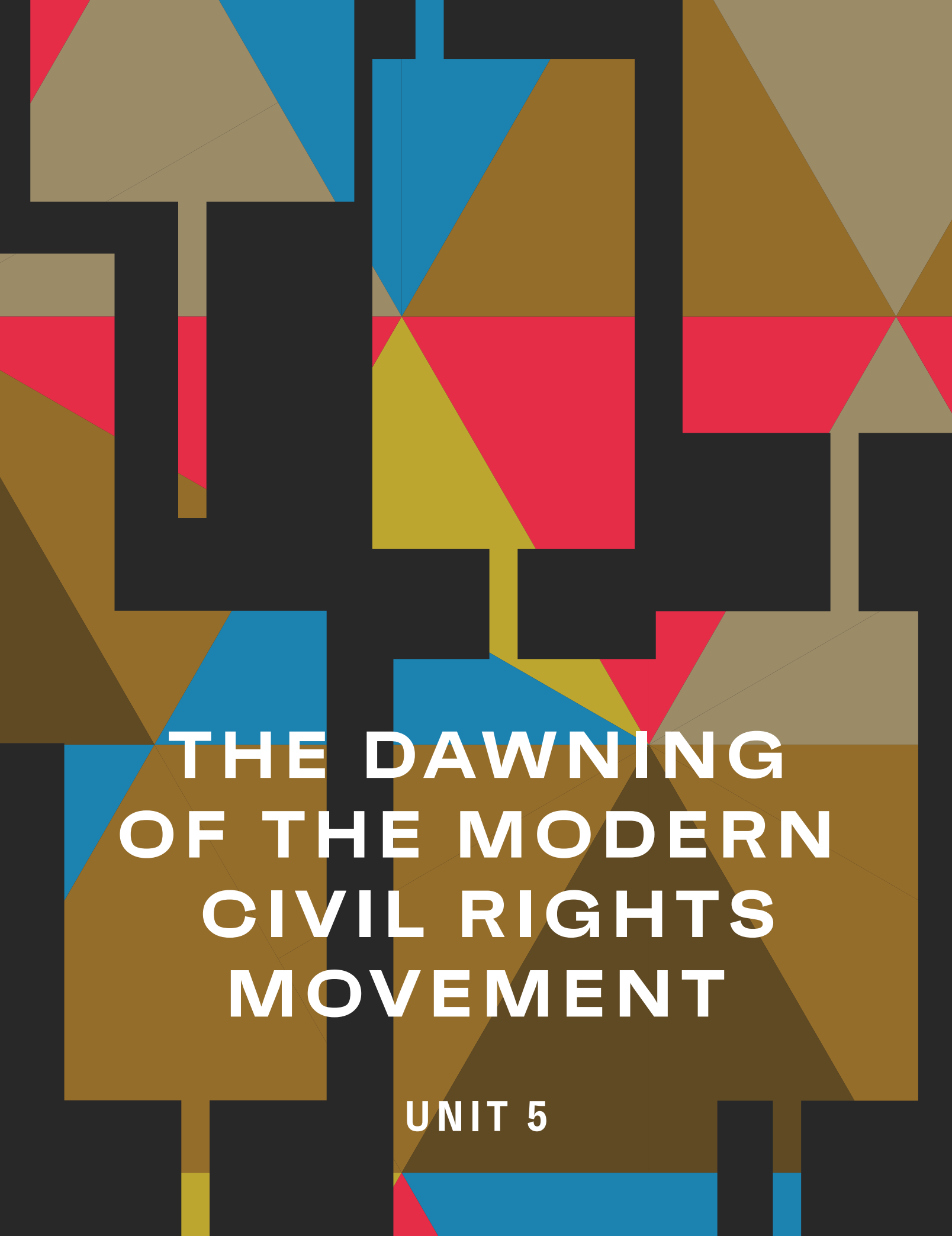

THE DAWNING OF THE MODERN CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT

UNIT 5

UNIT FIVE –
The Dawning of The Modern Civil Rights Movement

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What conditions and events led to the rise of the civil rights movement of the 1950s and 1960s?

By the end of World War II, almost two million Black Americans had participated in a wave of migration that brought them to Northern cities in search of greater opportunity and equality. Following the war, Black veterans returned to their communities inspired to fight for freedom, having experienced a potent mix of segregation in the armed forces, exposure to European societies that treated their Black citizens more equitably and a firsthand view of the ultimate expression of hatred. When asked how he reconciled fighting for freedom abroad while experiencing racism in the armed forces, Paul Parks—a GI from Indianapolis who helped liberate Dachau—responded, "I'm fighting for the right to fight when I get back home."[1] The modern civil rights movement emerged in this climate.

One of the veterans who was stirred to fight for justice was Topeka, Kansas, resident Oliver Brown. After his daughter, Linda, was denied admission to an all-white school, Brown joined as a plaintiff in the case that would become known as *Brown v. Board of Education*. The case made its way to the U.S. Supreme Court, which, in 1954, ruled 9–0 that "separate educational facilities are inherently unequal," and ordered schools nationwide to desegregate "with all deliberate speed." The galvanizing impact of *Brown* on the civil rights movement cannot be understated. *The Chicago Defender*, an important African American newspaper, put it this way: "Neither the atom bomb nor the hydrogen bomb will ever be as meaningful to our democracy as the unanimous declaration of the Supreme Court that racial segregation violates the spirit and the letter of our Constitution."[2] Opposing reactions were equally as passionate. An editorial in the *Jackson Daily News* in Mississippi proclaimed: "Human blood may stain Southern soil in many places because of this decision, but the dark red stains of that blood will be on the marble steps of the United States Supreme Court building."[3]

In the wake of the fervor over school desegregation, a 14-year-old boy from Chicago took a trip down South to visit his relatives. On August 28, 1955, young Emmett Till was kidnapped and lynched in the Mississippi Delta region after allegedly insulting a white woman, Carolyn Bryant, in a local grocery store. The woman's husband, Roy Bryant, and his half-brother, J.W. Milam, brutally beat, shot and tied Till to a metal fan and then threw his mutilated body into the Tallahatchie River, where it was recovered seven days later. Between 1877 and 1950, more than 4,000 African Americans had been the victims of racial terror lynchings in the U.S. South[4], yet the murder of Emmett Till shook the nation to its core. Mamie Till-Mobley, Emmett's mother, made the bold decision to hold an open-casket funeral in Chicago on September 3, 1955, and allow Jet magazine to photograph her son's disfigured body. The chilling images

1 USC Shoah Foundation. *Racism in America*, Clip 1—Paul Parks. https://bit.ly/3kkZltQ.

2 Howard, John R. *The Shifting Wind: The Supreme Court and Civil Rights from Reconstruction to Brown*. Albany, NY: SUNY Press, 1999.

3 Elkins, Ashley. "Brown vs. Board of Education: A ruling, a revolution." *Daily Journal*, May 16, 2004. https://bit.ly/3wFqYAm.

4 Equal Justice Initiative. *Lynching in America: Confronting the Legacy of Racial Terror*. https://bit.ly/3i9Oosq.

challenged the country to bear witness to the hatred and injustice Black people endured. The subsequent September 23, 1955, acquittal of Till's attackers by an all-white jury after only an hour of deliberation gave new force to the civil rights movement.

Three months after Till's funeral, longtime activist Rosa Parks fought back against segregation on a Montgomery, Alabama, bus. "I thought of Emmett Till," she later reflected, "and when the bus driver ordered me to move to the back, I just couldn't move."[5] Parks' action was neither spontaneous nor a consequence of tired feet. At the time of her arrest, Parks had been active with the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) for a dozen years, organizing for voting rights and investigating the rapes of Black women. She was well aware that other activists, such as Jo Ann Robinson of the Women's Political Council, had been documenting harassment of Black people on city buses and considering a boycott for years. There was a 1944 record, for example, of Viola White being beaten and arrested for refusing to give up her seat; a police officer, bent on revenge, subsequently kidnapped and raped her 16-year-old daughter[6]. In 1955, the year of Parks' arrest, there was a groundswell of incidents on city buses and the movement was looking for the right case to contest the constitutionality of Alabama's bus segregation law. They considered Claudette Colvin, a 15-year-old student who had been dragged off a bus in April, but decided that Parks' case was more strategic. The boycott was officially launched four days after Parks' arrest, on December 5, 1955. In February, Colvin joined with Aurelia Browder and several other women as plaintiffs in *Browder v. Gayle*, challenging segregation on Montgomery buses. The 382-day boycott ended after the U.S. Supreme Court upheld the challenge in *Browder* and legally ended racial segregation on public transportation in Alabama. The victory fired up the movement, put a national spotlight on the civil rights struggle and raised the profile of Martin Luther King, Jr. "We came to see that, in the long run," reflected King, "it is more honorable to walk in dignity than ride in humiliation."[7]

It is important to note that, while galvanizing events such as the Montgomery bus boycott and lynching of Emmett Till were raging in the South, the Black civil rights movement confronted entrenched segregation throughout the nation. In 1964, for example, the largest civil rights protest in U.S. history occurred when 460,000 New York City students walked out of their schools in response to persistent segregation and poor conditions for students of color.[8] New York City, in fact, has never implemented a system-wide desegregation plan to this day, and current school segregation rates across the U.S. have regressed to 1960s levels. Likewise, Black communities continue to struggle against police brutality and persecution within the criminal justice system that has changed form but not ceased in the decades since Emmett Till's life was taken. Current racial justice movements, including Black Lives Matter and the Poor People's Campaign, can thus be understood as a continuation of the efforts and sacrifices of Oliver Brown, Claudette Colvin, Aurelia Browder and scores of others whose names may be unknown but whose courage paved the way for a more equitable future.

5 Pruitt, Sarah. *How Emmett Till's Murder Galvanized the Civil Rights Movement*. History.com, November 29, 2018. https://bit.ly/3kmyoG4.

6 Theoharis, Jeanne. *The Rebellious Life of Mrs. Rosa Parks*. Boston: Beacon Press, 2013.

7 King, Martin Luther. *Statement on Ending the Bus Boycott*. December 20, 1956. Stanford University, The Martin Luther King, Jr. Research and Education Institute. https://stanford.io/3z0SlXg.

8 Zinn Education Project. *Feb. 3, 1964: New York City School Children Boycott School*. https://bit.ly/3B6vwTP.

Elementary School | Grades 3–5

YOUTH MAKING CHANGE FOR CIVIL RIGHTS

ESSENTIAL QUESTION

What was the civil rights movement? How did young people help to achieve greater equality for Black Americans?

OBJECTIVES

Students will:

- Define civil rights and explore civil rights challenges faced by different groups.
- Define civil rights movement and identify rights denied to and won by Black people during this era.
- Investigate the experiences of Ayanna Najuma and how the sit-in movement advanced civil rights.
- Create a role-play exploring the significance of the sit-ins and youth leadership in the civil rights movement.

LEARNING STANDARDS

See the standards alignment chart to learn how this lesson supports New Jersey State Standards.

TIME NEEDED

75–90 minutes

MATERIALS

- AV equipment for projecting a video
- *Civil Rights Scenarios* handout (one for teacher reference)
- *Ayanna Najuma: Sitting in for Change* handout (one per student)
- *Ayanna Najuma: In Her Own Words* handout (one per small group)

VOCABULARY

civil rights
Civil Rights Act of 1964
civil rights movement
discrimination
freedom riders
Jim Crow
March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom
segregated/segregation
sit-in
SNCC

Procedures

PART 1
What are Civil Rights? (30 mins.)

1 Ask students if they have ever heard about people "fighting for civil rights." Conduct a think-pair-share in response to the question, "What exactly are *civil rights*?" Allow several pairs to share their ideas. Create and post a class definition of civil rights. Use the sample definition and information below to guide students.

Civil Rights are the freedoms guaranteed to citizens that protect them from discrimination and ensure equality for all people.

- → Civil rights allow citizens to live freely and have equal opportunities in a democracy.
- → Civil rights are guaranteed by the U.S. Constitution and other government laws.
- → Civil rights protect people from discrimination based on their identity or background (including race, sex, age, national origin, religion, sexual orientation, gender identity, disability and other characteristics).
- → Civil rights defend against unfair treatment in different areas, including schools, workplaces, housing and public facilities (such as restaurants, theaters, stores, libraries and parks).

2 Have students respond to the following prompt: What is a situation in which the government should step in to protect civil rights? Choose one of the following options for investigation, depending upon the ability of your students:

a) As a class, discuss one or more of the situations on the handout *Civil Rights Scenarios* so students gain a concrete understanding of civil rights.

NOTE

Students may confuse *civil rights* with *civil liberties*. Civil rights are legal protections from discrimination and civil liberties are freedoms that prevent government control, such as freedom of speech, religion and the press. Civil liberties limit government action (such as an unwarranted search), while civil rights require government action to ensure equal treatment (such as safeguarding the right to equal pay for women).

b) Divide students into small groups and assign each group one identity category (e.g., race, disability, religion) and one location (e.g., public school, office, restaurant). Direct groups to draw or write about a possible civil rights challenge for that combination of factors. Have students share and discuss their scenarios as a class.

NOTE

The Unit 4 lesson, "The Cruelty of Jim Crow Segregation," defines and includes examples of segregation. It may be useful to teach this lesson prior to exploring the civil rights movement with students.

PART 2
The Struggle for Civil Rights for Black Americans (45–60 mins. + time for optional role play)

3 Have students create a T-chart in their notebooks as shown below. Ask them what the civil rights movement was. Define it as follows: The civil rights movement was the struggle to eliminate discrimination and secure equal rights for Black Americans that took place mainly in the 1950s and 1960s.

The Civil Rights Movement

RIGHTS DENIED	RIGHTS WON

4 Ask students to think about what life was like for Black people in the U.S. during the 1950s and 1960s, likely around the time their grandparents were growing up. Drawing upon students' prior knowledge, generate examples of rights denied to Black people during this era and rights they fought for and won. Write the examples on the board and have students record them on their T-charts.

5 Show the BrainPOP video, *Civil Rights: A Kid-Friendly Explainer* [5:40]: https://bit.ly/2Rg8nfx. Instruct students to add at least three examples of rights denied and won to their T-charts as they watch. Pause the video as needed to clarify concepts and allow students time to note ideas. After the video, discuss some of the following questions:

- ➔ What is segregation? How did segregation "touch every part of society" in the 1950s and 1960s?

- Who was Linda Brown? How did her experiences lead to change for other Black children?
- How did Black people and their supporters use peaceful protest to make change?
- How do you think it affected Black people when their struggle for equal rights was met with hate and violence?
- What is the Civil Rights Act of 1964? How does it protect civil rights?
- The video says that the door to equality was opened, but there is still a long way to go. What civil rights challenges do Black people and other groups face today in our country?

6 Tell students they will learn about a seven-year-old girl who brought about big change during the civil rights movement. Distribute the handout *Ayanna Najuma: Sitting in for Change*. Depending on the age and ability of students, focus on just the first two parts of the reading (Ayanna's story) or also include the third part (youth leadership in the civil rights movement). Read together as a class or have students read in pairs. After, assign one or more of the "Think about it" questions for students to answer through discussion or writing.

7 As an optional assignment, have small groups develop a 2-3 minute role play in which they conduct an imaginary interview with Ayanna and other members of the Katz Drug Store sit-in. Distribute the handout *Ayanna Najuma: In Her Own Words*, which contains quotes from a podcast. Instruct groups to cut apart the quotes and choose at least three to use in their mock interview. Have them design questions and answers that highlight main ideas from their investigation of the sit-in movement. Allow groups to perform their role plays for the class.

8 Conclude the lesson by discussing some of the questions on the next page.

Discussion Questions

1. What does it mean to fight for civil rights? What rights were Black Americans fighting for in the 1950s and 1960s?
2. What stood out to you about the methods Black Americans used to attain these rights?
3. Why were the sit-ins so successful? What does this teach you about making change?
4. Were you surprised that young people played a big part in the movement? Why or why not?
5. What training or qualities do you think it takes to protest peacefully in the face of hate?
6. What civil rights challenges do Black people face today? How are they continuing to fight for their rights?

Lesson Extensions

5

- Read aloud the book *Emmett Till: Sometimes Good Can Come Out of a Bad Situation* or show the video *Emmett Till* (see Additional Resources). Discuss how the murder of Till affected Black Americans and shaped the growing civil rights movement.

  NOTE: Given the brutal nature of Till's murder, this topic may not be appropriate for all students. If discussed, focus less on the explicit details of his death and more on how his story galvanized the civil rights movement.

- Assign small groups to research one of the following people or topics mentioned in the video from the lesson plan *Civil Rights: A Kid-Friendly Explainer*. Have groups create a brief panel with facts and illustrations about their subject. Arrange the panels into a class timeline of the civil rights movement.

  - Linda Brown
  - Jo Ann Robinson
  - Freedom Riders
  - Brown v. Board of Education
  - Montgomery Bus Boycott
  - 1963 March on Washington
  - Rosa Parks
  - Sit-Ins
  - 1964 Civil Rights Act

- Invite a family or community member into the classroom to speak about their experiences or memories of the civil rights movement. Have students prepare questions about both historic and current civil rights challenges faced by Black Americans. Discuss ways in which the struggle for civil rights is different today, but still continues.

ADDITIONAL RESOURCES

- Fresberg Cartoon. "Emmett Till (Documentary) Black History Month (Educational Videos for Students)." January 28, 2015. YouTube video, 3:24. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8ojlufrQj2w.
- Price, Sean. "Let the Freedom Rides Roll Through Your Class." Learning for Justice, May 1, 2017. https://bit.ly/33Pt1pv.
- Rankin, Katina L. *Emmett Till: Sometimes Good Can Come Out of A Bad Situation*. Self-published, CreateSpace, 2018.
- Schwartz, Heather E. *The Civil Rights Act of 1964: A Primary Source Exploration of the Landmark Legislation*. North Mankato, MN: Capstone Press, 2014.
- Thomas, Joyce Carol. *Linda Brown, You Are Not Alone: The Brown vs. Board of Education Decision*. New York: Hyperion Books, 2003.

HANDOUT

Civil Rights Scenarios

For each scenario, discuss:

- → **What** is the civil rights problem?
- → **Where** is it happening?
- → **Whose** rights are being threatened?
- → **How** might their rights be protected?

1

A Muslim student, Amira, stays home from school one day to celebrate the holiday, Eid. Her teacher gives a big test on that day. Amira is given an F on the test and later gets a low grade for the class because she missed the test.

2

A lesbian couple is planning their wedding. When they try to order a cake from their local bakery, the owner says he won't sell them a cake because he believes it is wrong to be gay.

3

A Black man, Ron, responds to an ad for an apartment that he wants to rent for his family. When he shows up in person, the landlord says the apartment is no longer available. Ron later finds out the apartment was rented to a white family who applied a week later than he did.

4

Lauri has a physical disability that requires her to be in a wheelchair. She is a top performer at her job and applies for a promotion to be a manager. Her boss denies her, saying that Lauri isn't a strong leader. She adds that the job is on the second floor and, since the building doesn't have an elevator, it wouldn't be possible anyway.

HANDOUT

Ayanna Najuma: Sitting in for Change

A TRIP UP NORTH

In 1957, seven-year-old Ayanna Najuma took a trip to New York City. She had never been that far from her Oklahoma City home. Ayanna was part of the NAACP Youth Council, a group of children fighting for equal rights for Black Americans. The group traveled almost 1,500 miles by bus to perform a play about Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. called *Brother President*.

On the trip, Ayanna noticed that things were different in Northern cities. Black and white people could eat in the same restaurants, shop in the same stores and use the same bathrooms. Black people in the North faced prejudice, but their communities were less *segregated*. Ayanna wondered how she could make things more equal in her own city.

TAKING ACTION AGAINST SEGREGATION

After their trip to New York, Ayanna and the Youth Council met with community leaders. They spent a year discussing ways to do something about segregation. Then they decided to take action.

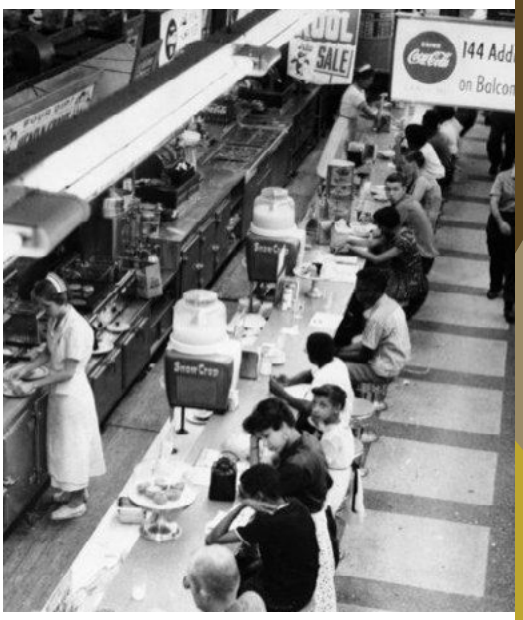
Katz Drug Store was a big chain with more than 30 stores. Only white people were allowed to eat at their lunch counters. Black people could buy food there but had to eat outside. Ayanna and the Youth Council planned a "sit-in" with the help of their parents and group leaders.

