Name _____ Date _____

CHAPTER 29

Section 1

GUIDED READING *Taking on Segregation*

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

1875 **Civil Rights Act is passed.** →

1. What did the Civil Rights Act of 1875 do?

1883 **Supreme Court rules 1875 Civil Rights Act unconstitutional.**

1896 ***Plessy* v. *Ferguson*** →

2. How did the Court rule in *Plessy?*

1945 **World War II ends.** →

3. In what three ways did World War II help set the stage for the modern civil rights movement?
   a.
   b.
   c.

1946 ***Morgan* v. *Virginia* outlaws mandatory segregation on interstate buses.**

1950 ***Sweat* v. *Painter* declares that state law schools must admit black applicants.**

1954 ***Brown* v. *Board of Education*** →

4. Who argued *Brown*'s case?

5. What did the *Brown* ruling declare?

1955 **Supreme Court orders school desegregation.**

Emmett Till is murdered.

6. Why did the Court rule as it did in *Brown?*

Rosa Parks is arrested. →

7. What organization was formed to support Rosa Parks?

8. What did it do?

1956 **Supreme Court outlaws bus segregation.**

1957 **Little Rock faces school desegregation crisis.** →

9. How did President Eisenhower respond to the Little Rock crisis?

Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) is formed. →

10. Who was the president of SCLC?

11. What was SCLC's purpose?

1960 **Student Nonviolent Coordination Committee (SNCC) is formed.** →

12. What did SNCC accomplish, and how?

Name _____ Date _____

CHAPTER 29

Section 2

GUIDED READING *The Triumphs of a Crusade*

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

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

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

Name _____ Date _____

CHAPTER 29
Section 3

GUIDED READING *Challenges and Changes in the Movement*

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

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

a.	b.	c.	d.

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

Name _____ Date _____

CHAPTER 29
Section 1

SKILLBUILDER PRACTICE *Analyzing Motives*

Many stories about Rosa Parks refusing to give up her seat on a bus in Montgomery, Alabama, suggest that her main motive was fatigue—that she was simply tired after a long day. However, her motives were much more complex and had little to do with physical fatigue. For a more thorough analysis of Rosa Parks' motives, read the passage, then complete the cluster diagram. (See Skillbuilder Handbook, p. 1039.)

In her autobiography, *Rosa Parks: My Story* (1992), Parks describes her role as an activist in the civil rights movement. She recounts how African Americans rejoiced during the early 1950s as Supreme Court decisions came out in support of desegregation of schools, and how they hoped that ruling would affect other segregated areas of life.

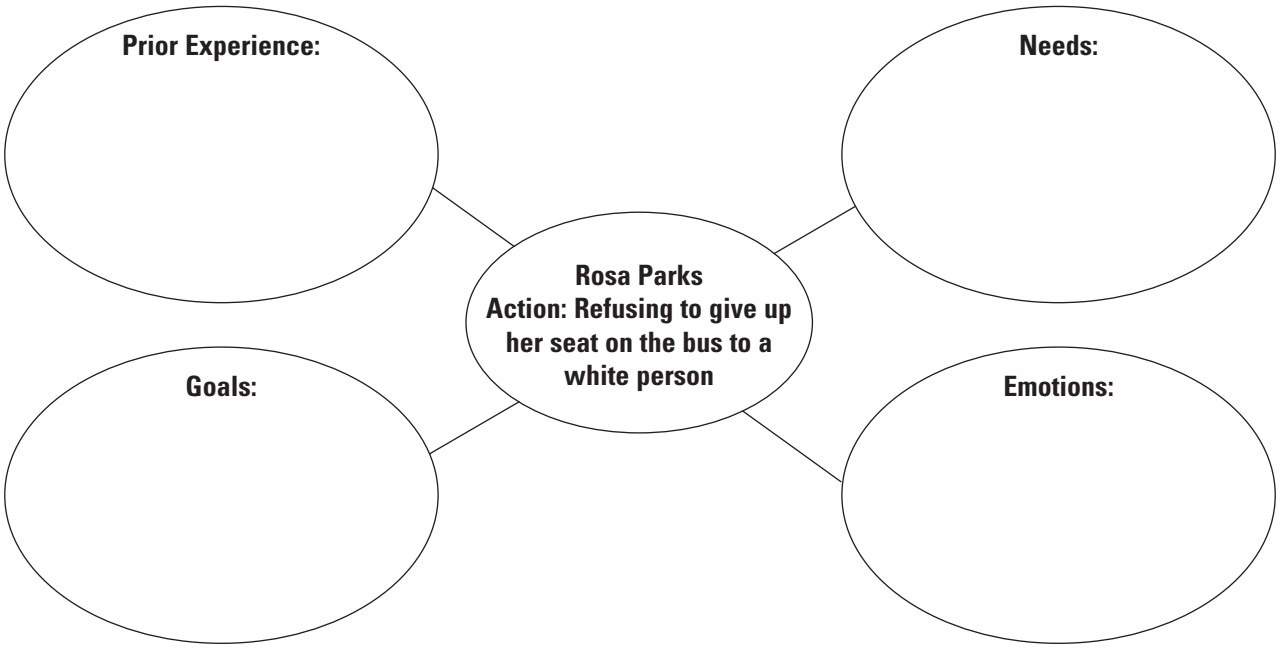
During the summer of 1955, Parks attended a workshop on desegregation at Highlander Folk School in Tennessee. There she "experienced people of different races and backgrounds meeting together in workshops and living together in peace and harmony."

