopping at a designated building and adjoining field with permission of owners which has already been granted;
  - D. Fourth day-march 8 miles to the western part of Montgomery stopping at an area tentatively selected and to be designated.
  - E. Fifth day-march from western part of Montgomery to the Capitol.
  - F. Large tents will be erected at the campsites by professionals. Meetings and song festivals may be held at campsites....
6. On the highway, the marchers will proceed on shoulders of the road walking on the left side facing automobile traffic. They will march along road shoulders two abreast and employ single files at places where the shoulder is narrow and on bridges without sidewalks. The marchers will be organized in separate groups of approximately 50 persons (or less) and each group will be under the supervision of a designated group leader.
7. The following supporting services will be provided:
- A. Food.
  - B. Truck-borne washing and toilet facilities.
  - C. Litter and garbage pickup by truck along route and at campsites.
  - D. Ambulance and first aid service.
  - E. Transportation for return to Selma of those marchers in excess of the 300 (or fewer) persons who will continue on the march after the first day. Transportation will also be available for some persons who will join the group on the last day to complete march by entry into Montgomery.
  - F. Lines of communication among the marchers and leaders and certain supporting services will be established by walkie-talkie radios and other means.
8. Liaison will be established between designated leaders of the march and such \*121 state and local officials as the agencies concerned shall designate.

Public domain. [http://new.gilderlehrman.org/sites/default/files/inline-pdfs/Williams\\_Wallace.pdf](http://new.gilderlehrman.org/sites/default/files/inline-pdfs/Williams_Wallace.pdf).



## Supporting Question 2

**Montgomery Marches**  
**Featured Source**

**Source E:** Lyndon B. Johnson, special message to Congress urging passage of the Voting Rights Act, “The American Promise” (excerpts), March 15, 1965

Mr. Speaker, Mr. President, Members of the Congress:

I speak tonight for the dignity of man and the destiny of democracy. I urge every member of both parties, Americans of all religions and of all colors, from every section of this country, to join me in that cause.

At times history and fate meet at a single time in a single place to shape a turning point in man's unending search for freedom. So it was at Lexington and Concord. So it was a century ago at Appomattox. So it was last week in Selma, Alabama.

There, long-suffering men and women peacefully protested the denial of their rights as Americans. Many were brutally assaulted. One good man, a man of God, was killed.

There is no cause for pride in what has happened in Selma. There is no cause for self-satisfaction in the long denial of equal rights of millions of Americans. But there is cause for hope and for faith in our democracy in what is happening here tonight.

For the cries of pain and the hymns and protests of oppressed people have summoned into convocation all the majesty of this great Government—the Government of the greatest Nation on earth. Our mission is at once the oldest and the most basic of this country: to right wrong, to do justice, to serve man....

There is no Negro problem. There is no Southern problem. There is no Northern problem. There is only an American problem. And we are met here tonight as Americans—not as Democrats or Republicans—we are met here as Americans to solve that problem....

Our fathers believed that if this noble view of the rights of man was to flourish, it must be rooted in democracy. The most basic right of all was the right to choose your own leaders. The history of this country, in large measure, is the history of the expansion of that right to all of our people.

Many of the issues of civil rights are very complex and most difficult. But about this there can and should be no argument. Every American citizen must have an equal right to vote. There is no reason which can excuse the denial of that right. There is no duty which weighs more heavily on us than the duty we have to ensure that right....

Wednesday I will send to Congress a law designed to eliminate illegal barriers to the right to vote....

This bill will strike down restrictions to voting in all elections—Federal, State, and local—which have been used to deny Negroes the right to vote.

**This bill will establish a simple, uniform standard which cannot be used, however ingenious the effort, to flout our Constitution....**

Public domain. Public Papers of the Presidents of the United States: Lyndon B. Johnson, 1965. Volume I, entry 107, pp. 281-287. Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1966. A transcript is available at the LBJ Library website, at <http://www.lbjlibrary.org/lyndon-baines-johnson/speeches-films/president-johnsons-special-message-to-the-congress-the-american-promise>, along with video of the speech, at <http://www.lbjlibrary.org/lyndon-baines-johnson/speeches-films/president-johnsons-special-message-to-the-congress-the-american-promise>.