On August 19, 1958, Ayanna and 12 other young people took seats at the food counter of the downtown Katz Drug Store. They were told to leave but stayed until the store closed. They came back the next day and the one after that. People threatened them, spat at them and dumped soda and ketchup on them. The children braved the disrespectful treatment and sat peacefully. Then, on the third day, they got the news—Katz Drug Store would change their policy and begin serving Black people. Ayanna ordered a hamburger and Coke. It was a taste of freedom that she would never forget.

YOUTH IN THE CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT

Ayanna and the Youth Council continued their sit-ins over the next seven years. They helped to end segregation in restaurants across Oklahoma City.

In 1960, a group of college students led a sit-in at a segregated lunch counter in Greensboro, North Carolina. Hundreds of people joined over several days. News cameras showed up to report the story. The



Segregated means separated by race. From the 1870s to the 1960s, segregation laws in the U.S. (known as "Jim Crow") separated Black people in almost every part of society, including schools, transportation, hospitals, theaters, parks and more.

AYANNA NAJUMA: SITTING IN FOR CHANGE (CONTINUED)

Freedom riders arrive in Jackson, Mississippi, 1961.

sit-in movement spread quickly. In just two months, more than 50,000 youth in 13 states were sitting in. They sat in restaurants, hotels, libraries, department stores and other segregated places. They were insulted, beaten, burned with hot coffee and dragged to jail. Yet the students remained determined and continued sitting until businesses and services across the South agreed to end segregation.

The sit-in movement was so successful that the students decided to take further action. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. said, "The youth must take the freedom struggle into every community in the South." The sit-in leaders gathered for a meeting in April 1960. They decided to form a group called the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee, or SNCC ('snick') for short.

SNCC helped to organize the "freedom rides" in 1961. Participants rode buses throughout the South to protest segregated bus stations. SNCC also helped to plan the 1963 "March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom." Over 250,000 people turned out to demand equal rights for Black Americans. The following year, SNCC worked to pass a new law. The 1964 Civil Rights Act ended segregation in public places throughout the U.S. The law also made it illegal to discriminate against people because of their skin color and other parts of their identity such as race, religion, national origin, etc.

The actions taken by Ayanna, SNCC and other youth led to to greater freedom for Black Americans. Young people today are carrying on this work by fighting for justice in education, policing and other areas. They are all part of one struggle to end discrimination and ensure equality for all.

THINK ABOUT IT...

1. **How do you think segregation affected both Black and white people?**
2. **How do you think the children prepared to respond to mean behavior peacefully?**
3. **What did the sit-in movement teach you about how to change unfair behaviors or rules?**
4. **Why did Dr. King believe it was important for young people to be leaders in the civil rights movement?**
5. **What do you want to learn more about after reading this article? Why?**

SOURCES

King, Martin Luther, Jr. "Statement to the Press at the Beginning of the Youth Leadership Conference." April 15, 1960. The Martin Luther King, Jr. Research and Education Institute. https://stanford.io/3tNCBns.

Najuma, Ayanna. "Ayanna Najuma: Drugstore sit-in helped shape a young life." *The Oklahoman*, January 20, 2014. https://bit.ly/3of9mZs.

Policemen watch as "Freedom riders" arrive in Jackson, Mississippi on a Trailways bus. Mississippi Jackson, 1961. Photograph. https://www.loc.gov/item/98501400.

Schmitt, Hannah. "Raising World-Changers." *Metro Family Magazine*. https://www.metrofamilymagazine.com/raising-world-changers.

HANDOUT

Ayanna Najuma: In Her Own Words

Create an imaginary interview with Ayanna and other members of the sit-ins. The interview should communicate main ideas you learned about the sit-in movement. Cut apart the quotes below from Ayanna and choose at least three to use in your interview. Keep your role play to three minutes or less.

1 "When you're going north, there's a great deal of equality...we were able to stop at bus stations, we were able to stop at restaurants, a variety of things...without any discrimination."

2 "So, when we got back, the kids sat amongst themselves and had a conversation about 'Wow, look what we saw in New York. Wasn't that fabulous? This was amazing! Why can't we do that here?'"

3 "[The NAACP Youth Council] allowed us to learn about...activism...and the messaging from Dr. King, 'Number one in your life's blueprint should be a deep belief in your own dignity, in your own worth and your own somebodiness.'"

4 "Also, it allowed us to travel around the country...and meet children...from other cities...And so it gave us another perspective on the world that most children just didn't get."

5 "We would walk in...all dressed in our...church clothes...and everybody was very respectful to the waitresses and asked for a hamburger and a Coke...The waitresses were not nice people. 'What are you doing here?' 'Go ahead and take your stuff and leave...You're not supposed to be here. Get out!'...When people would say nasty things, we would just smile and keep it respectful."

6 "They would pour coffee on us, they would do things that you wouldn't think that would be done because we were children. And they would do it in front of their children, which even made it more embarrassing... What kind of example are you setting for your child?"

7 "We were taught about...Dr. King, about how to carry ourselves if we were spoken to in a certain kind of way or someone spat on us or if we were pushed and knocked down...And so it was very easy to keep the...nonviolence...because we were trained for [it]."

8 "I was taught to believe that anything I wanted to do, I could do. That I was just as good as anybody but not better than anybody. So, with the positive attitudes and...hard work, the sky was the limit."

9 "Even though I was little, my voice was just as important as everyone else's voice."

SOURCE: "Civil Rights with Ayanna Najuma" podcast. Richard Janes Entertainment and Entrepreneurship. https://apple.co/3dNvrKg, https://bit.ly/30tLf1Q.

Middle School | Grades 6–8

SCHOOL SEGREGATION: NOT JUST A SOUTHERN PROBLEM

ESSENTIAL QUESTION

What were the central issues of the civil rights movement? How did challenges to school segregation energize the movement?

OBJECTIVES

Students will:

- Define *movement* and *civil rights movement*.
- Identify some of the central issues of the civil rights movement.
- Discuss the importance of *Brown v. Board of Education*.
- Interpret primary source documents to understand the problem of school segregation in the North and how activists mobilized in response.
- Analyze a graph showing current school segregation levels and discuss why integration is important today.

LEARNING STANDARDS

See the standards alignment chart to learn how this lesson supports New Jersey State Standards.

TIME NEEDED

115 minutes

MATERIALS

- AV equipment for playing audio/video clips and projecting a handout
- *Civil Rights Movement Issues* handout (one per student)
- *1964 School Boycott Flier* handout (one per student)
- *Mae Mallory: Challenging Segregation* handout (one per student)
- *School Segregation Today* handout (one copy to project)

VOCABULARY

boycott

Brown v. Board of Education

civil rights

Civil Rights Act of 1964

civil rights movement

desegregate

discrimination

integrate/integration

Jim Crow

movement

segregate/segregation

Voting Rights Act of 1965

Procedures

PART 1
The Problems the Civil Rights Movement Aimed to Solve (40 mins.)

1 Post the word *movement*. Have students engage in a quick write or think-pair-share in response to the following prompt: "What is a *movement* for rights or equality? What does this word mean and what are some examples of *movements*?" Allow pairs to share their meanings and examples. Introduce the following definition:

movement: *an organized effort to achieve a goal or set of goals; a group of people with a shared purpose who create change together*

2 If students have not mentioned it, note that the African American *civil rights movement* is an example of an important movement in U.S. history. Share the following definition:

civil rights movement: *the struggle to eliminate discrimination and secure equal rights for Black Americans that took place mainly in the 1950s and 1960s*

3 Project or distribute the handout *Civil Rights Movement Issues*. In pairs or small groups, have students observe the photo and note their answers to the question on the handout: "What were some of the problems that the civil rights movement of the 1950s and 1960s aimed to solve?" Encourage students to not only record what they see in the photo, but to use it as a springboard to brainstorm additional issues. Allow groups to share their ideas and create a class list of issues central to the civil rights movement. Examples that can be gleaned from the photo include:

- An end to Jim Crow segregation and U.S. funding for segregated establishments
- Being treated as equal citizens

NOTE

Make sure students understand that the civil rights movement of the 1950s and 1960s was not an isolated effort, but part of a long struggle that includes earlier organizing (e.g., the abolitionist and anti-lynching movements) and more current activism (e.g., Black Lives Matter, Moral Mondays).

- Educational opportunity/no segregation in schools
- Good housing/no discrimination in housing
- Better jobs/equality in employment (the sign that says "An FEPC law now" refers to the Fair Employment Practices Committee, created in 1941 to prevent discrimination in defense and government jobs)

4 Play the *Black History in Two Minutes (or So) video, The Civil Rights Movement* [3:07]: https://bit.ly/3wI2FT8. As students watch, have them note facts to add to the class list started in step 3. After the video, record their additions and discuss some of the following questions:

- The video says that a century after the end of enslavement, Black Americans were still fighting for basic rights. What were some of those basic rights, enjoyed by most Americans but not most African Americans?
- What "deliberate act of resistance" did Rosa Parks engage in? What impact did this have on the movement?
- What was the importance of the 1964 Civil Rights Act and 1965 Voting Rights Act?
- How do you interpret Kimberlé Crenshaw's statement that a barrier to equal rights is "those who claim to care about equality losing their own resolve" [determination]?

PART 2
School Segregation in the North—A Case Study (75 mins.)

5 Point out that the video briefly mentioned *Brown v. Board of Education*. Ask students what they know about this court case and why—as stated in the video—it "stoked the fervor" of the nation. Provide the following background as needed, and highlight the critical importance of the case in energizing the civil rights movement.

In 1951, Oliver Brown filed a lawsuit against the Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas, after his daughter, Linda, was refused admission to the all-white elementary schools in their town. The case made its way to the U.S. Supreme Court and was grouped with four other school segregation cases under the name Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka. On May 17, 1954, the Court ruled 9-0 that school segregation was unconstitutional. Chief Justice Earl Warren wrote, "...In the field of public education, the doctrine of 'separate but equal' has no

place. Separate educational facilities are inherently unequal." The ruling reversed the principle of "separate but equal" set forth in the 1896 case, Plessy v. Ferguson, which said that racially segregated facilities were legal as long as they were equal. In 1955, the Court directed school districts across the country to desegregate "with all deliberate speed." The decision in Brown v. Board of Education was a tremendous victory in the long struggle against school segregation and Jim Crow, and fueled the growing civil rights movement.

6 Share that a decade after the *Brown v. Board of Education* decision, many school districts still had not taken steps to desegregate their schools. Tell the class that they will examine a case study of one community's response to this inaction. Distribute copies of the handout *1964 School Boycott Flier* and review the directions with students. In pairs or small groups, direct them to complete the document analysis.

7 As a class, review the evidence students found regarding the reasons for the boycott and the desired changes. Discuss the questions they articulated and their thoughts on where the boycott occurred. Reveal that the boycott took place in New York City and ask students if they are surprised by this. Share that the 1964 boycott was the largest civil rights protest of the 1960s, with more than 460,000 students (about 45 percent of all New York City students) staying home from school. Emphasize that while segregation is most-often associated with the Deep South, it was actually a nationwide problem, and was widespread in many Northern communities as well.

8 Distribute the handout *Mae Mallory: Challenging Segregation*, and read the introduction together. Tell students they will listen to part of a podcast featuring Mallory's experiences, and they should sketch and take notes that capture key ideas about school segregation and inequality during the civil rights era. Play the following audio clip from 12:06–18:50: *Nice White Parents*, Episode 2: 'I Still Believe in It,' https://bit.ly/35JwGWP. After, allow students to share their sketches/notes in pairs. Discuss some of the following questions as a class:

- ➔ What stood out to you about the school conditions described by Mallory? Were you surprised by this? Explain.
- ➔ What were the effects of inequality on Mallory's children and other students attending segregated schools?

NOTE

The source for the handout is: Queens College Civil Rights Archives. "New York City school boycott flier." January 1964. City Wide Committee for Integrated Schools. https://bit.ly/2TZzFIg.

NOTE

If time allows, show students the WSB-TV news clip (https://bit.ly/3j0xyOI, 1:26) of New Yorkers protesting school segregation during a second boycott in March 1964, and featuring comments by Malcolm X.

- What was your reaction to the story of the boy who was hit by a truck and killed during recess?
- In response to the fact that New York didn't have any official Jim Crow laws, Mallory asked, "What's the difference?" Why did she react this way?
- Where segregation exists, do you think it matters whether it's an official law or not? Explain.
- How did the lawsuit won by the "Harlem Nine" change things? What were its limitations?
- Why, to this day, do you think many districts across the U.S. have never enacted a desegregation plan?

9 Project the handout *School Segregation Today*. Review the graph with students and discuss the questions at the bottom: "Why is it important for schools to be integrated? How does integration benefit *all* children?" Emphasize some of the following ideas:

Students in integrated schools:[9]

- have higher average test scores and are more likely to enroll in college
- have more access to equitable resources
- are less likely to have or act on racial biases and stereotypes
- are more prepared to succeed in diverse colleges and workplaces
- earn more as adults, have improved health outcomes, and are less likely to be incarcerated

10 Conclude the lesson by discussing some of the questions on the next page.

NOTE

Desegregation **is the elimination of laws and practices that require separation, while** ***integration*** **is the incorporation of people from different backgrounds as equals in a community. Beyond simply placing various groups together, integration involves structural and cultural change by addressing existing prejudices and hierarchies. Help students to understand these differences as they think about the importance of integration in today's schools.**

9 `The Century Foundation. "The Benefits of Socioeconomically and Racially Integrated Schools and Classrooms." April 29, 2019. https://bit.ly/3h2qfDo.

Discussion Questions

1. Why was the civil rights movement necessary a century after the end of slavery?
2. What were some of the central issues and goals of the civil rights movement?
3. Why was *Brown v. Board of Education* so important, not just for school children but for the whole movement?
4. Were you surprised to learn that segregation was deep-rooted in the North? Explain.
5. Why do you think segregation is still a big problem in U.S. schools today?
6. Has Dr. King's dream for Black and white children to "join hands as sisters and brothers" come true? Explain.
7. Why is it important that the movement continue today? What civil rights challenges do Black Americans face today?

Lesson Extensions

- Show students the PBS Learning Media video, *The Murder of Emmett Till* (https://bit.ly/3xOwJMZ, 5:59). Discuss how the death of Till and the acquittal of his murderers galvanized the civil rights movement. Help students see the connections between Till's murder and other pivotal events of the time. For example, the *Brown v. Board of Education* decision (May 1954) intensified racial violence in the South (such as Till's murder (August 1955), and outrage over Till fueled the desire for change that led to the Montgomery bus boycott (December 1955).
- As a class, read the KQED article or watch the video, *Why Are American Public Schools Still So Segregated?* (https://bit.ly/2TTCBpD). Assign students to research levels of segregation in their own neighborhood schools and create a chart or graph reflecting their findings. Students who wish to dig deeper may research and write a report on why some families prefer neighborhood schools that are segregated as opposed to sending their children to more distant integrated schools.
- Assign students to write an essay on "civil rights then and now." Have them choose a civil rights issue from the 1950s/1960s and one from today. After reading at least two articles on each, students should summarize the issues, discuss how they are connected and reflect on how the movement for equality has affected their lives.

ADDITIONAL RESOURCES

- Brooklyn Deep. *School Colors* podcast. https://www.schoolcolorspodcast.com.
- DPLA. Primary Source Sets: Voting Rights Act of 1965, https://bit.ly/3x2NHXB; Fannie Lou Hamer and the Civil Rights Movement in Rural Mississippi, https://bit.ly/3w14WZn.
- Jessop, Miranda. "No More: The Children of Birmingham 1963 and the Turning Point of the Civil Rights Movement." June 17, 2013. YouTube video, 10:00. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=hCxE6i_Szo-Q&t=26s.
- PBS Learning Media. "Brown vs. Board of Education: A More or Less Perfect Union." https://bit.ly/3dcHPn9.
- Sanchez, Adam. "The Largest Civil Rights Protest You've Never Heard Of: Teaching the 1964 New York City school boycott." Rethinking Schools. https://bit.ly/35SQIOx.
- Theoharis, Jeanne. *The Rebellious Life of Mrs. Rosa Parks*. Boston, MA: Beacon Press, 2021.

HANDOUT

Civil Rights Movement Issues

What were some of the problems the civil rights movement of the 1950s and 1960s aimed to solve?

This photograph shows leaders of the civil rights movement among a crowd of about 250,000 at the 1963 March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom. The plan called for 10 of the main organizers to lead the march from the Washington Monument to the Lincoln Memorial for a mass rally. Each of the leaders would later deliver a speech as part of the program.

SOURCE: "Roy Wilkins with a few of the 250,000 participants on the Mall heading for the Lincoln Memorial in the NAACP march on Washington." August 28, 1963. Washington, D.C.: Library of Congress, Prints & Photographs Division. https://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/2002699546.

HANDOUT

1964 School Boycott Flier

3-2-1 ANNOTATION

Mark up the text with evidence as directed below.

3 Underline three reasons why this group called for a school boycott.

2 Circle two changes or actions the group demanded.

1 Write one question that you have after analyzing this document.

Where do you think this boycott might have taken place? Why?

Many parents have wondered why the civil rights groups have called for a school boycott FEBRUARY 3rd... no parent who really has the interest of his child at heart would keep that child out of school without sound reasons.

Our goal is two-fold; OUR CHILDREN MUST BE GIVEN QUALITY EDUCATION IN A DE-SEGREGATED SCHOOL SYSTEM AND WE MUST KNOW WHEN THEY ARE TO BEGIN RECEIVING IT. We cannot accept any more vague [unclear] promises of some sort of action sometime in the future.

We are not asking the impossible as some have claimed. We believe that every child... is entitled to the same opportunity to develop his natural abilities.

We are not demanding indiscriminate [random] busing. To achieve what we want there need be little more busing of children than presently exists. We do, however, feel that in a public school system, where busing is required, both Negro and white children should share the experience.

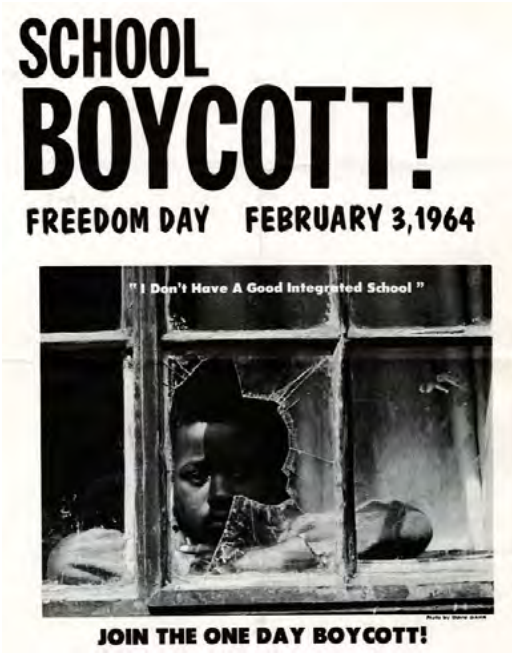
We are not calling for the destruction of the so-called neighborhood school — except where the boundaries of such a school contribute to a pattern of racial segregation.

But, why a boycott? Isn't there any other way to force the necessary changes?

Again, our reasons are two-fold. A full-scale boycott will show, as will nothing else, how much Negro parents are willing to sacrifice for their children. The moral impact will be such that no person in authority will ever again fail to consider the determination behind our fight for equality of educational opportunities.

Our second reason is more tangible. We have found that one of the quickest ways to destroy inequality and segregation is to hit it in the pocketbook. Financial aid to the school system is based upon pupil attendance.

No pupils — no money. It's as simple as that.



HANDOUT

Mae Mallory: Challenging Segregation

As you listen to the podcast clip, sketch elements of the school Mallory describes. Add notes on what inequality looked like in segregated New York City schools in the 1950s.

Mae Mallory was born in 1927 and grew up in Macon, Georgia. In 1939, her family joined the Great Migration North in search of greater safety and opportunity. In 1957, Mallory was a parent living in the New York City neighborhood of Harlem. Three years after the *Brown v. Board of Education* decision, she was angry about the segregation and poor conditions that continued in her local schools. She organized eight other mothers, and together they filed a lawsuit against the New York City Board of Education. The "Harlem Nine" argued that zoning policies controlling which children went to which schools were unfair. They staged a boycott of several Harlem schools. The "Harlem Nine" won their case, and the right to transfer their children to schools outside their district. However, the New York City school system has never put into action a desegregation plan for all students.

Mallory and her daugher, Patricia. New York Times, July 18, 1957.

