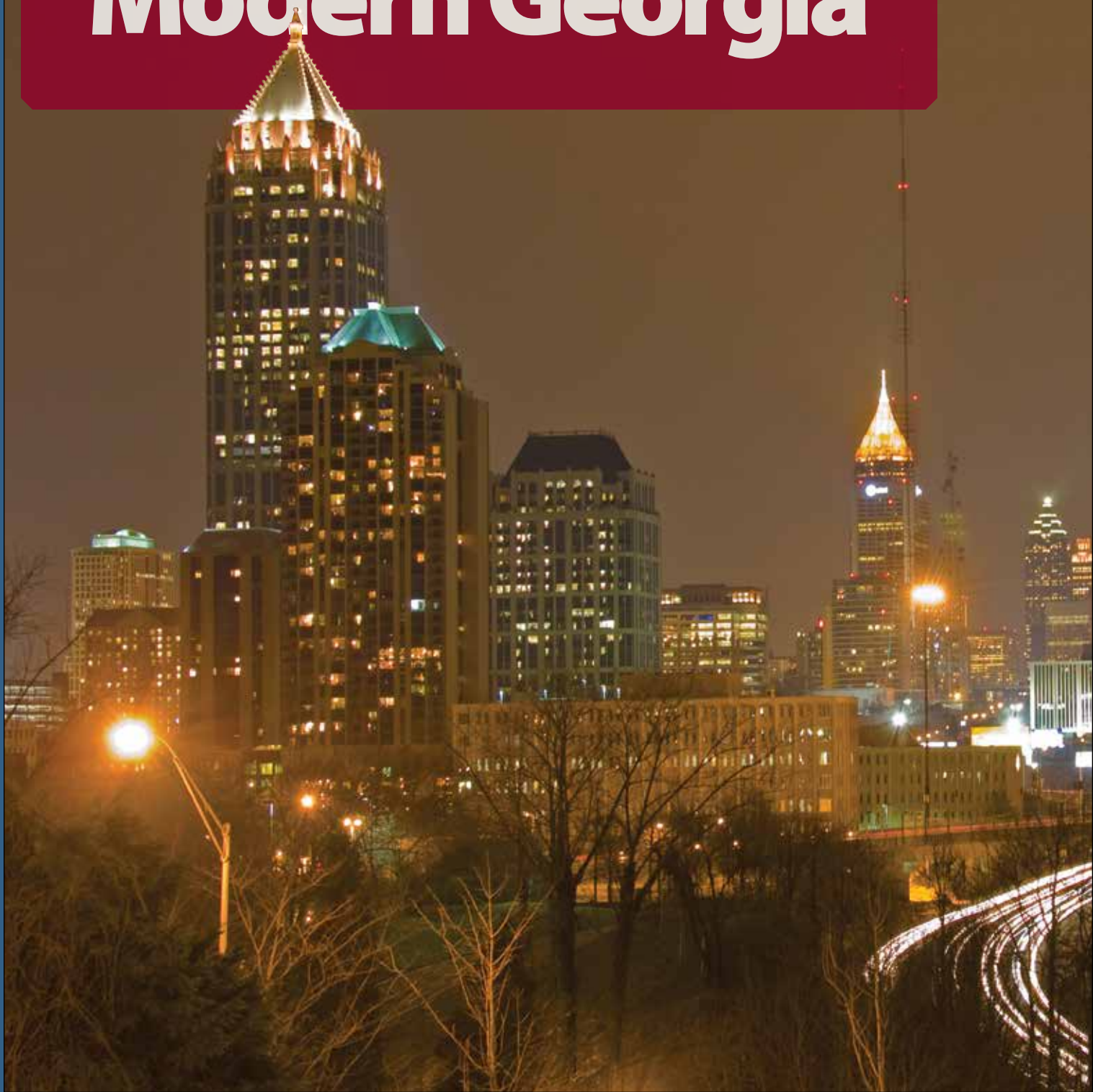


Unit VII

Modern Georgia




The decades following World War II saw the emergence of modern Georgia. This was a time of major growth and change, but there were many growing pains along the way.

African Americans led a movement to end the segregation, discrimination, and disenfranchisement under which they lived. The nonviolent movement was met with massive resistance. However, supported by Supreme Court decisions, federal laws, sympathetic whites, and the determination of the African American community, the civil rights movement began to dismantle the barriers preventing full citizenship.

Georgia government and politics also underwent a major change. Several Georgia governors began significant reforms, from civil rights to more government efficiency to education. Georgia was once a stronghold of the Democratic Party. In the years after World War II, Georgia became a state with two major political parties, the Republicans and the Democrats.

Georgia's economy continued its transformation. Agriculture became increasingly diverse, new manufacturing emerged, and the service industry became an important economic sector. Transportation by land, air, and sea spurred economic growth. Urbanization proceeded at an increasingly rapid pace, and the state's population grew in racial, ethnic, and religious diversity. Problems of poverty, pollution, and other effects of growth brought challenges.

Georgia also offered increasing opportunities for quality education; for the developments of artistic, scientific, and cultural organizations; and for recreation. Many nationally and internationally known figures in these fields were Georgia born and raised. This period saw the final transformation of our state to the Georgia we know today.



Since 1950, metropolitan Atlanta has grown from a population of just under 1 million to almost 6 million, making it one of the fastest-growing cities in the United States. In just the first nine years of the twenty-first century, metropolitan Atlanta's population increased by almost 30 percent.

Signs of the Times

FADS/FASHION

3-D movies were popular at the beginning of this period and made a comeback at the end of this period. Fashions began the era with blue jeans, poodle skirts, pony tails for girls and flat tops or crew cuts for boys. At the end of the period, blue jeans were still popular. Fast food restaurants such as McDonald's, Burger King, Hardee's, and Taco Bell grew in popularity.

POPULATION

In 1950: 3,444,578; in 2000: 8,186,453; in 2010: 9,687,653, an increase of over 18% since 2000

SCIENCE/INVENTIONS

Man landed on the moon in 1969; Rovers landed on Mars in 2004. Early devices included the copy machine, transistor radio, color television, microchips, the laser, communications satellites, VCRs. Americans began using personal computers, the Internet, cellular phones, HDTVs, social networking sites.

LITERATURE

Popular books of the period included George Orwell's *1984*, Harper Lee's *To Kill a Mockingbird*, Woodward and Bernstein's *All the President's Men*, Dee Brown's *Bury My Heart at Wounded Knee*, Alice Walker's *The Color Purple*, Dan Brown's *Angels and Demons*. Online bookstores such as Amazon.com debuted, and new ways of reading books like the Kindle appeared.

TRANSPORTATION

The Federal Highway Act of 1956 gave rise to the interstate highway system. By 1966, there were 78 million cars and 16 million trucks in the U.S. Discount fares became popular.

Colorful fountains enliven the night life in Savannah.

Chapter 24

The Civil Rights Movement in Modern Georgia

Chapter Preview

TERMS

integration, Minimum Foundation Program for Education, *Brown v. Board of Education*, Southern Christian Leadership Conference, sit-in, Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, Civil Rights Act of 1964, Voting Rights Act

PEOPLE

Harry S. Truman, James Nabrit, Jr., Marvin Griffin, Ernest Vandiver, Jacob Rothschild, John Sibley, Hamilton Holmes, Charlayne Hunter, Rosa Parks, William B. Hartsfield, Martin Luther King Jr., Ralph David Abernathy, Andrew Young, Benjamin Mays, Julian Bond, John Lewis, Leroy Johnson, Ivan Allen, Jr., Carl Sanders, Jimmy Carter, Maynard Jackson

PLACES

Montgomery, Greensboro, Albany, Americus, Birmingham, Washington, Selma





As the United States entered World War II, African American poet Langston Hughes had predicted that the war would change American race relations: “Pearl Harbor put Jim Crow on the run/That Crow can’t fight for Democracy/And be the same old Crow he used to be.” Hughes was disappointed that the war seemed to bring little change to American race relations in spite of the courageous service of African Americans.