What made the Selma to Montgomery marches effective? (Teacher's guide to possible student responses)			
Actors	Actions	Evidence	Impact
<b>Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC)</b>	Drafted a letter through cofounder Martin Luther King, Jr. to bring media attention to voter registration problems in Selma, Alabama. The SCLC, with King, eventually leads a successful march to Montgomery on the third attempt.	The SCLC letter brought media attention to the barriers to voter registration that plagued the South even after the Civil Rights Act of 1964. The successful march to Selma at the end of March 1965 contributed to the passage of the Voting Rights Act of 1965.	Excerpt from a letter written by King and published in the <i>New York Times</i> (February 1965): "Why are we in jail? Have you ever been required to answer 100 questions on government, some abstruse even to a political scientist specialist, merely to vote? Have you ever stood in line with over a hundred others and after waiting an entire day seen less than ten given the qualifying test?"
<b>John Lewis</b>	Led the ill-fated first march from Selma to Montgomery on March 7, 1965, known as Bloody Sunday, which helped bring media attention to voter registration problems in Selma, Alabama.	John Lewis led the first peaceful march to Montgomery without protective escort. This action and the subsequent police brutality brought a national audience to the voter registration problem in Alabama.	Excerpt from the <i>Syracuse Post Standard</i> after Bloody Sunday (1965): "The nation and the civilized world stand appalled before the photograph of club-swinging policemen beating defenseless marchers to the ground. There is no excuse for this kind of oppression. Wallace showed his usual bad judgment in ordering it."
<b>Hosea Williams</b>	Drafted a march itinerary to legally challenge the interference of Governor George Wallace of Alabama in the wake of the first march attempt on March 7, 1965.	Hosea Williams's challenge of Governor George Wallace allowed the nonviolent direct protest to continue in the form of a march from Selma to Montgomery. Furthermore, the continued protest contributed to the Voting Rights Act of 1965.	Excerpt from <i>Williams v. Wallace</i> (1965): "This Court finds the plaintiffs' proposed plan to the extent that it relates to a march along U.S. Highway 80 from Selma to Montgomery, Alabama, to be a reasonable one to be used and followed in the exercise of a constitutional right of assembly and free movement within the State of Alabama for the purpose of petitioning their State government for redress of their grievances."
<b>Martin Luther King, Jr.</b>	Wrote a letter to bring media attention to voter registration problems in Selma, Alabama. Led a successful march to Montgomery on the third attempt.	King's efforts created the crisis situation that pressured LBJ and Congress to take action and pass the Voting Rights Act.	Excerpt from LBJ speech (March 1965): [In Selma], long-suffering men and women peacefully protested the denial of their rights as Americans. Many were brutally assaulted. One good man, a man of God, was killed. There is no cause for pride in what has happened in Selma. There is no cause for self-satisfaction in the long denial of equal rights of millions of Americans. But there is cause for hope and for faith in our democracy in what is happening here tonight. For the cries of pain and the hymns and protests of oppressed people have summoned into convocation all the majesty of this great Government—the Government of the greatest Nation on earth. Our mission is at once the oldest and the most basic of this country: to right wrong, to do justice, to serve man.



## Supporting Question 3

<b>Supporting Question</b>	How did others use nonviolence effectively during the civil rights movement?
<b>Formative Performance Task</b>	Research the impact of a range of actors and the effective nonviolent direct actions they used in an event during the civil rights movement.
<b>Featured Source</b>	To be determined by students; see possible resources in the Events for Research table
<b>Conceptual Understanding</b>	(11.10a) After World War II, long-term demands for equality by African Americans led to the civil rights movement. The efforts of individuals, groups, and institutions helped to redefine African American civil rights, though numerous issues remain unresolved.
<b>Content Specifications</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Students will examine the role and impact of individuals such as Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr., Stokely Carmichael, Fannie Lou Hamer, and Malcolm X on the movement and their perspectives on change.</li> <li>• Students will examine the role of groups such as the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), and Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) in the movement, their goals and strategies, and major contributions.</li> <li>• Students will examine judicial actions and legislative achievements during the movement, such as <i>Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka</i> (1954), the Civil Rights Act of 1964, <i>Heart of Atlanta Motel, Inc. v. United States</i> (1964) and the Voting Rights Act of 1965.</li> <li>• Students will analyze the significance of key events in the movement, including the Montgomery bus boycott, federal intervention at Little Rock, Arkansas; the Birmingham protest; and the March on Washington.</li> </ul>
<b>Social Studies Practices</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>✓ <b>Gathering, Using, Interpreting Evidence</b></li> <li>✓ <b>Chronological Reasoning and Causation</b></li> </ul>

## Supporting Question

Having examined four case studies of nonviolent protest (e.g., the Greensboro sit-ins, Birmingham campaign, Montgomery bus boycott, and Selma to Montgomery marches), students now consider the third supporting question, “How did others use nonviolence effectively during the civil rights movement?” Using the graphic organizer from the second formative performance task, students work in groups to research an event to understand the actors, actions, and impacts that characterize the event. Although not all events within the movement utilized nonviolent direct action, this inquiry focuses students on those who did and, thus, moves them toward the Summative Performance Task by further investigating the compelling question “What made nonviolent protest effective during the civil rights movement?”

## Formative Performance Task

This formative performance task requires students to address the supporting question by having them do additional research on a seminal event from the civil rights movement. These events are in no way comprehensive, nor are the list of names and organizations that help contribute to their success. However, the graphic organizer provided here is a starting place for students to systematize their research and to expand their understanding of the larger movement for civil rights and the ways in which individuals and organizations worked together using nonviolent means.

Students could be organized into four groups and asked to research the following events: Freedom Rides, 1961; March on Washington, 1963; Freedom Summer, 1964; and the Chicago Freedom Movement, 1966. From there, students use the graphic organizer from Formative Performance Tasks 2 and 3 to organize their findings: actors, actions, impact, and evidence. Their previous experience with the performance tasks should help guide students toward working independently with the current task. Within this task, students are working directly with the social studies practice Gathering, Using, and Interpreting Evidence. Students are also working with the social studies practice of Chronological Reasoning and Causation as they consider how the person or organization they are researching contributed to the civil rights movement with a form of nonviolent protest.

## Featured Sources

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As with any independent research experience, students could be given a list of sources to start their investigations. The Events for Research table in this section contains a list of vetted websites for each event, but teachers and students could expand their search to other sites, books, and reference material. Also listed in the table are websites that highlight oral histories for each event. As students encounter these sources, they should continue to think about the utility and veracity of the source materials using the questions that are in Appendix C: Key Questions to Ask When Analyzing Oral History Online.



