

History 332-01, Spring 2005
Civil Rights and Black Freedom (RI, WI)

Professor Tom Jackson
Office: 200 McIver Building
Office Phone: 334-5709; History Dept.: 334-5992
Office Hours: T, 1:30-2:30, Th, 12:30-1:30, W, by appt.

Tuesday, Thursday, 11:00-12:15
HEHP 351
tjackson@uncg.edu

This course begins with the assumption that women's activism and issues of human rights and economic justice were integral elements of the African American freedom movement that spanned the twentieth century. The civil rights movement of the 1950s and 1960s looks different in this light, less distinctive chronologically and regionally, and suffused with issues not traditionally regarded as central to "civil rights" politics. This was more than simply a heroic battle against southern segregation, violence and disfranchisement. It was more than a series of dramatic, publicized confrontations that led to national policy breakthroughs. It was also a mass movement of ordinary people, intensely local, rife with internal conflict and contending ideologies, confronting bitter failures as well as extraordinary breakthroughs.

Reconsidering the traditional civil rights narrative, we will examine Martin Luther King's nonviolence, celebrity, and charismatic leadership in the context of his larger commitments to racial and economic justice, to international peace and to a global war on poverty. As a related issue, we will examine the mass media's powerful role in communicating (and obscuring) the movement's aspirations to national and international audiences. We will examine issues and people that did not make headlines: grass-roots organizers, women, labor union activists and working class "foot soldiers," northern civil rights activists, articulate black nationalists, and especially, people who insisted that class and gender equality must also be goals in the struggle for racial equality. We will draw on scholarship, biographies, memoirs, oral histories, letters, speeches, interviews and news coverage.

I have tried to balance different requirements and modes of learning appropriate to both WI and RI credit. We will have common readings and discussions, mini-lectures, and film excerpts. You will come away from the class understanding the civil rights era's major events, conflicts, models of social change, personalities, achievements, and unresolved issues. More practically, you will improve skills central to the writing process: paraphrasing, quotation, argumentation, evidentiary support and coherent essay construction. You will improve your mastery of several major tools of historical research.

I require short response papers on primary and secondary sources, regular discussion, and a final essay, which will expand on previous writings in light of scholarship and additional primary source material you will discover. Each of you will chose several days when you will commit yourself to writing short papers on assigned readings or on recommended readings and suggested topics that appear under that day on the Blackboard site. I will provide supplementary primary sources and specific directions to collections of material that shed light on different issues. But what you and your peers take away from the class will depend more than usually upon what you put into it. I ask therefore that on those days that you write papers to come to class prepared to inform the class of your insights.

The Research Intensive requirement was recently developed by the History Department to better prepare all of you to take History 511. Our 4th learning goal envisions your development as an independent researcher, a self-starter, a producer as well as a consumer of knowledge. Those of you new to research will sometimes feel overwhelmed or confused, as I do still. The

research library and the Internet are places in which you can get hopelessly lost! Help is on the way. To minimize this feeling, I have identified or set aside on the Blackboard site a whole set of primary research sources for you to easily retrieve and analyze. I also provide suggestions for reading additional scholarship that is directly germane to the class and that might help you clarify your research.

For the purposes of group cohesion and focus, I will not approve research topics that fall outside of the scope of the course, that do not emerge from the many questions that we confront together here. Nor will I approve anything based on research and writing you have already done for another class.

Come see me: I cannot stress enough how important your conversations with me (and your peers and the research librarians) will be to your path through this class. I have been walking this terrain for nearly 20 years, so I can be invaluable in showing you shortcuts. I can help you find and give my judgment on the reliability and fruitfulness of your sources. Use my office hours or time just before or after class to get suggestions and get your bearings. I am also happy to coach you on writing. So are the folks at the Writing Center.

A note on Internet research: Many who grew up during the last 20 years unfortunately may have done most of their "research" by clicking a mouse. While we now have an amazing and expanding wealth of scholarly knowledge and primary documents at our fingertips on the Internet, this is truly the tip of the iceberg. There is no substitute for a good research library (until Google puts Stanford and Harvard on-line, and even then they will miss manuscript collections). **If your location, schedule or responsibilities make it very difficult for you to use Jackson Library, talk to me.** You may exercise your curiosity and creativity. But for the purposes of this class, you may only use approved web sites listed on the Blackboard site. By no means will I accept *any* written work based on anything like Encarta Encyclopedia, on random web surfing, or anything other than primary documents and scholarship. Those wishing to do oral history must make an appointment with me for a tutorial on oral history research.

