The Civil Rights Movement, 1941-1968

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F. The Sit-Ins and SNCC
G. The Freedom Rides
H. The Birmingham Campaign
I. The March on Washington
J. Freedom Summer and the Civil Rights Act
K. The Selma March and the Voting Rights Act
L. The End of the Movement
The Civil Rights Movement, 1941-1968

Segregation and Disfranchisement

A. Segregation Laws passed in the 1880s and 90s
B. *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896) -- “separate but equal”
C. All public facilities were segregated in the South: hospitals, schools, courthouses, railcars, parks, beaches, restaurants, and cemeteries
D. Disfranchisement -- poll tax and literacy test
E. Chart on the effectiveness of the poll tax
F. Together, segregation and disfranchisement destroyed the Constitutional rights of blacks

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**Chart on the effectiveness of the poll tax**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tax Source</th>
<th>Education Costs</th>
<th>Total School Costs</th>
<th>Enrollment</th>
<th>Cost per Pupil</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>State</td>
<td>$1,200,000</td>
<td>$1,200,000</td>
<td>10,000</td>
<td>$120.00</td>
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<tr>
<td>County</td>
<td>$500,000</td>
<td>$500,000</td>
<td>5,000</td>
<td>$100.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>City</td>
<td>$200,000</td>
<td>$200,000</td>
<td>2,000</td>
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<tr>
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<tr>
<td>City</td>
<td>$50,000</td>
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<td>500</td>
<td>$100.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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2
NUMBER PUPILS PER TEACHER

In the following table the month of February, 1924, is compared with February, 1928.

TABLE IV. WHITE

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Enrollment 1924—1925</th>
<th>No. Teachers 1924—1925</th>
<th>Pupils Per Teacher 1924—1925</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Senior High School...</td>
<td>1,734—1,033</td>
<td>72—78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Junior High Schools...</td>
<td>2,159—2,663</td>
<td>101—111</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elementary Schools...</td>
<td>10,717—10,844</td>
<td>943—983</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

COLORED

| High School .......... | 790—935                | 25—33                         | 32—32.9                       |
| Intermediate School  | 940—940                | ...—...                       | ...—32.7                      |
| Elementary Schools.  | 6,200—6,400            | 160—180                      | 36.9—32.5                     |

Comparative Salaries of White and Negro Public School Teachers, 1939—1940

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>State</th>
<th>White Teachers</th>
<th>Annual Salaries (in descending order)</th>
<th>State</th>
<th>Negro Teachers</th>
<th>Annual Salaries (in descending order)</th>
<th>Difference between Salaries</th>
<th>State</th>
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<tr>
<td>Louisiana</td>
<td>$1,193</td>
<td>Oklahoma</td>
<td>$971</td>
<td>Arkansas</td>
<td>263</td>
<td>Oklahoma</td>
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<td>667</td>
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<td>Virginia</td>
<td>300</td>
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<tr>
<td>Florida</td>
<td>1,147</td>
<td>N. Carolina</td>
<td>645</td>
<td>N. Carolina</td>
<td>265</td>
<td>N. Carolina</td>
<td>300</td>
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<tr>
<td>Oklahoma</td>
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<td>Virginia</td>
<td>606</td>
<td>Virginia</td>
<td>300</td>
<td>Virginia</td>
<td>300</td>
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<tr>
<td>South Carolina</td>
<td>953</td>
<td>Florida</td>
<td>588</td>
<td>Alabama</td>
<td>466</td>
<td>Alabama</td>
<td>466</td>
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<tr>
<td>North Carolina</td>
<td>919</td>
<td>Louisiana</td>
<td>504</td>
<td>Georgia</td>
<td>498</td>
<td>Georgia</td>
<td>498</td>
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<tr>
<td>Virginia</td>
<td>908</td>
<td>Alabama</td>
<td>408</td>
<td>Georgia</td>
<td>498</td>
<td>Georgia</td>
<td>498</td>
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<tr>
<td>Georgia</td>
<td>901</td>
<td>Georgia</td>
<td>403</td>
<td>S. Carolina</td>
<td>562</td>
<td>S. Carolina</td>
<td>562</td>
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<tr>
<td>Alabama</td>
<td>874</td>
<td>S. Carolina</td>
<td>391</td>
<td>Florida</td>
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<td>564</td>
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<td>Arkansas</td>
<td>375</td>
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<td>586</td>
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<tr>
<td>Arkansas</td>
<td>638</td>
<td>Mississippi</td>
<td>235</td>
<td>Louisiana</td>
<td>689</td>
<td>Louisiana</td>
<td>689</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Median State           | 910            | Median State                         | 504   | Median State   | 486                                   | Median State                | 486   |