HANDOUT

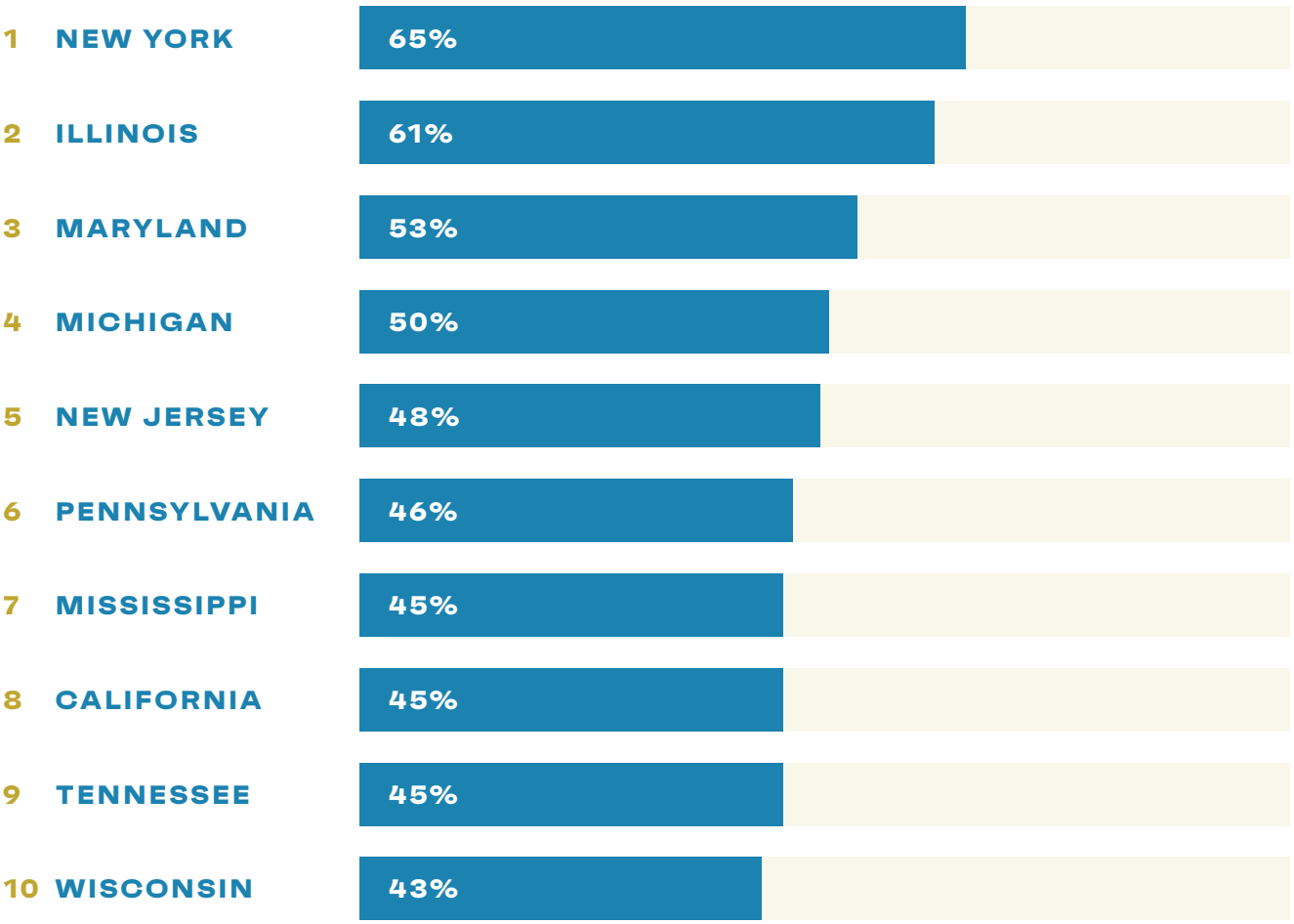
School Segregation Today

Today, many U.S. schools are just as segregated as they were in the 1960s.

This graph shows the percentage of each state's Black students in schools that are more than 90 percent non-white. For example, in New York, 65 percent of Black students attend a school where at least 90 percent of students are people of color.

According to data collected in 2011–2012, the 10 U.S. states with the most segregated schools are mostly in the North.

Why is it important for schools to be integrated? How does integration benefit *all* children?



SOURCES: Frankenberg, Erica; Ee, Jongyeon; Ayscue, Jennifer B.; and Orfield, Gary. "Harming our Common Future: America's Segregated Schools 65 Years after Brown." University of California Civil Rights Project, May 10, 2019. https://bit.ly/2U0h66r; Sanchez, Adam. "What Caused the 1964 New York City School Boycott?" https://bit.ly/3d69ZAg.

High School | Grades 9–12

EMMETT TILL'S LEGACY

ESSENTIAL QUESTION

Why was Emmett Till lynched? What impact has this incident had on historical and contemporary racial justice struggles?

OBJECTIVES

Students will:

- Define *lynching* and interpret data on its prevalence in the 19th and 20th centuries.
- Analyze a series of poems by Langston Hughes on lynching.
- Create a collage reflecting who Emmett Till was as an individual.
- Investigate the circumstances surrounding Till's murder and the choices made by individuals and institutions involved in the incident.
- Discuss the impact of Till's murder on the civil rights movement and the nation.
- Conduct independent research on contemporary issues related to police violence and/or societal racism.

LEARNING STANDARDS

See the standards alignment chart to learn how this lesson supports New Jersey State Standards.

TIME NEEDED

155–165 minutes (plus time for independent research)

MATERIALS

- AV equipment for playing video clips and projecting a handout
- Materials for creating a collage (large paper, drawing implements, scissors, glue)
- Access to laptops or tablets for independent research
- *Lynching in the U.S., 1882–1968* handout (one to project)
- *Three Songs about Lynching* handout (one per student)
- *Questions: Three Songs about Lynching* handout (one per student)
- *Choices* handout (one per student)
- *Reflections on the Lynching of Emmett Till* handout (one per student)
- Articles by Arielle Newton, Lakia Poole, and Renée Watson from this website: https://bit.ly/3k2T6uG (one per student)

VOCABULARY

Black Lives Matter (BLM) movement
civil rights
civil rights movement
discrimination
intersectionality
lynching
segregated
white supremacy

Procedures

PART 1
Lynching—a Tool of Terror (45 mins.)

1 Ask students how they would define the term *lynching*. Have them discuss in pairs and then share with the class. Introduce the definition below. Highlight that lynchings in the U.S. were carried out under the pretense of seeking justice but without a lawful trial; were instruments of intimidation and terror; and were public spectacles that celebrated and preserved white supremacy.

lynching: an unlawful public murder, often by hanging, carried out by angry mobs; white people used lynchings to control and terrorize Black people during the 1800s and 1900s, mostly in the South.

2 Project or distribute the handout *Lynching in the U.S., 1882–1968*. Review these figures with students so they have a sense of the prevalence of lynching in the U.S. Allow them to react to the data.

3 Divide students into small groups and distribute the handout *Three Songs about Lynching by Langston Hughes* and the accompanying discussion questions. Assign each group one poem to focus on. Have them read all three and then discuss the questions related to their assigned poem.

4 Form new groups in which there is a mix of students who have focused on different poems. Have them take turns sharing highlights from their analysis of each poem. Gather as a class and discuss how the poems work together as a trilogy and what overall messages they communicate about the forces underlying lynching.

NOTE

Hughes' trilogy of poems works together to expose the cruelty and hypocrisy of lynching, used to violently police the boundaries of Black behavior, often under the guise of protecting "white womanhood." The futility of truth underscored in the narrative leads to hopelessness and despair. Yet, the final poem ends on a triumphant "NOT I," signaling that despite physical death, Black virtue lives on while white people suffer a spiritual demise. For additional analysis, see "On 'Three Songs about Lynching'" by Heather Zadra in *Modern American Poetry*.

PART 2
The Impact of Emmett Till's Murder (90 mins.)

5 Ask students if they have heard of Emmett Till and allow them to share prior knowledge. Explain that Till was a 14-year-old Black boy who was lynched in Mississippi in 1955 after allegedly insulting a white woman. Tell students that before talking about his death, it is important to get a sense of who Till was in life. In small groups, have students read one of the biographical profiles below. Then direct them to create one item in response that they can contribute to a shared collage—a sketch, quote, image, poem, etc. Assemble the items onto a large sheet of paper. Display the collage and reflect on who Emmett Till was before he became a martyr.

- Emmett Till's mother describes child behind the icon (Chicago Tribune), https://bit.ly/3xfKvsm
- Who was Emmett Till? (PBS American Experience), https://to.pbs.org/3qHJjex
- Emmett Till (Biography.com), https://bit.ly/366eoPJ

6 Distribute the *Choices* handout and review the directions with students. Show the film clip from *Eyes on the Prize: America's Civil Rights Movement*, Episode 1: *Awakenings (1954–1956)*: https://bit.ly/2TvkZQZ [10:28]. Direct students to take notes on the handout as they view the clip. After, allow students to share the observations they noted in pairs or small groups.

7 Conduct a class discussion in response to some of the following questions.

- What was happening in the country prior to the summer of 1955 that made an already oppressive racial system even more charged?
- What were the reactions of Black community members after Till's interaction with Carolyn Bryant, the white woman in the store? What does this reveal about race and gender roles in the South at the time?
- What was the role of lynching in the segregated system that existed in the American South?

OPTION

For mature audiences, consider showing Time's 100 Photos documentary short, *The Body of Emmett Till*: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4V6ffUUEvaM [8:29], https://time.com/4399793/emmett-till-civil-rights-photography/. It explores the impact of the momentous choice made by Till's family to have an open casket and allow the media to photograph Till's mutilated body. Note that this film contains graphic images of Till's corpse and may not be suitable for all students. If using, allow students the choice to opt out.

- What important choices did Till's family make following his murder? What impact did these choices have on the movement and on the nation?
- How did Moses Wright, Till's great uncle, protect Till both before and after his death? What risks did he face as he considered his choices?
- What role did law enforcement play in Till's murder and, more broadly, in the system of lynching?
- What role did the media (Black and mainstream) play in shaping the nation's response to the murder of Till? Why are images so important in the pursuit of justice for Black victims of violence?
- How did awareness of the Emmett Till case impact ordinary Americans? How did it act as a spark that fired the civil rights movement?

8 In order to deepen students' understanding of the impact Till's lynching had on Black Americans and the civil rights movement, assign them to read one or both of the excerpts in the handout *Reflections on the Lynching of Emmett Till*. Have them do reflective writing in response, using the following prompts:

- What was the emotional impact of Till's lynching on other Black youth his age?
- How do you think the terror they felt shaped the civil rights movement in the years following Till's death?

PART 3
Contemporary Connections (20–30 mins. + time for independent research)

9 Post and read aloud the quote below. Ask students if they see a connection between the murder of Emmett Till and the shootings of many Black people in today's world, and discuss.

"These shootings of unarmed Black boys and men have been going on for decades. It is a manifestation of the same presumption of dangerousness that killed Emmett Till, that killed thousands of people of color during the lynching era."
—Bryan Stevenson, Equal Justice Initiative

10 Access the website The Emmett Till Project here: https://bit.ly/3k2T6uG. In pairs, have students choose one of the following reflections from the website to read and discuss: *History Repeats Itself: Emmett Till and the continued Struggle for Civil Rights* by **Arielle Newton**, *Past in Present: The Emmett Till Trial and the Black Lives Matter Movement* by **Lakia Poole**, and *A Psalm for Emmett Till* by **Renée Watson**. Have them annotate the text by highlighting phrases that resonate for them and noting reactions and questions in the margins.

11 Have students choose one of the independent research projects below to work on in class and/or at home. Once the projects are complete, provide a forum for students to share and react to each other's work.

- ➔ Research one youth of color who was killed in recent times due to societal racism and/or police violence. Create a poster memorializing the young person that includes a photo, personal attributes, and a summary of the circumstances under which they lost their life. Examples of victims include Trayvon Martin (age 17), Tamir Rice (age 12), Adam Toledo (age 13), and Ma'Khia Bryant (age 16).
- ➔ Research a community organization that is taking action to prevent racism and/or police violence and prepare a report summarizing local issues and what the group is doing in response. The report should include ways young people can get involved at the school or community level.

12 Conclude the lesson by discussing some of the questions on the next page.

Discussion Questions

1. Was Emmett Till's murder inevitable or could different choices have been made to protect him? Explain.

2. In what ways was it dangerous to be a Black boy in Till's time? How would you compare that experience to today?

3. What was the role of imagery in the aftermath of Till's murder? What is the role of imagery in the current racial justice movement?

4. Why was Moses Wrights' behavior considered among the bravest acts of the civil rights era? What are examples of bravery in your own community today when it comes to standing up for others?

5. Why is Emmett Till still a powerful symbol for the movement today? Why is his story still relevant?

6. What, if any, changes to policing do you feel would address the problem of racial violence in society today?

7. Do you have a choice or a role to play in protecting others from the effects of discrimination today? Explain.

Lesson Extensions

- Assign students to research and report on how the decision in *Brown v. Board of Education* (1954) escalated racial tensions that contributed to the lynching of Emmett Till (1955). Have them research how Till's murder, in turn, inspired the Montgomery bus boycott (1955–56). Discuss the connectedness of events during the civil rights era.
- Have students read the handout *Quotes from Civil Rights Leaders on Emmett Till* and select one quote to react to through reflective writing. Ask them to think about the meaning of the quote and why Till had such a great impact on people in the U.S. and around the world.
- Moses Wright's courage in standing up for his nephew in court despite the risks to his safety is noteworthy. Assign students to write an essay, design a poster, or create a short video profiling a current figure who stood up for the civil rights of others. The figure can be someone students know personally or someone they learned about in the news.
- Assign students to read about children and young people who changed their country and the world. Examples include Malala Yousafzai, Sophie Cruz, Samantha Smith, Iqbal Masih, Claudette Colvin, Jazz Jennings, Bana al-Abed, Anoyara Khatun, Ruby Bridges, Nkosi Johnson, Thandiwe Chama, Xiuhtezcatl Martinez and Mari Copeny. See the article, "These 30 Incredible Kids Really Changed the World" for more examples: https://bit.ly/36cj1HY.

ADDITIONAL RESOURCES

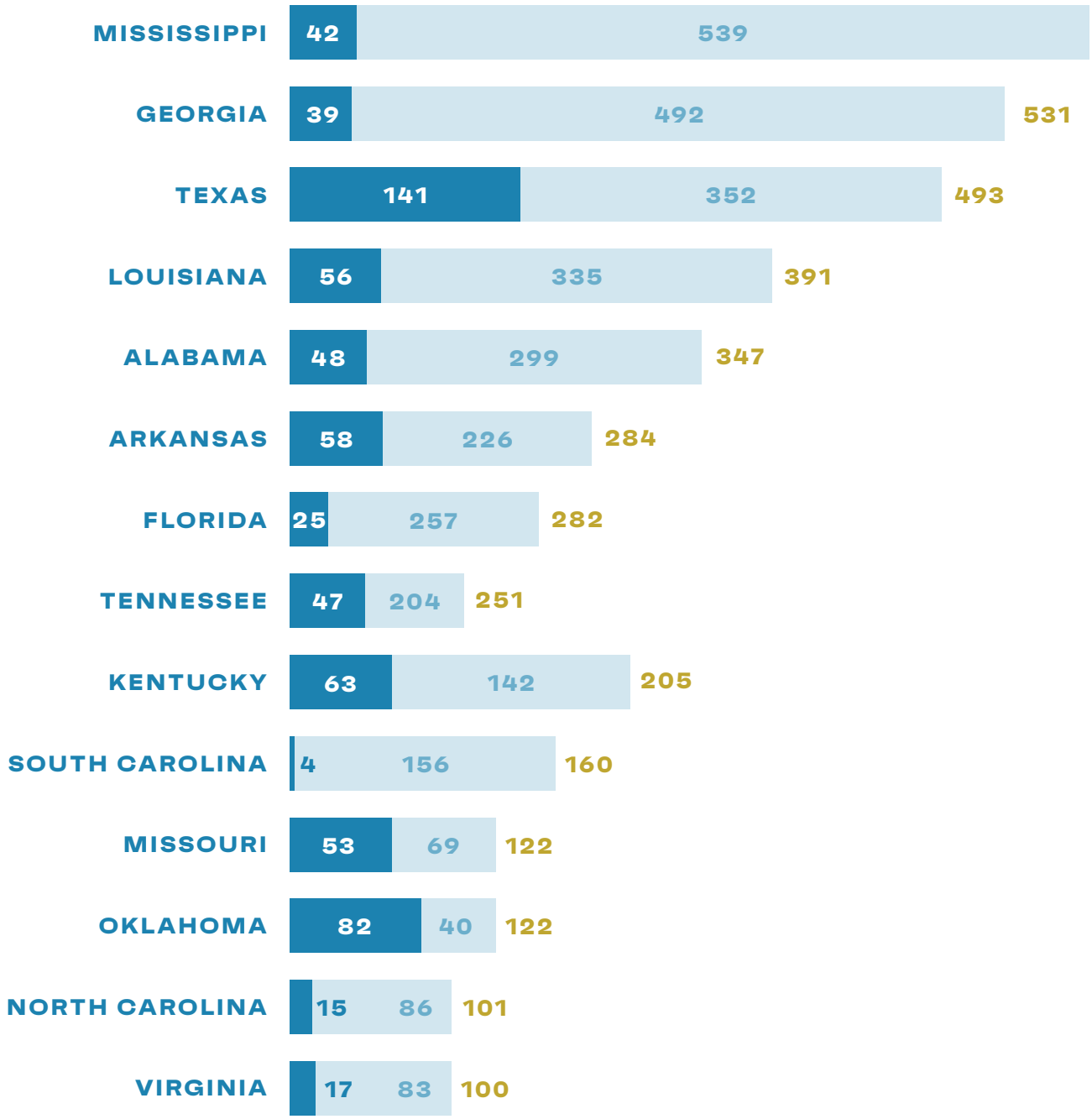
- Blackside and Facing History and Ourselves. "Eyes on the Prize: America's Civil Rights Movement 1954–1985, A Study Guide to the Television Series." 2006. https://bit.ly/3x-hVW2K.
- Costello, Maureen. "That Part's Not True." Learning for Justice. January 31, 2017. https://bit.ly/3yfDuaW.
- Emmett Till Project. https://www.facinghistory.org/resource-library/eyes-prize-study-guide.
- Facing History and Ourselves. "Emmett Till: A Series of Four Lessons." https://bit.ly/3h9P-7dU.
- Gonchar, Michael. "Meting Out Justice." December 2, 2002. New York Times Learning Network. https://nyti.ms/3xfNJfd.
- PBS American Experience. *The Murder of Emmett Till*. https://www.pbs.org/wgbh/americanexperience/films/till.
- Time 100 Photos. "Emmett Till." https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4V6ffUUEvaM, https://time.com/4399793/emmett-till-civil-rights-photography/.
- Wright, Simeon. *Simeon's Story: An Eyewitness Account of the Kidnapping of Emmett Till.* Chicago: Lawrence Hill Books, 2011.
- Zinn Education Project. "The Murder of Emmett Till." https://bit.ly/3dAmZhW.

HANDOUT

Lynching in the U.S., 1882–1968

Between 1882 and 1968, more than 4,700 people were lynched in the U.S. While Black people made up between 10 and 13 percent of the population (depending on the year), they accounted for about 73 percent of lynchings (just under 3,500). About three-quarters of lynchings took place in former Confederate states.

(The dark blue areas represent non-Black victims and the light blue areas represent Black victims)



SOURCES: NAACP. History of Lynching in America. https://naacp.org/find-resources/history-explained/history-lynching-america; O'Neill, Aaron. "Number of executions by lynching in the United States by state and race between 1882 and 1968." Statistica, October 2, 2020. https://www.statista.com/statistics/1175147/lynching-by-race-state-and-race/.

HANDOUT

Three Songs about Lynching

SILHOUETTE

Southern gentle lady,
Do not swoon.
They've just hung a black man
In the dark of the moon.

They've hung a black man
To a roadside tree
In the dark of the moon

For the world to see
How Dixie protects
Its white womanhood.

Southern gentle lady,
Be good!
Be good!

FLIGHT

Plant your toes in the cool swamp mud.
Step and leave no track.
Hurry, sweating runner!
The hounds are at your back.

No, I didn't touch her.
White flesh ain't for me.

Hurry, black boy, hurry!
Or they'll swing you to a tree.

LYNCHING SONG

Pull at the rope!
O, pull it high!
Let the white folks live
And the black boy die.

Pull it, boys,
With a bloody cry.
Let the black boy spin
While the white folks die.

The white folks die?
What do you mean –
The white folks die?

That black boy's
Still body
Says:
NOT I.

These poems appear in: Hughes, Langston and Rampersad, Arnold, ed. *The Collected Poems of Langston Hughes*. New York: Vintage Books, 1995.

HANDOUT

Questions: Three Songs about Lynching

Read all three poems, then focus on your assigned poem and discuss the related questions below.

SILHOUETTE

- What does it mean to "swoon"? Why is the speaker telling the Southern woman not to swoon?
- What do the terms "gentle lady" and "white womanhood" reveal about the reason for hanging the Black man?
- What might the speaker mean when he tells the woman to "be good"?
- How was the practice of lynching influenced by the relationship between gender and race?
- What is the mood or feeling of the poem?