Events for Research		
Event	People/Organization	Possible Web Sources
<b>Freedom Rides</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Genevieve Hughes Houghton</li> <li>Robert F. Kennedy</li> <li>James Lawson</li> <li>Diane Nash</li> <li>James Peck</li> <li>Congress of Racial Equality (CORE)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>“Freedom Riders” episode of <i>The American Experience</i>, PBS website: <a href="http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/americanexperience/freedomriders/">http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/americanexperience/freedomriders/</a></li> <li>“Freedom Rides” encyclopedia entry, Martin Luther King and the Global Freedom Struggle, The Martin Luther King, Jr. Research and Education Institute, Stanford University: <a href="http://mlk-kpp01.stanford.edu/index.php/encyclopedia/encyclopedia/enc_freedom_rides/">http://mlk-kpp01.stanford.edu/index.php/encyclopedia/encyclopedia/enc_freedom_rides/</a></li> <li>Marian Smith Holmes, “The Freedom Riders, Then and Now,” <i>Smithsonian Magazine</i>, February 2009: <a href="http://www.smithsonianmag.com/history/the-freedom-riders-then-and-now-45351758/?no-ist">http://www.smithsonianmag.com/history/the-freedom-riders-then-and-now-45351758/?no-ist</a></li> <li>Freedom Riders Oral Histories, Archives and Special Collections, University of Mississippi Libraries: <a href="http://clio.lib.olemiss.edu/cdm/landingpage/collection/freeriders">http://clio.lib.olemiss.edu/cdm/landingpage/collection/freeriders</a></li> </ul>
<b>March on Washington</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Bob Dylan</li> <li>Martin Luther King, Jr.</li> <li>John Lewis</li> <li>A. Philip Randolph</li> <li>Bayard Rustin</li> <li>Congress of Racial Equality (CORE)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>“March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom” encyclopedia entry, Martin Luther King and the Global Freedom Struggle, The Martin Luther King, Jr. Research and Education Institute, Stanford University: <a href="http://mlk-kpp01.stanford.edu/index.php/encyclopedia/encyclopedia/enc_march_on_washington_for_jobs_and_freedom/">http://mlk-kpp01.stanford.edu/index.php/encyclopedia/encyclopedia/enc_march_on_washington_for_jobs_and_freedom/</a></li> <li>Michael Fletcher (interviews) and Ryan R. Reed (videos), “An Oral History of the March on Washington,” <i>Smithsonian Magazine</i>, July 2013: <a href="http://www.smithsonianmag.com/history-archaeology/an-oral-history-of-the-march-on-washington/?no-ist">http://www.smithsonianmag.com/history-archaeology/an-oral-history-of-the-march-on-washington/?no-ist</a></li> <li>“Official Program for the March on Washington (1963),” Our Documents website: <a href="http://www.ourdocuments.gov/doc.php?flash=true&amp;doc=96">http://www.ourdocuments.gov/doc.php?flash=true&amp;doc=96</a></li> <li>“The March on Washington: Marking the 40th Anniversary of the Historic Civil Rights Protest,” August 2003, NPR website: <a href="http://www.npr.org/news/specials/march40th/">http://www.npr.org/news/specials/march40th/</a></li> <li>March on Washington, Changing America Exhibition, The Museum of American History: <a href="http://americanhistory.si.edu/changing-america-emancipation-proclamation-1863-and-march-washington-1963/1963/march-washington">http://americanhistory.si.edu/changing-america-emancipation-proclamation-1863-and-march-washington-1963/1963/march-washington</a></li> </ul>
<b>Freedom Summer</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>James Chaney</li> <li>Septima Clark</li> <li>Fannie Lou Hamer</li> <li>Robert Parris Moses</li> <li>Council of Federated Organizations (a coalition of the Mississippi branches of the four major civil rights organizations (Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee [SNCC], Congress for Racial Equality [CORE], National Association for the Advancement of</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Freedom Summer 50th website: <a href="http://freedom50.org">http://freedom50.org</a></li> <li>“Freedom Summer (1964)” encyclopedia entry, Martin Luther King and the Global Freedom Struggle, The Martin Luther King, Jr. Research and Education Institute, Stanford University: <a href="http://mlk-kpp01.stanford.edu/index.php/encyclopedia/encyclopedia/enc_freedom_summer_1964/">http://mlk-kpp01.stanford.edu/index.php/encyclopedia/encyclopedia/enc_freedom_summer_1964/</a></li> <li>Freedom Summer, History Channel website: <a href="http://www.history.com/topics/black-history/freedom-summer">http://www.history.com/topics/black-history/freedom-summer</a></li> <li>“Freedom Summer,” episode of <i>The American Experience</i>, PBS website: <a href="http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/americanexperience/films/freedomsummer/">http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/americanexperience/films/freedomsummer/</a></li> <li>“50 Years Ago, Students Fought For Black Rights During ‘Freedom Summer,’” June 23, 2014, NPR website: <a href="http://www.npr.org/2014/06/23/324879867/50-years-ago-students-fought-for-black-">http://www.npr.org/2014/06/23/324879867/50-years-ago-students-fought-for-black-</a></li> </ul>