Source: Data in Report of Southern States Work-Conference on School Administrative Problems, 1941.
The Civil Rights Movement, 1941-1968

World War II Era

A. The recent struggle for African American civil rights began during World War II
B. Pittsburg Courier -- Double V Campaign, 1942
C. March on Washington Movement
D. A. Philip Randolph and Walter White
E. Executive Order 8802 - wartime industry
F. Fair Employment Practices Commission

Detroit 1944: Pallbearers with a casket walking with a sign reading “here lies Jim Crow” during the NAACP Detroit branch “Parade for Victory.”
The Civil Rights Movement, 1941-1968

Post-War Changes

The Truman Administration

A. Civil Rights Commission, 1946
B. To Secure These Rights (1947)
C. Executive Order 9980 (federal workforce) 1948
D. Executive Order 9981 (armed forces) 1948

The Congress of Racial Equality (CORE)

D. Non-violent, multi-racial organization, 1942
E. “Journey of Reconciliation” (1947)
F. Attempt to enforce Morgan v. Virginia (1946)
   (commerce clause not equal protection; interstate travel)

Jackie Robinson

G. WWII Vet, Star player Kansas City Monarchs
H. Brooklyn Dodgers, 1947
I. Rookie of the Year, 1947; MVP 1949

The Civil Rights Movement, 1941-1968

School Desegregation

NAACP Legal Defense and Education Fund (1939-1952)

A. Charles Houston and Thurgood Marshall
B. Missouri ex rel. v. Gaines (1938)
   Lloyd Gaines sued to enter Missouri
   Law School -- Black law school set up
C. Sweatt v. Painter (1950)
   Heman Sweatt admitted to U Texas Law School
D. McLaurin v. Oklahoma (1950)
   George McLaurin could not be segregated from
   white students at the University of Oklahoma

George W. McLaurin sits in an anteroom, apart from the other students, as he attends
class at the University of Oklahoma in 1948.
The Civil Rights Movement, 1941–1968

School Desegregation

Brown v. Board of Education Cases
A. Five Brown cases reach court 1951–52
B. Members of the Court Divided
C. Issues Involved:
   - 14th Amendment and equal protection
   - Precedent, especially Congress of 1868
   - Plessy precedent
D. NAACP lawyers and “doll test”
E. Fred Vinson died Sept 1953; Earl Warren
F. Brown v. Board of Education II (1955)

Ten year-old Linda Carol Brown -- the named plaintiff in Brown v. Board of Education -- is captured (on the left) with her six year-old sister Terry Lane on their way to the all-black Monroe School in Topeka, Kansas, a little over a year before the momentous 1954 Supreme Court decision in their favor.

In their struggle against the Jim Crow restrictions, Linda and Terry were forced to navigate the hazardous Ford Island Railroad Overpass to get to the bus stop for the ride to Monroe.
In the 1950s, Kenneth and Mamie Clark asked black children, 3 to 7, a series of questions about some plastic baby dolls that were identical except for color. Ten of sixteen of the children preferred the white dolls to the black dolls. Furthermore, they attributed more positive characteristics (e.g., “good” and “nice”) to the white dolls. The Clarks concluded that “prejudice, discrimination, and segregation” caused black children to develop a sense of inferiority and self-hatred.

The Civil Rights Movement, 1941-1968

School Desegregation

Massive Resistance to Brown v. Board of Education

A. Southern Manifesto, 1956 -- 101 Congressmen

B. Little Rock, 1957-1959

C. Pupil Placement Laws

D. By 1960, on the sixth anniversary of Brown, few African American students attend desegregated schools in the South:

- 98 of Arkansas’s 104,000 black students
- 34 of North Carolina’s 302,000 black students
- 169 of Tennessee’s 146,000 black students
- 103 of Virginia’s 203,000 black students
- 5 deep south states, none of 1.4 million black students

E. By 1963, only 1.06 % of southern blacks attended desegregated schools
The "Southern Manifesto" (1956)
Signed by 19 US Senators and 81 US Representatives

We regard the decision of the Supreme Court in the school cases as a clear abuse of judicial power. It climaxes a trend in the Federal judiciary . . . to encroach upon the reserved rights of the States and the people.

This unwarranted exercise of power by the Court, contrary to the Constitution, is creating chaos and confusion in the States principally affected. It is destroying the amicable relations between the white and Negro races that have been created through 90 years of patient effort by the good people of both races. It has planted hatred and suspicion where there has been heretofore friendship and understanding.

With the gravest concern for the explosive and dangerous condition created by this decision and inflamed by outside meddlers:

We pledge ourselves to use all lawful means to bring about a reversal of this decision which is contrary to the Constitution and to prevent the use of force in its implementation.