FLIGHT

- What is the irony of telling the "runner" to put his toes in the mud and leave no track? What is the speaker suggesting?
- What do the lines "I didn't touch her" and "white flesh ain't for me" reveal about why the Black man is being stalked?
- What is the speaker's message about the possibility of escape or justice?
- What is the mood or feeling of the poem?

LYNCHING SONG

- Who is speaking in this poem? Is there more than one speaker?
- What is the significance of the language shifting from "the black boy die" in the first stanza to "the white folks die" in the second?
- What does it mean for the white folks to die when they are the ones doing the killing?
- What is the meaning of "NOT I" at the end? What message is conveyed by the Black boy, even after he is dead?
- What is the mood or feeling of the poem? How is it different from the other two?

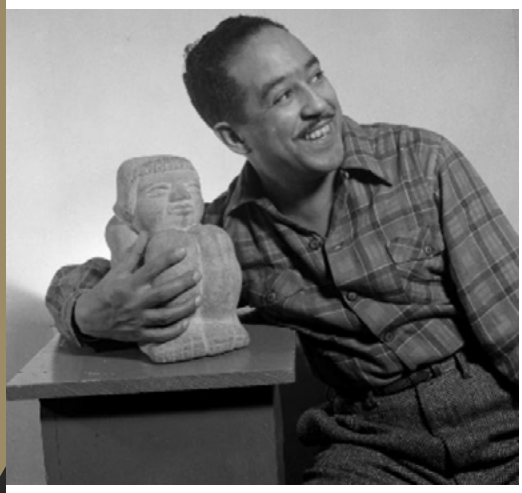


Photo source: Parks, Gordon, photographer. Portrait of Langston Hughes. United States, 1943. Photograph. https://www.loc.gov/item/2017858893.

Langston Hughes (1902–1967) grew up in Joplin, Missouri, and later settled in Cleveland, Ohio. Hughes began writing poetry as a teenager and, in 1921, he published his first poem—"The Negro Speaks of Rivers"—in the NAACP magazine, *The Crisis*. Hughes received praise for his poem and spent the next years in New York and Paris developing his writing. In 1926, Hughes' first book of poetry, *The Weary Blues*, was published. His celebration of Black culture and analysis of racism in the U.S. made him an important contributor to the Harlem Renaissance throughout the 1920s. For the next several decades, Hughes published a rich collection of poetry, plays and novels, and he lectured throughout the U.S. and internationally. He wrote a column for the Black newspaper, *The Chicago Defender*, and served as a war correspondent during the Spanish Civil War. Two of Hughes' most important poems are "Let America Be America Again" and "Harlem (What happens to a dream deferred?')," in which he explores the hope of America within the context of racism and segregation. Hughes never married. Many scholars believe he was a gay man, but there is little evidence due to Hughes' secrecy about his personal life during a time when it was dangerous to be openly LGBTQ. Today, Langston Hughes' work continues to be studied and translated, and he remains one of the most influential writers in American history.

HANDOUT

Choices

Choose three of the people or institutions below to focus on as you watch the video. For each, note the choices they made before, during or after the Emmett Till lynching. Consider other possible choices (taking into account that it was the 1950s) and note those as well.

- Emmett Till
- Mamie Till-Moseley
- Moses Wright
- Carolyn Bryant
- Roy Bryant
- J.W. Milam
- the criminal justice system
- the media
- the American people

	CHOICES MADE	OTHER POSSIBLE CHOICES *(taking into consideration the times)*
1		
2		
3		

HANDOUT

Reflections on the Lynching of Emmett Till

"I thought of Emmett Till, and when the bus driver ordered me to move to the back, I just couldn't move."

"My legs and feet were not hurting, that is a stereotype. I paid the same fare as others, and I felt violated. I was not going back."

—Rosa Parks

EXCERPT FROM COMING OF AGE IN MISSISSIPPI BY ANNE MOODY

In her 1968 memoir, Anne Moody writes about growing up as a young Black woman in rural Mississippi. She explores the themes of racism and sexism, and recounts her role in the civil rights movement. In this excerpt, Moody expresses her feelings about the murder of Emmett Till and the personal impact it had on her.

I was now working for one of the meanest white women in town, and a week before school started Emmett Till was killed.

Up until his death, I had heard of Negroes found floating in a river or dead somewhere with their bodies riddled with bullets. But I didn't know the mystery behind these killings then.

When they had finished dinner and gone into the living room as usual to watch TV, Mrs. Burke called me to eat. I took a clean plate out of the cabinet and sat down. Just as I was putting the first fork-ful of food in my mouth, Mrs. Burke entered the kitchen.

"Essie, did you hear about that fourteen-year-old boy who was killed in Greenwood?" she asked me, sitting down in one of the chairs opposite me.

"No, I didn't hear that," I answered, almost choking on the food.

"Do you know why he was killed?" she asked and I didn't answer.

"He was killed because he got out of his place with a white woman. A boy from Mississippi would have known better than that. This boy was from Chicago. Negroes up North have no respect for people. They think they can get away with anything. He just came to Mississippi and put a whole lot of notions in the boys' heads here and stirred up a lot of trouble," she said passionately.

"How old are you, Essie?" she asked me after a pause.

"Fourteen, I will soon be fifteen though," I said.

"See, that boy was just fourteen too. It's a shame he had to die so soon." She was red in the face, she looked as if she was on fire.

When she left the kitchen I sat there with my mouth open and my food untouched. I couldn't have eaten now if I were starving. "Just do your work like you don't know nothing" ran through my mind again and I began washing the dishes.

I went home shaking like a leaf on a tree. For the first time out of all her trying, Mrs. Burke had made me feel like rotten garbage. Many times she had tried to instill fear within me and subdue me and had given up. But when she talked about Emmett Till there was something in her voice that sent chills and fear all over me.

Before Emmett Till's murder, I had known the fear of hunger, hell, and the Devil. But now there was a new fear known to me—the fear of being killed just because I was black. This was the worst of my fears.

REFLECTIONS ON THE LYNCHING OF EMMETT TILL (CONTINUED)

I knew once I got food, the fear of starving to death would leave. I also was told that if I were a good girl, I wouldn't have to fear the Devil or hell. But I didn't know what one had to do or not do as a Negro not to be killed. Probably just being a Negro period was enough, I thought.

I was fifteen years old when I began to hate people. I hated the white men who murdered Emmett Till and I hated all the other whites who were responsible for the countless murders Mrs. Rice (my teacher) had told me about and those I vaguely remembered from childhood. But I also hated Negroes. I hated them for not standing up and doing something about the murders. In fact, I think I had a stronger resentment toward Negroes for letting the whites kill them than toward the whites.

SOURCE: Moody, Anne. *Coming of Age in Mississippi: The Classic Autobiography of Growing Up Poor and Black in the Rural South* (Reissue edition). New York: Dell Publishing, 1992.

EXCERPT FROM A MIGHTY LONG WAY BY CARLOTTA WALLS LANIER

Carlotta Walls LaNier was one of the "Little Rock Nine," who bravely integrated Central High School in Little Rock, Arkansas, in 1957. In this excerpt from her memoir, Walls LaNier remembers when she first learned of Emmett Till's murder and the emotional impact it made on her family.

I first heard the name of Emmett Till whispered from the lips of adults, speaking in hushed tones around my house about the horrible thing the white people did to that little black boy in Mississippi.

It was one of those moments when legend meets reality. I had read stories before about the lynching of black folks in Mississippi and other areas of the Deep South. I'd even heard my relatives tell the story of a lynching in downtown Little Rock.

To me, such stories were tragic yet distant history. But I knew Emmett Till. I'd never laid eyes on him before the magazine photos, but in the handsome face of the boy he had been before his murder, I saw my cousins, my friends, my classmates. He was just one and a half years older than me and as real to me as the black playmates I met on the softball field every day.

Because of what happened to Emmett Till, Mississippi became a fearsome place in my mind, and I wanted never to set foot there. That must have been the case with the adults in my family, too, because from that moment on, Daddy mapped out our road trips so that we never even passed through Mississippi.

SOURCE: Walls LaNier, Carlotta. *A Mighty Long Way: My Journey to Justice at Little Rock Central High School* (Reprint edition). New York: One World, 2010.

HANDOUT

Quotes from Civil Rights Leaders on Emmett Till

→ "I thought about Emmett Till, and I couldn't go back [to the back of the bus]."
ROSA PARKS

→ "[Emmett Till's murder was] one of the most brutal and inhuman crimes of the 20th century."
DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.

→ "It would appear that the state of Mississippi has decided to maintain white supremacy by murdering children."
ROY WILKINS, HEAD OF THE NAACP

→ "Nothing that boy did could ever justify what happened to him."
CAROLYN BRYANT DONHAM, EMMETT'S ACCUSER, 2007

→ "When people saw what had happened to my son, men stood up who had never stood up before."
MAMIE TILL-MOBLEY

→ "And the fact that Emmett Till, a young black man, could be found floating down the river in Mississippi, as, indeed, many had been done over the years, this set in concrete the determination of people to move forward."
REVEREND FRED SHUTTLESWORTH, CIVIL RIGHTS LEADER

→ "I was not even born when Emmett Till was brutally murdered in Money, Miss., but growing up in Detroit in the early 1960s, I knew his name well. When I took the long train ride to my mother's hometown of Greenwood, Miss., in 1967, I learned even more about him. I learned that he had violated the rigid rules of racial deference and hierarchy that governed the South, and had paid for it with his life."
BARBARA RANSBY, PROFESSOR OF AFRICAN-AMERICAN STUDIES AND HISTORY, UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS AT CHICAGO

→ "I think the picture in Jet magazine showing Emmett Till's mutilation was probably the greatest media product in the last forty or fifty years because that picture stimulated a lot of interest and anger on the part of blacks all over the country."
CONGRESSMAN CHARLES DIGGS

How did nonviolence and direct action lead to change during the civil rights movement?

Many Americans take for granted that the philosophy of nonviolence was endemic to Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. and other civil rights activists. The values of civil disobedience and direct action, however, were more of an evolution than an inevitability. As a seminary student, Dr. King was influenced by thinkers such as Henry David Thoreau and Mahatma Gandhi, but his real commitment to nonviolence developed "on the job." King's longtime adviser, Bayard Rustin, observed: "I do not believe that one honors Dr. King by assuming that somehow he had been prepared for this job. He had not been prepared for it: either tactically, strategically, or his understanding of nonviolence…he came to a profoundly deep understanding of nonviolence through the struggle itself."[10]

Rustin—whose commitment to nonviolence began with his Quaker upbringing in Pennsylvania—organized nonviolent campaigns for the Fellowship of Reconciliation (FOR) and Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) in the 1940s. During World War II, he went to prison as a conscientious objector and subsequently spent time in India studying Gandhian philosophy. Rustin became a close adviser to King during the Montgomery bus boycott in 1956, and helped King translate his ideas about nonviolence into an effective strategy that would fuel the burgeoning movement.

Nonviolent direct action was a hallmark of the yearlong boycott, from legal challenges in the U.S. Supreme Court down to the grassroots. Georgia Gilmore, for example, was a midwife and a cook, who organized "the Club from Nowhere" to prepare food for civil rights protesters. Her organization raised significant funds for the Montgomery Improvement Association, and Gilmore testified in the court case that put an end to segregated buses (and lost her job for it).

The 1963 March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom is perhaps the most well-known example of nonviolent direct action organizing. More than 250,000 people gathered peacefully to demand economic equality, employment opportunity, school integration and a robust civil rights law. A 23-year-old John Lewis—then national chairman of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC)—took to the podium and proclaimed that "the revolution is at hand, and we must free ourselves of the chains of political and economic slavery."[11]

Paradoxically, the same march that lifted the voices of millions of persecuted Black Americans marginalized others. Only one woman, Anna Hedgeman, was part of the organizing committee for the march, and none were included as major speakers. A week prior to the event, lawyer and civil rights activist Pauli Murray expressed her outrage to A. Philip Randolph, director of the march: "It is indefensible to…send out a call which contains the name of not a single woman leader…'tokenism' is as offensive when applied to women as when applied to Negroes."[12] In the end, the program contained a perfunctory

10 Hauerwas, Stanley. *The Weapon of Love: How Martin Luther King, Jr. Became Nonviolent*. Australian Broadcasting Corporation, January 16, 2017. https://ab.co/3klnHUn.

11 Lewis, John. *Walking With the Wind: A Memoir of the Movement*. New York: Simon & Schuster, 1998.

12 Spartacus Educational. *Anna (Pauli) Murray*. https://spartacus-educational.com/USAmurrayA.htm.

"Tribute to Negro Women," but the serious speaking slots were designated for the "Big Six" civil rights leaders, all men. Dorothy Height, head of the National Council of Negro Women, had used her organizing might to recruit thousands of volunteers and mobilize hundreds of thousands to attend the rally. However, the woman who would later be called "the godmother of the civil rights movement" was not invited to the microphone that day.

Bayard Rustin, a chief architect of both the March on Washington and the broader civil rights movement, would also be omitted from the program that day. In 1953, Rustin had been jailed in California on a "morals charge" for having sex with another man in a car. Rustin was unapologetic about being gay, but his sexual orientation made the movement vulnerable to attack. This led to Rustin's ouster from the movement for several years. When the decision was made to organize a march on Washington, there was unanimous agreement that no one was better prepared to lead it than Rustin. Fearing condemnation from opponents, a compromise was reached in which A. Philip Randolph would serve as director and quietly deputize Rustin to run the operation. No other leader did more than Rustin to make the March on Washington a triumph, yet bigotry has eclipsed his role.

The March on Washington contributed to the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and a growing demand for Black political power. In June of 1964, the Freedom Summer Project was launched in Mississippi to harness that power through a voter registration campaign and the establishment of dozens of Freedom Schools to educate and mobilize Black voters. The project was run by organizations including the NAACP and SNCC, and leaders such as Bob Moses and Fannie Lou Hamer. Hamer ran for Congress that year as part of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party (MFDP), created to challenge the all-white Democratic party in that state. She addressed the Democratic National Convention in Atlantic City, recounting her experiences of being arrested, fired from her job, evicted from her home, intimidated and beaten simply for attempting to register to vote. Hamer would famously tell America, "And I've been tired so long, now I am sick and tired of being sick and tired, and we want a change."[13]

Though Freedom Summer garnered national attention, its results were limited—only about 12,000 new voter registrations were generated among the Black residents of Mississippi. Such gradual progress, coupled with extreme racist violence, deepened divisions between advocates of nonviolence and the growing Black Power movement, which demanded a more militant approach. "Concerning nonviolence," asserted Malcolm X, "it is criminal to teach a man not to defend himself when he is the constant victim of brutal attacks."[14] In 1966, Bobby Seale and Huey Newton formed the Black Panther Party for Self Defense in Oakland, California. Based on the Marxist view that oppressed peoples need to embrace a policy of self-determination, the Black Panthers developed a 10-point program demanding full employment, decent housing, inclusive education and freedom from police brutality. Though the Panthers are remembered for their armed patrols of police, they also established breakfast programs, medical clinics and after-school education. The Black Power movement was widely embraced in Black communities and, by 1970, there were more than 30 national chapters of the Black Panther Party across the country.

In 1967, the FBI established a counterintelligence program to destabilize the Black Panther Party and other Black Power groups. Similar operations had been conducted earlier to discredit Martin Luther King, Jr. and the civil rights movement. Such campaigns, along with inaccurate media representations and culturally biased curricula in schools, have led to an incomplete understanding of the civil rights era. Groups that have stood against police brutality and other forms of violence and discrimination have often been vilified and accused of being radical or dangerous. These histories provide an instructive lens on current efforts to disrupt racial justice groups that continue to speak out against inequality.

13 Brooks, Maegan Parker and Houck, Davis W. *The Speeches of Fannie Lou Hamer: To Tell It Like It Is*. Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2013.

14 Teaching American History. *DOCUMENT: A Declaration of Independence, Malcolm X, March 12, 1964*. https://bit.ly/2UILd2N.

Elementary School | Grades 3–5

NONVIOLENCE IN ACTION: THE MONTGOMERY BUS BOYCOTT

ESSENTIAL QUESTION

How did Black Americans use the values of nonviolence to achieve equal rights?

OBJECTIVES

Students will:

- Define nonviolence and identify the values associated with it.
- Read about Georgia Gilmore and discuss how her actions during the Montgomery bus boycott exemplified nonviolence.
- Examine texts about other women who led the Montgomery bus boycott.
- Create a "found poem" reflecting key themes related to the struggle for civil rights.

LEARNING STANDARDS

See the standards alignment chart to learn how this lesson supports New Jersey State Standards.

TIME NEEDED

105–120 minutes

MATERIALS

- AV equipment for projecting a handout and video
- *Six Values of Nonviolence* handout (one copy to project)
- *Pies from Nowhere: How Georgia Gilmore Sustained the Montgomery Bus Boycott* by Dee Romito (one copy of book or online read-aloud at https://bit.ly/3yXdTEN)
- *Women of the Montgomery Bus Boycott* (copies of one handout for each small group)
- Picture books about the Montgomery bus boycott (optional)
- Slips of colored paper (cut-up sticky notes or index cards)
- Glue
- Crayons, colored pencils and/or markers

VOCABULARY

boycott
Browder v. Gayle
civil rights
civil rights movement
discrimination
Montgomery bus boycott
NAACP
nonviolence
segregation
unconstitutional

Procedures

NOTE

This lesson explores nonviolence and peaceful protest as ways to effect change. Students may hold some false beliefs about the concept of nonviolence, for example that it reflects weakness or that it's an outdated idea (from Dr. King's time). Make sure students understand that nonviolent direct action is bold and assertive, and is a method still used today by civil rights groups, such as Black Lives Matter. Students may also think that nonviolence means they can never stand up for themselves. Help them to understand that collective action for social change is something that takes planning and courage, but is different from personal self-defense and conflict resolution.

PART 1
The Value of Nonviolence (45 mins.)

1 Post the poem below and read together as a class. Discuss the choice that the poet is defining and that all people sometimes face.

CHOOSE by Carl Sandburg

THE single clenched fist lifted and ready,
Or the open asking hand held out and waiting.
Choose:
For we meet by one or the other.

2 In pairs, ask students to think about a time that a conflict occurred and there was a choice to respond with a "clenched fist" or "open hand." Have partners share the choice that was made and if they think it was the right one. Gather as a class and allow a few volunteers to share their anecdotes. Discuss some of the following questions:

- → Do aggressive or peaceful responses to conflicts usually work out better in the long run? Why?
- → How does each type of response make you feel inside? Which feeling do you prefer?

NOTE

Students may identify a conflict from history or current events, or they may focus on a personal experience. If their anecdote is personal, encourage them to keep it anonymous by sharing actions and not names of people.

- Why is a peaceful response sometimes a harder or braver choice than an angry one?
- Does responding peacefully mean being passive? How can a peaceful response be forceful?

NOTE

While this lesson focuses on the civil rights era of the 1950s and 1960s, make sure students understand that the struggle for civil rights is ongoing and the philosophy of nonviolence continues to be used to make change today.

3 Write the term *nonviolence* on the board. Explain that nonviolence is a set of values that rejects violence and encourages change through peaceful actions. Share that Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. and other leaders believed nonviolence was the best way to achieve equality for Black Americans during the civil rights era. Ask students for examples of inequality that Black people faced during this time. Create a list of their examples (e.g., segregated facilities, under-resourced schools, poor housing, discrimination in voting, etc.).

4 Project the handout *Six Values of Nonviolence*. Read together as a class and clarify concepts as needed. Give each student a square of construction paper. Have them choose the value of nonviolence that is most meaningful to them. Direct students to illustrate the value and write a caption that encapsulates it in their own words. Allow students to share their illustrations in pairs or small groups, and assemble them into a class display.

PART 2
Taking Action: The Women Behind the Boycott (60–75 mins.)

5 Ask students for examples of nonviolent action during the civil rights movement and chart their ideas. If students do not bring it up, add boycott to the list and define it as "a type of protest in which people stop buying the products or using the services of a company." Write "Montgomery bus boycott" on the board and ask students why people may have boycotted buses in the South in the 1950s. Allow them to share any prior knowledge they have about this event.

6 Tell students you will read aloud a true story about the Montgomery bus boycott and they should listen for examples of the values of nonviolence. Read *Pies from Nowhere* to the class and discuss some of the questions below. If a copy of the book is not available, an online read-aloud can be accessed at https://bit.ly/3yXdTEN [8:26].

- What experiences did Gilmore have that led her to want to join the civil rights movement?
- What risks did Gilmore take to support the boycott? How did she overcome the obstacles she faced?

- Why was Gilmore's group called "The Club from Nowhere"? What does this name reveal about the dangers faced by civil rights protesters?
- How did Gilmore use her personal strengths to make a difference? What did you learn from this?
- How did you feel when you heard that the Court ended segregation on public buses?
- What values of nonviolence did you notice in the attitudes and actions of the Montgomery protesters?