Parks describes the anger of the black community over the Montgomery bus segregation laws. "[T]here were 50,000 African Americans in Montgomery. More of us rode the buses than Caucasians did, because more whites could afford cars. It was very humiliating to suffer the indignity of riding segregated buses twice a day, five days a week, to go downtown and work for white people."

The Montgomery NAACP wanted to sue the city over bus segregation, but needed a plaintiff in the case. Mrs. Parks remembers: "I knew they needed a plaintiff that was beyond reproach, because I was in on the discussions about the possible court case. But that was not why I refused to give up my bus seat to a white man on Thursday, December 1, 1955. I did not intend to get arrested."

Parks describes how she got on her regular bus after work and sat in the section designated for black people. At the next stop, several white people got on, and one was left standing. The driver told some black people to move so the white man could sit. Mrs. Parks explains, "Didn't anybody move. . . . Then he spoke a second time: 'Y'all better make it light on yourselves and let me have those seats.'

"I could not see how standing up was going to 'make it light' for me. The more we gave in and complied, the worse they treated us. . . . I was not tired physically . . . . I was not old, . . . I was forty-two. No, the only tired I was, was tired of giving in."



Name _____ Date _____

CHAPTER 29
Section 1

GEOGRAPHY APPLICATION: REGION

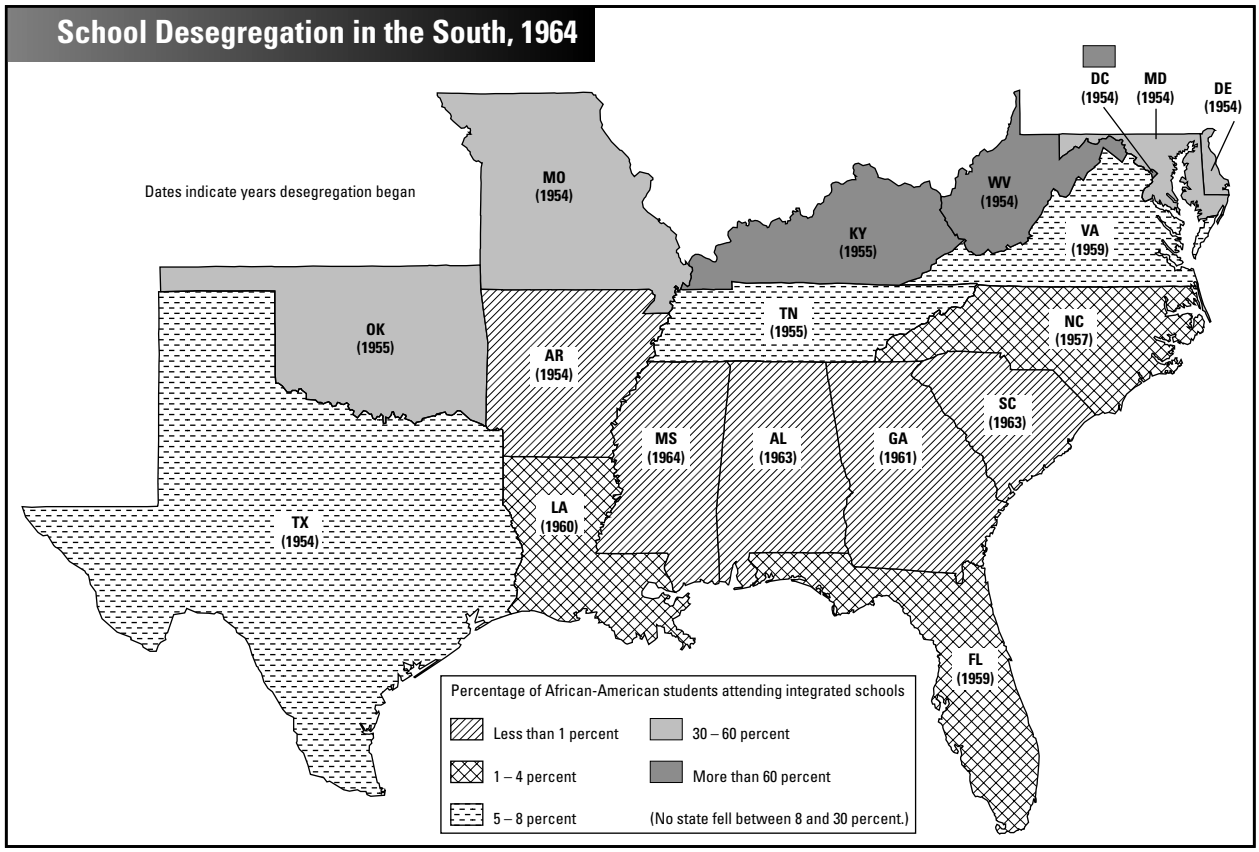
The Brown *Decision, Ten Years Later*

Directions: Read the paragraphs below and study the map carefully. Then answer the questions that follow.