The Civil Rights Movement, 1941-1968

A. Local protest in Montgomery, Alabama, where half of city's 100,000 residents were African American

B. Rosa Parks, seamstress, 12 year secretary of the local NAACP, trained Highlander Folk School (TN)

C. December 1, 1955 - refused to give up seat

D. December 5, 1955 - MLK - first meeting: Montgomery Improvement Association (MIA)

E. 381-day boycott of Montgomery buses - company hurt

F. Feb 1956: City obtained indictments against MLK, Ed Nixon, and 113 other boycotters under a law forbidding hindrance to business without "just cause or legal excuse."

G. MLK on trial in March - found guilty; but in June, federal District Court struck down Montgomery's segregation ordinances; in November, Supreme Court affirmed ruling.
Dallas, Texas: Segregation Signs Come Down
A passenger points to one of the segregation signs removed from all Dallas Transit Company buses, following a Supreme Court ruling banning segregation on all public transportation within a state. April 25, 1956.

The Civil Rights Movement, 1941-1968

The Montgomery Bus Boycott, 1955-1956

H. When the Montgomery Boycott ended, MLK was a prominent national figure.

I. NBC’s Meet the Press invited him to be the second African American on the program

K. King himself was a complex figure

Born 1929 into a middle-class black family in Atlanta
His father was a prominent Baptist minister
He attended Morehouse College
Divinity degree at Crozer Theological Seminary
Ph.D. in theology at Boston University
King admired Mohandas Gandhi
Pastor, Dexter Avenue Baptist Church, Montgomery, 1954

L. 1957: King brought together 100 black ministers
to found the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC)
The Civil Rights Movement, 1941-1968

The Montgomery Bus Boycott, 1955-1956

M. In a 1956 address celebrating the Montgomery victory, King laid out six key lessons from the struggle.

(1) We have discovered that we can stick together for a common cause; (2) Our leaders do not have to sell out; (3) Threats and violence do not necessarily intimidate those who are sufficiently aroused and non-violent; (4) Our church is becoming militant, stressing a social gospel as well as a gospel of personal salvation; (5) We have gained a new sense of dignity and destiny; (6) We have discovered a new and powerful weapon—non-violent resistance.

N. The SCLC called upon black people “to understand that nonviolence is not a symbol of weakness or cowardice, but as Jesus demonstrated, nonviolent resistance transforms weakness into strength and breeds courage in the face of danger.”

The Civil Rights Movement, 1941-1968

The Sit-Ins and SNCC

A. College students from North Carolina A & T
B. Woolworth’s, Greensboro, NC, Feb 1, 1960
C. Next day, two dozen supporters
D. Day three, students occupied 63 of 66 seats
E. Thursday, joined by 3 white students from the Women’s College, UNC Greensboro
F. By Friday, hundreds jammed Woolworth’s and others carried the sit-in to S.H. Kress.
G. National news: City officials offer to negotiate, but business community refuses to desegregate
H. Sit-ins resume April 1, 1960
I. April 21, 45 students arrested for trespassing
J. African Americans boycott targeted businesses
K. July 25, first African American ate at Woolworth’s.
The Civil Rights Movement, 1941-1968

The Sit-Ins and SNCC

L. Greensboro started a mass movement

M. Next 2 years, 70,000 people participated and 3,000 were arrested in sit-ins

N. New form of direct action protest

O. Nashville and Atlanta major sites

P. In April 1960, 120 black students met with Ella Baker, executive director SCLC, in Raleigh, North Carolina.

Q. They formed the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee (SNCC)

R. Played major role in the Freedom Rides, the March on Washington, and Freedom Summer.

John Lewis, President SNCC

The Civil Rights Movement, 1941-1968

The Freedom Rides

A. Spring 1961: James Farmer, national director of CORE announced plans for inter-racial Freedom Rides through the South.

B. “Our intention was to provoke the southern authorities into arresting us and thereby prod the Justice Department into enforcing the law of the land.” -- James Farmer

C. May 4, 1961 -- 7 blacks and six whites split into two teams -- left D.C. on buses for New Orleans.

D. Would travel through deep south.

James L. Farmer, Jr.
The Civil Rights Movement, 1941-1968

The Freedom Rides

E. 5/14/61: Stopped in Anniston, Alabama -- riders beaten with iron bars and clubs

F. 5/14/61: Riders aboard the second bus were beaten in Birmingham.

G. 5/17/61: CORE ends its Freedom Rides, but SNCC sends in fresh volunteers

H. 5/20/61: Freedom Riders were beaten at Montgomery bus terminal.

I. 5/21/61: Riders imprisoned upon arrival in Jackson, Mississippi - “Jail, No Bail”

J. 1962: CORE claims victory - Kennedy Administration has ICC outlaw segregation on all interstate carriers

Freedom Riders Near Burning Bus

Passengers of this smoking Greyhound bus, sit on the ground after the bus was set afire 5/14, by a mob of Caucasians who followed the bus from the city. The mob met the bus at the terminal, stoned it & slashed the tires, then followed the bus from town. May 14, 1961
Wounded Freedom Riders in Alabama
Two blood-splattered Freedom Riders, John Lewis (left) and James Zwerg (right) stand together after being attacked and beaten by pro-segregationists in Montgomery, Alabama. May 20, 1961

