



Photographer: Clyde Collier
Sit-In at G.C. Murphy Co. lunch counter, Rome, GA, 1963

REFORM AND RESISTANCE: CIVIL RIGHTS IN GEORGIA

Standard: SS8H11 Evaluate the role of Georgia in the modern civil rights movement.

- Explain Georgia's response to Brown v. Board of Education including the 1956 flag and the Sibley Commission.
- Describe the role of individuals (Martin Luther King, Jr. and John Lewis), groups (SNCC and SCLC) and events (Albany Movement and March on Washington) in the Civil Rights Movement.
- Explain the resistance to the 1964 Civil Rights Act, emphasizing the role of Lester Maddox.

This educational resource addresses all the required components of Standard SS8H11 through the use of primary sources from Northwest Georgia. It provides student activities that connect local events in Rome and Cartersville to actions being take by the state of Georgia and the national government.

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OBJECTIVES

- Explain the various responses of Georgians to *Brown v. Board of Education* and the Sibley Commission and develop a visual graphic that highlights the different attitudes toward school integration.
- Put in sequence the actions leading up to 1963 Rome Sit-Ins
- Collect and analyze data on the purposes and motivations of different Civil Rights organizations
- Explain the responses of different Georgians to the Civil Rights Act of 1964



RESOURCES

- Mini-lesson Civil Rights in Georgia
- Opener
- Four student activities
- Answer key
- Link to further information



VOCABULARY

Brown v. Board of Education, massive resistance, Governor Ernest Vandiver, Sibley Commission, local option, Martin Luther King, Jr., John Lewis, Southern Christian Leadership Conference, Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, Albany Movement, March on Washington, Civil Rights Act, Lester Maddox

REFORM AND RESISTANCE: CIVIL RIGHTS IN GEORGIA

In 1954, the Supreme Court ruled that in education, separate was inherently unequal. The case, **Brown v. Board of Education**, hinged on a black family who wanted to enroll their daughter in the neighborhood white school rather than the cross-town school for African Americans. The Supreme Court's unanimously decided that young people, when denied the ability to attend a particular school based only on one's race, could develop feelings of inferiority that negatively impacted their educations.

As in most of the South, staunch segregationists dominated Georgia state government during the mid-1950s. Many of these political leaders adopted a policy of **massive resistance**, in which they opposed all forms of integration. In the 1954 Democratic primary for Georgia governor, for instance, candidates advocated for different methods to resistance public school integration. Some called for abolishing the Supreme Court, others wanted to relocate every black citizen out of the state of Georgia, and one even wanted to declare all supporters of integration legally insane and then lock them up in a state mental institution. The Georgia General Assembly in 1955 passed a law that would make it a crime punishable by two years in prison for any state funds to be used to support an integrated school.

In 1956, the Georgia legislature passed a **flag change bill** that prominently incorporate the Confederate battle flag into the state flag of Georgia. The adoption of the new flag symbolized to many the state's rejection of federal demands for the integration of public education. Two years later, **Governor Ernest Vandiver** won a landslide victory in Georgia by pledging that "no, not one" black child would ever attend a white school.

A 1959, court integration order for an Atlanta school district tested Vandiver's promise. State law required him to close down schools that received integration orders, but the governor feared such a move would be an economic and political disaster. He asked Atlanta lawyer and member of the Berry College Board of Trustees, John Sibley, to hold ten hearings across the state to determine whether Georgia citizens were willing to shut down the state's public schools to preserve segregation.

The **Sibley Commission** found that 60% of Georgian's wanted to end all state funding for public schools, rather than integrate. Sibley himself, however, believed continuing massive resistance would end poorly. Sibley wanted to turn control of integration over to local schools systems, which could use a variety of tactics to limit the impact of desegregation. In this way, the state could satisfy the specific requirement of a court order without following its integrationist intent. As a result of this **local option** approach, many Georgia schools did not begin the process of desegregating until after the passage of the 1964 Civil Rights Act.

Despite national government pressure to integrate Georgia's public school, other areas of life in the state continued to uphold segregation. In response, some African Americans began to advocate for black civil rights and the integration of all aspects of society in the 1960s. The most famous of these advocates was **Martin Luther King, Jr.**, whose non-violent approach earned him the Nobel Peace Prize in 1964 and led to the creation of a national holiday in his honor in 1983.

King rose to prominence in the Civil Rights Movement through his support of the the Montgomery Bus Boycott, an organized protest by blacks in Montgomery, Alabama to quit using the bus system in city until it abandoned its segregated seating policies. He followed up this endeavor by establishing the **Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC)** in 1957. SCLC used the influence and power of black churches to work for political and economic equality for African Americans.

King and the SCLC also worked with the **Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee** (or SNCC, pronounced "snick"), an organization of high school and college students founded in 1960. SNCC organized nonviolent protests of unjust laws, like the sit-in demonstrations held at segregated lunch counters and restaurants. In 1963, **John Lewis**, the son of Alabama sharecroppers, became the chairman of SNCC. As leader of the organization, Lewis was involved in many major Civil Rights' protests, including the 1963 March on Washington and the 1965 Selma to Montgomery march that demanded African American voting rights. In 1986, twenty years after stepping down as leader of SNCC, Lewis was elected as a Georgia representative to the U.S. House of Representatives.