Sometimes, however, when historians study a period in the past, they can see that small changes began to happen that would lead to major changes. African American men and women made contributions to the war effort, and many were no longer willing to settle for second-class status. Some whites feared new demands for equality, and they came home from the war just as determined to maintain white supremacy.

Other changes to both politics and the economy impacted race relations. Progressive southern whites began to realize that their Jim Crow institutions prevented the area from modernizing. They became more racially moderate. While older African Americans were often willing to work with moderate whites for a gradual change, many young African Americans thought they had waited long enough. By the late 1950s and 1960s, liberal whites agreed. The country was on the verge of a revolution in the relationship between the races.

The reform in civil rights came from both the government and the people. The courts made major decisions that struck down segregation laws and disfranchisement methods. Presidents and Congress supported new laws to guarantee equality and voting rights. African Americans and supportive whites worked for decades in nonviolent ways to bring about an end to the old system of the South. Georgia was at the center of this movement.

Left: Martin Luther King, Jr. and a number of national civil rights leaders, walking hand-in-hand, lead protesters in the 1963 March on Washington.

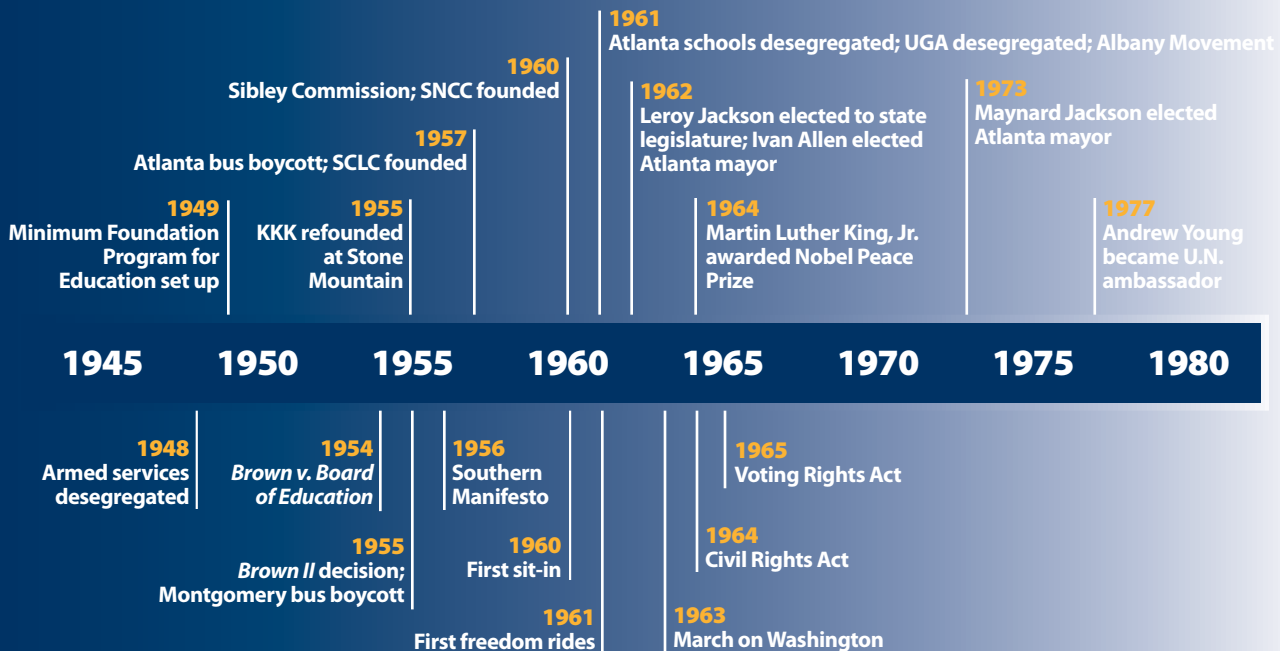
Section 1

The Presidents, the Courts, and Civil Rights

As you read, look for:

- key people in the civil rights movement,
- notable events in the civil rights movement,
- important legislation,
- terms: *integration, Minimum Foundation Program for Education, Brown v. Board of Education.*

Figure 46
Timeline:
1945 to 1980



Some of the work for civil rights came from the national government. President Truman began the march toward reform with two executive orders. President Eisenhower used troops to protect African American students who desegregated Central High School in Little Rock, Arkansas. President Lyndon Johnson supported two major civil rights bills in Congress. The federal district court and the U.S. Supreme Court handed down major decisions reversing decades of discrimination laws. Although enforcement of these changes was not always what it needed to be, by 1970 the legal structure for a more integrated society was in place.

Harry Truman and Civil Rights

Although the New Deal had helped African Americans with jobs and other programs, there were no specific laws to protect civil rights. During the presidency of Harry Truman, things began to change. Truman had a reputation for fighting the KKK in his home state of Missouri. After the war, Truman established the Committee on Civil Rights to report on the conditions of African Americans and make recommendations for changes. While getting a civil rights act through Congress did not seem possible, Truman did what he could as president, as commander-in-chief, and as the head of the executive branch of government. In 1948, he issued orders to desegregate the armed services and the executive departments of the national government.

Both of these acts were important in the growing call for a more equal and just society. The desegregation of the armed forces had a major impact in the South. All of the military bases in the South would now be islands of integration in the surrounding sea of segregation. (**Integration** is the bringing of people of different racial or ethnic groups into society or an organization as equals.) Because Georgia had so many military installations, it was strongly affected by this change. Soldiers who worked and lived together while on base could not have a meal together or go to a movie in a southern town.

By this time, the Democratic Party was becoming more and more divided. At the national level, the party had embraced Roosevelt's New Deal with the increases in power it brought to the federal government. During the Democratic convention in 1948, against the objections of southern Democrats, the party called for full civil rights for African Americans. Many southern whites were so opposed that they left the Democratic Party. They formed the Southern Rights Party, whose members were nicknamed "Dixiecrats."

In the 1948 presidential election, Georgia's electoral votes went to Truman. Truman failed to get any civil rights legislation through Congress. However, during his presidency the courts made decisions more favorable to civil rights. The landmark decision came during the presidency of Dwight D. Eisenhower.



Something Extra!

Harry Truman was the only president elected after 1870 who did not have a college degree.



Top: The NAACP chose the segregated city of Atlanta as the site of their 42nd annual convention in 1951. **Above:** NAACP lawyer Thurgood Marshall led the legal team that successfully argued *Brown v. Board of Education* before the U.S. Supreme Court. As chief counsel for the NAACP, Marshall argued 32 cases before the Supreme Court, winning 29 of them. In 1967, President Lyndon Johnson appointed him the first African American justice of the U.S. Supreme Court.

Brown v. Board of Education

Since its founding in 1909, the NAACP (National Association for the Advancement of Colored People) had been challenging discrimination and segregation in the courts. The Supreme Court had said that some actions of the states and local communities violated the constitutional rights of African American citizens. In 1915, the court found that “grandfather clauses,” which prevented African Americans from voting, violated the Fifteenth Amendment to the Constitution. Yet even without grandfather clauses, white primaries and literacy tests kept most African Americans from voting. In 1917, the Supreme Court ruled that city and state governments could not pass laws that set up separate housing zones for blacks and for whites. That had not stopped segregated neighborhoods. Whites simply did not sell their homes to African Americans.