	<p>Colored People [NAACP], and Southern Christian Leadership Conference [SCLC])</p>	<p><a href="#">rights-during-freedom-summer</a></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Oral histories found at the Freedom Summer Digital Archive Library, Miami University Libraries: <a href="http://digital.lib.muohio.edu/fs/">http://digital.lib.muohio.edu/fs/</a></li> <li>• Oral history transcripts, Civil Rights Documentation Project, Mississippi Humanities Council: <a href="http://www.usm.edu/crdp/html/transcripts.shtml">http://www.usm.edu/crdp/html/transcripts.shtml</a></li> </ul>
<p><b>Chicago Freedom Movement</b></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• James Bevel</li> <li>• Jesse Jackson</li> <li>• Bernard Kleina</li> <li>• Albert Raby</li> <li>• Coordinating Council of Community Organizations (CCCO)</li> </ul>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• "Chicago Freedom Movement," <i>Eyes on the Prize</i>, August 23, 2006, PBS website: <a href="http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/amex/eyesontheprize/story/12_chicago.html">http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/amex/eyesontheprize/story/12_chicago.html</a></li> <li>• Martin Luther King, Jr., "Speech at Chicago Freedom Rally," July 10, 1966, The King Center website: <a href="http://www.thekingcenter.org/archive/document/speech-chicago-freedom-movement-rally">http://www.thekingcenter.org/archive/document/speech-chicago-freedom-movement-rally</a></li> <li>• Max Kutner, "A Collection of Rare Color Photographs Depicts MLK Leading the Chicago Freedom Movement," August 5, 2014, Smithsonian.com: <a href="http://www.smithsonianmag.com/smithsonian-institution/rare-collection-color-photographs-depicts-martin-luther-king-chicago-freedom-movement-180952248/">http://www.smithsonianmag.com/smithsonian-institution/rare-collection-color-photographs-depicts-martin-luther-king-chicago-freedom-movement-180952248/</a></li> <li>• "Chicago Campaign (1966)" encyclopedia entry, Martin Luther King and the Global Freedom Struggle, The Martin Luther King, Jr. Research and Education Institute, Stanford University: <a href="http://mlk-kpp01.stanford.edu/index.php/encyclopedia/encyclopedia/enc_chicago_campaign/">http://mlk-kpp01.stanford.edu/index.php/encyclopedia/encyclopedia/enc_chicago_campaign/</a></li> <li>• Guide to the Bernard LaFayette Oral History Project, Special Collections and Archives, University of Rhode Island Library: <a href="http://www.uri.edu/library/special_collections/registers/oral_histories/msg123a.xml">http://www.uri.edu/library/special_collections/registers/oral_histories/msg123a.xml</a> (Note: LaFayette talks about Jesse Jackson's role in the Chicago Freedom Movement)</li> </ul>



## Summative Performance Task

<b>Summative Performance Task</b>	<b>ARGUMENT</b> What made nonviolent protest effective during the civil rights movement? Construct an argument (e.g., detailed outline, poster, or essay) using specific claims and relevant evidence from historical sources. Express these arguments by creating a monument or memorial for nonviolent heroes of the civil rights movement and provide a rationale for its design.
	<b>EXTENSION</b> Discuss the following: If the country were to build a monument or memorial (e.g., Mount Rushmore or the Vietnam War Memorial) for nonviolent heroes of the civil rights movement, what type of monument should it be and who, if anyone, should be on it?

In the Summative Performance Task, students construct an evidence-based argument responding to the compelling question “What made nonviolent protest effective during the civil rights movement?” It is important to note that students’ arguments could take a variety of forms. In some cases, teachers may have students complete a detailed outline that includes claims with evidentiary support. In other cases, teachers may want students to write a paper that formally presents and supports their arguments. Given the extensive claim work within this inquiry, teachers may opt for an outline and move to the extension part of this task.

At this point in the inquiry, students have examined multiple case studies of nonviolent protests used during the civil rights movement (e.g., Greensboro sit-ins, Montgomery bus boycotts, Freedom Rides, and Selma to Montgomery March) and have completed their independent research on the individuals and organizations involved with other major events that used nonviolent protests during the movement. Students should be expected to use the breadth of their understandings as well as their abilities to use evidence from multiple sources to support their claims. As students work through the Summative Performance Task, they are working with the social studies practices of Gathering, Using, and Interpreting Evidence as well as Chronological Reasoning and Causation.

Prior to the Summative Performance Task, it might be helpful to have students review all of their graphic organizers from the formative performance tasks. By reviewing their prior work and possibly ranking events on significance, students can begin to develop their claims and highlight the appropriate evidence to support their arguments. The Evidence Chart provided here can be used to support students as they build their arguments with claims and evidence.

Students’ arguments likely will vary, but could include any of the following:

- Nonviolent direct action protests during the civil rights movement were effective because of such individuals as Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. and James Lawson, whose sustained leadership helped promote the practice of nonviolence even when faced with hostility.
- Nonviolent direct action protests during the civil rights movement were effective because groups such as the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), and Congress for Racial Equality (CORE) provided infrastructure and organization that allowed individuals to mobilize for civil rights.
- Nonviolent direct action protests during the civil rights movement were effective because the peaceful actions of individuals involved in the Freedom Rides and the March to Montgomery were able to draw national attention and bystander empathy toward their cause.
- Nonviolent protests were partially effective, but it was the civil rights legislation that really changed the course of the movement.
- Nonviolent direct action was effective because the protesters created crisis situations that led to violent responses from white onlookers. By fostering a situation where whites reacted violently to black nonviolent protesters, it forced the federal government to take legislative and executive action.

It is possible for students to find support for any of these arguments in the sources provided and through their analysis of the sources. Regardless of where the students come down on what made nonviolent protests effective,



teachers will want to help students work to write counterclaims so that they acknowledge the broad and intentional efforts that numerous actors took to ensure the effectiveness of nonviolent protests. As Martin Luther King, Jr. said during a commencement address at Oberlin College, “Somewhere we must come to see that human progress never rolls in on the wheels of inevitability. It comes on the tireless efforts and persistent work of dedicated individuals.”