In 1954, the Supreme Court ruled in *Brown* v. *Board of Education* that to separate public-school students "solely on the basis of race" was unconstitutional. The Court had established a "separate but equal" doctrine in 1896, in its *Plessy* v. *Ferguson* ruling, but the 1954 decision reversed that ruling. Now, the court declared that "'separate but equal' has no place" in public education.

The *Brown* decision, however, did not bring public-school segregation to an immediate end. The responsibility for implementing desegregation fell to local governments—to school officials who had to keep in mind state laws and regional customs. Thus, at times, the move toward statewide compliance took place slowly, almost one school at a time. When desegregation efforts lagged, the Supreme Court issued a second *Brown* decision in 1955, directing lower courts to admit African-American students to public schools "with all deliberate speed." Eventually, in some areas of the South, the federal government had to step in and enforce desegregation.

Still, even ten years after *Brown,* only about 380,000 African-American elementary and secondary students in 17 Southern states and the District of Columbia—less than 11 percent of the 3.5 million students in the region—were going to schools with white students. In Alabama only 94 out of 89,000 African-American students, and in Mississippi only 58 out of 22,000 African-American students, attended integrated schools.



Interpreting Text and Visuals

1. Which states in the region shown on the map began to integrate their public schools in the year of the *Brown* v. *Board of Education* decision? (Do not count the District of Columbia.) _____

2. In which states did school desegregation not begin until the 1960s? _____

3. What generalization can you make about the relationship between the time a state began the desegregation process and the degree of integration of its schools in 1964? _____

   Which state is a glaring exception to that trend? _____

4. In which states were 30 to 60 percent of African-American students in integrated schools? _____

5. In which states was the percentage of African-American students in integrated schools less than the region's average? _____

6. Which five of the states you listed for question 5 had percentages the farthest below the regional average? _____

   How might the economic and social history of those five states have led to a resistance to desegregation? _____

Name _____ Date _____

CHAPTER 29
Section 1

PRIMARY SOURCE

Crisis in Little Rock

When 16-year-old Elizabeth Eckford left for Little Rock's Central High School in September 1957, she did not know that the governor had ordered the National Guard to keep her and eight other black students from entering the all-white school. This is Eckford's account of her first day at an integrated school.

Before I left home Mother called us into the living room. She said we should have a word of prayer. Then I caught the bus and got off a block from the school. I saw a large crowd of people standing across the street from the soldiers guarding Central. As I walked on, the crowd suddenly got very quiet. Superintendent Blossom had told us to enter by the front door. I looked at all the people and thought, "Maybe I will be safer if I walk down the block to the front entrance behind the guards."

At the corner I tried to pass through the long line of guards around the school so as to enter the grounds behind them. One of the guards pointed across the street. So I pointed in the same direction and asked whether he meant for me to cross the street and walk down. He nodded "yes." So, I walked across the street conscious of the crowd that stood there, but they moved away from me.

For a moment all I could hear was the shuffling of their feet. Then someone shouted, "Here she comes, get ready!" I moved away from the crowd on the sidewalk and into the street. . . .

The crowd moved in closer and then began to follow me, calling me names. I still wasn't afraid. Just a little bit nervous. Then my knees started to shake all of a sudden and I wondered whether I could make it to the center entrance a block away. It was the longest block I ever walked in my whole life.

Even so, I still wasn't too scared because all the time I kept thinking that the guards would protect me.

When I got right in front of the school, I went up to a guard again. But this time he just looked straight ahead and didn't move to let me pass him. I didn't know what to do. Then I looked and saw that the path leading to the front entrance was a little further ahead. So I walked until I was right in front of the path to the front door.

I stood looking at the school—it looked so big! Just then the guards let some white students go through.

The crowd was quiet. I guess they were waiting to see what was going to happen. When I was able to steady my knees, I walked up to the guard who had let the white students in. He too didn't move. When I tried to squeeze past him, he raised his bayonet and then the other guards closed in and they raised their bayonets.

They glared at me with a mean look and I was very frightened and didn't know what to do. I turned around and the crowd came toward me.

They moved closer and closer. Somebody started yelling, "Lynch her! Lynch her!"

I tried to see a friendly face somewhere in the mob—someone who maybe would help. I looked into the face of an old woman and it seemed a kind face, but when I looked at her again, she spat on me.

They came closer, shouting, "No nigger bitch is going to get in our school. Get out of here!"

I turned back to the guards but their faces told me I wouldn't get help from them. Then I looked down the block and saw a bench at the bus stop. I thought, "If I can only get there I will be safe." I don't know why the bench seemed a safe place. . . .

When I finally got there, I don't think I could have gone another step. I sat down and the mob crowded up and began shouting all over again. Someone hollered, "Drag her over to this tree! Let's take care of the nigger." Just then a white man sat down beside me, put his arm around me and patted my shoulder. He raised my chin and said, "Don't let them see you cry."

Then, a white lady—she was very nice—she came over to me on the bench. She spoke to me but I don't remember now what she said. She put me on the bus and sat next to me. . . . [T]he next thing I remember I was standing in front of the School for the Blind, where Mother works.

from William Loren Katz, *Eyewitness: The Negro in American History* (New York: Pitman, 1967), 492–494.

Discussion Question

Why do you think Elizabeth Eckford encountered such a hostile reaction when she arrived at Central High School? Cite evidence from your textbook to support your opinion.