In the 1930s and 1940s, the NAACP began to have some important court successes. However, it sometimes took years for those decisions to be enforced by state and local law enforcement officials who supported segregation. In 1944, the U.S. Supreme Court decision in *Smith v. Allwright* said that African Americans could participate in primary elections. In the 1946 *King v. Chapman* case, the U.S. Court of Appeals upheld the ruling that the white primary was unconstitutional. This decision led to more African Americans voting, which in turn gave them more political influence with whites who were trying to get elected to office.

The NAACP also began to target educational inequalities, first at the level of law schools and graduate schools. NAACP lawyers could easily prove that there were no facilities for those types of schools for African Americans. The courts basically said that if the state could not provide equal facilities in the state, they would have to admit African Americans to the whites-only institutions. This led to many moves in the South (and other places where segregation was practiced) to improve schools for African Americans.

In Georgia in 1949, Governor Herman Talmadge established the **Minimum Foundation Program for Education** to put more money into schools. In 1951, a 3 percent sales tax was enacted to fund it. To improve their quality,



black schools got more money than white schools. Talmadge and others wanted to make sure they did not have to admit blacks to whites-only schools. Talmadge also began preparing the way to actually shut down the very school system he was building up. He supported an amendment to the state constitution that would allow the public school system to close down rather than have black and white children attend school together.

The Supreme Court decisions on higher education were important, but the bigger goal was to broaden education at the lower levels. That would affect many more people. In the 1950s, several cases of parents against public schools in their communities made their way from lower courts to the U.S. Supreme Court. Five were brought together under the case *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas*. NAACP attorney Thurgood Marshall was assisted by Atlanta-born attorney James Nabrit, Jr., a graduate of Morehouse College.

The *Brown* case was based on the important argument that black children were getting an unequal education. It was easy to show that funding for the students was unequal; that teacher pay was different; and that school buildings, classrooms, and textbooks were inferior. The case, however, went further. The NAACP brought in research that showed that segregation had a negative impact on the psychological and social well-being of children. The NAACP tried to show that simply improving the physical aspects of schools and equalizing funding would not be enough.

In their 1954 unanimous decision in the *Brown v. Board of Education* case, the nine justices on the Supreme Court did away with the separate-but-equal doctrine that had been in effect since the 1896 *Plessy v. Ferguson* decision. The court said that “separate” was inherently unequal, that the very act of requiring separation made African Americans unequal. The Fourteenth Amendment guaranteed equality under the law and specifically said that states could not deny rights the national government gave citizens. Inequality in states was, therefore, unconstitutional. In 1955, the Court in a decision known as *Brown II* told the nation’s schools to end segregation in schools with “all deliberate speed.”



Above: Earl Warren was the only three-term governor of California before his appointment as chief justice of the U.S. Supreme Court in 1953. So popular was he as governor that when he ran for reelection in 1946 he was nominated by both Democrats and Republicans. As chief justice, he was much more controversial. While much of the country applauded the Warren court’s decisions in favor of civil rights, like *Brown v. Board of Education*, most white southerners deplored what they thought was an abuse of judicial power.

White Response: “Massive Resistance,” Acceptance, and Support

The reaction in Georgia and other southern states was swift and hostile. In 1953, even before the Supreme Court decision, the Georgia legislature passed a constitutional amendment that allowed the state to close down the public school system. Private schools would be able to remain segregated, and the government would give parents tuition vouchers for them.

The public ratified the amendment in November 1954, but the vote was close.

In 1956, white southern members of the U.S. Senate and House wrote the “Southern Manifesto” attacking the *Brown* decision as being unconstitutional and an attack on the rights of the states. Throughout the South, white opponents of the decision, including the Georgia legislature, called for the impeachment of Chief Justice Earl Warren and members of the Supreme Court. White politicians called for protection of white supremacy, states’ rights, and the “southern way of life.”

In another show of defiance, the state legislature also passed a law changing the Georgia state flag in February 1956. The head of the state Democratic Party had suggested the idea in 1955, and two state senators proposed the legislation. According to the Georgia constitution, the state flag design was decided by the legislature. The public had no vote on it. Much of the new state flag was the Confederate battle flag, called the St. Andrew’s cross. The left-hand part of the flag was the state seal on a vertical blue background. State Representative Denmark Groover stated at the time that it would show “that we in Georgia intend to uphold what we stood for. . . .”

The flag became increasingly controversial in the 1990s, and African Americans and business leaders wanted to change it. Shortly before he died in 2001, Groover returned to the House chambers to admit that opposition to desegregation had been the motivation for the flag change. He called for the legislature to adopt a new flag “to end this caldron of discord.” In spite of efforts under Governor Zell Miller to change the flag, it took the effort of his successor Governor Roy Barnes to get a different flag. The current Georgia flag became official in 2004 when the voters chose its design over the Barnes flag.

In 1957, the first major effort at school desegregation at Central High School in Little Rock, Arkansas, had not gone well. There, nine African American students braved threats, shouts, and spitting as they made their way into the all-white high school. President Eisenhower used National Guard troops to protect the students for the entire school year.

Something Extra!

The written version of the Southern Manifesto was mainly the work of Georgia Senator Richard Russell. Georgia Senator Walter George read it on the floor of the U.S. Senate.

In Georgia, events moved more slowly. The governors, beginning with Herman Talmadge, threatened to close the schools rather than allow them to integrate. Both Governor Marvin Griffin, elected in 1954, and his successor Ernest Vandiver insisted that no blacks would attend school with whites in the state of Georgia. The legislature passed laws to try to make sure desegregation never occurred. One law said that the *Brown* decision was void in the state of Georgia. The state's leaders tried to justify these actions on the basis of states' rights.

Fear by white extremists of losing white supremacy also led to the resurgence of the KKK in 1955. The next year, several thousand Klan members gathered at Stone Mountain to burn a cross. Over the next few years, members of the KKK were involved in violence and even murder as they tried to stop any civil rights progress. Most whites were not that extreme, but they did fear a major change in their way of life. They had been raised in a Jim Crow system and just thought it was the natural order of things. Many believed that it was what God intended. Some whites feared that blacks would compete for their factory jobs.

A few whites actually spoke out in favor of civil rights. Many were religious leaders. One was Rabbi Jacob Rothschild of the Hebrew Benevolent Congregation in Atlanta. As early as 1947, the rabbi had taken a stand against the segregation of African Americans. In October 1958, the congregation's support for civil rights led to the bombing of its temple. While the sanctuary was not hit, other parts of the structure suffered over \$100,000 in damages. Both the mayor and the editor of the *Atlanta Constitution*, Ralph McGill, quickly condemned the action. Both blamed not only the extremists who carried out the action, but southern politicians who encouraged citizens to defy the law.

The Desegregation of Atlanta Schools

In 1959, a federal court ordered Atlanta to desegregate its public schools. Fearful that the legislature might close the schools, mothers, mainly white, formed an organization called HOPE, Help Our Public Education. Other Georgia cities also established chapters. The group strongly believed that closing public schools was wrong. Atlanta business leaders, however, had an economic concern. They were afraid that closing the schools was such open defiance of the Supreme Court that it would hurt the city's image and interfere with their efforts to bring northern businesses and investors to the city. They were supported by Atlanta Mayor William Hartsfield.

The legislature created a special commission to determine what to do. In 1960, Governor Vandiver appointed Atlanta attorney and banker John Sibley to chair the group, which became known as the Sibley Commission. Meeting in every congressional district in the state, the commission listened as Georgians voiced their opinions about how the state should respond. Although about two hundred African Americans did come forward, most speakers were white. The majority of those wanted to close the schools.

In the end, with many urban leaders opposed to school closure and many white citizens in favor, the Sibley Commission recommended that the choice of closing the schools or integrating them be left up to the local school boards.