A method used by SNCC and the SCLC to challenge segregation was to hold demonstrations and protests in communities where Civil Rights activists could expect to be met with violent responses from the local police force. The publicity generated by these types of incidents often resulted in intervention by the national government to protect the activists and growing public support for integration. One such planned protest was the unsuccessful 1961 **Albany Movement** in Georgia. Despite Civil Rights supporters challenging all types of segregation laws and launching several boycotts, Albany police chief Laurie Pritchett avoided using the type of violent crackdowns that would have generated sympathy for the activists. Instead, he responded with mass arrests of around 500 protestors, holding them in jail for short sentences or until they paid relatively light fines. After nearly a year of demonstrations, Civil Rights workers had made little progress in ending segregation in Albany.

The police chief in Rome, Georgia followed a similar strategy in dealing with the Main High School students who staged sit-ins at segregated Broad Street lunch counters in March 1963. Rather than using any overt violence, 62 of the student participants were arrested on charges of loitering and disorderly conduct. Most were found guilty were given the choice of paying a \$50 fine or spending a week in jail.

It was violent responses to Civil Rights campaigns, like what occurred in in Birmingham, Alabama, that led President John F. Kennedy to propose the **Civil Rights Act** in June 1963. This legislation focused on ending segregation in public facilities, making racial discrimination in hiring illegal, and giving the national government more power to enforce the Supreme Court's decisions ending racial segregation in public schools.

In an effort to gain public support for the passage of President Kennedy's Civil Rights legislation, Martin Luther King, Jr. organized the **March on Washington**. This event, which took place on August 28, 1963, gathered around 250,000 black and white supporters of the Civil Rights Movement in front of the Lincoln Memorial in Washington, DC. Martin Luther King, Jr. gave his "I Have a Dream" speech at the event. In this speech, King repeatedly referred to his dream of a future where men and women would be judged by their characters and actions, not by the color of the skin.

The Civil Rights Act became law in 1964 partly due to the public's desire to honor President Kennedy who had been assassinated in November of 1963. Following the passage of this act, restaurants, hotels, motels, and lunch counters in Rome and throughout the rest of Georgia began to serve both black and white customers. Although there were a few violent incidents that accompanied the desegregation of public facilities, integration at most places occurred peacefully.

One significant exception to the nonviolent acceptance of integration occurred at Lester Maddox's Pickrick restaurant in Atlanta. When three African American theology students attempted to eat there following the passage of the Civil Rights Act, Maddox, supported by his white customers, ran them off at gunpoint. The students sued and although the Supreme Court upheld the Civil Rights Act as constitutional, Maddox sold his restaurant rather than be forced to integrate it. Maddox was elected as Governor of Georgia in 1967.

OPENER

Segregation had existed for decades, and yet the Civil Rights movement successfully changed that during the 1960s. Historians often point to television and photography for bringing to light the inequalities of the Jim Crow system and white supremacists violent backlash to Civil Rights protests. To assess students' prior knowledge, have them look at many of these famous images and write about what they know.

Instruct each student to pull out a sheet of paper. Then, tell the students the class will be discussing the Civil Rights Movement, and that you will be showing a series of images from that period. Students are to do two things with every photo they see: DESCRIBE what is occurring in the picture, and IDENTIFY the picture if they are familiar with it. For example, if a student is shown a picture of the March on Washington, they would describe it as "A large crowd of people are gathered in Washington D.C.," and, if they were familiar with the picture, they would also identify it as "The March on Washington."

Images can include: The March on Washington, the March on Selma across Edmund Pettis Bridge, the famous photo of the dog lunging at a civil rights protestor in Birmingham, Alabama, a picture of the 1956 Georgia flag change, a picture of Martin Luther King, Jr. giving his "I Have a Dream Speech", sit-in pictures, Lyndon B. Johnson signing the Civil Rights Act, etc.

Alternative: students can do a similar thing where they write down their prior knowledge, but their comments would be based on their knowledge of Civil Rights events/proper nouns, rather than pictures. For example, Martin Luther King, Jr., John Lewis, the Civil Rights Act, the March on Washington, I Have a Dream, Selma, the Montgomery Bus Boycott, etc.

The purpose of this activity is to gauge students prior knowledge so you can determine the best activities from this lesson plan to choose from. This activity can also be performed again AFTER the lesson, to assess student understanding.

STUDENT ACTIVITIES

The following are complete activities that can stand alone or be modified to better fit the content of a specific course or the ability levels of a particular group of students. Instructors are encouraged to revise or expand upon these materials with additional resources that best promote active learning and student engagement.

1 ACTIVITY ONE Sibley Commission Jigsaw

In this activity, students will use primary sources to identify the various responses by diverse groups of Georgians to the *Brown v. Board of Education* decision and the Sibley Commission report. Students will then construct a visual graphic or chart that ranks the various views of integration from most resistant to least resistant.

3 ACTIVITY THREE Civil Rights Organizations

Students will gather information on three civil rights organizations using a data collection chart. They will then use the chart to place a list of historical actors in the group in which they participated. This activity helps strengthen students ability compare similarities and differences.

2 ACTIVITY TWO The Rome Georgia Sit-Ins

This activity asks students to determine the sequence of events leading up to the 1963 sit-ins on Broad Street in Rome, Georgia. Students will need to consider cause of effect to correctly arrange the series of quotes written by the African American students from Main High School, who participated in the sit-ins.