Name _____ Date _____

CHAPTER 29
Section 2

PRIMARY SOURCE # Civil Rights Song

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

We Shall Overcome

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Activity Options

1. Listen to a recording of this song or perform the song with classmates. If possible, have classmates who play musical instruments accompany you as you sing. Then discuss your response to the song and why you think it became the best-known protest song of the civil rights movement.

2. Listen to recordings of other civil rights songs such as "Keep Your Eyes on the Prize," "This Little Light of Mine," "Ain't Gonna Let Nobody Turn Me Round," "We Shall Not Be Moved," and "I'm Gonna Sit at the Welcome Table." Then compare and contrast these songs with "We Shall Overcome" in terms of lyrics, tempo, melody, and rhythm.

Name _____ Date _____

CHAPTER 29
Section 2

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

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

I say to you today, my friends, even though we face the difficulties of today and tomorrow, I still have a dream. It is a dream deeply rooted in the American dream. I have a dream that one day this nation will rise up and live out the true meaning of its creed,"We hold these truths to be self-evident; that all men are created equal." I have a dream that one day on the red hills of Georgia, sons of former slaves and the sons of former slave owners will be able to sit down together at the table of brotherhood. I have a dream that one day even the state of Mississippi, a state sweltering with the heat of injustice, sweltering with the heat of oppression, will be transformed into an oasis of freedom and justice. I have a dream that my four little children will one day live in a nation where they will not be judged by the color of their skin, but by the content of their character.

I have a dream today!

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

I have a dream today!

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

This is our hope. This is the faith that I go back to the South with. With this faith we will be able to hew out of the mountain of despair a stone of hope. With this faith we will be able to transform the jangling discords of our nation into a beautiful symphony of brotherhood. With this faith we will be able to work together, to pray together, to struggle together, to go to jail together, to stand up for freedom together, knowing that we will be free one day. And this will be the day. This will be the day when all of God's children will be able to sing with new meaning, "My country 'tis of thee, sweet land of liberty, of thee I sing. Land where my fathers died, land of the pilgrims' pride, from every mountainside, let freedom ring." And if America is to be a great nation, this must become true.

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

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

Discussion Questions

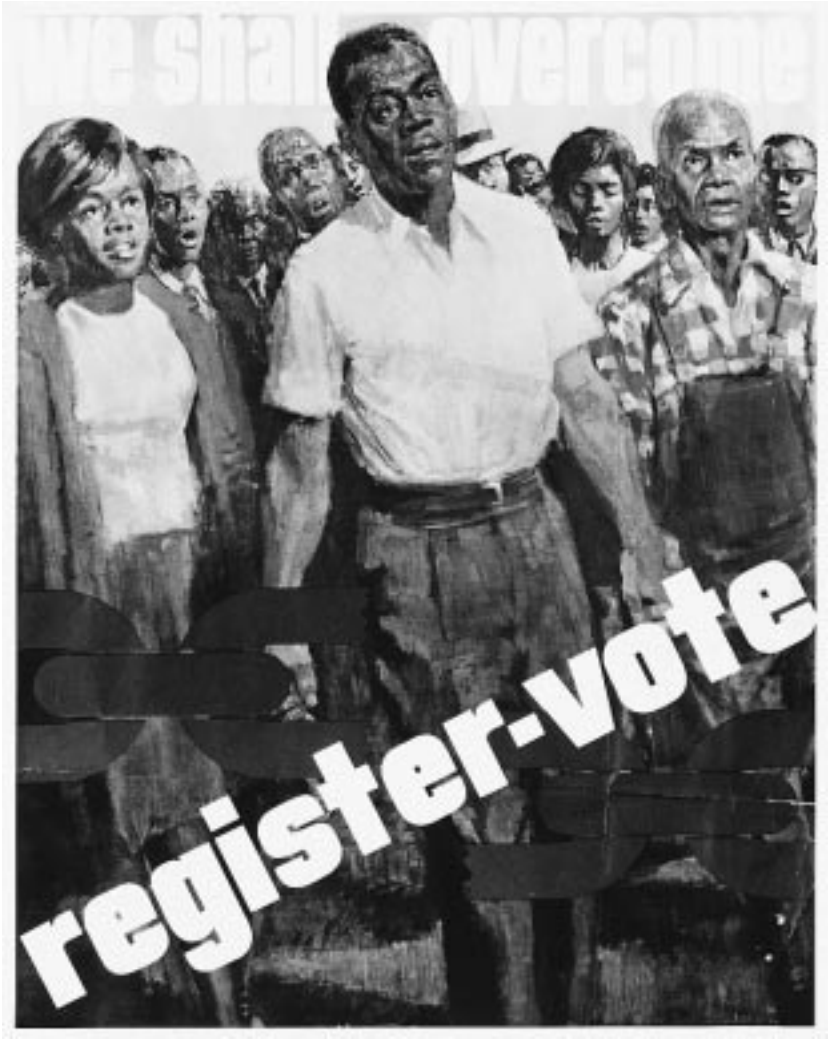
1. What does Dr. King mean when he says he has a dream that the nation "will live out the true meaning of its creed"?
2. What criticisms does King level at American society?
3. Do you think that King's dream has been fulfilled? Explain your response.