Something Extra!

Ralph McGill's editorials in the *Atlanta Constitution* urging southerners to accept desegregation won the Pulitzer Prize in 1959.



Above: Despite insisting that black and white students would not attend school together in Georgia, Governor Ernest Vandiver saw Atlanta's schools integrated during his term of office.

Opposite page, above: One reaction to the threat of integration in Georgia was the adoption of a new state flag that incorporated the Confederate battle flag in its design. **Opposite page, below:** Georgia adopted its current state flag in 2004.



Above: Under progressive mayor William Hartsfield, Atlanta's schools were peacefully integrated in 1961. Here, counselor Dorothy Morr shows new student Mary McMullen her locker at Grady High School.

In 1961, Atlanta desegregated its schools with no incidents. In other places, desegregation took longer. In Augusta, the Board of Education's failure to act led to a lawsuit known as the *Acree* case. There, the court eventually hired outside experts to design a plan of more than token desegregation.

The Desegregation of the University of Georgia

The NAACP also wanted to integrate Georgia's public institutions of higher education. They looked for talented African Americans who met the admission standards.

Hamilton Holmes was the valedictorian of the Henry McNeal Turner High School, a top public high school for African Americans in Atlanta. Charlayne Hunter was also a top graduate. Both were active in school activities. Both were from respected families. Holmes's father was a businessman, while Hunter's father was an army chaplain. Holmes's goal was to become a doctor like his grandfather; Hunter dreamed of a career in journalism.

Their applications to the University of Georgia were rejected. Holmes entered Morehouse College, and Hunter headed to Wayne State University in Michigan. Meanwhile, they continued to apply every quarter, while the NAACP legal team with the help of three Atlanta attorneys took their case to court. In January 1961, U.S. District Court Judge William Bootle ordered that they be admitted to the University of Georgia, and both students registered for that winter session.

The national media was there to cover the event as the two arrived on campus to a mostly hostile white student body. Two days after their arrival, a riot broke out following a basketball game against in-state-rival Georgia Tech. Athens police broke up the riot with tear gas. Holmes and Hunter were suspended from school and taken to Atlanta by the Georgia State Patrol. A few days later, the courts ordered UGA to readmit and protect them.

Eventually, things settled down. Hunter graduated from the Grady School of Journalism and has had a very successful career in print and broadcast journalism. Holmes graduated with honors from the university and became the first African American admitted to Emory University School of Medicine. He became a well-known orthopedic surgeon in Atlanta and eventually medical director of Grady Hospital.

Reviewing the Section

1. Define: integration.
2. What was the Sibley Commission?
3. Why was the *Brown v. Board of Education* decision so important for Georgia?

Georgia Portraits

Charlayne Hunter-Gault

Born in the small town of Due West, South Carolina, Charlayne Hunter spent most of her childhood years in Atlanta. Her father was a chaplain in the U.S. Army, and the family sometimes accompanied him to his various posts. In her first year of high school, the family moved to Alaska, where her father had been assigned. There she was the only African American in a school of white classmates. She returned to Atlanta the next year to graduate third in her class at Henry McNeal Turner High School.

A talented writer who had been on the school newspaper, her dream was to become a journalist. One of the best journalism schools was at the University of Georgia, and she applied. The university turned her down, but she kept applying. Meanwhile, she attended Wayne State University, an integrated university in Michigan.

In 1961, federal Judge William Bootle ordered the University of Georgia to admit Charlayne and Hamilton Holmes. Placed in a dorm room by herself, Charlayne faced isolation. In her book, *In My Place*, Charlayne Hunter-Gault described falling asleep to the “Southern lullaby” that the white students shouted, “Two, Four, Six, Eight, We don’t want to integrate.” On the third night in the dorm, a brick flew through her window, and a riot began outside her dorm. She and Holmes were suspended.

Under a judge’s orders, she and Holmes returned to the school, where she settled into the routine of a somewhat lonely college life. She graduated in 1963 with her journalism degree. By that time, she was already well known.

Charlayne Hunter-Gault began working at the *New Yorker* magazine. She then became a news reporter and anchor for a television station in Washington,



Above: Charlayne Hunter and Hamilton Holmes at the end of their first day of classes at the University of Georgia.

D.C. From 1968 to 1978, she worked for the *New York Times*. She left the print media for the broadcast media when she became a reporter for the PBS national evening news show. In 1997, her husband, banker Ronald Gault, was transferred to South Africa. She became an Africa correspondent for National Public Radio (NPR) and later for CNN. Her work earned her many awards, including an Emmy and two Peabody Awards. The Peabody Awards, given by the Grady College of Journalism, are the top awards for broadcast journalists.

In spite of her difficult times at UGA, Hunter-Gault became a supporter of the university. In 1988, she became the first African American to deliver the graduation address at UGA. The school named a lecture for Hunter-Gault and Holmes. In 2001, UGA named the building where they had first registered the Hunter-Holmes Academic Building. The two funded a scholarship for African Americans at the university.

Section 2

The Grassroots Civil Rights Movement

As you read, look for

- the importance of boycotts, sit-ins, and freedom rides,
- the role of students in the civil rights movement,
- important organizations in the civil rights movement,
- terms: **Southern Christian Leadership Conference, sit-in, Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, Civil Rights Act of 1964, Voting Rights Act.**



Above: The impetus towards the civil rights movement increased with the return of African American soldiers from World War II. This 1947 demonstration was to protest the lack of any black police officers in Atlanta.

Early Efforts

During and after World War II, there were more acts of defiance against Jim Crow laws. In 1944, for example, students from Savannah State College staged a demonstration against Jim Crow bus laws by sitting in all the seats on a city bus and refusing to get up when whites got on. In many Georgia towns, new branches of the NAACP formed, and blacks demanded more

All of the activities by the courts were important to challenging the legality and constitutionality of segregation and disfranchisement. The court decisions and subsequent enforcement of those decisions based on the rights guaranteed by the Constitution opened the door to changing the system. But the movement for civil rights not only came from the efforts of the NAACP and the decisions of the national courts. Ordinary citizens, sometimes acting on their own, contributed. Their peaceful resistance and fight for dignity and justice was watched by Americans throughout the country. Gradually the walls of Jim Crow began to crumble.

job opportunities. In Atlanta, returning soldiers asked for jobs on the police force.

In Columbus, Dr. Thomas Brewer began to organize African Americans to challenge the system. Under his guidance, African American barber Primus King and others tried to vote in a primary election. When King was not allowed to register, he went to court. The lawsuit, which included an appeal to the U.S. Supreme Court, was successful, and thousands of Georgians began to register. With African Americans voting, their neighborhoods began to receive more services and make other gains. Unfortunately, Dr. Brewer ultimately paid for his activism with his life. After threats from the KKK, he was killed in 1956.

Buses and Nonviolent Resistance

Efforts to end segregation and discrimination were going on throughout the South. An incident in Montgomery, Alabama, was an important part of this work. In 1955, Rosa Parks, an active member of Montgomery's NAACP, refused to give up her seat on a full city bus when a white passenger got on. City police arrested her for violating the Jim Crow law. News of the arrest of this dignified, well-respected woman spread quickly. African Americans began a boycott of the city buses, refusing to ride until they could sit without discrimination. After a year of African Americans carpooling and walking, the courts found in favor of the African American community and ordered the buses desegregated.

In 1957, Atlanta's black ministers planned a boycott to desegregate buses there. The challenge was carefully planned. Six ministers rode the buses, being careful not to sit next to any whites. Mayor Hartsfield was notified of what they were doing. When the ministers sat at the front of the bus, white passengers got off. The bus went to the garage, where the six ministers were arrested for violating the Jim Crow law. This is exactly what they had planned. Their case went to court, which in January 1959 ruled in their favor. Atlanta's African Americans could ride the buses and sit wherever they wished.