4 ACTIVITY FOUR Responses to the Civil Rights Act

This activity has students read about some of the different ways that Georgians' responded to the passage of the Civil Rights Act. They will then condense and paraphrase those different responses as a way to demonstrate their ability to read critically and identify the main points of different types of primary sources.

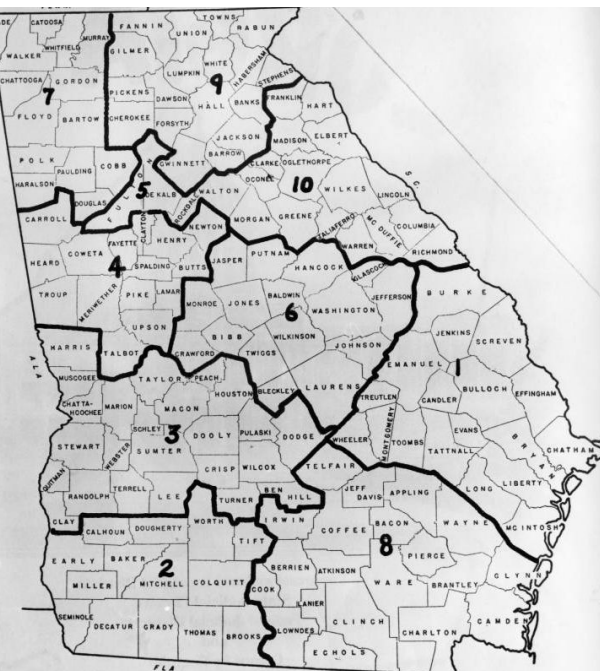
ACTIVITY ONE: SIBLEY COMMISSION JIGSAW

INSTRUCTIONS

Students should be placed into four "expert" groups. Each of these groups represents either a specific person or group of people interested in the subject of school integration in Georgia. All four groups will receive a copy of the "Digest of the Sibley Report." Each group will also receive one individualized primary source that directly addresses their person's point of view on integration.

Relying on these two sources each group should determine their person's or group of people's attitude toward school integration.

When completed the expert groups should disband and form "roundtable" groups that include one person from each of the four groups. The roundtable group will share what they learned in their expert groups with the other roundtable members. The roundtable should then rank the four different perspectives from most resistant to integration to least resistant to integration on a visual graphic or chart they construct.



Map outlining school districts where the Sibley Commission will hold public hearings, 1960.

Source: AJCP298-020a, Atlanta Journal Constitution Photographic Archives, Special Collections and Archive, Georgia State University, Atlanta.

Key People

John A. Sibley - A lawyer, successful businessman, and trustee of Berry College, who was appointed by the Georgia General Assembly to chair hearings throughout the state to determine whether or not Georgians favored shutting down all public schools in order to prevent integration.

J. Battle Hall - Floyd County's Representative to the State General Assembly, and a member of the Sibley Commission.

Jule Levin - President of the Rome Chamber of Commerce and member of the Rome Council on Human Relations, a civil rights group intent on ending racial discrimination.

Floyd County Residents - The population of Floyd County in 1960 was 69,130. Its largest city was Rome with 32,226. 36% of the population was 18-years-old or younger and 14% of the population non-white. The median family income in the county was \$4,669 and the median income of non-white families was \$2,582.

DOCUMENT FOR EVERY GROUP

"Digest of the Sibley Report and Summary of Georgia Laws Relating to School Segregation," 1960

WHAT THE SIBLEY REPORT SAYS –

The 1960 Georgia General Assembly set up a Committee on Schools, ordered it to hold hearings throughout Georgia, find out how the people felt about the future of their schools, and report by May 1.

The chairman was John Sibley; the Committee and the Report came to be popularly known by his name.

The Committee held hearings in each Congressional district and heard 1,800 witnesses (1,600 white and 200 Negroes) who said they represented 115,000 people. Two out of three of the people who testified favored closing Georgia's public schools rather than complying with orders of the Federal Court to integrate any of them.

The Committee members made their report on April 28. They agreed on two things: (1) they all deplored the Supreme Court decision, believed that it was wrong, and that both races could be better educated in separate schools; (2) they all, however, recognized that the decision is a fact and that Georgia must cope with it in some way.

THE REPORT HAS TWO PARTS: A Majority Report and a Minority Report

The Majority Report, signed by 11 members including the chairman, wants the schools kept open and laws passed to control integration which the courts may decree. The controls they recommend are these:

ACTIVITY ONE - CONTINUED (page 2)

(1) by pupil placement

(2) by local option that would allow the community to decide when or whether to close or re-open its own schools, and

(3) by providing that any dissatisfied parent could take the tuition grant and send his child to another school.

This freedom of choice, the Majority felt, would insure the parent the greatest freedom in protecting the welfare of his child, and would guarantee that no child would be compelled to go to school with a child of another race.

The Minority Report, signed by 8 members including the vice-chairman, favors keeping the present laws, closing all schools rather than allowing any Georgia school to be integrated, and going to a system of tuition grants and private schools if the courts order any integration anywhere.

THE MAJORITY REPORT SAYS

There are two choices:

Choice Number 1: The people of Georgia can keep the existing laws.