7 Share that the Montgomery bus boycott was successful because of the planning and work of many "hidden figures" in history, like Georgia Gilmore. Tell students that they will learn more about some of these figures. Divide the class into small groups and assign each a text to examine. Depending on the ability of the students, assign the readings in the handout *Women of the Montgomery Bus Boycott* or additional picture books on the topic, such as the following:

- *Claudette Colvin Refuses to Move* by Ebony Joy Wilkins
- *Rosa* by Nikki Giovanni
- *Rosa's Bus: The Ride to Civil Rights* by Jo S. Kittinger
- *The Montgomery Bus Boycott (Graphic Histories)* by Kerri O'Hern and Frank Walsh

8 Tell students they will create a "found poem" based on the text assigned in step 7. Provide the following directions:

- Read the text and identify a key message (e.g., all people have rights, nonviolence can make lasting change)
- Read the text again and choose at least 12 words, phrases or quotes that stand out and connect to the message.
- Write each word or phrase on a different slip of paper (e.g., colored sticky notes).
- Arrange the slips of paper ("found" language) into a poem.
- Paste the poem onto a sheet of paper, give it a title and illustrate it.

9 Display students' work. As time allows, have groups share their poem, its key message and how it reflects the achievements of their "hidden figure." Conclude the lesson by discussing some of the questions on the next page.

NOTE

Pies from Nowhere: How Georgia Gilmore Sustained the Montgomery Bus Boycott **by Dee Romito tells the story of one woman's efforts to support the civil rights movement. Gilmore was a midwife and a cook at the National Lunch Company in Montgomery, who organized a group (the Club from Nowhere) to prepare food for civil rights protesters. Gilmore helped raise significant funds for the Montgomery Improvement Association and lost her job as a result of her involvement and her testimony in the Court case that put an end to segregated buses.**

Discussion Questions

1. What surprised you about *how* the Montgomery bus boycott came about and who planned it? How is this different from what you've learned in the past?

2. What did the bus boycott teach you about the power of nonviolence?

3. How would you respond to someone who says that fighting violence with violence is the best strategy?

4. What's an example of an injustice faced by Black people or other groups today that is being challenged using nonviolence?

5. What did you learn from studying the boycott that you can apply to your own life?

6. What did you learn about leadership from the women featured in this lesson? Did they inspire you to want to become a leader in some way in the future? Explain.

Lesson Extensions

5

- Deepen students' understanding of the civil rights movement through historical fiction or nonfiction. Read aloud and discuss one of the titles below, or set up student-led discussion groups around one or more books.
  - *Down to the Last Out: The Journal of Biddy Owens* by Walter Dean Myers
  - *Glory Be* by Augusta Scattergood
  - *The Lions of Little Rock* by Kristin Levine
  - *Through My Eyes* by Ruby Bridges
  - *The Watsons Go to Birmingham—1963* by Christopher Paul Curtis
- Assign students to research a current-day civil rights issue and how activists are using nonviolent methods to make change. Have students read two to three articles on their topic using the youth current events sources below. Guide students to write a brief report or create a multimedia presentation on what they learned.

  Dogo News

  KidsPost

  Newsela

  Smithsonian Tween Tribune

  Teaching Kids News

  Time for Kids

ADDITIONAL RESOURCES

- DPLA. Primary Source Sets: Voting Rights Act of 1965, https://bit.ly/3x2NHXB; Fannie Lou Hamer and the Civil Rights Movement in Rural Mississippi, https://bit.ly/3w14WZn.
- Flocabulary. "Martin Luther King Jr. & Leadership." Video, 5:02. https://www.flocabulary.com/unit/martin-luther-king-jr.
- Fresberg Cartoon. "March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom." August 28, 2018. YouTube video, 2:00. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=AV8CvZ3LoUA.
- Learning for Justice. " Lesson: Bus Boycott—Historical Documents Highlight Integration Milestone." https://bit.ly/3gg5GD9.
- Scholastic. "Junior Scholastic Teaching Kits: The Civil Rights Movement." https://bit.ly/2T7fOpO.
- Scholastic. "Lesson Plan: The Journey to Civil Rights." https://bit.ly/352QNyJ.

HANDOUT

Six Values of Nonviolence

Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. believed that the best way to conquer racism and injustice is through nonviolent actions and thoughts.

Dr. King taught that nonviolence:

1. Is a brave choice and an active way to fight back against unfairness and hate
2. Leads to friendship and understanding
3. Aims to defeat unfair actions, not make enemies of people
4. Sometimes involves getting hurt, which can help people become stronger inside
5. Is a choice to act with love—to not let violence into your heart by hating others
6. Recognizes that change may take time, but justice will eventually win

"Nonviolence is a powerful and just weapon, which cuts without wounding... It is a sword that heals."

DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.

Text adapted from The Martin Luther King, Jr. Center for Nonviolent Social Change, "Six Principles of Non-Violence," https://stanford.io/3vNwmlu.

PHOTO SOURCE: Albertin, Walter. *Martin Luther King, Jr., three-quarter-length portrait, standing, facing front, at a press conference*. World Telegram & Sun, June 8, 1964. United States Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division, Washington, D.C. Accessed June 1, 2021. https://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/99404325.

HANDOUT

Women of the Montgomery Bus Boycott

Jo Ann Robinson Thought about a Boycott for Years

Jo Ann Robinson was born in 1912 in Georgia. She was at the top of her high school class and was the first in her family to graduate from college. Later, Robinson became an English professor at Alabama State University.

In 1956, she was arrested for helping to lead the Montgomery bus boycott. A police officer threw a rock at her window and acid was poured on her car.

For Robinson, the idea of a bus boycott started seven years earlier. In 1949 she boarded a bus just before Christmas. There were only two people on the bus, and she sat in the white section. The driver stopped the bus, stood over her and yelled at her to get up. Robinson left the bus in tears.

That year, she joined the Women's Political Council (WPC), a group of over 200 Black women working for equal rights. The next year, in 1950, she became its president. The WPC recorded stories of all the horrible ways Black people were treated on city buses. They wrote letters to the bus company demanding change. They asked for more polite drivers, more stops in Black neighborhoods and more seats for Black riders. They said that Black people should be allowed to pay and enter at the front of the bus. They met with the mayor and city leaders, but the segregation continued.

Robinson and the WPC grew angry as they watched more and more Black people get mistreated and arrested on buses. They talked about the idea of a boycott. When Rosa Parks was arrested for refusing to give up her seat on December 1, 1955, the WPC decided the time was right. The next day they sprang into action, handing out 35,000 flyers announcing the boycott. For 382 days, the women of WPC organized and led the boycott. Their strength and courage helped put an end to segregation on public buses once and for all.

Jo Ann Robinson was arrested in 1956 for helping to lead the Montgomery Bus Boycott.

PHOTO SOURCE: Encyclopedia of Alabama, "Jo Ann Robinson," http://encyclopediaofalabama.org/article/h-3124.

HANDOUT

Women of the Montgomery Bus Boycott

Rosa Parks was Well Prepared

People like to say that Rosa Parks was "tired" the day she rode that bus, and that her action was unplanned. "I was not tired physically," wrote Rosa. "No, the only tired I was, was tired of giving in." It's true that Parks didn't set out to be arrested that day in 1955, but she had been preparing for it for many years.

Twelve years earlier, in 1943, she ran into the same bus driver who had her arrested in 1955. His name was James Blake. Parks paid for her ticket at the front of the bus. Blake demanded she get off and re-enter through the back door. She refused, and Blake threw her off the bus. Parks didn't want any more "run-ins with that mean one." It was pure chance that she got on his bus again years later.

That same year, in 1943, Parks joined the NAACP, a group fighting for equal rights for African Americans. She traveled across Alabama, helping to investigate crimes against Black people. She signed up to vote and fought for voting rights for all Black people. Parks also formed a youth council so young people could get involved. When she rode that bus in 1955, Parks had been working for civil rights for many years.

The summer before her arrest, Parks attended a special school in Tennessee called Highlander Folk School. The school taught African Americans about their rights and trained them to make change. In the summer of 1955, Parks studied how to fight segregation. One of her teachers was Septima Clark. Clark was born in 1898, and was the daughter of a laundrywoman and a former enslaved man. She grew up to become a teacher and a leader in the struggle for equality. Many called her the "Mother of the Movement" for civil rights.

Rosa Parks (right) attended the Highlander Folk School with Septima Clark, "Mother of the Movement." She studied how to fight segregation in the summer of 1955, a few months before her arrest.

On December 1, 1955, Parks was well-prepared when James Blake told her to give up her seat. Today, we remember her as a hero, but many people didn't feel this way at the time. Weeks after her arrest, Parks was fired from her job at a department store. Her husband quit his job after being told he could not talk about his wife at work. They received hostile phone calls and even death threats. In 1957, Parks, her husband and her mother left Montgomery and moved north to Detroit to find work and safety.

PHOTO SOURCE: Berman, Ida. *Mrs. Septima Clark and Rosa Parks at Highlander Folk School, Monteagle, Tennessee, 1955*. United States Library of Congress Prints and Photographs Division, Washington, D.C. Accessed June 1, 2021. https://www.loc.gov/exhibitions/rosa-parks-in-her-own-words/about-this-exhibition/the-bus-boycott/highlander-folk-school.

HANDOUT

Women of the Montgomery Bus Boycott

History Kept Claudette Colvin Stuck to Her Seat

Rosa Parks was not the first to be arrested for demanding her rights on a bus. Here are some of the many others in Montgomery, Alabama, who also fought back:

- In 1944, Viola White was beaten and arrested for refusing to give up her seat. A police officer got even by kidnapping and attacking her 16-year-old daughter.
- In 1946, Geneva Johnson was arrested for "talking back" to a driver and not having the correct change.
- In 1951, Epsie Worthy got off a bus after the driver demanded an extra fare. He followed her and began hitting her. When she fought back, she was arrested and fined $52.

And then there was Claudette Colvin. Colvin was a 15-year-old high school student in 1955. Her class had been studying about Black leaders like Harriet Tubman and Sojourner Truth. Colvin was interested in history and politics. She dreamed of becoming president of the United States. Colvin was also a member of the NAACP Youth Council, a group of young people who fought for equal rights. She was close to Rosa Parks, one of the group's leaders.

Girl, 15, Guilty In Bus Seat Case

MONTGOMERY, Ala. — A 15-year-old girl who refused to move to the rear of a city bus was found guilty in Juvenile court here last Friday on charges of assault and battery, disorderly conduct and with violating a city ordinance which makes it "unlawful for any passenger to refuse or fail to take those seats assigned to the race which it belongs."

The girl, Claudette Colvin, was declared a ward of the state and placed on probation pending good behavior

bus with a Negro woman when a group of white persons boarded the bus. Cleere said he asked both the girl and the woman to move to the rear. He said the woman

Put On Indefinite Probation

Negro Girl Found Guilty Of Segregation Violation

A 15-year-old Negro girl was ... looking high school student, ac- ... contest the court's ruling with the

On March 2, 1955, Colvin was riding the bus home from school. This was nine months before Rosa Parks' famous bus ride. The driver told her to stand to make room for a white woman. Colvin and her neighbor, a pregnant woman, refused. Colvin said she'd paid her fare and it was her right to sit. "History kept me stuck to my seat," she remembers. "I felt the hand of Harriet Tubman pushing down on one shoulder and Sojourner Truth pushing down on the other."

Two police officers handcuffed Colvin and dragged her off the bus. Her schoolbooks went flying. She was frightened and cried in her jail cell. Later, she joined other women who had been treated unfairly on buses. They fought in court for their rights. On November 13, 1956, the decision came down—the Supreme Court agreed that segregation on public buses went against the Constitution. The women had won their case!

Colvin made history, but the newspapers didn't celebrate her accomplishment. Many in her community called her a trouble-maker. After high school, it was hard for her to find and keep a job. So in 1958 she moved to New York City. She had two sons and became a nurse's aide. Colvin was left out of many history books, but she is proud of her actions to end segregation: "I do feel like what I did was a spark and it caught on."

PHOTO SOURCE: Mitchell, Jerry. "History: Before Rosa Parks, there was Claudette Colvin." *Clarion Ledger*, March 5, 2017. https://bit.ly/3igd4Ry.

HANDOUT

Women of the Montgomery Bus Boycott

The Women Who Took the Bus to Court

The year 1955 was a time of struggle on the buses of Montgomery, Alabama. Most people know about the arrest of Rosa Parks that December. Fewer people know about the brave actions of these women:

CLAUDETTE COLVIN
Arrested March 2

Colvin was 15 when a bus driver demanded she give up her seat for a white woman. She refused, saying it was her constitutional right to sit. Colvin studied Black history in school and belonged to a civil rights group. She was not going to give in. Two police officers handcuffed her and dragged her off to jail.

AURELIA BROWDER
Arrested April 19

Browder was also arrested for not giving up her seat to a white person. She was strong and proud and stood her ground. She was a seamstress and owned several businesses. Browder had 21 children and still found time to finish high school and college in her 30s. She was not going to let a bus driver push her around.

MARY LOUISE SMITH
Arrested October 21

Smith was an 18-year-old maid earning $2 a day. Her boss owed her $11. She took the bus to her boss's house to collect the money, but no one was home. Smith was upset as she got back on the bus. That's when the driver asked her to give up her seat. She wouldn't move. She said, "I got the privilege to sit here like anybody else." The driver called the police.

SUSIE MCDONALD
Arrested October 21

McDonald was a widow in her 70s who walked with a cane and wore flowered dresses. Her neighbors called her Miss Sue. She was light-skinned with blue eyes and straight tan hair. Sometimes people thought she was white, but McDonald always corrected them. She made sure the bus driver knew she was a proud Black woman the day she refused to give up her seat for a white person.

ALABAMA JOURNAL

Latest Edition

BUS SEGREGATION IS KNOCKED OUT

U.N. Observer Group Enters Gaza Sector

Hungary Issue Given Priority On U.N. Agenda

Question Mark Put On Car Pool Case

Supreme Court Rejects Plea Of City, State

In 1956 the courts ruled that "Segregation of black and white passengers on motor buses... violates the Constitution and laws of the United States."

These four brave women joined together as part of a Court case on February 1, 1956. The case was called *Browder v. Gayle* (W.A. Gayle was the mayor of Montgomery). They claimed that segregation on buses went against the U.S Constitution. They demanded their civil rights. For many months, the lawyers argued and the judges studied the facts. On November 13, 1956, the U.S. Supreme Court made its decision—segregation on buses was against the Constitution and had to stop. A few weeks later the 382–day Montgomery bus boycott ended. Colvin, Browder, Smith and McDonald are four of the unsung heroes of this struggle.

PHOTO SOURCES: Mitchell, Jerry. "History: Before Rosa Parks, there was Claudette Colvin." *Clarion Ledger*, March 5, 2017. https://bit.ly/3igd4Ry; The Aurelia E. S. Browder Foundation, https://bit.ly/3vMC1YR.

Middle School | Grades 6–8

NONVIOLENCE IN ACTION: FREEDOM SUMMER

ESSENTIAL QUESTIONS

How is nonviolence an active form of resistance? How was Freedom Summer a nonviolent response to Black voter suppression?

OBJECTIVES

Students will:

- Define nonviolence and discuss its relationship to direct action.
- Examine how Black people were disenfranchised in the 1960s South.
- Investigate the ways in which Freedom Summer addressed voter suppression.
- Interpret a speech by Fannie Lou Hamer to deepen their understanding of Freedom Summer and the role of this important civil rights leader.

LEARNING STANDARDS

See the standards alignment chart to learn how this lesson supports New Jersey State Standards.

TIME NEEDED

120 minutes

MATERIALS

- AV equipment for playing audio/video clips and projecting a handout
- *Nonviolence Quotes* handout (one for teacher reference)
- *By th' Way, What's That Big Word?* handout (one to project or one per pair)
- *Fannie Lou Hamer's Testimony at the 1964 Democratic National Convention* handout (one per student)
- Chart paper and markers

VOCABULARY

civil rights
Civil Rights Act of 1964
civil rights movement
direct action
discrimination
Freedom Summer
literacy test
nonviolence
poll tax
segregation
voter suppression
Voting Rights Act of 1965

Procedures

PART 1
What is Nonviolence? (30 mins.)

1 Write each quote from the handout *Nonviolence Quotes* on top of a sheet of chart paper and display around the room. Have students read the quotes and stand next to the one with which they most agree. Direct the small groups that have formed around each quote to discuss the questions below. Select a recorder for each group and have them note responses to the second question on the chart paper.

- ➔ Why did you choose this quote over the others?
- ➔ What does nonviolence mean to you?

2 Gather the class and post the charts so that all students can see them. Discuss why certain quotes were chosen by many students or not chosen at all. Examine the ways in which their definitions of nonviolence are similar and different. Highlight the assumptions or beliefs behind their ideas. Introduce the following definition.

nonviolence: *a set of values that rejects violence and encourages change through peaceful actions.*

3 Comment that nonviolence is often misunderstood as passive or not standing up for oneself. Play the brief video clip, *Martin Luther King, Jr.—On Love and Nonviolence* [2:03]: https://bit.ly/3AdyYvd. Discuss the following questions:

- ➔ What does Dr. King say is the difference between nonresistance and nonviolent resistance?
- ➔ Do you agree with Dr. King that nonviolence and love are powerful rather than weak? Why?
- ➔ What does Dr. King mean by direct action? What are examples of direct action? *(Generate and post a list, e.g. marches, speeches, boycotts, sit-ins, letters, petitions, strikes, etc.)*
- ➔ How does nonviolent direct action cause discomfort and change?

NOTE

Make sure students understand that nonviolence is about action rather than inaction; that it is not the absence of violence, but the presence of justice through strategic confrontation. Acknowledge that some groups have advocated more aggressive responses to racist violence and that the civil rights movement is not monolithic.

- → Do you think these ideas apply to civil rights challenges in today's world? Explain.
- → Have your ideas about nonviolence changed as a result of this discussion? If so, how?

PART 2
Freedom Summer (90 mins.)

4 Project or distribute the handout *By th' Way, What's That Big Word?* As a class or in pairs, have students interpret the political cartoon using some of the following prompts:

- → What is a literacy test?
- → What voters were required to take a literacy test in 1962? Why?
- → Why is it ironic or absurd that the man at the table doesn't know "that big word"?
- → Why is the sheriff stationed there?

5 Explain that in the 1960s, voter suppression tactics were used to prevent Black Americans from voting. These included difficult literacy tests and poll taxes that were unaffordable to most Black people. Ask students what percentage of Americans they think are registered to vote today (it was 64 percent in 2016[15]). Share and discuss the following statistics from 1960s Mississippi:

- → In the 1950s and 1960s, about 45 percent of the population of Mississippi was Black.[16]
- → In 1964, only 5.1 percent of Black adults in Mississippi were registered to vote—the lowest of any U.S. state.[17]
- → During this time, some counties in Mississippi had hardly any Black voters. For example, in 1961:[18]

  Pike County: 200 of 8,000 Black adults were registered

  Amite County: 1 of 5,000 was registered

  Walthall County: 0 of 3,000 were registered

15 DeSilver, Drew. "In past elections, U.S. trailed most developed countries in voter turnout." Pew Research Center, November 3, 2020. https://pewrsr.ch/3A7FfZH.

16 Williams, Juan. *Eyes on the Prize: America's Civil Rights Years, 1954–1965*. New York: Viking Penguin Inc., 1987. https://bit.ly/3x8dPAK.

17 Augustin, Stanley. "Freedom Summer: How a Voter Registration Drive Incited Murder in Mississippi." Lawyers' Committee for Civil Rights Under Law. August 4, 2016. https://bit.ly/3qMoMWB.

18 Civil Rights Movement Archive. "The Struggle for Voting Rights in Mississippi: The Early Years." https://www.crmvet.org/info/voter_ms.pdf.

6 Tell students that *Freedom Summer* (1964) was a nonviolent response to voter suppression in the South, specifically in Mississippi. Allow students to share any prior knowledge they have about this topic. Then show the PBS Learning Media video, *What was "Freedom Summer"* [3:18]: https://bit.ly/3x5crik. Have students fold a sheet of paper in half and label the columns "3 Goals of Freedom Summer" and "3 Responses by Authorities." Direct them to take notes in each column as they watch. After, discuss some of the following questions:

- What challenges do you think volunteers faced as they tried to persuade Black people to register to vote?
- What types of learning happened at Freedom Schools that couldn't happen at regular schools?
- Why was the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party formed when there was already a Democratic Party?
- How did the goals and methods of Freedom Summer reflect nonviolent direct action?
- If you were a parent in 1964, would you have allowed your child to be a Freedom Summer volunteer? Explain.

7 Introduce students to Fannie Lou Hamer—an organizer and leader of Freedom Summer—using the following background information.