Freedom Rider Jim Zwerg in Hospital
Twenty-one year old ministerial student and member of the Freedom Riders, Jim Zwerg, lies in a hospital bed after being beaten by pro-segregationists at a Montgomery, Alabama bus terminal. May 21, 1961

The Civil Rights Movement, 1941-1968

The Birmingham Campaign

A. 4/3/63: SCLC launches Project C (for confrontation) to protest segregation of lunch counters and rest rooms in Birmingham, Alabama.

B. 4/12/63: MLK arrested on Good Friday for defying a state court’s injunction against protest marches. While confined over Easter weekend, he wrote the “Letter from Birmingham Jail.”
The Civil Rights Movement, 1941-1968

The Birmingham Campaign

We know through painful experience that freedom is never voluntarily given by the oppressor; it must be demanded by the oppressed. Frankly, I have yet to engage in a direct-action campaign that was 'well timed' in the view of those who have not suffered unduly from the disease of segregation. For years now I have heard the word "Wait!" It rings in the ear of every Negro with piercing familiarity. This "Wait" has almost always meant 'Never.' We must come to see, with one of our distinguished jurists, that 'justice too long delayed is justice denied.'

-Martin Luther King Jr.
"Letter from Birmingham Jail"

C. 5/2/63: SCLC organizes "children's crusade," recruiting students for marches. Police Commissioner Eugene "Bull" Connor retaliates with police dogs, fire hoses, and arrests that fill jails.

D. 5/10/63: MLK and Rev. Fred L. Shuttlesworth working with mediators from the Justice Department announce that Birmingham's white leaders have agreed to a desegregation plan.

E. That night King's motel was bombed and a riot raged until dawn.

F. Ultimately, President Kennedy ordered 3,000 federal troops into the city to enforce the law.

G. Although the Birmingham campaign was a success, leading to desegregation in the city, in September a bomb killed four black girls at a local church -- racism still prevalent and powerful in Birmingham.
The Civil Rights Movement, 1941-1968

The March on Washington

A. In 1963, leaders from the SCLC, SNCC, and CORE organized a non-violent March on Washington to demonstrate the urgency and justness of their cause.

B. John F. Kennedy supported the march, saying: “We face . . . a moral crisis as a country and a people. It cannot be met by repressive police action. It cannot be left to increased demonstrations in the streets. It cannot be quieted by token moves or talk. It is a time to act in the Congress, in your state and local legislative body, and, above all, in all our daily lives.” June 11, 1963

C. 8/28/63: More than 250,000 people gather in Washington, DC to demand action on civil rights concluding with MLK’s “I Have A Dream” speech.

D. High point of Civil Rights Movement.

E. However, Kennedy killed on November 22, 1963.

F. Legislation would await successor — Lyndon Johnson.

The Civil Rights Movement, 1941-1968

Freedom Summer and the Civil Rights Act

A. 6/1/64: Freedom Summer begins as hundreds of volunteers arrive in Mississippi to work in the Mississippi Summer Project organized by SNCC, CORE, SCLC, and NAACP — Focus: Voter Registration

B. 7/2/64: President Lyndon B. Johnson signs the 1964 Civil Rights Act outlawing segregation in public accommodations.

C. 8/4/64: After a six-week search, the bodies of three missing Summer Project workers were found buried under an earthen dam near Philadelphia, Mississippi.

D. 12/10/64: Dr. King received the Nobel Peace Prize
The Civil Rights Movement, 1941-1968

The Selma March and Voting Rights Act


3/15/65: In his “We shall overcome” speech, President Johnson responded to the events in Selma by announcing that he was submitting a Voting Rights Bill to Congress.

3/21/65 Dr. King leads marchers from Selma to Montgomery. After the march, Mrs. Viola Liuzzo, a marcher from Detroit, was shot to death.

8/6/65 Johnson signed the Voting Rights Act.

The Civil Rights Movement, 1941-1968

The End of the Movement

A. Successful movement to alter the legal and social order throughout America.

B. Dominated through 1965 by non-violent means.

C. Numerous groups contributed to the effort.

D. In the late 1960s, Black Power groups became frustrated with the slow implementation of desegregation and struck out on their own.

E. In 1968, MLK was shot to death in Memphis, depriving the movement of its most eloquent leader.

F. However, the civil rights campaign continues on to this day.