These provide that the Governor is to close any Georgia school or school system that is ordered integrated by the Court. Local citizens do not now have any choice in this matter.

This, under the Georgia law, would result in the closing, one by one, of the schools as the Court orders them integrated. However, the Federal Courts in the Norfolk Case held that the state cannot close public schools in one system and continue to operate public schools in other systems; the State must provide public education for all or none.

This continued state policy could result in the closing of all public schools in Georgia and the establishment of private schools with tuition grants for pupils. In such event, the Courts have held no publicly-owned school buildings, buses, books, or any other property, can be used by private schools. A private school must be private in fact as well as in name.

Choice Number 2: The people of Georgia can operate a system of public school education within the limits of the Supreme Court decision.

This will keep the maximum segregation possible, allow the local communities to determine the issue for themselves, and insure each parent the greatest possible freedom in protecting the welfare of his own child. This also would avoid the closing of all schools, in case of integration is ordered in one school. It would not interfere with the continued operation, on a segregated basis, of those schools not affected by the Court decree. (The alternative is coercive integration—the worst possible sort—by court order, with no safeguards whatever available to the local people and no freedom of action on the part of the parents of the children.)

To set up such a system of education, these two changes in the Georgia Constitution would be necessary:

(1) A fundamental right should be written into the Constitution guaranteeing that no child be required to attend school with a child of another race.

(2) Local determination to close schools or to reopen them should also be provided.

(Other necessary statutes to set up this system of education should be enacted.)

The Majority Report, therefore, recommends that these issues be submitted to the people so that they may choose the one which they consider best for their children.

ACTIVITY ONE - CONTINUED (page 3)

DOCUMENT FOR JOHN A. SIBLEY EXPERT GROUP

"Report of the Georgia Assembly Committee on Schools," 28 April 1960

Those who insist upon total segregation must face the fact that it cannot be maintained in public schools by state law. If they insist upon total segregation everywhere in the State, they must be prepared to accept eventual abandonment of public education.

Those who insist upon total segregation, but who back away from closing the schools, are not only deceiving themselves and the people, but are creating a very difficult and harmful situation: if the State stands upon the present laws, yet declines to accept the ultimate closing of the schools, the result will be integration in its worst form: coercive integration by court order, with no safeguards available to the local people and no freedom of action on the part of the parents of children affected.

The alternative is to establish a system of education within the limitations of the Supreme Court decision, yet one which will secure the maximum segregation possible within the law, which will vest the control of its schools in the people of the community, and which will ensure the parent the greatest freedom in protecting the welfare of his child.

To put this alternative into effect, the Committee believes that some changes are necessary in the Georgia Constitution. The guaranty that no child should be required to attend school with a child of another race ought to be one of the fundamental rights protected by the Constitution.

Notes about Sibley's view of desegregation:

ACTIVITY ONE - CONTINUED (page 4)

DOCUMENT FOR J. BATTLE HALL EXPERT GROUP

Letter from J. Battle Hall to Rose Levin, 29 January 1960

Dear Mrs. Levin:

Of course I was already aware of yours and Jule's position on the School Integration problem, and I am sure that you are cognizant of mine. In my opinion the best way to destroy the Georgia Public School System is to integrate.

Please rest assured that I will do everything possible toward seeing that our children have an adequate opportunity for a good education and according to the wishes of the people of Georgia.

Very truly yours,
J. Battle Hall

Notes about Hall's view of desegregation:

ACTIVITY ONE - CONTINUED (page 5)

DOCUMENT FOR JULE LEVIN EXPERT GROUP

Jule Levin Testimony before Meeting of the General Assembly on Schools - Seventh Congressional District, 10 March 1960

Q: (Chairman John Sibley) You are from Floyd County?

A: (Jule Levin) Yes, sir.

Q: Will you identify yourself?

A: Rome, Georgia. I am Jule Levin. I represent myself, my wife, my sister, my brother-in-law, and a host of friends with whom I have spoken.

Q: What is your business?

A: I am a merchant half the time, and a civic worker the other half. But I am here primarily because I am a parent.

Q: Now you heard the choices given this morning, did you not?

A: Yes, sir. I would say first, and unequivocally, I am for local option, but uninterrupted schools, at any cost. I say this, and I say this in the deepest sincerity: As a child I was the son of immigrant parents, who might be compared to the lot of the Negroes today. The public schools gave me a wonderful opportunity to grow into what I would like myself to be. Inside I like myself for the way I think, for the way I work for the community, for the way I work for society. I think this is the greatest function of public schools, is to prepare well-adjusted people. To close public schools to me is an act of suicide on the part of society.

Notes about Levin's view of desegregation:

ACTIVITY ONE - CONTINUED (page 6)

DOCUMENT FOR FLOYD COUNTY RESIDENTS EXPERT GROUP

Coleman Prophett, "Floyd Witnesses for Open Schools, Cartersville Hearing Testimony Strongly Favors Local Option," *Rome News Tribune*, 11 March 1960

Romans testifying before the State School Study Commission in Cartersville Thursday favored by 3-1 some form of local decision on the school segregation issue.

Nearly 100 witnesses who testified before the commission's first North Georgia hearing voiced the same general sentiment although there was strong support for "Segregation at all costs."