Fannie Lou Hamer (1917–1977) was born into a Mississippi sharecropper family. The youngest of 20 children, Hamer began working in the cotton fields at age six and continued into adulthood. In 1962, she attended a meeting of the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) that changed her life. Hamer traveled with a group to her county courthouse to register to vote and, as a result, was fired from her job, put off the plantation where she lived, and threatened with violence. Hamer became a full-time community organizer with SNCC and organized voter registration drives across the state. In 1964, she helped form the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party and made a bid for Congress in order to oppose the all-white Democratic Party in her state. She also formed organizations to fight poverty and support business opportunities and family services for Black women. Hamer was harassed, beaten and arrested for her activism, but never backed down.

8 Divide students into pairs or small groups and distribute the handout *Fannie Lou Hamer's Testimony at the 1964 Democratic National Convention*. Direct students to read the excerpts from the speech, which describe her experiences with voter registration in Mississippi. Have students annotate the text using the following instructions:

OPTIONAL

Have students listen to Hamer's full speech (https://bit.ly/3w30Ejq, 8:18) or view the American Experience PBS clip (https://bit.ly/3w6jw11, 3:40) on President Lyndon B. Johnson's impromptu press conference to divert attention from Hamer's address.

NOTE

Hamer's testimony describes violence she experienced at the hands of police officers. Her account may be upsetting to some students. Allow students to opt out if you decide to share it.

- ➔ Circle examples of nonviolence in action.
- ➔ Underline examples of violence used to stop Hamer and other activists.
- ➔ Draw a box around concepts that are unclear. Note questions in the margins.

9 Discuss students' reactions to the text and any questions they noted. Highlight the ways in which direct, nonviolent action was used by activists to achieve voting rights. Share some of the following results of Freedom Summer:

- ➔ A total of 17,000 Black people tried to register in Mississippi and 1,200 were successful.
- ➔ More than 40 Freedom Schools were created and attended by 3,000 students.
- ➔ The Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party was founded, though the party's delegates were refused seats at the 1964 Democratic National Convention.
- ➔ The modest gains resulting from Freedom Summer and extreme racist violence deepened divisions between advocates of nonviolence and more militant factions.
- ➔ Organizing throughout this period contributed to the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 , banning racial discrimination and segregation, and the Voting Rights Act of 1965, prohibiting racial discrimination in voting.

10 Post the following phrase: "I am sick and tired of being sick and tired." Read aloud the longer version below and tell students that these famous words were spoken by Fannie Lou Hamer just a few months after Freedom Summer. Assign students to write a brief essay or journal entry in which they discuss what activists like Hamer—and ordinary Black Americans—were sick and tired of and how they used direct action to change things. Students should draw on evidence from lesson sources in their reflection.

"And you can always hear this long sob story: 'You know it takes time.' For three hundred years, we've given them time. And I've been tired so long, now I am sick and tired of being sick and tired, and we want a change."

—Fannie Lou Hamer, December 20, 1964, Williams Institutional CME Church, Harlem, New York City

11 As time allows, have students share their written reflections. Conclude the lesson by discussing some of the questions on the next page.

Discussion Questions

1. How would you describe the purpose of nonviolent direct action? What mistaken beliefs exist about nonviolence?

2. What forms did voter suppression take in the 1960s? What forms does it take today?

3. How have Black activists, like Fannie Lou Hamer, fought for voting rights both then and now?

4. What did Hamer mean when she talked about wanting to become a "first-class citizen"?

5. What will you remember about Hamer's story? How did she inspire or affect you?

6. Hamer questioned whether the U.S. was "the land of the free and home of the brave." Do you think the U.S. lives up to this ideal today? Explain.

Lesson Extensions

- Show students the Jim Crow Museum video, *The 1964 murders of Schwerner, Chaney, and Goodman* (https://bit.ly/3x8xalv, 8:40), or the documentary *Neshoba*: *The Price of Freedom* (https://bit.ly/3duwq28, 87:00). Have them do a written reflection on the bravery of volunteers who put their lives on the line during Freedom Summer, or the role of white allies in the civil rights movement.
- Screen the film *Ghosts of Mississippi* or have students read *The Assassination of Medgar Evers* (see Additional Resources) in order to learn more about this important civil rights leader. Have students research one way in which he employed nonviolent direct action, such as organizing voter registration drives, boycotts of discriminatory businesses and demonstrations against anti-Black crimes and other injustices.
- Have students read one or more of the "Three Letters From a Freedom School Teacher" (https://www.crmvet.org/info/chude-fs.htm), written by Chude Pam Parker Allen about her experiences in Mississippi in 1964. Discuss how volunteers prepared for voter registration drives and other civil rights actions.
- Invite a guest speaker from a local organization, such as the League of Women Voters, to talk about the importance of voting and current-day challenges to voting. Have students visit websites such as Voto Latino (https://votolatino.org) and Rock the Vote (https://www.rockthevote.org) to learn more about issues that impact traditionally marginalized communities and how young people can get involved.

ADDITIONAL RESOURCES

- Brown University Choices Program. "Freedom Now: The Civil Rights Movement in Mississippi." http://www.choices.edu/resources/detail.php?id=203.
- PBS American Experience. *Freedom Summer*. https://to.pbs.org/3x8dzlo.
- Ribeiro, Myra. *The Assassination of Medgar Evers*. New York: Rosen Publishing Group, 2001.
- University of Southern Mississippi Library. "Civil Rights in Mississippi Digital Archive." http://digilib.usm.edu/crmda.php.
- Weatherford, Carole Boston. *Voice of Freedom: Fannie Lou Hamer*: The Spirit of the Civil Rights Movement. Somerville, MA: Candlewick Press, 2018.
- Zinn Education Project. "Freedom Summer 1964." https://www.zinnedproject.org/materials/freedom-summer-1964.

HANDOUT

Nonviolence Quotes

"There are many causes I would die for. There is not a single cause I would kill for."

MAHATMA GANDHI

"Through violence, you may murder the hater, but you do not murder the hate."

DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.

"There is no such thing as defeat in nonviolence."

CESAR CHAVEZ

"Nonviolence is a good policy when the conditions permit."

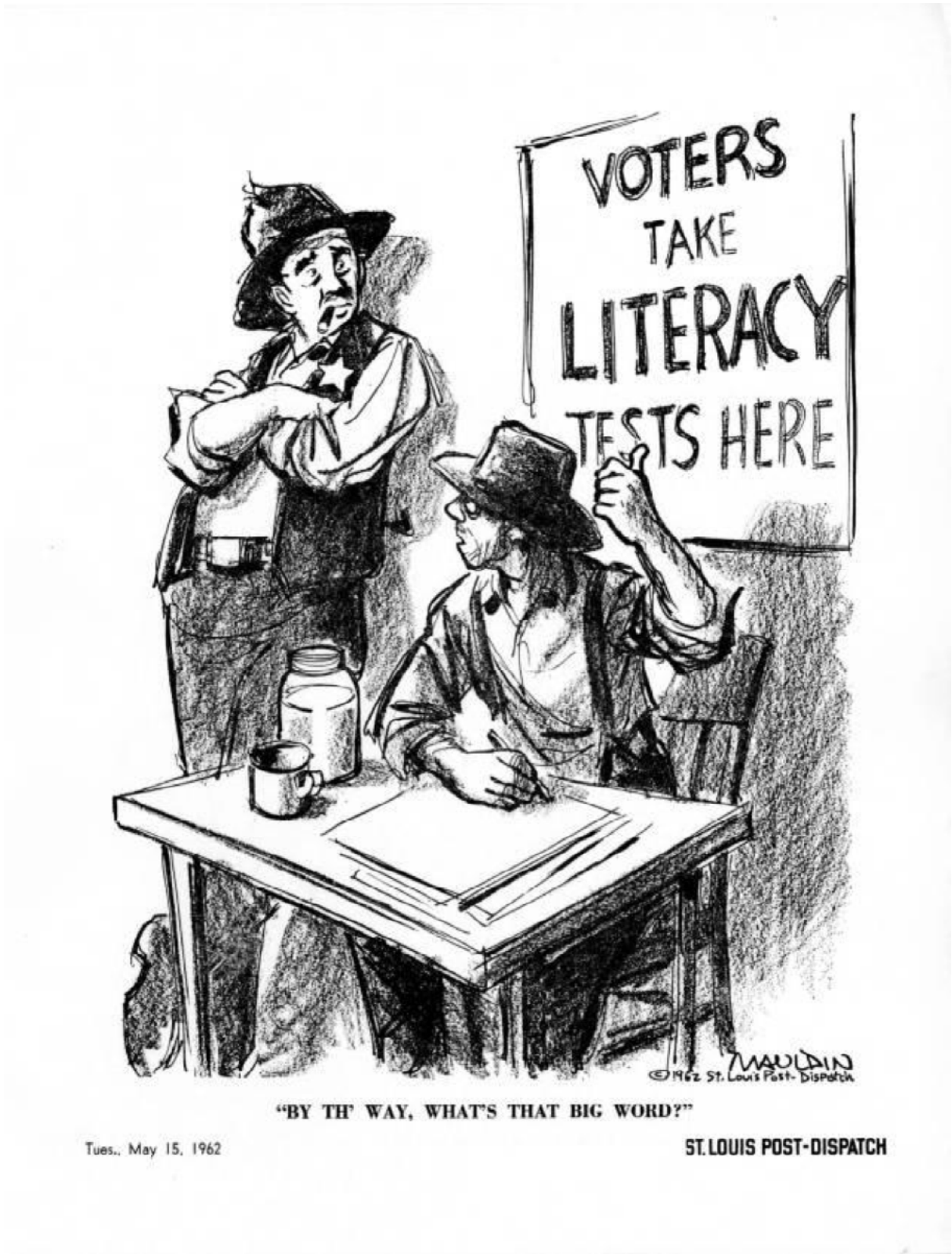
NELSON MANDELA

"Nonviolence is fine as long as it works."

MALCOLM X

HANDOUT

By th’ Way, What's That Big Word?



"BY TH' WAY, WHAT'S THAT BIG WORD?"

Tues., May 15, 1962

ST. LOUIS POST-DISPATCH

SOURCE: Mauldin, Bill. *By th' Way, What's That Big Word?* Mechanical print. St. Louis: The St. Louis Post-Dispatch, May 15, 1962. Courtesy of the State Historical Society of Missouri, Columbia Research Center. https://digital.shsmo.org/digital/collection/ec/id/8548.

HANDOUT

Fannie Lou Hamer's Testimony at the 1964 Democratic National Convention

EXCERPTS FROM THE SPEECH

In 1964, Fannie Lou Hamer ran for Congress as part of the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party (MFDP). The MFDP was created to register more Black voters and challenge the all-white Democratic Party in that state.

On August 22, 1964, Hamer spoke at the Democratic National Convention in Atlantic City, New Jersey. She told the nation about her experiences trying to register to vote. The MFDP's attempt to win a seat at the convention failed, but support for Hamer and the party poured in from across the country.

Four years later, the MFDP succeeded and Hamer became Mississippi's first Black woman delegate (representative) at a convention for a national party.

...It was the 31st of August in 1962 that eighteen of us traveled twenty-six miles to the county courthouse in Indianola to try to register to become first-class citizens. We was met in Indianola by policemen, Highway Patrolmen, and they only allowed two of us in to take the literacy test at the time. After we had taken this test and started back to Ruleville, we was held up by the City Police and the State Highway Patrolmen and carried back to Indianola where the bus driver was charged that day with driving a bus the wrong color.

After we paid the fine among us, we continued on to Ruleville, and Reverend Jeff Sunny carried me four miles in the rural area where I had worked as a timekeeper and sharecropper for eighteen years. I was met there by my children, who told me the plantation owner was angry because I had gone down—tried to register.

...The plantation owner came and said, "Fannie Lou...if you don't go down and withdraw your registration, you will have to leave...because we're not ready for that in Mississippi." And I addressed him and told him and said, "I didn't try to register for you. I tried to register for myself." I had to leave that same night.

On the 10th of September 1962, sixteen bullets was fired into the home of Mr. and Mrs. Robert Tucker for me. That same night two girls were shot in Ruleville, Mississippi. Also, Mr. Joe McDonald's house was shot in.

And June the 9th, 1963, I had attended a voter registration workshop; was returning back to Mississippi... When we got to Winona, Mississippi...[some] people got off [the bus] to use the washroom... [and] the restaurant...The...people that had gone in to use the restaurant was ordered out...

FANNIE LOU HAMER'S TESTIMONY AT THE 1964 DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL CONVENTION (CONTINUED)

...As soon as I was seated on the bus, I saw when they began to get the five people in a highway patrolman's car. I stepped off of the bus to see what was happening and somebody screamed..."Get that one there." And when I went to get in the car, when the man told me I was under arrest, he kicked me.

I was carried to the county jail and put in the booking room. They left some of the people in the booking room and began to place us in cells...After I was placed in the cell...I could hear the sounds of licks and horrible screams...They [were beating a woman], I don't know how long. And after a while she began to pray, and asked God to have mercy on those people.

And it wasn't too long before three white men came to my cell. One of these men was a State Highway Patrolman and...he said, "We're going to make you wish you was dead."

I was carried out of that cell into another cell where they had two Negro prisoners. The State Highway Patrolmen ordered the first Negro to take the blackjack. The first Negro prisoner ordered me, by orders from the State Highway Patrolman, for me to lay down on a bunk bed on my face. And I laid on my face, the first Negro began to beat me. And I was beat by the first Negro until he was exhausted. I was holding my hands behind me at that time on my left side, because I suffered from polio when I was six years old.

After the first Negro had beat until he was exhausted, the State Highway Patrolman ordered the second Negro to take the blackjack. The second Negro began to beat and I began to work my feet, and the State Highway Patrolman ordered the first Negro who had beat to sit on my feet—to keep me from working my feet. I began to scream and one white man got up and began to beat me in my head and tell me to hush...

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

The text on this 1964 flier reads:

Fannie Lou Hamer is the candidate of the FREEDOM DEMOCRATIC PARTY for Congress in the Second District. Mrs. Hamer used to work on a plantation near Ruleville. She was fired when she tried to register to vote. And later she was beaten by the police in Winona because she was helping other Negroes to register.

Fannie Lou Hamer and the Freedom Democratic Party want JOBS, JUSTICE, and EDUCATION for all people in Mississippi – black and white. And they want all people to have the right to vote.

That is why the FREEDOM VOTE is being held. Anyone who is 21 or older can vote in the FREEDOM VOTE. You do not have to be registered at the Courthouse to vote in the FREEDOM VOTE. You can vote at churches, barbershops, cafes – at any FREEDOM VOTE polling place.

VOTE for FANNIE LOU HAMER in the FREEDOM VOTE on OCTOBER 30-31 and NOVEMBER 1-2.

SOURCES:

Speech: American Rhetoric Online Speech Bank. "Fannie Lou Hamer, Testimony Before the Credentials Committee, DN Convention, delivered 22 August 1964." https://bit.ly/3w30Ejq.

Photo: Leffler, Warren K. "Fannie Lou Hamer, Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party delegate, at the Democratic National Convention, Atlantic City, New Jersey, August 1964." Washington, D.C.: Library of Congress, Prints & Photographs Division. https://www.loc.gov/pictures/item/2003688126.

Flier: Smithsonian National Museum of American History, Behring Center. Freedom Summer Primary Source Documents. https://americanhistory.si.edu/freedom-summer/primary-sources.

High School | Grades 9–12

NONVIOLENCE TO BLACK POWER: THE EVOLUTION OF THE MOVEMENT

ESSENTIAL QUESTIONS

How did the civil rights movement evolve as Black activists strived for racial justice?

OBJECTIVES

Students will:

- Discuss the discipline of nonviolence and the ways in which it was enacted during the civil rights era.
- Examine primary source documents related to the 1963 March on Washington.
- Investigate the contributions of women and LGBTQ people to the movement, and their marginalization.
- Analyze a speech by Black Panther Party leader Bobby Seale.
- Compare and contrast the nonviolent Black Power and Black Lives Matters movements.

LEARNING STANDARDS

See the standards alignment chart to learn how this lesson supports New Jersey State Standards.

TIME NEEDED

150–180 minutes

MATERIALS

- AV equipment for playing video clips and projecting handouts
- *Original Draft of John Lewis' Speech at the March on Washington* handout (one per student)
- *March on Washington Program handout* (one to project or one per student)
- *Excerpt of Letter from Pauli Murray to A. Philip Randolph* handout (one to project)
- *Bayard Rustin Quotes* handout (one to project)
- *Malcolm X on the March on Washington* handout (one to project)
- *Excerpt of Bobby Seale Speech* handout (one per student)

VOCABULARY

March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom

Black Lives Matter

Black Panther Party for Self Defense

Black Power movement

civil rights

Civil Rights Act of 1964

civil rights movement

discrimination

marginalized

Nation of Islam

nonviolence

police brutality

segregated

tokenism

Procedures

PART 1
Concepts of Nonviolence (30 mins.)

1 Note that the civil rights movement of the 1950s and 1960s is known for its discipline of nonviolence. Ask students what words or ideas come to mind when they hear the term *nonviolence*. List their associations on the board.

2 Comment that the 1963 March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom is one of the most well-known nonviolent actions of the movement. Tell students they will analyze a major speech given at the march and consider how the ideas in the address align with their concepts of nonviolence (as noted in step 1). Distribute the handout *Original Draft of John Lewis' Speech to the March on Washington*. Explain that John Lewis was the national chairman of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) and the youngest speaker at the march (age 23). In pairs or small groups, have students read and annotate the speech using the following guidelines:

- ➔ Circle language that confirms or contradicts your concept of nonviolence.
- ➔ Underline evidence of the goals or demands of the march.
- ➔ In the margins, note language that stands out and questions that come up as you read.

3 Gather the class. Discuss how Lewis' speech matched or differed from students' concepts of nonviolence. Answer any questions students noted as part of their annotation, and discuss the following questions as well.

- ➔ Did this speech change your concept of nonviolence? If so, how?
- ➔ What were some of the key goals or demands of the march, as expressed by Lewis? *[Demands included an end to job discrimination and economic inequality; freedom from segregation and police brutality; voting rights; and the passage of a strong civil rights act.]*

NOTE

Share the definition of nonviolence in the unit glossary. Emphasize that nonviolence is about action rather than inaction; that it is not the absence of violence, but the presence of justice through strategic confrontation.

- Why did Lewis assert, "we have nothing to be proud of"?
- What were Lewis' criticisms of the U.S. government?
- How did Lewis propose to "burn Jim Crow to the ground — nonviolently"?
- Why do you think some of the other movement leaders pressured Lewis to revise his speech? Do you think it was the right decision to make these changes? Explain.

PART 2
Marginalized within the Movement (60–90 mins.)

4 Project or distribute the handout *March on Washington Program*. In pairs or small groups, have students closely examine the program and note what stands out to them about the agenda. As a class, discuss their observations. If no one has pointed it out, highlight that the major speakers were all men; with the exception of a "Tribute to Negro Women," the only role played by women was that of entertainer.

5 Highlight that there was only one woman on the organizing committee for the march (Anna Hedgeman) and, during the march itself, women leaders were separated from the men and routed down a different street. Project the handout *Excerpt of Letter from Pauli Murray to A. Philip Randolph*, which voices the concerns of women leaders about their marginalization. Read together as a class and discuss the ways in which sexism was deeply rooted in a movement that promoted the values of equality.

6 In small groups, have students view or read one of the resources below and then choose one woman from the list of leaders who they want to learn more about. Have them consult two to three sources on their subject and create a brief panel highlighting the leader's achievements during the civil rights movement. Assemble the panels into a display on women of the movement. Provide students time to read their classmates' work and take in the significant contributions of women who were integral to the movement but largely unacknowledged at the time.

RESOURCES	WOMEN LEADERS
VIDEO [9:18] *The microphone at the March on Washington was dominated by men*, CBS News, https://cbsn.ws/3hYU88l	Ella Baker
	Daisy Bates
	Myrlie Evers
ARTICLE *Where Were the Women in the March on Washington?* by Jennifer Scanlon, The New Republic, https://bit.ly/3hA01tz	Anna Hedgeman
	Dorothy Height
	Coretta Scott King
ARTICLE *Tribute to Women: Spotlighting the 6 Women Honored During the First March on Washington by Ama Kwarteng*, Cosmopolitan, https://bit.ly/3hvBZQq	Evelyn Lowery
	Pauli Murray
	Diane Nash
	Rosa Parks
	Gloria Richardson

7 Share with students that there is another important figure who helped to shape the March on Washington and was marginalized in the civil rights movement. Write the name Bayard Rustin on the board and allow students to share any prior knowledge they have about him. Play the following clip from the documentary *Out of the Past*: https://bit.ly/3hVx-a1O [2:01]. After, discuss some of the following questions.

- ➔ What were the special talents that Bayard Rustin brought to the civil rights movement?
- ➔ What does it mean that Rustin was a "man without a history"?
- ➔ What do you think it was like to be gay in the 1950s and 1960s? What was it like to be both gay and Black?
- ➔ How did the treatment of Rustin conflict with the ideals of the movement? How do you think civil rights leaders reconciled this at the time?
- ➔ How do you interpret Rustin's observation, "Gays are beginning to realize what Blacks learned long ago"? How did the Black civil rights movement inform the growing LGBTQ rights movement?
- ➔ Why do we remember King and not Rustin? Who decides how history is told?