Name _____ Date _____

CHAPTER 29
Section 2

PRIMARY SOURCE Political Poster

During the Freedom Summer of 1964, hundreds of civil rights volunteers, both black and white, converged on Mississippi to conduct voter registration drives. This is one of their posters.



We Shall Overcome Register-Vote Poster. Schomburg Center for Research in Black Culture, Art and Artifacts Division, The New York Public Library, Astor, Lenox and Tilden Foundations.

Discussion Questions

1. What images and slogans does this poster use to persuade African Americans to register to vote?
2. Which images or slogans do you think are most persuasive?
3. If you were to design a poster for Freedom Summer, what images or slogans would you use? Take into consideration what you have learned about the project and about the opposition that civil rights activists faced.

Name _____ Date _____

CHAPTER 29
Section 2

LITERATURE SELECTION *from* ***And All Our Wounds Forgiven***
by Julius Lester

This novel, about a fictional civil rights leader named John Calvin "Cal" Marshall, his wife, Andrea, his aide, Lisa, and his chief lieutenant, Robert (Bobby) Card, gives an insider's view of the civil rights movement. As you read this excerpt, think about the dangers that civil rights workers faced.

He was 19. If he had known how young that was, he would not have left school. He certainly would not have gone to Shiloh where the general store/post office on the short main street, a white diner/bar and a colored one across the street were the only visible sign of the community scattered along dusty streets and roads and through the cotton fields owned by Jeb Lincoln.

"There's a man named Charlie Montgomery in Shiloh who has been trying to get the Negroes to register to vote."

"But what am I supposed to do when I get there?" he'd asked Cal.

Cal smiled ruefully. "We're all new at this civil rights stuff, Robert. You talk to people and you listen. When it comes time to do, either they or you will know what." . . .

"We're all new at this civil rights stuff, Robert. You talk to people and you listen. When it comes time to do, either they or you will know what."

He went. The first week no one spoke to him, not even Charlie Montgomery. Why should they have? He wasn't one of them. The car in which he had driven into town could also take him away at the first sign of trouble.

Anybody could come to town and talk about freedom and registering to vote. Hell, every colored person in Mississippi knew they should be free and able to vote. That wasn't news. What they needed was to be convinced there was a way, and even if it meant wading up a bloody stream without hip boots, they needed someone to show them how to keep their balance while treading on slippery rocks. They needed someone to show them who they could be. They knew who they were.

Bobby's words would make little difference. Their literacy was in the ways of people. So, he sat on their front porches and chatted about the weather and the cotton, and with the older ones he commiserated about the errancies of the younger generation, and with the impatient youth he commiserated about the blindness of the old.

Finally, one day a big man blacker than suffering, wearing coveralls and a straw cowboy hat, came up to him as he sat in The Pink Teacup, the colored cafe, and said, "I'm Charlie Montgomery." He stuck out a hand big enough to have grasped Robert's entire head, and Robert Card had found a home in Shiloh, Mississippi.

World War II had changed Charlie. "I felt like some kind of fool over there in Europe getting shot at defending a country that was killing niggers everyday. I'd lie there in them foxholes, man, the Germans zinging bullets through the air, and think to myself that if I got out of there alive, I was coming back to Shiloh and do some fighting for me and mines. You understand what I'm telling you? Me and mines!" Charlie Montgomery invited him to stay in the four-room house where he lived with his wife, Ruth.

Every morning Bobby got in his car and drove over rutted, dusty plantation roads, stopping to talk to anyone he saw about starting a sharecropper's union, or registering to vote, and almost daily there was a confrontation with some white man, a plantation overseer, the sheriff, or just a good ol' boy with a wad in his cheek and a rifle in his hand. . . .

"You be careful, son," the old folks started telling him. Maybe Negroes in Shiloh knew Death so well because it lived on the outskirts of town, sitting in a shack like an old man whose intimacy with loneliness made his only comprehensible conversations the ones he had with himself. Ol' Boy, as they called him, was moving through the world that year in a new way, not only taking people with the usual cancers, heart attacks, old age, murders, car, train, plane accidents and the freakish ones you read about in the tiny fillers in the newspaper like the girl in Germany who was playing in a cemetery and a tombstone fell

on her and crushed her or the Japanese fisherman killed when a swordfish leaped from the water and with its broad bill stabbed the man in the heart and returned to the water with the grace of an Olympic diver. Death seemed to take on new life because it was the consort of the change Bobby and others his age knew had to come if they were to stand erect beneath the sky and he didn't know who Patrice Lumumba was, was not even sure how to say his name and did not know what countries bordered Zaire or where it was on the map of Africa, but he did not have to know the details to understand that Huntley and Brinkley were telling him that a Negro had been assassinated because he wanted to be free. Change was in the air like the smell of winter on Thanksgiving Day.

"Man done broke the bonds of earth," Mrs. Montgomery said with Biblical accuracy one evening sitting on the porch looking at the paper. "Charlie, you see here that them Russians done sent a man into space and he circled the world from out where the stars twinkle?"

"Everybody wants to be free of what holds 'em down, even when it's gravity doing the holding."