Witnesses appearing before the commission, which was formed by the General Assembly to determine public sentiment on the school issue, came from 11 of the 14 counties in the Seventh Congressional District. Many presented petitions or the results of polls conducted by civic, business, labor and professional groups, so the opinions given the commission yesterday actually reflected the thinking of thousands of persons over the district.

Strong for Open-Schools

It was the strongest open-school sentiment the commission, headed by Atlanta banker John A. Sibley, has encountered so far. Previous hearings have been held at Americus where there was a strong segregation trend, and at Washington where opinion was more evenly divided.

The commission opened its fourth session in LaGrange today.

Here is the way Floyd Countains appearing before the commission Thursday expressed themselves, in order of their appearance:

E. Russell Moulton, superintendent of Lindale schools, said he represented the Floyd County Education Assn. and that 192 of the 260 members of the association had been polled on the alternatives of closing schools to avoid integration or establishing some form of local option-pupil placement plan. The result, he said, was 189-3 in favor of local option.

The people of Floyd County are fully capable of deciding how they want their schools operated," Moulton said.

Notes about Floyd County residents' views of desegregation:

ACTIVITY ONE - CONTINUED (page 7)

Roundtable Group

1. What was John Sibley's view of desegregation and why did he hold this view?

2. What was J. Battle Hall's view of desegregation and why did he hold this view?

3. What was Jule Levin's view of desegregation and why did he hold this view?

4. What was the view of desegregation held by Floyd County residents and why did they hold this view?

In this box, produce a visual graphic or chart that represents the four different perspectives on school desegregation from most resistant to least resistant to integration.

ACTIVITY TWO: THE ROME, GEORGIA SIT-INS

INSTRUCTIONS

For three days in February of 1963, students from Main High School, the school for African Americans in Rome, Georgia, engaged in sit-ins at segregated restaurants on Broad Street. Although no one was arrested during these incidents, the police wrote down the students' names and they were given warnings about the consequences of any future sit-ins. The Rome Council on Human Relations intervened and asked city leaders to push for the voluntary desegregation of eating establishments, but made little progress. Tired of waiting for equal treatment at public facilities in Rome, around one hundred Main students staged sit-ins at four different downtown locations on March 27, 1963. Sixty-two students were arrested and many spent the weekend in jail before standing trial the next week on charges of loitering and disorderly conduct.

Using the above information as a guide, students should cut out the quotes below, which were written by the Main High School students who participated in the sit-ins. Relying on what they know about cause and effect and the information they can infer directly from the quotes, students should arrange the quotes sequentially from what occurred first to what events happened last during the sit-in.

Optional modification: If you would like to increase level of analysis required by the students, once they have put the quotes in order, either in small groups or as a class, discuss the content of each quote and whether or not the events it described were a necessary cause, contributory cause, or neither for the actions described in the following quote. A necessary cause is any action that was an essential occurrence before the action following it could happen. A contributory cause is a cause that helped lead to the action that followed, but was not sufficient to cause the end result by itself. A selection of neither suggests that quote provides additional detail or information, but did not directly or indirectly cause the actions that occurred after it.

From Rose Esserman Levin, *Voices in Protest*

(A) We left school campus about 3:15, on our journey. By the time we reached Gibbons Street, we were stopped by some students that had come from Albany, Georgia, so we decided to go to the Girls' Club and listen to what they had to say. Their group consisted of two boys and one girl. They said they were here to help us, and told us what we were getting into. After they had finished, we moved on toward the downtown area.

- Ender H.

(B) "After we had sat there about 30 minutes, the manager ordered that the counters be closed. The waitress pretending to wash off the counters...After throwing a bucket of soap and water on us, she went to get another one, and while she was gone, one white boy said, "Make sure you put some ammonia in it, and maybe it will wash that black off them." The worst thing, while she was doing this the policemen and white spectators had the nerve to laugh. The waitress laughed while she was doing it.

- Ender H.

(C) It was the first period and the day seemed as if it were going to be just like any other day. I was sitting in Homemaking doing nothing in particular, when this person came up to me and asked me if I was afraid to sit-in. I told him no. He asked me if I would be willing and I said yes. Then he gave me a sheet of paper to sign my name. I went home and told my mother. She left the decision up to me and told me to do what I thought was right. So I did.

-Mary H.

(D) "I, along with four other students, entered the store... the police came and told us the counter was closed and if we did not leave, we would be placed under arrest. I wondered if the officer would hit me because I refused to move. He asked us again to leave but we did not. Then he placed us under arrest. I turned around on the stool and asked the officer what was the charge. He replied 'loitering.'"

- Lonnie M.

ACTIVITY TWO - CONTINUED (page 2)

(E) We left Main High School at 3:10 p.m. We were in groups, walking slowly. We were to walk in the stores at 4:00. At Sixth Avenue, I could see police riding the street and there were many more than usual on a day like this. As we neared the downtown area, I felt an object inside me. It was something that went all over my body. I felt as if someone was pouring cold water on me.

-Lonnie M.

(F) "Reluctantly, we stood up and the officer lined us up and marched us to the side entrance where there was a patrol car waiting for us. As I entered the car, I wondered why I was being carried to jail. I had done nothing wrong; after all, we are human beings. As the car pulled up to the jail, I could hear the students singing and clapping their hands."

-Lonnie M.