NOTE

A number of states, including New Jersey, now require that LGBTQ history be included in school curriculum. See Garden State Equality's LGBTQ-Inclusive Lessons & Resources (https://www.teach.lgbt/lesson-plans) for examples of lessons that can be incorporated into middle and high school classes.

NOTE

It is important to avoid oversimplification of both Malcom X's and Dr. King's views. While Malcolm X criticized the nonviolent approach as being too slow-moving and accommodating, he later adopted a more conciliatory tone and expressed an interest in working closely with the nonviolent movement. Likewise, King evolved over the years, expressing more radical positions on issues including economic justice and the Vietnam War that put him at odds with moderate civil rights leaders.

NOTE

Seale's speech can be listened to in its entirety [37:39] on the American Archive of Public Broadcasting website at https://bit.ly/3wwFLxa.

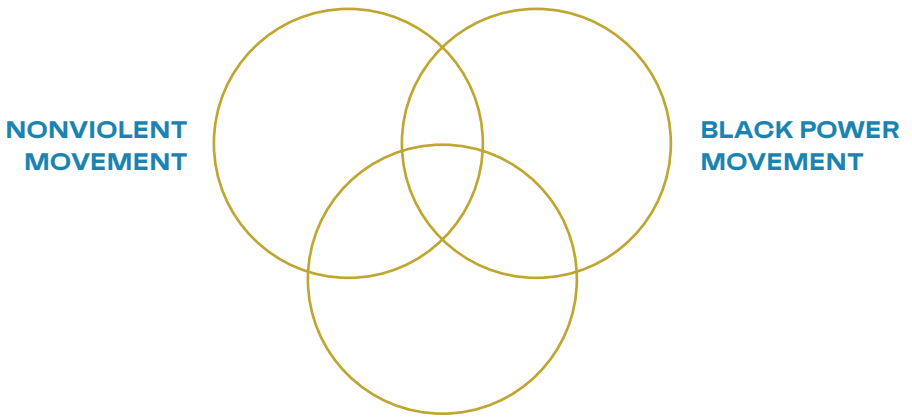
8 Project or distribute the handout *Bayard Rustin Quotes*. Have students choose one that resonates for them and engage in reflective writing in response to one or more of the following prompts:

- → What does the quote mean to you?
- → How does the quote reflect the ideals of the civil rights movement or the spirit of nonviolence?
- → How does the quote relate to the experiences of women, LGBTQ people or others who were marginalized in the movement?

PART 3
From Nonviolence to Self-Defense (60 mins.)

9 Comment that the nonviolent approach—as demonstrated in the March on Washington and advocated by leaders like Martin Luther King, Jr., John Lewis, Bayard Rustin and Dorothy Height—was not embraced by all Black activists. Project the handout *Malcolm X on the March on Washington*. Read aloud the quote and allow students to react. Discuss why Malcom X and others were dismissive of efforts such as the March on Washington and impatient with the tactics of nonviolence.

10 Ask students what they know about the Black Panther Party, formed in 1966 as part of the broader Black Power movement. Allow them to share their prior knowledge. Distribute the handout *Excerpt of Bobby Seale Speech* and review the introduction together. In small groups, assign students to read the excerpt and compare it to the John Lewis speech read in step 2. Have them create a Venn diagram as pictured below (leaving the third circle blank for now). Direct students to note similarities and differences regarding the goals, methods and tone of the nonviolent and Black Power movements.



11 Gather the class and discuss their observations of the ways in which the nonviolent and Black Power movements intersected and diverged. Tell students they will compare these 1960s civil rights movements with a current-day movement for racial justice. Have students label the bottom circle of their diagram "Black Lives Matter Movement." Show the NY Times Op-Doc *Black Panthers Revisited*: https://bit.ly/3i4yeAy [7:28]. As students view the video, have them take notes in the bottom circle based on the clip and their knowledge of current issues.

12 Highlight the common desire for justice that unites the various movements students have investigated, even if some of the circumstances and methods are different. Underscore as well that all of these movements were vilified and accused of being radical or dangerous, when in reality they were acting to protect their communities from police brutality and other forms of violence and discrimination. Conclude the lesson by discussing some of the questions on the next page.

NOTE

If students need additional background to complete the Venn diagram, have them read the "About" section of the Black Lives Matter website (https://blacklivesmatter.com) and/or consult news articles about the movement.

Discussion Questions

1. Why did the civil rights movement evolve to encompass both nonviolent and more militant approaches? Do you think the existence of multiple approaches was effective or counterproductive? Explain.

2. How were certain groups marginalized in movements that promoted equality? Do you see such blind spots or bias in any of today's rights movements?

3. How has the Black Power movement, including groups such as the Black Panthers, been portrayed in mainstream media? What did you learn about this movement that is different from these portrayals?

4. The nonviolent movement of Dr. King has often been idealized as the "right way" to protest. How is this view limiting or damaging to current anti-discrimination movements?

5. How do the Black Lives Matter and racial justice movements of today reflect the goals and methods of earlier civil rights movements? How are they different?

6. What criticisms are used to discredit current racial justice movements? Do you agree with these criticisms? Explain.

7. What are examples of ways in which your life is better today as a result of past civil rights efforts? What are examples of inequities that still exist?

Lesson Extensions

5

- "The Big Six" is a term used to describe the leaders of six prominent civil rights organizations who organized the 1963 March on Washington and other major civil rights events. However, there was a seventh organization that has been largely unacknowledged due to sexism—the National Council of Negro Women (NCNW) under the leadership of Dorothy Height. Assign students to conduct research and design a poster highlighting the work of Height and the NCNW during the civil rights era.
- Screen *Judas and the Black Messiah* (see Additional Resources) or another film about the Black Panther Party. Discuss ways in which portrayals of the Black Power movement have been historically distorted, for example by focusing on violence over social programs and self-determination.
- Work with students to organize learning events or community actions to promote racial justice. Visit Black Lives Matter at School (https://www.blacklivesmatteratschool.com) to learn about their annual week of action to advance understanding of structural racism, intersectional Black identities, Black history and anti-racist movements.
- Assign students to conduct research and create a multimedia presentation about a rights movement that was influenced by the Black civil rights movement, for example the feminist, LGBTQ, American Indian and Mexican American rights movements. Have students note the ways in which each movement was informed by the struggle for Black civil rights and the ways in which they innovated to achieve equality in new ways.

ADDITIONAL RESOURCES

- Black History in Two Minutes (or So). https://blackhistory-intwominutes.com.
- Civil Rights Movement Archive. https://www.crm-vet.org.
- Digital Public Library of America. *Primary Source Sets* (*Voting Rights Act of 1965, Fannie Lou Hamer, The Black Power Movement*). https://dp.la/primary-source-sets.
- Kates, Nancy and Singer, Bennett, dirs. *Brother Outsider: The Life of Bayard Rustin*. 2003, The American Documentary. http://rustin.org.
- King, Shaka, dir. *Judas and the Black Messiah*. 2021, BRON Studios, Bron Creative, MACRO.
- Lewis, John and Aydin, Andrew. *March Trilogy*. Marietta, GA: Top Shelf Productions, 2016.
- PBS Learning Media. *The Civil Rights Collection*. https://ny.pbslearningmedia.org/collection/civil.

HANDOUT

Original Draft of John Lewis' Speech at the March on Washington

We march today for jobs and freedom, but we have nothing to be proud of, for hundreds and thousands of our brothers are not here. They have no money for their transportation, for they are receiving starvation wages, or no wages at all.

In good conscience, we cannot support wholeheartedly the administration's civil rights bill, for it is too little and too late. There's not one thing in the bill that will protect our people from police brutality.

This bill will not protect young children and old women from police dogs and fire hoses, for engaging in peaceful demonstrations: This bill will not protect the citizens in Danville, Virginia, who must live in constant fear in a police state. This bill will not protect the hundreds of people who have been arrested on trumped up charges. What about the three young men in Americus, Georgia, who face the death penalty for engaging in peaceful protest?[19]

The voting section of this bill will not help thousands of black citizens who want to vote. It will not help the citizens of Mississippi, of Alabama and Georgia, who are qualified to vote but lack a sixth-grade education. "ONE MAN, ONE VOTE" is the African cry. It is ours, too. It must be ours.

People have been forced to leave their homes because they dared to exercise their right to register to vote. What is there in this bill to ensure the equality of a maid who earns $5 a week in the home of a family whose income is $100,000 a year?

For the first time in one hundred years this nation is being awakened to the fact that segregation is evil and that it must be destroyed in all forms. Your presence today proves that you have been aroused to the point of action.

We are now involved in a serious revolution. This nation is still a place of cheap political leaders who build their careers on immoral compromises and ally themselves with open forms of political, economic and social exploitation. What political leader here can stand up and say, "My party is the party of principles?" The party of Kennedy is also the party of Eastland. The party of Javits is also the party of Goldwater.[20] Where is *our* party?

In some parts of the South we work in the fields from sunup to sundown for $12 a week. In Albany, Georgia, nine of our leaders have been indicted not by Dixiecrats but by the federal government for peaceful protest. But what did the federal government do when Albany's deputy sheriff beat attorney C. B. King and left him half dead? What did the federal government do when local police officials kicked and assaulted the pregnant wife of Slater King,[21] and she lost her baby?

It seems to me that the Albany indictment is part of a conspiracy on the part of the federal government and local politicians in the interest of expediency.

I want to know, which side is the federal government on?

19 In February 1963, Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) fieldworkers Ralph Allen, Don Harris and John Perdew led voter registration and community organizing drives as part of the Southwest Georgia Project. Local authorities arrested them on charges of insurrection, which carried the death penalty in Georgia. The charges were dropped when they were released from prison the following November.

20 In 1963, James Oliver Eastland was a Democratic Senator from Mississippi who was known for his resistance to racial integration; Jacob Javits was a Senator from New York who was known as a liberal Republican and supporter of civil rights efforts; and Barry Goldwater was a conservative Republican Senator from Arizona who supported some desegregation and civil rights efforts but opposed the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

21 C.B. King co-founded the Albany movement, a civil rights campaign in Georgia. In 1962, while attempting to meet with a jailed protester, a sheriff beat King with a walking cane, splitting open his scalp. Marion King, wife of civil rights activist Slater King, was knocked to the ground and beaten by police during the same incident while her children looked on. She later lost her unborn baby as a result of the attack.

HANDOUT

ORIGINAL DRAFT OF JOHN LEWIS' SPEECH AT THE MARCH ON WASHINGTON (CONTINUED)

The revolution is at hand, and we must free ourselves of the chains of political and economic slavery. The nonviolent revolution is saying, "We will not wait for the courts to act, for we have been waiting for hundreds of years. We will not wait for the President, the Justice Department, nor Congress, but we will take matters into our own hands and create a source of power, outside of any national structure, that could and would assure us a victory."

To those who have said, "Be patient and wait," we must say that "patience" is a dirty and nasty word. We cannot be patient, we do not want to be free gradually. We want our freedom, and we want it *now*. We cannot depend on any political party, for both the Democrats and the Republicans have betrayed the basic principles of the Declaration of Independence.

We all recognize the fact that if any radical social, political and economic changes are to take place in our society, the people, the masses, must bring them about. In the struggle, we must seek more than civil rights; we must work for the community of love, peace and true brotherhood. Our minds, souls and hearts cannot rest until freedom and justice exist for *all people*.

The revolution is a serious one. Mr. Kennedy is trying to take the revolution out of the streets and put it into the courts. Listen, Mr. Kennedy. Listen, Mr. Congressman. Listen, fellow citizens. The black masses are on the march for jobs and freedom, and we must say to the politicians that there won't be a "cooling-off" period.

All of us must get in the revolution. Get in and stay in the streets of every city, every village and every hamlet of this nation until true freedom comes, until the revolution is complete. In the Delta of Mississippi, in southwest Georgia, in Alabama, Harlem, Chicago, Detroit, Philadelphia and all over this nation, the black masses are on the march!

We won't stop now. All of the forces of Eastland, Bamett, Wallace and Thurmond[22] won't stop this revolution. The time will come when we will not confine our marching to Washington. We will march through the South, through the heart of Dixie, the way Sherman did. We shall pursue our own scorched earth policy and burn Jim Crow to the ground — nonviolently. We shall fragment the South into a thousand pieces and put them back together in the image of democracy. We will make the action of the past few months look petty. And I say to you, WAKE UP AMERICA!

NOTE

The Kennedy administration and several organizers of the march were uncomfortable with some of Lewis' original language and pressured him to change it. In order to preserve unity with movement leaders, Lewis agreed to remove or revise certain phrases. For example, he cut the phrase "cheap political leaders," his criticism of the civil rights bill as "too little and too late" and the provocative question, "I want to know, which side is the federal government on?" He also removed the Civil War references to marching through "the heart of Dixie" and pursuing a "scorched earth policy." See the revised speech that Lewis actually delivered on the Civil Rights Movement Archive website at https://www.crmvet.org/info/mowjl2.htm.

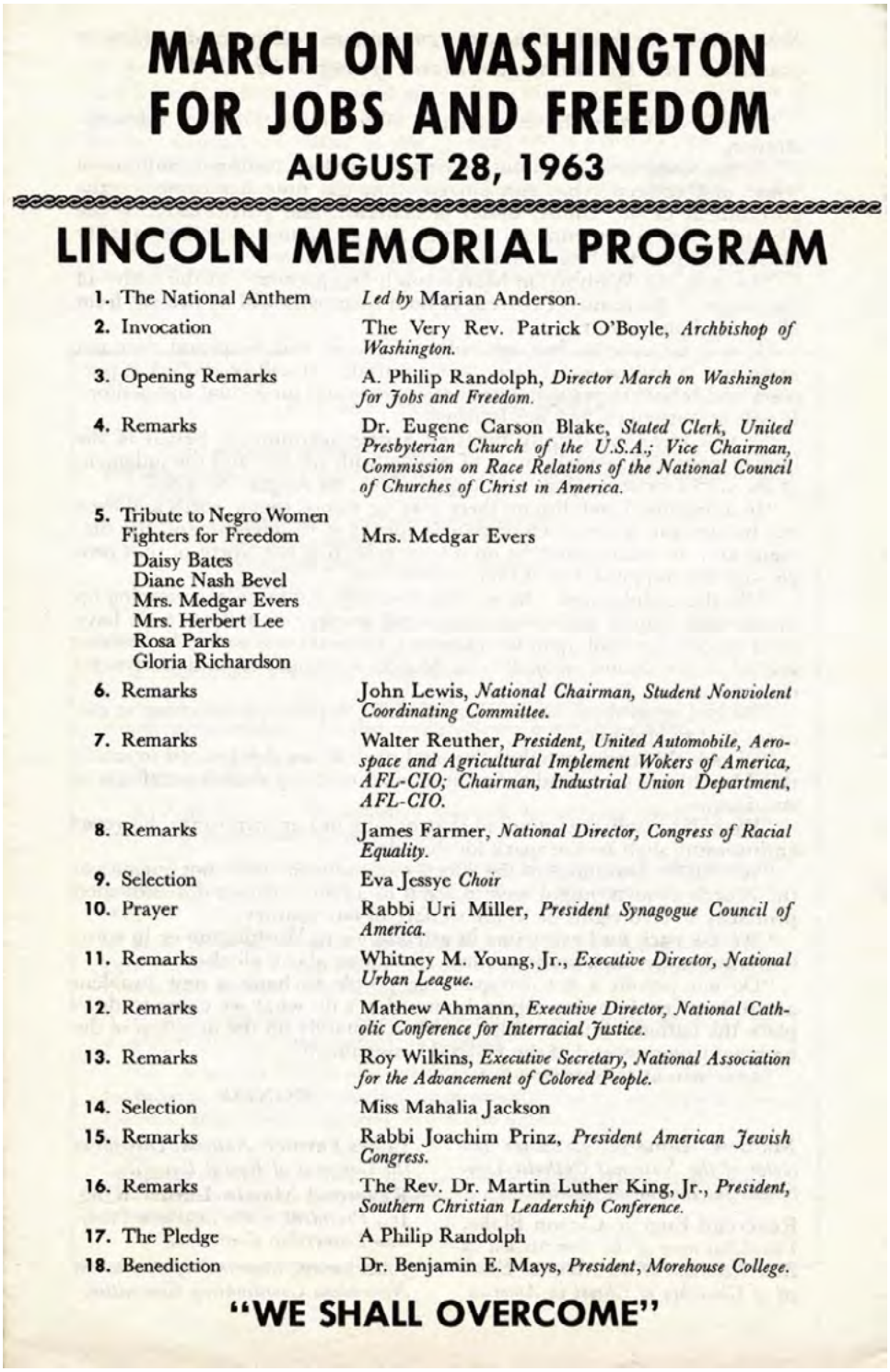
Text Sources: Lewis, John. *Walking With the Wind: A Memoir of the Movement*. New York: Simon & Schuster, 1998; Civil Rights Movement Archive. *The March on Washington, Original Draft of SNCC Chairman John Lewis' Speech to the March*. https://www.crmvet.org/info/mowjl.htm.

Photo Source: Adelman, Bob, photographer. *John Lewis, then leader of SNCC now congressman, rises to speak at the March on Washington Bob Adelman*. Washington D.C, 1963. Photograph. https://www.loc.gov/item/2013645770.

22 Eastland, Bamett, Wallace and Thurmond were conservative politicians who opposed desegregation efforts and promoted white supremacy.

HANDOUT

March on Washington Program



MARCH ON WASHINGTON FOR JOBS AND FREEDOM

AUGUST 28, 1963

LINCOLN MEMORIAL PROGRAM

1. The National Anthem	*Led by* Marian Anderson.
2. Invocation	The Very Rev. Patrick O'Boyle, *Archbishop of Washington.*
3. Opening Remarks	A. Philip Randolph, *Director March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom.*
4. Remarks	Dr. Eugene Carson Blake, *Stated Clerk, United Presbyterian Church of the U.S.A.; Vice Chairman, Commission on Race Relations of the National Council of Churches of Christ in America.*
5. Tribute to Negro Women Fighters for Freedom Daisy Bates Diane Nash Bevel Mrs. Medgar Evers Mrs. Herbert Lee Rosa Parks Gloria Richardson	Mrs. Medgar Evers
6. Remarks	John Lewis, *National Chairman, Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee.*
7. Remarks	Walter Reuther, *President, United Automobile, Aerospace and Agricultural Implement Wokers of America, AFL-CIO; Chairman, Industrial Union Department, AFL-CIO.*
8. Remarks	James Farmer, *National Director, Congress of Racial Equality.*
9. Selection	Eva Jessye *Choir*
10. Prayer	Rabbi Uri Miller, *President Synagogue Council of America.*
11. Remarks	Whitney M. Young, Jr., *Executive Director, National Urban League.*
12. Remarks	Mathew Ahmann, *Executive Director, National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice.*
13. Remarks	Roy Wilkins, *Executive Secretary, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.*
14. Selection	Miss Mahalia Jackson
15. Remarks	Rabbi Joachim Prinz, *President American Jewish Congress.*
16. Remarks	The Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., *President, Southern Christian Leadership Conference.*
17. The Pledge	A Philip Randolph
18. Benediction	Dr. Benjamin E. Mays, *President, Morehouse College.*

"WE SHALL OVERCOME"

Source: Bayard Rustin Papers. *March on Washington (Program)*. John F. Kennedy Library, National Archives and Records Administration, August 28, 1963. https://www.archives.gov/historical-docs/todays-doc/?dod-date=828.

HANDOUT

Excerpt of Letter from Pauli Murray to A. Philip Randolph

On August 21, 1963—one week before the march—lawyer and civil rights activist Pauli Murray wrote to A. Philip Randolph, the prominent labor and civil rights movement leader and head of the March on Washington.

"I have been increasingly perturbed over the blatant disparity between the major role which Negro women have played and are playing in the crucial grass-roots levels of our struggle and the minor role of leadership they have been assigned in the national policy-making decisions. It is indefensible to call a national march on Washington and send out a Call which contains the name of not a single woman leader."

"The time has come to say to you quite candidly, Mr. Randolph, that 'tokenism' is as offensive when applied to women as when applied to Negroes, and that I have not devoted the greater part of my adult life to the implementation of human rights to now condone any policy which is not inclusive."

Anna Pauline "Pauli" Murray (1910-1985) *was an American lawyer, civil rights activist and priest. In 1940, Murray and a friend were arrested for sitting in the whites-only section of a Virginia bus. This incident motivated her to become a civil rights lawyer and advocate for women's rights. Murray became the first African American to earn an S.J.D. (doctor of the science of law) from Yale University. She served on the Presidential Commission on the Status of Women from 1961–1963 and co-founded the National Organization for Women in 1966. In the 1970s, Murray joined the Episcopal Church and became the first African American woman to be ordained as an Episcopal priest. Throughout her adulthood, Murray struggled with sexual and gender identity issues, and a number of scholars have described her as transgender. In addition to her civil rights activism, Murray published two autobiographies and a book of poetry.*

IMAGE SOURCE: *Pauli Murray, head-and-shoulders portrait, facing right*. ca. 1940. Photograph. https://www.loc.gov/item/90714183.