William B. Hartsfield, the Atlanta mayor during the 1940s and 1950s, was a racial moderate who received the support of the Atlanta Negro Voter League in his election campaigns. Hartsfield believed that race relations would change, but he wanted to do it gradually. He worked to build a coalition of blacks and whites to work for the city's economic growth. He thought that good relations between the races were necessary to attract businesses and investors from other parts of the country. He wanted Atlanta to be the "city too busy to hate." Hartsfield worked with other leaders to have a peaceful desegregation of Atlanta schools in 1961 and tried to work with African American and white leaders during the bus desegregation movement and the student sit-ins. Although older black leaders wanted to work with Hartsfield and others like him, many student activists felt that his gradual approach was far too slow.



Above: This mug shot of civil rights icon Rosa Parks was taken not when she was arrested for refusing to give up her seat on the bus, but when she was arrested, along with other Montgomery civil rights leaders including Martin Luther King, Jr., for organizing an illegal boycott.

Something Extra!

The Montgomery bus boycott was originally intended to last for just one day.



Above: Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. rose to prominence as a leader of the civil rights movement during the Montgomery bus boycott in 1955. He became one of the most respected men in the world, winning the Nobel Peace Prize, and having his birthday declared a national holiday.

Martin Luther King, Jr. and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference

The Montgomery bus boycott led to the emergence of some capable leaders and an organizing philosophy for the movement. The most dynamic leader was the young minister of the Dexter Street Baptist Church, Martin Luther King, Jr. King was an African American born and raised in Atlanta. His father was minister of the Ebenezer Baptist Church in the heart of Atlanta's black downtown neighborhood. King was at work on his dissertation for a doctorate degree in theology from Boston University when he was thrust into the limelight by the Montgomery boycott movement.

King and his fellow ministers, such as the Reverend Ralph David Abernathy, insisted on working for justice and equality by resisting the Jim Crow system in nonviolent ways. This fit well with their belief in the teachings of Christianity. It was the moral anchor for their

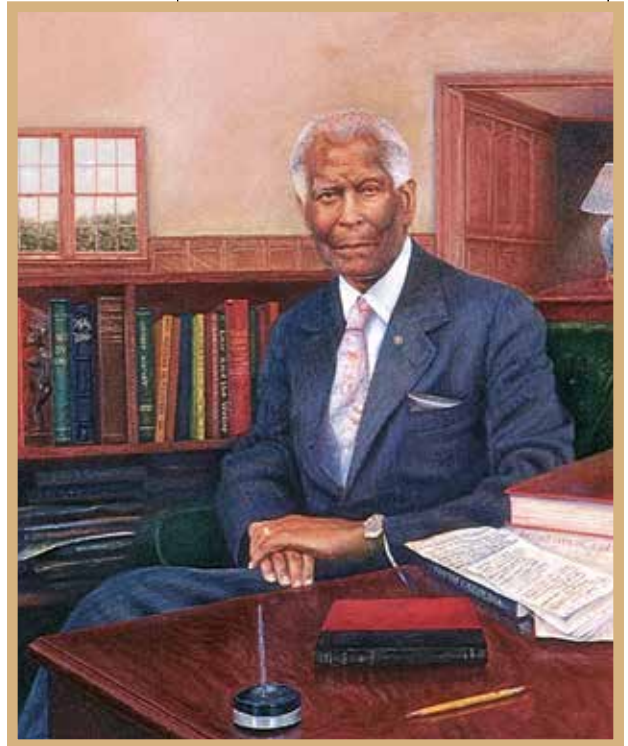
cause. King said that the work for civil rights would continue until "justice rolls down like water, and righteousness like a mighty stream," a quotation from the Bible. King and other civil rights leaders founded the **Southern Christian Leadership Conference** (SCLC) and moved its headquarters to Atlanta in 1957.

The SCLC planned and coordinated the movement. They held citizenship schools where local African Americans were taught the nonviolent methods of the movement. One of Martin Luther King's aides and a teacher of these methods was the Reverend Andrew Young, a minister of the United Church of Christ. He had been involved in voter registration drives in Thomasville in the 1950s. He came to Atlanta to join the staff of the SCLC in 1961.

One thing that King and many other young men of the civil rights movement had in common was that they were "Morehouse men." As graduates of Morehouse College in Atlanta, they had learned the values of duty and service to community. The remarkable Dr. Benjamin Mays, president of Morehouse from 1940 to 1967 and one of the most-respected African Americans in the country, was a role model for many. He became an adviser to presidents, especially John Kennedy and Jimmy Carter.

Mays had been born in rural South Carolina to parents who had been slaves and then tenant farmers. Raised in poverty, Mays worked his way through high school with any type of work he could get, including cleaning outhouses. He then worked his way through Bates College in Maine, where he was an honors student and on the debate and football teams. He received a master's degree and a Ph.D. from the University of Chicago. He had already written one book before he finished college and wrote several more in his career. His degrees were in religion, and his religion guided his life. His second book was titled *Seeking to be a Christian in Race Relations*. Mays believed in the dignity of all humans. He thought that segregation was against America's true principles. Having grown up in poverty himself, he was always concerned about the poor. He also believed in the value of learning and education. His own college education, he believed, had allowed him to free himself. At Morehouse, he tried to mold the young men in his care in these values.

His own life was an example of service. He was involved in reform efforts throughout his life. He served as president of the NAACP and on the executive committee of the International YMCA. He was a member and later president of the Atlanta School Board, working for a peaceful desegregation of the schools. Mays was a mentor (counselor and teacher) and supporter of the civil rights movement as long as it remained nonviolent and accepting of whites as well as blacks.



Students and the Civil Rights Movement

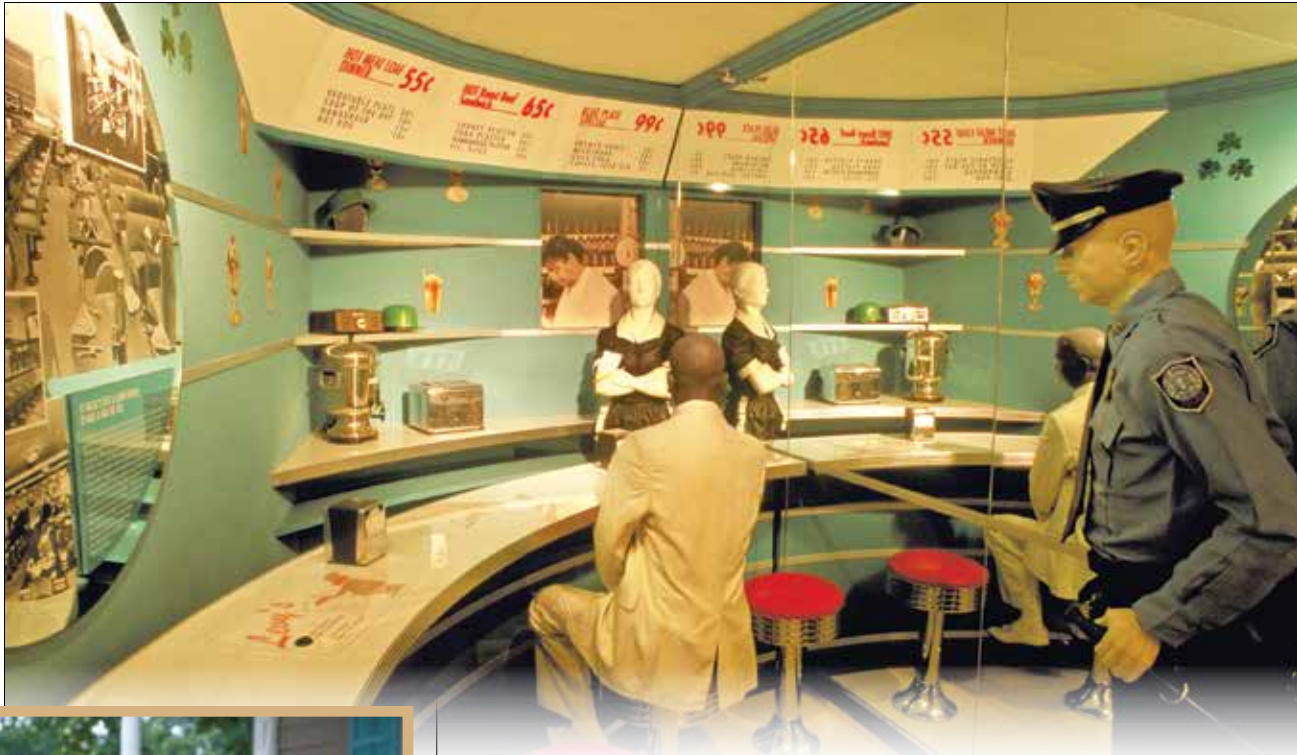
In February 1960, four African American students from North Carolina A & T College went to the lunch counter of the Woolworth's store in Greensboro, North Carolina. When they were refused service, they remained seated at the lunch counter in their coats and ties. More students came as the week went by, and the word spread to other cities. Within a couple of weeks, there were dozens of sit-ins throughout the South. A **sit-in** is a type of demonstration where people enter a public building and refuse to leave until they are served or their demands are met. In some places, the sit-ins brought integration of formerly segregated public places. In others, they resulted in white violence against the demonstrators.