(G) Without the help of any adults, the young people sat-in on February 25-27. They were not arrested, but they were warned against repeating the incident. There was a great deal of criticism from the adult Negroes. That really surprised me, it was as if they were willing to go along with anything the white man gave them, but the students decided they had waited long enough. It had to be us, the young people, to make these giant steps for equal rights, and most of all, for freedom.

-Eula Mae F.

(H) On March 27th, a group of boys came up to me and said, "Will you be afraid to sit-in tomorrow in the downtown area?" I said no, I was not afraid. So they told me to come to a meeting and I did. Lonnie M., chairman, called the meeting to order. After devotion, he asked twenty people to lead groups, and they accepted. After dividing us into groups, we discussed our plans and waited for what could be the most dangerous and defiant day of our lives.

-Harry H.

ACTIVITY THREE: CIVIL RIGHTS ORGANIZATIONS

INSTRUCTIONS

Students should read the following excerpts from the founding documents of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), and the Rome Council on Human Relations (RCHR). On the provided chart, students should mark which of the listed characteristics each of the groups meets. Using the completed chart, students should be able to determine the group in which each historical actor was a member.

From Constitution and By-Laws of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), [c 1957]

Section 3. Purposes. The objects and purposes of said Corporation are to exist and function as an [charitable] organization, and more particularly to organize and maintain Christian guidance to aid in improving the Civic, Religious, Economic, and Cultural Conditions in the South and in the Nation. Said Corporation intends to strive towards greater understanding in all efforts toward interracial development and good will: to assist in developing Christian Leadership in the South and in the Nation; to work with National, State and Local Agencies in development of Christian fellowship; to work with such groups in the attainment of interracial unite harmony, understanding and opportunity; to secure, through research and action programs the practices of opportunity for all the people, irrespective of race; to educate and offer information concerning opportunities; to conduct public forums on the obligations of Citizenship; to promote registration and other Civic participation which fulfills the individual's obligations and promotes the general welfare. This organization hopes to achieve its purposes through non-violent direct action, lectures, dissemination of literature and other means of public instruction.

From Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) Founding Statement, 1960

We affirm the philosophical or religious ideal of nonviolence as the foundation of our purpose, the presupposition of our belief, and the manner of our action.

Nonviolence, as it grows from the Judeo-Christian tradition, seeks a social order of justice permeated by love. Integration of human endeavor represents the crucial first step towards such a society.

Through nonviolence, courage displaces fear. Love transcends hate. Acceptance dissipates prejudice; hope ends despair. Faith reconciles doubt. Peace dominates war. Mutual regards cancel enmity. Justice for all overthrows injustice. The redemptive community supersedes immoral social systems.

By appealing to conscience and standing on the moral nature of human existence, nonviolence nurtures the atmosphere in which reconciliation and justice become actual possibilities.

Although each local group in this movement must diligently work out the clear meaning of this statement of purpose, each act or phase of our corporate effort must reflect a genuine spirit of love and good-will.

From the Original Constitution and By-Laws of the Rome Council on Human Relations, 1961

Section 1. The purpose of this organization shall be:

(a) To devise, develop, publicize and execute techniques and programs which will promote good will and understanding and counteract prejudice and discrimination based on racial, national or ethnic group membership.

(b) To encourage other groups to become and remain active in the above objective.

Sources: Southern Christian Leadership Conference, *Constitution and By-Laws of Southern Christian Leadership Conference*, [c 1957] and Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, "Founding Statement," April 1960, in Civil Rights Movement Archive, Tougaloo College, accessed on 18 November 2019, <https://www.crmvet.org/>; John R. and Annabel H. Bertrand, *Rome Council on Human Relations, 1962-1988: Historical Survey Based on Documentary Sources*, December 1988, Frances Freeborn Pauley Papers, 1919-1992, Stuart A. Rose Manuscript, Archives, and Rare Book Library, Emory University, Atlanta, GA.

ACTIVITY THREE - CONTINUED (page 2)

	SCLC	SNCC	RCHR
Embrace nonviolence			
End racial discrimination/ support integration			
Improve economic opportunities for all people			
Promote civic and political participation			
Promote good will and understanding between different racial and ethnic groups			
Uphold Christian and Judaeo-Christian values			
National Organization			

Members of Civil Rights Organizations

Ralph Abernathy, an African American minister who helped lead the Montgomery Bus Boycott

Likely a member of: _____.

C.W. Aycock, African American principal of Main High School in Rome, Georgia and a member of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People

Likely a member of: _____.

John Bertrand, white president of Berry College in Rome, Georgia, who integrated the college in 1964

Likely a member of: _____.

Franziska Boas, white dance instructor at Shorter College in Rome, Georgia, who had previously operated an integrated dance studio in New York

Likely a member of: _____.

Julian Bond, African American student at Morehouse College who led student protests in Atlanta against segregation in public facilities

Likely a member of: _____.

Martin Luther King, Jr., an African American minister who helped lead the Montgomery Bus Boycott

Likely a member of: _____.

Diane Nash, an African American student at Fisk University and the leader of the nonviolent sit-in movement in Nashville

Likely a member of: _____.

ACTIVITY FOUR: RESPONSES TO THE CIVIL RIGHTS ACT

INSTRUCTIONS

Below are four different responses from Georgians to the passage of the Civil Rights Acts of 1964. This activity asks students to paraphrase and condense the main arguments in each of the responses down to one sentence.