### Extension

Using their research from Formative Performance Tasks 2 and 3, students discuss the following: If the country were to build a monument or memorial (e.g., Mount Rushmore or the Vietnam War Memorial) for nonviolent heroes of the civil rights movement, what type of monument should it be and who, if anyone, should be on it?

Monuments can be valuable sources for social studies teachers and students. Monuments tell a specific narrative about what is important to remember and who or what should be memorialized from our past.

The decision to build monuments begs questions such as the following:

- What is worthy of being memorialized?
- Which people?
- Which groups?
- Whose story?

In order to create their own monuments or memorials for nonviolent heroes of the civil rights movement, students could use the Organizer for Nonviolent Heroes Monument provided to help develop their ideas. Teachers could further extend this activity by having students sketch their monuments or develop posters for their monuments and create a gallery walk activity for other students. Note that the organizer and activities were adapted from the work of Alan S. Marcus and Thomas H. Levine, “Remember the Alamo? Learning History with Monuments and Memorials.” *Social Education* 74, no. 3 (2010): 131–134.



## Evidence Chart

Initial Claim	
What is your opening claim about the success of nonviolent protests? This claim should appear in the opening section of your argument. Make sure to cite your sources.	

Evidence	
What evidence do you have from the sources you investigated to support your initial claim? Make sure to cite your sources.	

Additional Claims	
What are some additional claims you can make that extend your initial claim? Make sure to cite your sources.	

Additional Evidence	
What additional evidence do you have from the sources you investigated that support your additional claims? Make sure to cite your sources.	

Double Check	
What ideas from the sources contradict your claims? Have you forgotten anything? Make sure to cite your sources.	

Pulling It Together	
What is your overall understanding of the compelling question? This should be included in your conclusion. Make sure to cite your sources.	

**Organizer for Nonviolent Heroes Monument**

If the country were to build a monument or memorial (e.g., Mount Rushmore or the Vietnam War Memorial) for nonviolent heroes of the civil rights movement, what type of monument should it be and who, if anyone, should be on it? Use the prompts and questions provided here to help guide your development of your monument or memorial.

Make a decision on the type of monument or memorial that you are building.

Write the text that would appear on your monument. Feel free to consult your graphic organizers and sources. You will need to explain why you have chosen the text you have.

Provide an aesthetic description of your monument. What do you think it should look like and why?



## Taking Informed Action

### Taking Informed Action

**UNDERSTAND** Examine several oral history archives. Focus on archives that feature individuals who participated in nonviolent direct action protest within the civil rights movement.

**ASSESS** Discuss the limitations of oral history and note its contribution to our understanding of the past.

**ACT** Create an oral history archive of individuals who participated in or witnessed a nonviolent direct action protest.

Taking informed action can manifest in a variety of forms and in a range of venues. Students may express action through discussions, debates, surveys, video productions, and the like; these actions may take place in the classroom, in the school, in the local community, across the state, and around the world. The three activities described in this inquiry represent a logic that asks students to (1) *understand* the issues evident from the inquiry in a larger and/or current context, (2) *assess* the relevance and impact of the issues, and (3) *act* in ways that allow students to demonstrate agency in a real-world context.

This inquiry uses an array of oral histories that help students learn about the past. Students draw on these experiences with the recent recordings and interviews to learn more about the ways in which oral history can help to preserve history and thus enhance the common good. The focus on oral history woven throughout this inquiry reaches a fitting conclusion here, though it should be noted that the topic of the civil rights movement obviously could be used to engage students in advocating for the civil rights of people facing some form of discrimination.

To *understand* the nature of oral history, students could begin by reading a February 2002 guide, “Making Sense of Oral History” by Linda Shopes, a historian at the Pennsylvania Historical and Museum Commission, found at the website History Matters: The U.S. Survey Course on the Web (<http://historymatters.gmu.edu/mse/oral/>). Using the guide, students could investigate several oral history archives asking key questions featured in Appendix C: Key Questions to Ask When Analyzing Oral History Online. Students could also use “Teacher’s Guide: Analyzing Oral Histories” from the Library of Congress ([http://www.loc.gov/teachers/usingprimarysources/resources/Analyzing\\_Oral\\_Histories.pdf](http://www.loc.gov/teachers/usingprimarysources/resources/Analyzing_Oral_Histories.pdf)).

Some possible websites for students to consider include the following:

- “Key Players,” a collection of oral histories featuring the Greensboro Four, Sit-ins Project website.: [http://www.sitins.com/key\\_players.shtml](http://www.sitins.com/key_players.shtml)
- Michael Fletcher (interviews) and Ryan R. Reed (videos), “An Oral History of the March on Washington,” *Smithsonian Magazine*, July 2013: <http://www.smithsonianmag.com/history-archaeology/an-oral-history-of-the-march-on-washington/?no-ist>

From there, students could discuss the contributions of oral history to our understanding of the past (e.g., democratization of history, an understanding of the past in a larger context) as well as the limitations (e.g., failings of human memory, personal and social biases).