HANDOUT

Bayard Rustin Quotes

1. We are all one—and if we don't know it, we will learn it the hard way."

2. "When an individual is protesting society's refusal to acknowledge his dignity as a human being, his very act of protest confers dignity on him."

3. "We need, in every community, a group of angelic troublemakers."

4. "If we desire a society without discrimination, then we must not discriminate against anyone in the process of building this society. If we desire a society that is democratic, then democracy must become a means as well as an end."

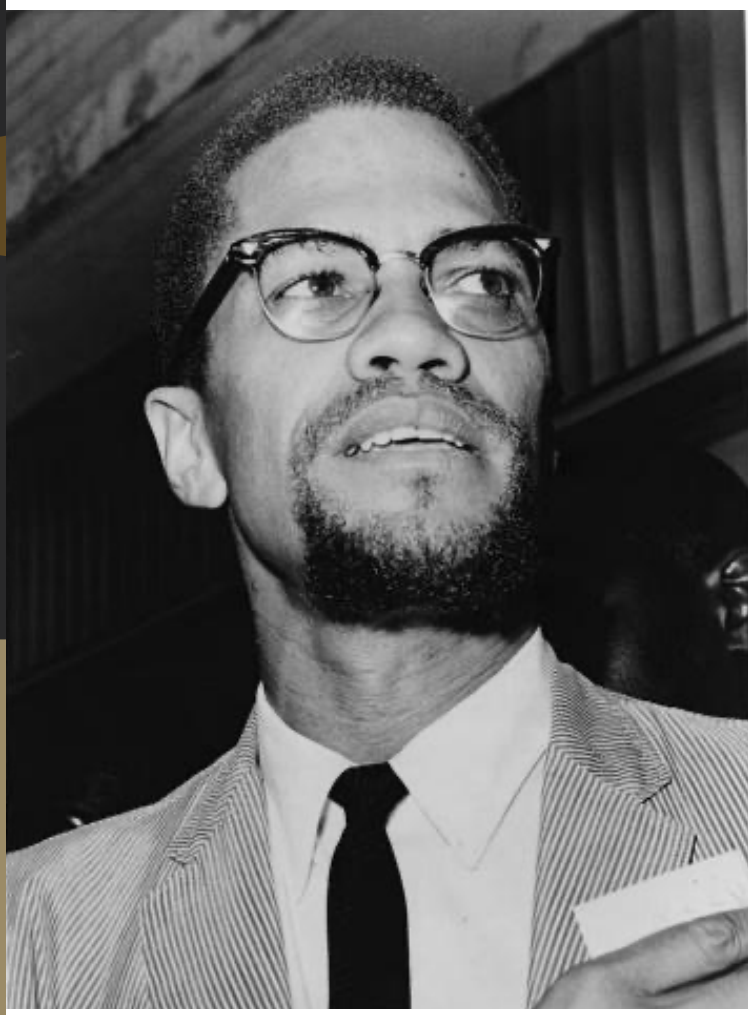
5. "There are three ways in which one can deal with an injustice. (a) One can accept it without protest. (b) One can seek to avoid it. (c) One can resist the injustice non-violently. To accept it is to perpetuate it."

6. "People will never fight for your freedom if you have not given evidence that you are prepared to fight for it yourself."

PHOTO SOURCE: Wolfson, Stanley, photographer. Bayard Rustin, half-length portrait, facing front, microphones in foreground / World Telegram & Sun photo by Stanley Wolfson. 1965. Photograph. https://www.loc.gov/item/97518846.

HANDOUT

Malcolm X on the March on Washington



Malcolm X (1925–1965) was a leader of the Black-separatist group Nation of Islam and a proponent of the Black Power movement. In his autobiography, he was critical of the 1963 March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom.

"...Yes, I was there. I observed that circus. Who ever heard of angry revolutionists all harmonizing 'We Shall Overcome...Suum Day...' while tripping and swaying along arm-in-arm with the very people they were supposed to be angrily revolting against? Who ever heard of angry revolutionists swinging their bare feet together with their oppressor in lily-pad park pools, with gospels and guitars and 'I Have A Dream' speeches?

And the black masses in America were—and still are—having a nightmare..."

QUOTE SOURCE: Malcolm X and Haley, Alex. *The Autobiography of Malcolm X*. New York: Ballantine Books, 1965.

PHOTO SOURCE: Hiller, Herman, photographer. *Malcolm X at Queens Court / World Telegram & Sun photo by Herman Hiller*. 1964. Photograph. https://www.loc.gov/item/97519439.

HANDOUT

Excerpt of Bobby Seale Speech

Kaleidoscope Theater Los Angeles
April 16, 1968

Bobby Seale (born 1936) was co-founder and chairman of the Black Panther Party for Self Defense and a leader of the Black Power movement. Seale and Huey P. Newton founded the party in Oakland, California, in 1966, and drafted a 10-point program ("What we want! What we believe") outlining the goals of the party.

In this 1968 speech, Seale spoke in defense of Newton, who had been jailed for the murder of Oakland police officer John Frey. In 1971, after two years in prison, the charges against Newton were dismissed.

"...Do I have to lay out to you again the platform of the program of the Black Panther Party? Do I have to get you to understand what we mean by black liberation in this country? Do we have to get you to understand the necessity of black people taking up arms to defend themselves against racist attack in this country? Well damn it if I have to do it, we're going to do it. Here we are, alright, come on now!

Listen, in our program it states, if you haven't read it you begin to read it you begin to understand it. This program is not outlined for the white community, it's outlined for the black community. Now, number one: we want power to determine our own destiny in our own black communities. Number two: we want full employment for our people. Number three: we want decent housing fit for shelter of human beings. Number four: we want an end to the robbery by the white men to the black people in the black communities. Number five: we want decent education that teaches us about the true nature of this racist decadent system and education that teaches us about our true history and our role in society in the world. Number six: we want all black men to be exempt from military service. Number seven: we want immediate end of police brutality and murder of black people. Number eight: we want all black men and women to be released from county jails, prisons, federal, state, what-have-you because they have not had fair trial, they have been tried by all white juries. Number nine: we want all people when brought to trial to be tried in a court by their peer groups or people from their black community as defined by your jive Constitution of the United States. Number ten: and in summarization, we want some land, we want some bread, we want some clothing, we want some education, we want some justice, and we want some damn peace.

If I say I want peace, then you say, 'You should put down your gun.' But hasn't it occurred to you by now after 400 years of being brutalized and murdered and lynched and maimed by guns and force on the part of racists and the racist power structure in this

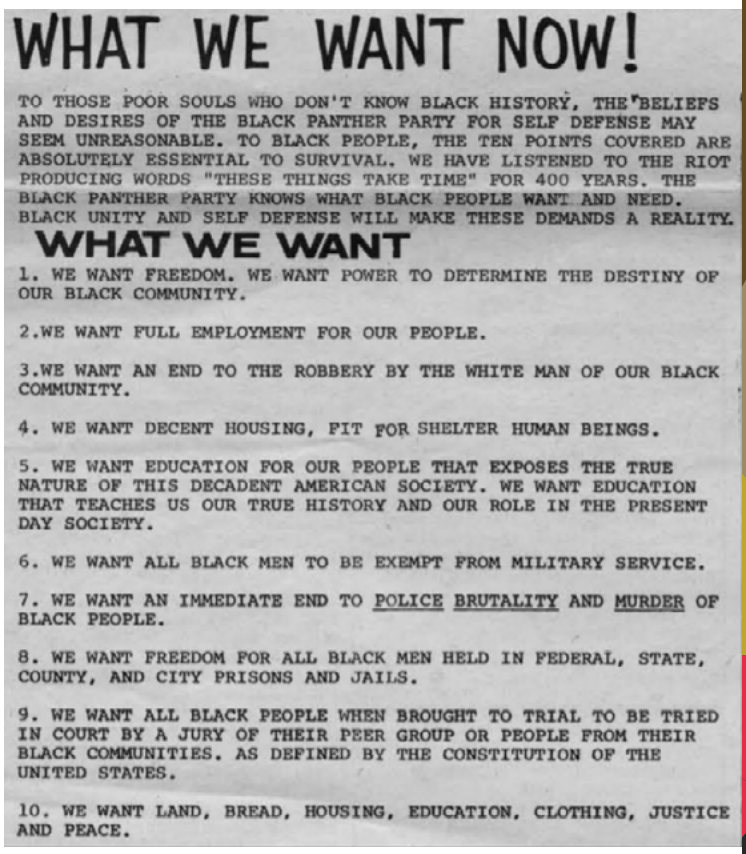
EXCERPT OF BOBBY SEALE SPEECH (CONTINUED)

country; it's damn near time we picked up the gun to try to begin to get some peace, to defend ourselves and our community from racist attacks by the pigs,[23] to defend ourselves against racist attacks by bird giant saw, Minuteman or Ku Klux Klansman or what have you?

Hasn't it occurred to you that it's damn near time we organize ourselves in some fashion to have some ability to begin to make racists and the racist power structure act in a desired manner as we define the functional definition of what power is? The ability to define the situation and we have been defining it, now we must organize our black communities to also make the power structure of racism act in a desired manner.

And what is that desired manner? Politics, what is politics? What is politics? You think politics start with a seat in the assembly, no it doesn't. It's related to it but it doesn't start there. Politics starts with a hungry stomach. Politics starts with a pig crushing us across our skull and murdering our people. Politics starts with the fact that we get a rotten education and we get brainwashed and fooled in a trick notion and trick knowledge and everything else that goes on in terms of the exploitation that goes down.

Politics starts with the fact that you want decent housing, fit for shelter of human beings, now this is where politics starts. And black people now understand with the Black Panther Party that we are going to relate to politics in a real fashion. We are not going for no more jive verbal sincerity—at all. Don't give me Robert F. Kennedy your jive shuck, 'I think it is necessary here, that we come forth.' I don't want to hear it…"



WHAT WE WANT NOW!

TO THOSE POOR SOULS WHO DON'T KNOW BLACK HISTORY, THE BELIEFS AND DESIRES OF THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY FOR SELF DEFENSE MAY SEEM UNREASONABLE. TO BLACK PEOPLE, THE TEN POINTS COVERED ARE ABSOLUTELY ESSENTIAL TO SURVIVAL. WE HAVE LISTENED TO THE RIOT PRODUCING WORDS "THESE THINGS TAKE TIME" FOR 400 YEARS. THE BLACK PANTHER PARTY KNOWS WHAT BLACK PEOPLE WANT AND NEED. BLACK UNITY AND SELF DEFENSE WILL MAKE THESE DEMANDS A REALITY.

WHAT WE WANT

1. WE WANT FREEDOM. WE WANT POWER TO DETERMINE THE DESTINY OF OUR BLACK COMMUNITY.

2.WE WANT FULL EMPLOYMENT FOR OUR PEOPLE.

3.WE WANT AN END TO THE ROBBERY BY THE WHITE MAN OF OUR BLACK COMMUNITY.

4. WE WANT DECENT HOUSING, FIT FOR SHELTER HUMAN BEINGS.

5. WE WANT EDUCATION FOR OUR PEOPLE THAT EXPOSES THE TRUE NATURE OF THIS DECADENT AMERICAN SOCIETY. WE WANT EDUCATION THAT TEACHES US OUR TRUE HISTORY AND OUR ROLE IN THE PRESENT DAY SOCIETY.

6. WE WANT ALL BLACK MEN TO BE EXEMPT FROM MILITARY SERVICE.

7. WE WANT AN IMMEDIATE END TO POLICE BRUTALITY AND MURDER OF BLACK PEOPLE.

8. WE WANT FREEDOM FOR ALL BLACK MEN HELD IN FEDERAL, STATE, COUNTY, AND CITY PRISONS AND JAILS.

9. WE WANT ALL BLACK PEOPLE WHEN BROUGHT TO TRIAL TO BE TRIED IN COURT BY A JURY OF THEIR PEER GROUP OR PEOPLE FROM THEIR BLACK COMMUNITIES. AS DEFINED BY THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES.

10. WE WANT LAND, BREAD, HOUSING, EDUCATION, CLOTHING, JUSTICE AND PEACE.

From an early edition of *The Black Panther Black Community News Service*, Vol. 1, No. 2, May 15, 1967. https://bit.ly/3wAkX88.

TEXT SOURCE: American Public Media. *Bobby Seale: Speech delivered at the Kaleidoscope Theater, Los Angeles, California—April 16, 1968*. https://bit.ly/2VDPYez.
IMAGE SOURCE: Michiganensian. *Bobby Seale at John Sinclair Freedom Rally at Crisler Arena in Ann Arbor, Michigan, December 10, 1971*. University of Michigan yearbook, 1972. https://bit.ly/3yQi1pk.

23 The Black Panthers deliberately and provocatively used the term "pig" to describe police officers of any race who were part of the oppression of Black people. They defined pig as "a low natured beast, that has no regard for law or justice, or the rights of the people, bites the hand that feeds it, usually masquerades as the victim of an unprovoked attack."

UNIT FIVE

GLOSSARY

Black Lives Matter (BLM) movement
founded in 2013 in response to Trayvon Martin's murder, this organization works to end white supremacy and build local power to reduce anti-Black violence

Black Panther Party for Self Defense
founded in 1966 by Huey P. Newton and Bobby Seale, this organization was part of the Black Power movement and promoted Black independence and armed self-defense against police brutality

Black Power movement
refers to a time of change in the 1960s and 1970s, during which Black Americans emphasized pride in their heritage, economic independence and the development of Black political and cultural groups

boycott
a type of protest in which people stop buying the products or services of a company

Browder v. Gayle
a 1956 court case that found segregation on Alabama buses to be unconstitutional (against the law)

Brown v. Board of Education
a court case in which the U.S. Supreme Court ruled (May 17, 1954) that school segregation and the doctrine of "separate but equal" was unconstitutional

civil rights
the freedoms guaranteed to citizens that protect them from discrimination and ensure equality for all people

Civil Rights Act of 1964
an important civil rights law that banned discrimination based on race, color, religion, sex and national origin, and outlawed segregation in public places

civil rights movement
the struggle to eliminate discrimination and secure equal rights for Black Americans that took place mainly in the 1950s and 1960s

desegregate
to end a policy of racial segregation or separation

direct action
organized acts to achieve a goal or result, such as strikes, boycotts and other forms of protest

discrimination
unfair treatment of a person or group based on prejudice

freedom riders
activists who rode buses through Southern states in 1961 to protest segregation on public buses and in bus stations

Freedom Summer
the 1964 Mississippi Summer Project aimed to register Black voters in Mississippi, educate community members through Freedom Schools and increase Black political representation

integrate/integration
make parts of something into a whole unit/bringing together diverse individuals or groups as equals in a society or organization

intersectionality
refers to the ways in which a person's various identities (such as race, class and gender) can combine to create different types of discrimination and privilege

Jim Crow
a fictional minstrel character created in the 1830s, depicting a clumsy and dim-witted enslaved man; "Jim Crow" was a common insult for Black people

Jim Crow laws
laws in place from 1876–1965 that segregated (separated) Black people from white people and limited their opportunity to vote, hold jobs, get an education and enjoy other freedoms

literacy test
from the late 1800s through the 1960s, these tests were used (mostly in the South) to make it difficult for Black people to register to vote

lynching
an unlawful public murder, often by hanging, carried out by an angry mob; white people used lynchings to control and terrorize Black people during the 1800s and 1900s, mostly in the South

March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom
a protest held in Washington, D.C. on August 28, 1963, and attended by more than 250,000 people, which called for civil rights for Black Americans

marginalized
pushed to the sidelines of society; treated as unimportant, powerless, dangerous or not normal

Montgomery bus boycott
a protest in Montgomery, Alabama, against segregation on public buses, lasting from December 5, 1955 to December 20, 1956

movement
an organized effort to achieve a goal or set of goals; a group of people with a shared purpose who create change together

NAACP
the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People; a civil rights group in the U.S. that began in 1909 to work for equality for Black Americans

Nation of Islam
a religious and political organization founded by Wallace Fard Muhammad in 1930 that focuses on Black nationalism

nonviolence
a set of values that rejects violence and encourages change through peaceful actions

police brutality
extreme, unjust or illegal use of force by the police against ordinary people, including verbal abuse, intimidation, beatings, murder and other forms of mistreatment

poll tax
a fee charged to all voters that was often used during the late 1800s through the 1960s to keep poor people and people of color from voting

segregate/segregation
separate/the act of keeping different racial groups separate from each other

sit-in
a type of protest in which people gather in a place and refuse to leave; during the 1950s and 1960s, sit-ins at lunch counters were held to protest segregation in restaurants and other spaces

SNCC
the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, formed in 1960; a group of youth leaders who took direct action to challenge segregation and fight for civil rights for Black Americans

tokenism
doing something to make it look like people are being treated fairly and to avoid criticism, such as a company hiring a person of color so that they do not appear racist

unconstitutional
going against the Constitution or laws of a country

voter suppression
methods used to control the results of an election by keeping certain groups of people from voting, such as literacy tests and poll taxes

Voting Rights Act of 1965
a law signed by President Lyndon B. Johnson on August 6, 1965, to protect the voting rights of African Americans

white supremacy
racist belief systems built around the ideas that white people/culture are superior, white people should be dominant over other people and white people should live separately in a whites-only society

Alignment of Lessons to NJ Student Learning Standards, Social Studies

UNIT 5

GRADES 3–5

PERFORMANCE EXPECTATIONS	LESSON: Youth Making Change for Civil Rights	LESSON: Nonviolence in Action: The Montgomery Bus Boycott
6.1.5.CivicsPI.1: Describe ways in which people benefit from and are challenged by working together, including through government, workplaces, voluntary organizations, and families.	✓	✓
6.1.5.CivicsPD.2: Explain how individuals can initiate and/or influence local, state, or national public policymaking (e.g., petitions, proposing laws, contacting elected officials).	✓	✓
6.1.5.Civic.DP.1: Using evidence, explain how the core civic virtues and democratic principles impact the decisions made at the local, state, and national government (e.g., fairness, equality, common good).		✓
6.1.5.CivicsDP.2: Compare and contrast responses of individuals and groups, past and present, to violations of fundamental rights (e.g., fairness, civil rights, human rights).	✓	✓
6.1.5.CivicsHR.2: Research and cite evidence for how the actions of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. and other historical civil rights leaders served as catalysts for social change, inspired social activism in subsequent generations.	✓	✓
6.1.5.CivicsHR.4: Identify actions that are unfair or discriminatory, such as bullying, and propose solutions to address such actions.	✓	✓
6.1.5.CivicsCM.1: Use a variety of sources to describe the characteristics exhibited by real and fictional people that contribute(d) to the well-being of their community and country.	✓	✓
6.1.5.HistoryUP.7: Describe why it is important to understand the perspectives of other cultures in an interconnected world.	✓	✓

GRADES 6–8

PERFORMANCE EXPECTATIONS

The New Jersey Student Learning Standards for Social Studies in grades 6-8 do not directly address the topics covered in this unit. However, standards documents are broad frameworks that are not all-encompassing, and the content in this unit likely aligns with topics that New Jersey teachers already include in their curriculum.

GRADES 9-12	LESSON	
PERFORMANCE EXPECTATIONS	Emmett Till's Legacy	Nonviolence to Black Power: The Evolution of the Movement
6.1.12.HistoryUP.2.b: Analyze the impact and contributions of African American leaders and institutions in the development and activities of Black communities in the North and South before and after the Civil War.	✓	✓
6.1.12.HistoryUP.2.c: Explain why American ideals put forth in the Constitution have been denied to different groups of people throughout time (i.e., due process, rule of law and individual rights).	✓	✓
6.1.12.CivicsDP.5.a: Analyze the effectiveness of governmental policies and of actions by groups and individuals to address discrimination against new immigrants, Native Americans, and African Americans.	✓	✓
6.1.12.HistoryCC.11.c: Explain why women, African Americans, Native Americans, Asian Americans, and other minority groups often expressed a strong sense of nationalism despite the discrimination they experienced in the military and workforce.		✓
6.1.12.HistoryCC.13.a: Compare and contrast the leadership and ideology of Martin Luther King, Jr. and Malcolm X during the civil rights movement, and evaluate their legacies.		✓
6.1.12.HistoryCC.13.c: Determine the impetus for the civil rights movement and generate an evidence-based argument that evaluates the federal actions taken to ensure civil rights for African Americans.	✓	✓
6.1.12.HistoryCA.14.b: Create an evidence-based argument that assesses the effectiveness of actions taken to address the causes of continuing racial tensions and violence.	✓	✓
6.1.12.HistorySE.14.a: Explore the various ways women, racial and ethnic minorities, the LGBTQ community, and individuals with disabilities have contributed to the American economy, politics and society.	✓	✓
6.1.12.HistorySE.14.b: Use a variety of sources from diverse perspectives to analyze the social, economic and political contributions of marginalized and underrepresented groups and/or individuals.	✓	✓