When completed students should get into small groups of 2-4 and compare their paraphrased sentences. Did they agree upon the main points of each of the original responses? If not, they should work together to further condense their individual sentences into a single group sentence for each response.

The activity can conclude with a general classroom discussion about the main arguments in each of the responses and what explains the different ways Georgians responded to the Civil Rights Act.



Pro-segregation demonstrators picketing at Governor Ernest Vandiver's mansion, Atlanta, Georgia, 14 July 1959.
Source: AJCP338-044h, Atlanta Journal Constitution Photographic Archives, Special Collections and Archive, Georgia State University, Atlanta.

Letter from Anne Penn to Rose Levin, n.d. [c. 1964]

Anne Penn was a 31-year-old African American woman from Rome, Georgia. In this letter to her former employer Rose Levin, she discusses the situation in Rome following the passage of the Civil Rights Act.

Since the Civil Rights Bill have been signed this place have been in a mess and I am not ashamed to say I am scared. Maybe not for me so much but for my children, its not even safe for them to walk along the streets.

I wonder Mrs. Levin when will all this be over an[d] will the Negro man ever have complete freedom. I don't think so. There will just be fighting an killing an more fighting.

This Mr. Goldwater I don't care for either but he said something that was really true. He said the law could go so far but the rest of it had to come from the heart.

Paraphrase and condense the main points in Penn's response:

Georgia Council on Human Relations, Compliance Report - The Civil Rights Act, 15 July 1964

The Georgia Council on Human Relations (GCHR) was biracial group that worked to end racial, religious, and ethnic discrimination across the state of Georgia. It had chapters in several communities around the state, including Atlanta, Columbus, Macon, Rome, and Savannah. This a report detailed the extent to which Georgia communities were complying with the anti-segregation provisions of the Civil Rights Act.

Atlanta - Compliance is general with the exception of Heart of Atlanta Motel and Pickrick. These cases are being tried. Three whites arrested in melee at Lakewood Park when Negroes attempted to hear [George] Wallace speak.

Cedartown - Hotels and restaurants are open with exception of Wayside Inn which is reportedly not open. Police Chief W. M. Moss is doing a good job of encouraging compliance. Negroes believe he will persuade the Wayside Inn to open. Police protection has been good through the testing period. Negroes have agreed to attempt attending schools only for classes not taught in Negro schools.

ACTIVITY FOUR - CONTINUED (page 2)

Cartersville - There has been no organized testing here, however it seems there will be compliance. There is evidence that Negroes will stay away from likely trouble spots – swimming pools, bowling alleys and pool rooms. Negroes were harassed after leaving the bowling alley.

Rome - Restaurants, Hotels, Motels, lunch counters seemed to all have agreed to open, all have not been tested. Holiday Inn is open. Mr. [Oliver W.] Holmes (African American leader in the GCHR) spent the night at the Hotel General Forrest. The bell captain took him to his room, and said, "I've waited 33 years for this moment, I've taken many whites up this elevator, but you're the first one of us." As Mr. Holmes was seated in the dining room a white man leaving said "Let me hurry up and pay this check and send \$100 to Goldwater!"

The two (one Negro and one white) swimming pools closed. After a deal with the Negro leadership the pools opened with an understanding of "no testing yet" from the Negroes. Police Chief is keeping order. Turned back a large group of white hoodlums who were starting to make trouble. A group of whites with Alabama license plate were waiting for Negroes at the movie.

Paraphrase and condense the main points in GCHR compliance report:

WSB-TV Interview with Lester Maddox, [11 August] 1964

Lester Maddox was the owner of the Pickrick, a restaurant in Atlanta. When three African American theology students attempted to eat in his restaurant after the Civil Rights Act was signed, Maddox, supported by his white customers, ran them off at gunpoint. The students sued and although the Supreme Court upheld the Civil Rights Acts as constitutional, Maddox sold his restaurant rather than be forced to integrate it. Maddox was elected as Governor of Georgia in 1967.

Reporter: Mr. Maddox how do you feel about the decision by Justice Black?

Maddox: Well, I am shocked and I am hurt that there would be further thinking or opinions along the lines that I must surrender as a free American citizen to the ungodly and communistic and unconstitutional Civil Rights Act of 1964. That Lyndon Johnson had previously said that such legislation would bring about a police state in America. Now he has fathered such legislation, he has brought it about and I'm living right in the middle of police state, and I am saddened and hurt, as I stated. Don't think it is so important to Lester Maddox and the Pickwick as it is to all of America that every citizen regardless of race, color, or creed, has now become a pawn of the political aspirations of people who know that they have placed our country and our people in this state....

Reporter: If a test should come tomorrow by Negroes what actions...

Maddox: I can't say exactly say what will take place tomorrow unless I know what I am going to do. I can this...

Reporter: What you might do with the Pickwick should it be forced to close?

Maddox: Oh, no sir, not too much thought to that because the U.S. Constitution doesn't say that I have to integrate or segregate or that I've got to sell or I've got to go into a private club or any of those things. The United States Constitution gives me private property rights and rights as a citizen and it gives me the further assurances that neither me nor any other person regardless of he be Negro or white must be subjected to involuntary servitude. And this bill says that I've got to subject myself, become subservient to, the communistic-inspired racial agitators. And I stand on the Constitution that that is in violation of my constitutional rights as an American.