Lastly, drawing upon the compelling question “What made nonviolent protest effective during the civil rights movement?” students could take *action* by creating an interview protocol that could be used to conduct an oral history for a nonviolent direct action protest. (See the list of oral history guides.) Students could identify an event and interview people who participated in, witnessed, or have an opinion on the identified protest and create a class archive of the stories they collect. For an example of high school students doing oral history, see the following article: Millie Rothrock, “Bland County Students Revive Oral History Project,” *The Bland Messenger*, December 18, 2004: [http://www.swvatoday.com/news/bland\\_county/article\\_930d9122-8568-11e4-b821-13513de09bfe.html](http://www.swvatoday.com/news/bland_county/article_930d9122-8568-11e4-b821-13513de09bfe.html).



## Oral History Guides

Civic Voices (<http://www.civicvoices.org>)

According to the website, “Civic Voices encourages global education for the 21st century by creating a virtual classroom for students to study active citizenship. This site aims to bring democracy alive for young people by making connections between essential theoretical concepts and real world events and choices. As they explore, students will find a wealth of video and written resources, as well interactive components, which allow them to join a global conversation on citizenship.”

Southern Oral History Program (SOHP) (<http://www.sohp.org/content/resources/>)

This website, developed by the University of North Carolina’s Center for the Study of the American South, makes available more than 5,000 oral-history interviews from the university’s Southern Historical Collection and online database. “How To: Resources for Planning and Conducting Oral History Interviews” includes the SOHP Guidebook, SOHP Interview forms, and a bibliography of more than 50 oral history resources. The interview forms include a cover sheet, interview agreement, interview agreement with restrictions, life history form, and proper word form. The SOHP Guidebook includes guidelines on designing an oral history project; advice on conducting, cataloguing, and transcribing interviews; notes on budgets and equipment needs; and 10 interviewing tips.

Step-by-Step Guide to Oral History ([http://www.dohistory.org/on\\_your\\_own/toolkit/oralHistory.html](http://www.dohistory.org/on_your_own/toolkit/oralHistory.html))

This site, developed by historian and educator Judith Moyer, is a thorough guide to oral history that offers suggestions and strategies for collecting and preserving oral history. Topics range from an explanation of how and why to collect oral history to guidelines for planning and conducting an interview, including initial research, locating individuals, choosing equipment, and asking productive questions. Moyer also addresses a number of important conceptual and ethical issues related to conducting and using oral histories, including questions of accuracy, the limits of oral history, strategies for overcoming specific interview problems, and 20 questions to help interviewers learn from their experience.

Oral History in the Classroom (<http://www.learnnc.org/lp/editions/oralhistory2002/>)

This website, by Kathryn Walbert and Jean Sweeney Shawver, provides a series of articles that show how to bring oral history into the K–12 classroom. Topics discussed include student learning, questions for planning an oral history project, and how to connect with the community using oral history.



## Common Core Connections across the Grade 11 Inquiry

Social studies teachers play a key role in enabling students to develop the relevant literacy skills found in the New York State P–12 Common Core Learning Standards for English Language Arts and Literacy. The Common Core emphasis on more robust reading, writing, speaking and listening, and language skills in general and the attention to more sophisticated source analysis, argumentation, and the use of evidence in particular are evident across the Toolkit inquiries.

Identifying the connections with the Common Core Anchor Standards will help teachers consciously build opportunities to advance their students’ literacy knowledge and expertise through the specific social studies content and practices described in the annotation. The following table outlines the opportunities represented in the Grade 11 Inquiry through illustrative examples of each of the standards represented.

<b>Compelling Question</b>	What made nonviolent protest effective during the civil rights movement?
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Common Core Anchor Standard Connections	
<b>Reading</b>	<p><b>CCSS.ELA-LITERACY.CCRA.R.1</b> Read closely to determine what the text says explicitly and to make logical inferences from it; cite specific textual evidence when writing or speaking to support conclusions drawn from the text.</p> <p>See Formative Performance Task 2: The formative performance tasks call on students to detail the impact of a range of actors and the actions they took to make nonviolent direct protest effective. Students do this by filling out a graphic organizer using evidence from written and oral histories documenting the civil rights movement.</p> <p><b>CCSS.ELA-LITERACY.CCRA.R.7</b> Integrate and evaluate content presented in diverse media and formats, including visually and quantitatively, as well as in words.</p> <p>See Formative Performance Tasks 1, 2, and 3: Students will use multimedia sources to examine the roles of individual and group actors in making nonviolent direct protest effective during the civil rights movement.</p>
<b>Writing</b>	<p><b>CCSS.ELA-LITERACY.CCRA.W.1</b> Write arguments to support claims in an analysis of substantive topics or texts using valid reasoning and relevant and sufficient evidence.</p> <p>See Summative Performance Task: Construct an argument using specific claims and relevant evidence from historical sources.</p> <p><b>CCSS.ELA-LITERACY.CCRA.W.7</b> Conduct short as well as more sustained research projects based on focused questions, demonstrating understanding of the subject under investigation.</p> <p>See Formative Performance Tasks 2 and 3: Students will research the impact of a range of actors and the effective nonviolent direct actions they used in an event during the civil rights movement.</p>
<b>Speaking and Listening</b>	<p><b>CCSS.ELA-LITERACY.CCRA.SL.1</b> Prepare for and participate effectively in a range of conversations and collaborations with diverse partners, building on others’ ideas and expressing their own clearly and persuasively.</p> <p>See Formative Performance Task 2: The formative performance tasks call on students to work with the teacher and in small groups to detail the impact of a range of actors and the actions they took to make nonviolent direct protest effective.</p>
<b>Language</b>	<p><b>CCSS.ELA-LITERACY.CCRA.L.3</b> Apply knowledge of language to understand how language functions in different contexts, to make effective choices for meaning or style, and to comprehend more fully when reading or listening.</p> <p>See Appendix A: Civil Rights Inquiry Vocabulary: Students use the vocabulary guide to understand words and phrases synonymous with nonviolent direct protest during the civil rights movement.</p>