In March 1960, Lonnie King and Julian Bond proposed an Atlanta sit-in. On the advice of the president of Atlanta University, the students first published an appeal to the citizens of Atlanta to be a progressive city and end discrimination. About a week later, over two hundred students staged sit-ins at lunch counters in the city. When talks resulted in no change, the sit-ins began again in October. One of the targets was the well-known Magnolia Room in Rich's Department Store in downtown Atlanta. Over fifty arrests the first day did not stop hundreds from turning out to sit-in at lunch counters around the city.

Above: Morehouse College president Dr. Benjamin Mays was mentor to a generation of civil rights leaders, known as "Morehouse men," that included Martin Luther King, Jr., Julian Bond, and Maynard Jackson.

Something Extra!

Over his career, Benjamin Mays received 56 honorary degrees.



Top: This exhibit at the Ralph Mark Gilbert Civil Rights Museum in Savannah recreates a sit-in at the Azalea Room lunch counter in Levy's Department Store, where blacks could shop, but not eat. NAACP leader Ralph Mark Gilbert is regarded as the father of the civil rights movement in Savannah. **Above:** W. W. Law led the Savannah civil rights movement as president of the local NAACP from 1950 to 1976. He founded the Gilbert Museum in 1993.

Mayor Hartsfield began talks between the African American community and white business owners, but there was no progress and demonstrations began again after a 30-day truce for the talks expired. Jails bulged with arrested protesters, and business sales spiraled downward. In early 1961, black and white leaders made a deal that desegregation would take place in the fall of that year. Only Martin Luther King, Jr. was able to convince the angry students to accept the delay.

Ella Baker was the executive secretary of the SCLC. In 1960, she worked with college students who had been involved in the sit-ins to found the **Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC)**, which chose Atlanta as its headquarters. SNCC, an organization of white and black college students, was very important in the efforts to desegregate public spaces.

One of the college students was Julian Bond. He had joined the movement while at Morehouse College, where he founded the Committee on Appeal for Human Rights. Bond directed SNCC's communications and edited the organization's newspaper *Student Voice*. Another SNCC leader, and chairperson from 1963 to 1966, was John Lewis who later became a U.S. congressman representing Georgia.

In 1961, the first "freedom rides" began. Even though the courts had already banned segregation in interstate travel, segregated seating was still the practice. On the first freedom ride, thirteen blacks and whites planned to ride together from Washington, D.C., to New Orleans. The freedom riders made it through Georgia. In Alabama, however, white mobs tried to stop the ride. In Anniston, a white mob slashed tires and set fire to a bus; in Birmingham, the students were attacked and badly beaten. John Lewis was among those students. In spite of the violence against them, integrated groups kept riding the buses throughout the summer.

The Albany Movement

In 1961, a movement began to desegregate Albany in Dougherty County, the first large-scale effort since Montgomery. In this rural area of the state, most blacks depended on whites for their livelihood, making protest a risky activity. Albany, however, had a core of middle-class blacks. Local citizens were joined by African Americans working with SNCC under the leadership of Charles Sherrod, a young African American minister. SNCC hoped to register African Americans to vote. That November, a group called the Albany Movement organized the fight to end discrimination. Protest marches led to the mass arrest of hundreds.

To get publicity for the movement, Martin Luther King, Jr. and some of his top assistants came to town in December and were arrested. When King and SCLC vice president Ralph Abernathy returned to Albany in the summer of 1962 for sentencing, they chose jail time over paying a fine. However, they were released against their will when an anonymous person paid their fines.

This active part of the Albany Movement slowed down by the fall of 1962. The Albany police chief kept arresting marchers until hundreds were in jail. King left Albany having learned several lessons that became important as the movement continued in Alabama. Although the Albany Movement did not result in the immediate change that many had hoped for, it began a process of bringing African Americans more power. Enough African Americans had registered to vote to almost get an African American businessman elected to the city council in the spring of 1963. The segregation ordinances in the city ended, although ending the customs and practices of segregation would take longer.

After Albany, SNCC workers went to another southwestern Georgia community, Americus. Outside Americus was the Koinonia Farm, led by Southern Baptist minister Clarence Jordan. Founded in 1942, the farm was a Christian community that treated all persons as equals, regardless of race or class. Throughout the 1950s, this integrated community had been attacked by white supremacists. When SNCC workers arrived, local activists were already there. The marches in the town began in 1963. During that summer, four SNCC workers involved in the marches and boycotts were arrested and charged with treason. They became known as the “Americus Four.” One of their defense attorneys was C. B. King of Albany. Their case, however, was eventually dismissed by the court.

Something
Extra!

The Albany Movement
was led by
Dr. William Anderson.



Above: Martin Luther King, Jr. talks to reporters on the steps of the Albany courthouse in 1961. Standing behind King are two lawyers who were leaders of the Albany Movement. On the left is C. B. King, who defended the “Americus Four,” and on the right is Donald Hollowell, known as “Mr. Civil Rights,” who sued the University of Georgia on behalf of Charlayne Hunter and Hamilton Holmes.



Something Extra!

The March on Washington, held August 28, 1963, was televised live to an audience of millions.

Civil Rights and the March on Washington

The movement continued in other parts of the South. With the lessons of Albany in their minds, leaders next focused on Birmingham, Alabama. As Americans watched their nightly news, they saw peaceful protesters in that city being set upon by police dogs. Police also used fire hoses, which were powerful enough to knock marchers to the ground or throw them into buildings. Over three thousand people, including Martin Luther King, Jr. were arrested. Birmingham police even arrested children along with adults. Dr. King wrote “Letter from a Birmingham Jail,” which appealed to the moral consciences of whites throughout the country. That summer, four little girls died when a bomb exploded in a Birmingham African American church.