Paraphrase and condense the main points in Maddox's response:

Speech by Frances Pauley to the Hungry Club, 6 October 1965

Frances Pauley was the Director of the Georgia Council on Human Relations. On October 6, 1964 she made the following speech, which talked about the impact that the Civil Rights Act had on those Georgians who supported the end of racial segregation

During the months that preceded the passage of the 1964 Civil Rights Act, we followed the various amendments and discussions in the Congress. We worried about the weakness of the Bill. We certainly worried about the enforcement of it.... During this time we did not fully appreciate the positive effect it would have.

ACTIVITY FOUR - CONTINUED (page 3)

I remember June 1964, talking to the operator of the Holiday Inn in Jesup, Georgia and asking him ‘What will you do when the law passes?’ He answered “It never will pass.” Generally throughout the state the segregationists still believed that [Senator Herman] Talmadge and [Senator Richard] Russell could save them. Many times we heard, “It will never happen here. Maybe in Atlanta or even Savannah – but not here!”

But July 2nd did come. Suddenly there was a wonderful feeling of relief. We had a law behind us. We could continue to go to the restaurant owner and say “It is right for you to treat all men – won’t you consider changing your policy?” Now we could add, “IT IS THE LAW.” Many of our members had a new feeling of security in working for the open society....

Today the Negro is on the threshold of the freedom that is now his by law. It is still denied him by violence and by the ingenuity and craftiness of the segregationist. But this too will pass. Perhaps then Georgia, finding no further alternatives, will broaden its policies and embrace a truly democratic society.

Paraphrase and condense the main points in Pauley's response:

_____.

Small Group's paraphrased and condensed sentences -

Penn Letter:

_____.

Georgia Council on Human Relations Compliance Report:

_____.

Lester Maddox Interview:

_____.

Frances Pauley Speech:

_____.

Sources: Letter from Anne Penn to Rose Levin, n.d. [c. 1964], Jule and Rose Esserman Levin Family Papers, Cuba Family Archives for Southern Jewish History, The William Breman Jewish Heritage Museum, Atlanta, GA; Georgia Council on Human Relations, Compliance Report - The Civil Rights Act, 15 July 1964 and Speech by Frances Pauley to Hungry Club, 6 October 1964, Frances Freeborn Pauley Papers, 1919-1992, Stuart A. Rose Manuscript, Archives, and Rare Book Library, Emory University, Atlanta, GA; WSB-TV, Maddox Will Refuse to Serve "Communitistic Inspired Racial Agitators" at the Pickrick Restaurant to Preserve His Aligence [sic] to God, 1964, wsbn31716, WSB-TV newsfilm collection, reel 0710, 16:54/26:54, Walter J. Brown Media Archives and Peabody Awards Collection, The University of Georgia Libraries, Athens, GA.

ANSWER KEY

Activity One: Sibley Commission Jigsaw

Possible Responses Include:

- John Sibley - Keep public schools open, but preserve maximum segregation possible
- J. Battle Hall - Integration will destroy public education
- Jule Levin - Keep schools open, public education should provide opportunities for all Americans
- Floyd County - Keep schools open, let local communities decide integration issue

In order of most to least supportive of integration: Levin, Floyd County, Sibley, Hall

Activity Two: Rome, Georgia Sit-Ins

Order of Events: G, C, H, E, A, B, D, F

Optional Modification: The responses to analyzing the cause and effect of each event as necessary, contributory, or neither to the event following is open for debate based on the explanation of the student.

- February sit-ins ->agreeing to participate in new sit-in: Contributory
- Agreeing to participate in new sit-in -> planning new sit-in: Necessary
- Planning new sit-in -> nervous as near downtown: Contributory
- Nervous as near downtown -> get advice from Albany students: Neither
- Advice from Albany students -> students sit at lunch counter: Neither
- Students sit at lunch counter -> students are arrested: Necessary
- Students are arrested -> students re taken to jail: Necessary

Activity Three: Civil Rights Organizations

	SCLC	SNCC	RCHR
Embrace nonviolence	✗	✗	
End racial discrimination/ support integration	✗	✗	✗
Improve economic opportunities for all people	✗		
Promote civic and political participation	✗		
Promote good will and understanding between different racial and ethnic groups	✗	✗	✗
Uphold Christian and Judaeo-Christian values	✗	✗	
National Organization	✗	✗	

Ralph Abernathy - SCLC
C.W. Aycock - RCHR
John Bertrand - RCHR
Franziska Boas - RCHR
Julian Bond - SNCC
Martin Luther King, Jr. - SCLE
Diane Nash -SNCC

Activity Four: Responses to the Civil Rights Movement

Possible Responses Include:

- Anne Penn - Fear and concern about backlash against African Americans following passage of the Civil Rights Act.
- Georgia Council on Human Relations - Believes good progress is being made to integrate public facilities and accomodations now that Civil Rights Act has been enacted.
- Lester Maddox - Upset and angry at the idea of being either forced to close his resturant or integrate it.
- Frances Pauley - Civil Rights Act gave her hope and optimism that integration would be accomplished more quickly.

Further Information on the Civil Rights Movement in Rome, Georgia is available at:
<https://sites.berry.edu/civilrights/>