It was Andrea Marshall who had shown him the paragraph in the *New York Times* about President Kennedy sending troops to Vietnam, another place Robert had never heard of and wasn't sure where it was but he understood instinctively that JFK didn't care a damn about freedom if he could send troops to Vietnam and not Mississippi. Every month he drove to Nashville for a day or two to see Cal and Andrea. Cal was still not so famous yet that he did not have time to sit around the kitchen table late at night, and the three of them would talk without purpose or direction, just talk and in the talking, learn.

"The United States broke relations with Cuba and banned travel there," Andrea said one night. "Why would this mighty nation be afraid of a small island? Why would it want to prevent us from traveling there? They must be afraid we'll learn something if we go there."

"Castro might know a thing or two about freedom that we don't," Cal commented.

Their distrust of Kennedy intensified when he founded the Peace Corps. "Why th' hell would he want to send young, idealistic Americans all over the world to help the poor when he's got Negroes in Alabama and Mississippi and Georgia and Louisiana who can use all the help anybody can give 'em?"

When Cal was angry his speech returned to the well of his southern ancestry and that was where it stayed for much of the year because 1961 was when History attached its strings to his arms and legs.

Robert knew nothing of that until he sat with the Montgomerys one evening that spring watching Huntley-Brinkley on the one channel they could get on the twelve-inch screen TV their daughter had brought them from Memphis, the only TV anybody colored had in the county, which was why the living room was always filled with people, especially at 6:30 when Chet Huntley and David Brinkley were on and it got quieter for that half-hour than it did at a funeral with no one saying a word even during the commercials as if silence were needed to absorb the pictures, not the content of the images but their mere existence as representations of the world beyond the Mississippi Delta and it did not matter if the images were of the president and his beautiful wife, Jackie, on a sailboat or of Red Square in Moscow or Alan Shepard being the first American blasted into space. What was important was seeing there was other than cotton and the flat delta earth and so it was that evening in May when on the TV screen appeared the image of John Calvin Marshall being dragged from a Greyhound bus by a mob of whites in Birmingham, Alabama, and beaten within a heartskip of death, he and eleven others—colored and white—who had dared challenge the laws of segregation and sit together on a bus. They called their action "Freedom Rides," and across the South, they and anyone who worked in civil rights were thereafter known as "Freedom Riders."

And so it was that evening in May when on the TV screen appeared the image of John Calvin Marshall being dragged from a Greyhound bus by a mob of whites in Birmingham, Alabama.

Bobby had been hurt and angry Cal had not told him of the plans for the Freedom Rides, had not even hinted that such a major action was in the offing.

"Trust you?" Cal chuckled when Bobby was able to confront him after he was released from the hospital. "If I had told you about it, there is nothing I could have said or done that would've kept you away.

Am I right?"

Bobby nodded.

"What good would that have done the people in Shiloh who have come to depend on you emotionally? What would they think if you decide to jump up and go off everytime there's a bit of hot action somewhere? I sent you to Mississippi to lay the foundation for change that will continue long after you and I are gone."

The president himself pleaded with Cal not to continue the Freedom Rides into Mississippi where Cal was determined to go. Cal ignored the pleas and boarded another Greyhound bus with an integrated group and rode into Jackson, Mississippi. White Mississippi would not tolerate mob violence. The police backed a paddy wagon up to the door of the Greyhound bus. When Cal and those with him stepped off, one foot hit the pavement and the other went up and onto the steel step of the paddy wagon. Within twenty four hours they had been tried, convicted and were on their way to serving sixty days at the Mississippi State Penitentiary at Parchman, known simply as Parchman Farm.

What no one, not even Cal, could have anticipated was that the idea of the Freedom Rides caught the imagination of white college students all over the country. They began taking Greyhound buses from Chicago, Berkeley, New York, Washington, D.C., and came to Jackson, Mississippi to be arrested for trespassing, disturbing the peace and violating the laws of Mississippi, which required separation of the races. . . .

By the end of the summer of 1961, several hundred young people, white and black, had been sent to Parchman, and there the civil rights movement was truly born. Sixty days in Parchman broke the spirit of petty thieves and callous murderers, but neither the warden nor the guards nor even the other prisoners understood the spirit of freedom.

"There is nothing that can be done to the man who is not afraid to go to jail or die. Nothing! The only power any government has over its citizens is the threat of imprisonment, that is, taking away one's physical freedom, and the threat of death, that is, depriving one of life. But if when you are physically free you are imprisoned in a system that tells you where you can and can't go, who you can and can't associate with, you are not free. If you are breathing but do not have the power to define your own existence, then, you are not alive. You are free when you run into the jail cell and close the door behind you. You are free when you look the marksman in the eye and say, 'Fire!' "

It was a sentiment Bobby heard Cal express first when he spoke at Fisk. It made sense until the afternoon almost a year and a half later when he was sitting in The Pink Teacup and someone rushed in and said there had been a shooting at the cotton gin and Bobby got in his car and drove with maniacal speed along the highway until he came to the unmarked turnoff by the railroad and as he slowed to a stop by the covered sheds where the wagon loads of cotton were brought to be ginned, he saw a large man in coveralls lying in the dust. Later, after Cal had served his sixty at Parchman, Bobby went to Nashville to see him and Andrea, to talk as they used to, just the three of them, . . . [He] tried to tell [them] what it was like to see the brains of someone you loved spilling from the skull and into the dust and how . . . flies droned in anticipation of this unexpected gift of blood and how the drone and the silence were the only sounds besides the low hum of death itself and he squatted there in the dust, alone, the white men and the black who had been working at the gin standing a respectful distance away, the murderer among them, and each of them knew who he was but no one spoke and no one moved and Bobby wondered if the murderer would raise the shotgun again and shoot him but that did not happen until finally—did an hour pass? two hours?—the sheriff came and took a blanket out of the trunk of his car and covered Charlie Montgomery, and Robert, his hands heavy with the dried and caked blood, felt released and got in his car and went to tell Ruth she was a widow lady now but she knew already.