These events spurred President John Kennedy to support a civil rights bill in Congress, saying the “time had come for the nation to fulfill its promise.” The bill met immediate opposition, especially from southern members, including Georgia’s congressmen and senators. In response, civil rights leaders took their message and hundreds of supporters to the nation’s capital that August. Almost a quarter of a million Americans, black and white, marched on Washington. The program began at the Washington Monument and moved to the Lincoln Memorial. Prayer, music, and speeches called for racial harmony, equality, and justice. Singers included the great African American opera star Marian Anderson and the gospel singer Mahalia Jackson. Leaders from all five major civil rights organizations delivered addresses. Speakers also included white supporters of the movement, including a major labor leader, Protestant and Catholic clergy, and Jewish rabbis.

The highlight of the day was the last speech—one delivered by Martin Luther King, Jr. entitled “I Have a Dream.” King was a beautiful writer and a powerful speaker. That day he gave one of America’s most memorable addresses. In his speech, he explained what African Americans faced in this country and said it was “time to make real the promises of democracy.” As he asked white Americans for justice and equality, he called on African Americans not to live with “bitterness and hatred.” Georgia was in his speech twice. As he explained his dream, he said “I have a dream that one day on the red hills of Georgia, the sons of former slaves and the sons of former slave owners will be able to sit down at that table of brotherhood.” As he ended the address with a series of cries to let freedom ring, he once again included his home state, saying “Let freedom ring from Stone Mountain of Georgia.” (Stone Mountain was known as the place where the KKK had been refounded.) King’s inspirational nonviolent work led to his winning the 1964 Nobel Peace Prize.

Before he could see the civil rights bill through Congress, President Kennedy was assassinated. His successor Lyndon Baines Johnson, a southerner from Texas, made it his cause to pass the bill. The **Civil Rights Act of 1964** made segregation and discrimination in public places illegal. That meant that restaurants, hotels, libraries, theaters, and the many other places open to the public suddenly became open to *all* the public. The act said discrimination in any projects that used federal money was also illegal, and it set up the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC). The act not only outlawed discrimination based on race, but on religion, national origin, and gender. Women were included, and before long the courts were hearing cases of discrimination against females.

Resistance to Civil Rights

In many areas of the South, violence continued. In 1963, civil rights worker Medgar Evers was assassinated in Mississippi. His killer, Byron De La Beckwith, was twice acquitted by all-white juries. Not until 1994 did a mixed-race jury find him guilty when evidence of wrongdoing in the first trials led to a new one. He died in prison in 2001. During the Mississippi Freedom Summer 1964 voter registration drives, three young men—African American James Chaney and whites Andrew Goodman and Michael Schwerner—were killed.

Georgia saw violence too. Lieutenant Colonel Lemuel Penn had done nothing to anger anyone. He was serving his country when he was killed for



Opposite page: Officially named the **March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom**, the one-day event was organized by a coalition of civil rights organizations, including the NAACP, the Urban League, the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), the SCLC, and SNCC. **Above:** Martin Luther King, Jr., on the right, gave his most famous speech on this day. John Lewis, on the far left, gave the most controversial speech, criticizing the Kennedy Administration for not doing more to protect civil rights demonstrators.



Above: President Lyndon Johnson completed the work begun by John Kennedy with the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. **Below:** Julian Bond was initially denied his seat in the General Assembly in 1966 due in part to his views on the Vietnam War.

being black. In July 1964, members of the KKK in Athens murdered the Army veteran and reservist. Penn had left Fort Benning following reserve training and was on his way home to Washington, D.C., with two fellow reservists. On a bridge, a car pulled up beside his car and shot Penn. Governor Carl Sanders spoke for many Georgians when he said he was “ashamed for myself and the responsible citizens of Georgia that this occurrence took place in our state.” Although an all-white jury in Georgia acquitted the two men arrested, a federal court convicted the two on federal charges of conspiracy based on the Civil Rights Act. The case and trial also led to an investigation of the KKK and its campaign of lawlessness and violence.

Voting Rights and Changing Politics

In 1965, the civil rights movement began voter registration work in Alabama. In Selma, over two thousand were jailed for peaceful demonstrations for the vote. In March, protesters planned to march from Selma to Montgomery to demand voting rights. As the marchers tried to cross the Edmund Pettus Bridge over the Alabama River, state troopers attacked and beat them. John Lewis was beaten unconscious. Following the first march in Selma, the protest continued. Two whites working with the movement there, Reverend James Reeb and Viola Liuzzo were killed by the KKK.

The day after Liuzzo’s death, President Lyndon Johnson called her husband and assured him that his wife had not died in vain. Johnson said, “This is going to be a battle, all out as far as I am concerned.” Johnson then asked Congress to pass a measure to ensure that every citizen could vote. The **Voting Rights Act of 1965** made literacy tests and other methods used to undermine the Fifteenth Amendment illegal. Any changes to state voting laws had to be approved by the U.S. Justice Department to ensure they did not undermine the Voting Rights Act. To make sure southern states followed the law, federal registrars oversaw voting registration and the voting process.

The act had a major impact. Black voter registration increased immediately in Georgia and throughout the South. Blacks not only had more influence on white candidates, but they began to recruit minority candidates for office. Black office holding began to climb. In 1962, Leroy Johnson of Atlanta became the first African American elected to the state legislature since 1907. In 1965, Julian Bond of SNCC was elected to the Georgia House along with seven other African Americans. Two also became state senators. At local levels in cities and towns, school boards, city councils, and county



commissions gained African American members. The number of African Americans in office at all levels continued to rise for the rest of the twentieth century and was an established tradition by the twenty-first century.

Andrew Young

One of the beneficiaries was Andrew Young, who had a long career in public office, both elected and appointed. Young was elected to the U.S. House of Representatives in 1972. Georgia had not sent an African American to Congress since the Reconstruction period. When fellow Georgian Jimmy Carter became president in 1977, he appointed Young as the U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations. There, Young became an advocate for helping the nations that were just beginning to develop and modernize. He also agreed with President Carter's concerns for human rights for people throughout the world. In 1979, Young resigned his position after it became known that he had talked with a member of the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO).

In 1982, Young became mayor of Atlanta, serving two terms in that office. In 1990, he ran in the Democratic primary for the governor's office, but was defeated. However, his time as a leader in Atlanta was not over. In the mid-1990s, he co-chaired the Atlanta Committee for the 1996 Olympics. Both Morehouse College and Georgia State University have honored Andrew Young by naming important programs in their institutions for him.

Maynard Jackson

Another important African American politician was Maynard Jackson. Like Martin Luther King, Jr., Jackson was a Morehouse graduate. He first won the vice mayor's position in Atlanta in 1969. In 1973, at the age of thirty-five, he became mayor of Atlanta. This was a first in the South. No major southern city had elected an African American mayor at that time.

His two terms changed economic opportunities for African Americans in the city and made it an attractive city for upwardly mobile minorities. Before Jackson became mayor, minority-owned businesses received less than 1 percent of the contracts for work on city projects. Under his administration, that rose to over 30 percent. Jackson also divided the city into neighborhood zones for planning purposes and included representatives of the neighborhoods themselves in the actual planning. Jackson convinced financial institutions in Atlanta to include African Americans and women. A major project during his term was a new terminal at Atlanta's Hartsfield Airport, increasing its capacity.

Jackson could not run for a third straight term, so he was out of office from 1982 to 1990, while Andrew Young served as mayor. Jackson worked as a lawyer during that time. In 1990, he ran for a third term and won. From



Above: Andrew Young has had a distinguished career in public service, as a U.S. congressman, United States ambassador to the United Nations, and two-term mayor of Atlanta. He received the Presidential Medal of Freedom in 1981.



Above: One of the “Morehouse men,” Maynard Jackson became in 1973 the first black mayor of a major southern city. His three terms in office were highlighted by increased economic opportunities for African Americans, a major expansion of the airport, and bringing the Olympic Games to Atlanta.