## Appendix A: Civil Rights Inquiry Vocabulary

Term/Item	Definition/Description
<b>Birmingham campaign</b>	A movement organized in early 1963 by the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) to bring attention to the integration efforts of African Americans in Birmingham, Alabama.
<b>Bloody Sunday</b>	The descriptive label applied to the events of March 7, 1965, when protesters led by John Lewis were met with police brutality as they attempted to march from Selma to Montgomery, Alabama, to raise awareness of voter discrimination in the South.
<b>boycott</b>	The act of voluntarily abstaining from using, buying, or dealing with a person, organization, or country as an expression of protest, usually for social or political reasons.
<b><i>Browder v. Gayle</i> (1956)</b>	An Alabama district court case that ruled that racial segregation on public transit was unconstitutional.
<b><i>Brown v. Board of Education</i> (1954)</b>	Landmark Supreme Court case that overturned the 1896 ruling from <i>Plessy v. Ferguson</i> and determined that racial segregation in public schools was unconstitutional.
<b><i>Brown v. Board of Education II</i> (1955)</b>	In this follow-up to the 1954 case <i>Brown v. Board of Education</i> , the Supreme Court stated that desegregation had to take place with “all deliberate speed.” This displeased civil rights activists who believed it would slow the process in the South where integration was consistently met with resistance.
<b>Chicago Freedom Movement</b>	This movement, led by Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., James Bevel, and Al Raby, was a combination of rallies and marches to improve the overall quality of life for African Americans living in Chicago. The movement is credited with contributing to the Fair Housing Act of 1968, which allowed for equal housing opportunities regardless of race, religion, or national origin.
<b>Civil Rights Act of 1964</b>	An act that outlawed discrimination based on race, color, religion, sex, or national origin. It ended unequal application of voter registration requirements and racial segregation in schools, at the workplace, and by facilities that served the general public.
<b>Congress of Racial Equality (CORE)</b>	A civil rights organization founded in 1942, CORE helped to organize Freedom Rides and desegregate Chicago public schools.
<b>Greensboro sit-ins</b>	A group of nonviolent protests that led the Woolworth store to reverse its policy of racial segregation.
<b>Interstate Commerce Commission</b>	A government organization that acted in 1961 to ensure that racial segregation would not take place on interstate buses. This later allowed the Freedom Riders to travel south on integrated buses to challenge Jim Crow segregation laws.
<b>Jim Crow laws</b>	Racial segregation laws enacted by states after the Civil War and practiced as law until 1965.
<b>Little Rock Nine</b>	A group of African American students enrolled at Little Rock Central High School, an Arkansas school that had been segregated before the 1954 <i>Brown v. Board of Education</i> decision. The students were prevented from attending the school until President Dwight D. Eisenhower intervened.
<b>March on Washington</b>	The August 1963 March on Washington (DC) was one of the largest political rallies for human rights in US history and called for civic and economic rights for African Americans. Here Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. delivered his “I Have a Dream” speech that called for an end to racism.
<b>Montgomery bus boycott</b>	The yearlong protest ending in 1956 in which African Americans boycotted Montgomery, Alabama, buses to protest racial segregation on public transportation.
<b>Montgomery Improvement Association</b>	The organization formed in 1955 by Martin Luther King, Jr. and Edgar Nixon to help organize and guide the Montgomery bus boycott.
<b>Nashville Student Movement</b>	The organization that set up sit-ins in Nashville, Tennessee, diners to challenge segregation laws in the South.



<b>nonviolent direct protest</b>	The practice of achieving goals through symbolic protests, boycotts, civil disobedience, and other methods without using violence.
<b><i>Plessy v. Ferguson</i> (1896)</b>	A Supreme Court Case that upheld state laws requiring racial segregation.
<b>sit-in</b>	A form of direct protest in which one or more people occupy an area to protest.
<b>Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC)</b>	An African American civil rights organization closely associated with its first president, Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. The SCLC had a large role in the civil rights movement of the 1960s, including helping to organize the march from Selma to Montgomery, Alabama, to end voting discrimination in the South.
<b>Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC)</b>	A civil rights organization founded in 1960 out of a student meeting organized by Ella Baker at Shaw University. The SNCC organized Freedom Rides and sit-ins in an effort to defeat Jim Crow laws in the South.
<b>Voting Rights Act of 1965</b>	The landmark piece of federal legislation that prohibits racial discrimination in voting. Signed into law by President Lyndon Johnson on August 6, 1965.
<b><i>Williams v. Wallace</i> (1965)</b>	An Alabama district court case in which the court decided that protesters had a right to demonstrate by marching from Selma to Montgomery, Alabama.