"That man would still be alive if he hadn't let me stay in his house. That man would still be alive if not for me!" Bobby finally blurted.

"He's not going to be the last one to die," Cal told him.

"You have to get used to it. The price of freedom is death."

Research Options

1. Research a civil rights leader on whom the character John Calvin Marshall might have been modeled, such as Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., Medger Evers, or Stokely Carmichael. Then write a report.
2. To understand the '60s references in this passage, look up Patrice Lumumba, Chet Huntley, and David Brinkley. Share your findings with the class.

Name _____ Date _____

CHAPTER 29
Section 1

AMERICAN LIVES

Rosa Parks

Taking a Historic Stand by Sitting

"I didn't have any special fear. It was more of a relief to know . . . that I wasn't alone. If I was going to be fearful, it would have been as far back as I can remember, not just that separate incident."—Rosa Parks, recalling her emotions during the Montgomery bus boycott, 1988

Rosa Parks (b. 1913) has been called the "mother of the civil rights revolution." Her quiet act of defiance against segregation on the buses of Montgomery, Alabama, started a wave of protest in the 1950s—and launched the career of Martin Luther King, Jr.

Rosa McCauley had a difficult early life, as her parents separated and her small family struggled to live. She juggled school with work to help her family. At age 19, she married Raymond Parks, who had been active in efforts to register African Americans to vote. For the next 20 years, she worked a variety of jobs. Beginning in 1943, she was a secretary of the Montgomery chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP). When she could, Parks protested segregation laws. She refused to use drinking fountains or elevators set aside for African Americans. She often walked home from work rather than take segregated buses.

However, on December 1, 1955, she was tired and took the bus. A white man got on the bus that day after the section reserved for whites was full. Parks and three other African Americans were told by the bus driver to give up their seats. Parks refused. "I don't think I should have to," she said. "Why do you push us around so?" The bus driver summoned police, and Parks was arrested.

Edgar Daniel Nixon—head of the local NAACP—and two lawyers paid a bond to secure Parks's release. Then Nixon asked if she would agree to appeal the case in order to challenge the segregation law. Her mother and husband feared for her safety, but she agreed to go ahead—if it will "do some good." Meanwhile, other activists in Montgomery seized on Parks's act of defiance. The Women's Political Council had been ready for months to call for a boycott of the city bus line for its segregation and rude treatment of African-American passengers. Notified of Parks's arrest, Jo Ann Robinson of the WPC issued thousands of fliers calling for the city's blacks to boycott the bus line on December 5—the day of Parks's trial.

The boycott worked, and that night African Americans met to discuss whether to continue it. At the meeting, a newly arrived minister—Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.—spoke and energized the crowd. The people decided to continue the boycott and named King as their leader. The boycott lasted more than a year. It ended when the Supreme Court ruled that the segregated city buses violated the rights of African Americans. With this success, King had begun his brilliant career as America's chief civil rights leader.

Life for Parks became difficult, however. She lost her job, and her husband was unable to work after suffering a nervous breakdown. They were plagued by threatening phone calls. Even after the boycott ended, no one would hire Parks. A year after the boycott ended, the Parkses moved to Detroit, where they had family. Rosa Parks made a living as a seamstress and also helped the local office of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. In 1965 she joined the staff of a member of the U.S. House of Representatives from Detroit.

Over the years Parks has delivered speeches to raise money for the NAACP. In 1969 a street was named for her in Detroit. She has received many awards—most notably the 1984 Eleanor Roosevelt Women of Courage Award. In 1989 she attended the White House ceremony for the 25th anniversary of the Civil Rights Act, where she was acknowledged by President Bush.

Questions

1. Why is Parks called the "mother of the civil rights movement"?
2. Jo Ann Robinson recalled later that Parks was "dignified" and had "strong morals and high character." Why did that make her a good symbol to promote the bus boycott?
3. Explain in your own words what Parks's action meant to American history.

Name _____ Date _____

CHAPTER 29
Section 2

AMERICAN LIVES

A. Philip Randolph
A Life Fighting for Equality

"[African Americans] have reached the limit of their endurance when it comes to going into another Jim Crow Army to fight another war for democracy—a democracy they have never gotten."—A. Philip Randolph, testimony to the Senate Armed Services Committee, 1948

For many decades, A. Philip Randolph (1889–1979) worked to achieve equal rights for African Americans. His work began before World War I and did not end until the 1970s. His efforts had a profound effect on government policy.