1991 to 1994, he worked hard with business and other leaders on Atlanta’s successful proposal to become the site of the 1996 Olympic Games.

Accomplishments

The activities of the civil rights movement resulted in some changes in Georgia and other areas of the South. In 1961, the Lockheed-Georgia Plant in Cobb County, which manufactured planes for the military, became the first major corporation in the country to work out a desegregation plan with the national government. The company agreed to desegregate its assembly lines and to train and place African Americans in supervisory positions. This was a first step to more equality in jobs in Georgia.

Cities and towns took down the “White” and “Colored” signs that had told people where they could and could not go. In Atlanta, those signs came down in City Hall on his orders the day after Ivan Allen, Jr. became mayor in 1962. Allen had defeated segregationist Lester Maddox in the election. Allen was important in moving Atlanta forward in civil rights. Under Allen, Atlanta’s black policemen could carry out their duties with all citizens; they had the power to arrest whites as well as blacks. Allen ordered the hiring of African American firefighters. One of the reasons that Atlanta had desegregated many of its hotel and restaurants prior to the Civil Rights Act was due to the efforts of Mayor Allen. Allen saw to it that Martin Luther King, Jr. was honored for winning the Nobel Peace Prize in 1964 with a dinner that included black and white leaders, a major step forward for Atlanta.

Much of the formal civil rights movement in Georgia began to fade by the late 1960s. There were still racially motivated incidents, including a major confrontation in Georgia—the Augusta riot of 1970. In spite of set-backs, however, African Americans had developed political influence, were serving in political offices, and were no longer barred from public spaces simply because of the color of their skin.

Reviewing the Section

1. Define: sit-in.
2. What was the purpose of freedom rides?
3. How did the Voting Rights Act impact the civil rights movement?

Of Special Interest

Music of the Movement

One of the tools of the civil rights movement was music. Songs bolstered the protesters' hopes and courage and brought a sense of solidarity. Many of the movement's songs came from the long tradition of African American spirituals and church music.

In December 1962, SNCC field secretary Cordell Reagon formed the Freedom Singers. He and Charles Neblett of Illinois teamed with Rutha Harris and Bernice Johnson of Albany. The group toured the country singing "freedom songs" to raise money for SNCC. In August 1963, the group sang at the March on Washington. In 1995, Rutha Harris brought back the songs of the movement when she founded the Albany Civil Rights Museum Freedom Singers, which still performs at the Albany Civil Rights Institute.

Throughout the civil rights struggle, songs remained important. Words in familiar songs were often adapted to fit the movement. For example, in the song "Ain't gonna let nobody turn me 'round," the word "nobody" was replaced by "segregation," then "injustice," "Jim Crow," and "jailhouse."

Songs often focused on the goal of the movement—freedom. "I woke up this morning with my mind stayed on freedom" and "Oh, Freedom" are two examples. Folk singer Joan Baez sang "Oh, Freedom" as the first song performed at the 1963 March on Washington. Music such as "We shall not be moved," inspired protesters to stay the course in spite of threats, beatings, and arrests.

In the early 1900s, James Weldon Johnson had written a poem entitled "Lift Every Voice and Sing," which his brother John Rosamond Johnson set to music. The uplifting song became known as the "Negro National Anthem" and was an important song in the movement.

However, the anthem of the movement, and for protest movements before and after, was "We Shall Overcome." This song was sung on marches, in jails, and at almost all gatherings, often by large crowds with hands and arms locked together. These songs were powerful and unifying, helping the civil rights workers keep their "eyes on the prize."



Rutha Harris (center) and today's Freedom Singers perform every month at the Albany Civil Rights Institute.

Chapter Review

Chapter Summary

Section 1 The Presidents, the Courts, and Civil Rights

- The U.S. Supreme Court decision in *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka* declared the separate-but-equal concept unconstitutional.
- Fear by white extremists of losing white supremacy led to the refounding of the KKK in 1955.
- In 1956, white southern members of the U.S. Senate and House wrote the Southern Manifesto attacking the Brown decision.
- As a show of defiance, the state legislature passed a law changing the flag of Georgia in February 1956.
- In 1959, a federal court ordered Atlanta to desegregate its public schools. The Sibley Commission recommended that the choice of closing the schools or integrating them be left up to the local school boards.
- Hamilton Holmes and Charlayne Hunter were the first two African Americans admitted to the University of Georgia.

Section 2 The Grassroots Civil Rights Movement

- In 1955, after Rosa Parks refused to give up her seat on a city bus in Montgomery, Alabama, African Americans began a bus boycott, refusing to ride until they could sit anywhere. A year later, the courts ordered the buses desegregated.

- In 1957, Atlanta's black ministers planned a similar bus boycott. In January 1959 the court ruled in their favor, and African Americans could ride the buses sitting wherever they wished.
- Atlanta Mayor William B. Hartsfield worked with black leaders to peacefully desegregate Atlanta schools in 1961.
- Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. and other civil rights leaders founded the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) in 1957. Dr. King was an important figure in the civil rights movement.
- Dr. Benjamin Mays, president of Morehouse College, was a supporter of the nonviolent civil rights movement and a mentor to many of the young men in the movement.
- In February 1960, four African American students staged the first sit-in in Greensboro, North Carolina. Lonnie King and Julian Bond led an Atlanta sit-in that resulted in desegregation in 1961.
- In 1960, Ella Baker, executive secretary of the SCLC, worked with college students to found the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC). Julian Bond and John Lewis were members.
- In 1961, the Albany Movement worked to end discrimination in Albany. While not as successful as some hoped, it did provide important lessons for the civil rights movement.
- In 1963, President Kennedy submitted a civil rights bill to Congress. That August, civil rights leaders and hundreds of supporters marched on Washington where Martin Luther King, Jr. delivered his "I Have a Dream" speech.

- The Civil Rights Act of 1964 made segregation and discrimination in public places illegal and discrimination in any projects that used federal money illegal. It set up the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC).
- In 1965, Congress passed the Voting Rights Act of 1965, which outlawed literacy tests and other methods used to keep blacks from voting. Minority office holding began to climb. Julian Bond won a seat in the Georgia House along with seven other African Americans. Andrew Young was elected to the U.S. House of Representatives in 1972. Maynard Jackson won the vice mayor's position in 1969 and in 1973 became mayor of Atlanta.



Understanding the Facts

1. Explain the facts surrounding the *Brown v. Board of Education* decision. How does this ruling differ from *Plessy v. Ferguson*?
2. Who were the first two African Americans to attend the University of Georgia?
3. Explain some of the steps taken by Mayor William B. Hartsfield to improve race relations in Atlanta.
4. List some of the changes made in Atlanta government under the guidance of Ivan Allen, Jr.



Developing Critical Thinking

Compare the Georgia flag adopted in 1956 to the flag we have today. Evaluate the design and symbolism of each flag.



Writing Across the Curriculum

Imagine you were on the bus when Rosa Parks declined to give up her seat. Write a letter to a friend that describes what you saw happen on the bus. Include your feelings about what you saw that day.



Extending Reading Skills

Read the section on Voting Rights and Changing Politics, pages 622-623. Make a summarizing chart like the one on page 602 to record information on the Voting Rights Act. Then, write a summary from the information you collect.



Exploring Technology

Hartsfield-Jackson International Airport is one of the busiest airports in the world. Access the website for the airport and explore information about the facilities there. According to the latest world rankings, does it still handle more passengers than any other?



Practicing Your Skills

Access the entire script for Dr. Martin Luther King's "I Have a Dream" speech. Study the words in detail and look for the meaning between the lines. In your own words, summarize the key points of Dr. King's speech.