## Appendix B: Additional Resources for this Inquiry

### Books

- Raymond Arsenault, *Freedom Riders: 1961 and the Struggle for Racial Justice*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press, 2011.
- Clayborne Carson, David J. Garrow, Gerald Gill, Vincent Harding, and Darlene Clark Hine, eds., *The Eyes on the Prize Civil Rights Reader: Documents, Speeches, and Firsthand Accounts from the Black Freedom Struggle*. New York, NY: Penguin Books, 1991.
- David J. Garrow, *Protest at Selma: Martin Luther King, Jr., and the Voting Rights Act of 1965*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1980.
- Henry Hampton, Steve Fayer, and Sarah Flynn. *Voices of Freedom: An Oral History of the Civil Rights Movement from the 1950s Through the 1980s*. New York, NY: Bantam Books, 1990.
- Jo Ann Robinson and David J. Garrow, *Montgomery Bus Boycott and the Women Who Started it: The Memoir of Jo Ann Gibson Robinson*. Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1987.
- Juan Williams, *Eyes on the Prize: America's Civil Rights Years, 1954-1965*. Rev. ed. New York, NY: Penguin, 2002.

### Articles

- Alan S. Marcus and Thomas H. Levine, "Remember the Alamo? Learning History with Monuments and Memorials." *Social Education* 74, no. 3 (2010): 131–134.
- Teaching with Historic Places: Lessons using properties listed in the National Park Service's National Register of Historic Places: [www.cr.nps.gov/nr/twhp/](http://www.cr.nps.gov/nr/twhp/)

### Web Resources

- "Chicago Freedom Movement 1966," Eyes on the Prize, The American Experience, PBS website: [http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/amex/eyesontheprize/story/12\\_chicago.html](http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/amex/eyesontheprize/story/12_chicago.html)
- Civic Voices website: <http://www.civicvoices.org>
- "Explore: The Birmingham Campaign," Black Culture Connections, PBS website: <http://www.pbs.org/black-culture/explore/civil-rights-movement-birmingham-campaign/#.VJGIAC0A>
- Michael Fletcher (interviews) and Ryan R. Reed (videos), "An Oral History of the March on Washington," *Smithsonian Magazine*, July 2014: <http://www.smithsonianmag.com/history-archaeology/an-oral-history-of-the-march-on-washington/?no-ist>
- "Key Players," a collection of oral histories featuring the Greensboro Four, Sitins project website: [http://www.sitins.com/key\\_players.shtml](http://www.sitins.com/key_players.shtml)
- "Little Rock Central High crisis collection," part of the Civil Rights History Project: Survey of Collections and Repositories, American Folk Life Center, Library of Congress: [http://www.loc.gov/folklife/civilrights/survey/view\\_collection.php?coll\\_id=741](http://www.loc.gov/folklife/civilrights/survey/view_collection.php?coll_id=741)
- Alex McBride, "Brown v. Board of Education (1954)," Landmark Cases, The Supreme Court, PBS website, December 2006: [http://www.pbs.org/wnet/supremecourt/rights/landmark\\_brown.html](http://www.pbs.org/wnet/supremecourt/rights/landmark_brown.html)
- Katelyn Polantz and Colleen Shalby, "Remembering the Voting Rights Act of 1965," PBS NewsHour, PBS website, February 26, 2013 (includes oral histories): <http://www.pbs.org/newshour/spc/multimedia/voting-rights/>
- Southern Oral History Program (SOHP) website of the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill: <http://www.sohp.org/content/resources/>
- Step-by-Step Guide to Oral History website by Judith Moyer: [http://www.dohistory.org/on\\_your\\_own/toolkit/oralHistory.html](http://www.dohistory.org/on_your_own/toolkit/oralHistory.html)

Historical Thinking Matters website: <http://historicalthinkingmatters.org>



## Appendix C: Key Questions to Ask when Analyzing Oral History

**Purpose & Provenance:** Is the purpose of the site clearly stated? Where? How? What is the purpose—archival, pedagogical, etc.? Is this a credible and useful purpose? Are you provided with enough information to understand the larger context within which the site was developed, the rationale behind it, etc.? Why would someone use this site?

**Credibility:** Who has sponsored and organized the site? How do you know? Are the organizers credible? How do you know? Can you contact someone at the site to pose questions, etc.?

**Site Features:** Is the site well designed? Can you follow its organization? Navigate it easily? Is it updated regularly? Are graphics supportive or distracting? Are there links to other related sites? Are the links credible? helpful? current?

**Oral History Material Located on the Site:** Does the site include full interviews, interview excerpts, or summaries of interviews? How do you know this? Does the site explain why it chose to present full interviews, excerpts, or summaries? written or audio interviews? If the site includes actual interviews, does it include written transcripts, audio interviews, or some combination of both? Is the level of editing of both written and audio materials made clear?

**Design and Technical Quality:** How is the presentation of interviews organized? Is the layout easy to follow? If audio is included, what is the quality of sound? Can you hear what is being said easily, with difficulty, or hardly at all? If the site encourages people to submit their reminiscences, how much guidance are respondents given? How easy or difficult is it to submit a response? What is the quality of the responses?

**Context for the Interviews:** Are the interviews—either taken together or individually—contextualized in any way? Is any background given on the topic(s) of the interview(s) or the individual narrator(s)? What orientation are you given to the purpose for which the interview(s) were conducted in the first place, the project/interview methodology, the interviewers' background, etc.? In other words, what tools are you given for assessing the individual interviews?

**Searching the Site and Assessing Quality:** Does the site include a listing or a finding aid to all interviews maintained by the sponsoring organization? How useful or complete is this listing or guide? Can you search the interviews for information on a specific topic? Do searches return useful citations? Does the site tell you where the individual interviews are archived and if they are available to users? How good are the interviews? Are they interesting, rich, full, substantive, etc.? Do they contain unique information, unavailable elsewhere? Overall, what did you learn from the interviews? Are there things you wish the site would include or "do" that are not available?

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