Randolph was born and educated in Florida. After graduating from high school, he left home for New York City. He promised to return the next summer—but he never did. He took college courses that gave him a radical point of view. In 1917, he began a journal called *The Messenger.* He used it to denounce labor unions for refusing to aid African-American workers in their attempts to organize. He also campaigned against African Americans joining the army during World War I. Because of that stand, he was arrested, but he was soon released.

In the 1920s, Randolph continued speaking out. In 1925 he founded and became head of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters (BSCP). This union was formed by African Americans who worked as porters and maids on trains with sleeping cars. The Pullman Company, which employed them, refused to recognize the union. It fired workers who joined the union and threatened others not to join. Randolph tried to organize support for the union on the outside and spoke to inspire members. It took many years, but with the New Deal, the union had a chance. The Roosevelt administration passed laws that gave greater power to unions. In 1935, Pullman finally recognized the union. That same year Randolph won another victory. The American Federation of Labor (AFL) welcomed the Brotherhood as a member union. Two years later, Randolph and Pullman agreed to a new contract that raised workers' pay, cut their hours, and guaranteed money for overtime work.

Randolph's next major success came in 1941. In the early years of World War II, there was much debate about whether the United States should enter the war. Randolph loudly insisted that African Americans should not participate as long as racism continued at home. He organized the March on Washington Movement and promised to lead thousands of blacks in a massive protest against the lack of equal rights. President Roosevelt feared that Nazi Germany would use such a protest for propaganda that would embarrass the United States. He tried to convince Randolph to call off the march, but Randolph refused. Finally, the president issued Executive Order 8802, stopping companies and unions that worked with the government from discriminating against blacks. He also set up the Fair Employment Practices Committee to investigate any cases of discrimination. Randolph then agreed to cancel the march.

A few years later, he put similar pressure on President Truman. Truman issued an order in 1948 to end segregation in the armed forces.

Throughout the 1950s, Randolph continued to work for African-American rights both within the labor movement and in the country at large. As the civil rights movement picked up steam in the 1950s and early 1960s, Randolph stepped forward. In 1963, he was named as the chief organizer of the massive march on Washington of August 28. He joined other leaders in meeting with President Kennedy to push him toward laws that would guarantee equal rights. The march helped create a climate of popular support that encouraged Congress to pass the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and Voting Rights Act of 1965. Randolph retired as head of the BSCP in 1968 but remained active in the civil rights movement until his death at age 90.

Questions

1. What did Randolph mean, in the quote at the top of the page, by a "Jim Crow Army"?
2. How did the New Deal help Randolph's fight on behalf of the Brotherhood?
3. Some African American leaders criticized Randolph for canceling the 1941 march. Do you think he was right to do so? Explain.

Name _____ Date _____

CHAPTER 29 Project

LIVING HISTORY *Writing a Biographical Sketch*

FINDING A SUBJECT Explore other sources, besides Chapter 29, before you choose a civil rights leader to profile. Try these steps:

1. Browse through books or encyclopedia articles on civil rights to find three people you would like to write about. Here are two interesting sources:
   - *Eyes on the Prize* (1987) by Juan Williams
   - *Voices of Freedom* (1990) by Henry Hampton and Steve Fayer

→

2. Use what you learn about these three people to input key words in these sources:
   - an electronic library catalog of print and nonprint sources of information
   - an Internet search engine such as Lycos, Yahoo!, Infoseek, WebCrawler, or Magellan

→

3. Narrow your choice to one civil rights leader as the focus of your biographical sketch.

RESEARCHING Use at least two different sources, besides your textbook, when you're gathering information. For example, you might use an encyclopedia article and a book, or a magazine article and an article you downloaded from the Internet. Make sure you gather enough of the following kinds of information:

Remember to document each source with author, title, year of publication, and page numbers.

- ✓ key events in the leader's life
- ✓ motivating circumstances behind the leader's commitment to civil rights
- ✓ the leader's contributions to the movement
- ✓ the impact of these contributions
- ✓ the American public's response to the leader's political activism
- ✓ anecdotes and quotations that bring the leader to life

DRAFTING AND REVISING Begin by making an outline highlighting the leader's efforts in the civil rights movement. Next, try to get your ideas down on paper, using your outline as a guide. Support your information with the research you have gathered and cite your sources. Ask yourself these questions as you revise your draft.

- Does the introduction explain the leader's historical importance?
- Are the details clearly organized?
- Are all inferences and generalizations supported with facts?
- Does the conclusion sum up the significance of the leader's role in the civil rights movement?
- Are there any errors in grammar, spelling, and punctuation?

Name _____ Date _____

CHAPTER 29 Project

LIVING HISTORY

Standards for Evaluating a Biographical Sketch

RESEARCH	Exceptional	Acceptable	Poor
1. Shows evidence of research from at least two sources			
2. Documents each source by listing author, title, date of publication, and page numbers			
IDEAS AND CONTENT			
3. Shows the importance of the civil rights leader			
4. Presents concrete details about the person's life			
5. Cites reasons for the person's involvement in civil rights			
6. Uses quotations and anecdotes to add interest and to support ideas			
STRUCTURE AND FORM			
7. Has an introduction and a conclusion pointing to the person's historical significance			
8. Organizes details clearly and logically			
9. Includes few errors in grammar, spelling, and punctuation			

Comments _____

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Overall Rating _____