Lateness Policy: Please, do not even ask unless personal illness, family loss or serious emergency intervenes. Any essays relevant to the class period you signed up for will not be accepted after that class. You will have to sign up for a subsequent day to make up the lost credit.

Academic Honor Code: I remind you that the URL for the University's Academic integrity policy is <http://saf.dept.uncg.edu/studiscp/Honor.html>. If you have not read it, please do so thoroughly. Beware of copying without citing sources; this is a special danger with respect to the Internet, a wonderful tool that has also contributed to the proliferation of plagiarism (and the ease of catching it). If you "cut and paste" even one sentence -- even if you rearrange some words -- and do not use quotation marks appropriately *and* cite the source, you are plagiarizing, cheating and cheapening the value of honestly written work done by your peers. The university requires me to impose a range of punishments depending on the infraction: failure on an assignment or failure in the course with a permanent record of the violation in the Office of Academic Affairs. People accused of plagiarism are entitled to an Honor Board hearing. Recall that university expulsion is automatic for repeat offenders with a documented record of plagiarism. See Rampolla, *Guide to Research*, chapter 6, for more information. Dartmouth College and Georgetown University each have superb websites on the nuances of plagiarism.

Available for Purchase at the UNCG Bookstore, Adams Bookstore, or Amazon:

Stephen B. Oates, *Let the Trumpet Sound: The Life of Martin Luther King, Jr.*, (New York: Perennial, 1994).

Lynne Olson, *Freedom's Daughters: The Unsung Heroines of the Civil Rights Movement from 1830 to 1970* (New York: Scribner, 2002).

Mary Lynn Rampolla, *A Pocket Guide to Writing in History*, (Bedford St. Martins, 2004).

Other required and optional readings will be found on the Blackboard website. I will note when something is only found in the Jackson Library electronic reserves or hard copy reserves.

Course Requirements

I. Reading and Preparation

II. Attendance

III. Class Participation (20%)

IV. 4 Writing Exercises on Your Selections from Common Readings (20%): 3 primary source readings and 1 secondary source reading.

V. 3 Writing Exercises on Supplementary Primary Sources (30%): 3 Essays using as wide a range of primary sources as possible (there are some documents and many suggestions on Blackboard). KEEP ALL YOUR WRITING ASSIGNMENTS TO HAND BACK TO ME IN APRIL.

VI. Final Paper Proposal (5%).

VII. Final Paper (25%) (Be aware of the weight given this assignment. This has to be truly polished and substantive. Start thinking about it soon.)

I. Reading and Preparation: You must consistently prepare and be willing to share insights. I assign 80-100 pages per week (the two texts are quite readable narrative histories). Take appropriate notes and think about the material in light of questions generated by you, your classmates and me (posted on Blackboard's "Discussion" site). *Why* do these stories, events, personalities, issues, social conflicts and divergent ideologies *matter*? Nobody remembers or learns anything from things that don't matter! I will not evaluate your *retention of information* or test your *pre-defined knowledge*. The key words are *interpretation, evidence, discovery, historical imagination and relevant knowledge*. This means grappling with *issues* as well as events, *factors* as well as facts, *ideologies* as well as *ideas, cumulative "social learning"* as well as "*what happened" involving individuals and episodes*.

II. Attendance: Attendance is mandatory. You must come to class. Don't blow this class off. Come join us. Don't sleep in. Bring your coffee. The freedom movement developed through *cumulative* social learning, confrontation and debate. So will your knowledge. Success of a "Research Intensive" depends more than usually on sharing of ideas and practical research experiences. *You must email me in advance if you will miss class, before or within 24 hours after class*. Absences are excused only on grounds of personal or family illness or serious emergency. Do not give me detailed explanations. More than three unexcused absences and your final grade will suffer. Three *consecutive* unexcused absences and I will ask you to drop the course.

III. Class Participation (20%): Come prepared with notes, questions and answers to the questions posted on the Blackboard "Discussion Board." Stay on topic and in dialogue. Always relate interpretation and evidence. Balance listening and talking. Challenge others' views with respect and defend your own with humility. Be ready to change your mind! I may ask for informal in-class writing or even stage pop quizzes to gauge your comprehension. Anecdotes, family stories and references to current issues are great, but cannot substitute for thorough preparation in the material we have read in common and research we have done individually. Those who aren't big "talkers" may make up for some of your in-class reticence by posting to the discussion board.

All of you should feel free to respond, raise your own questions, or comment on issues the class was not able to cover well.

IV. Four Writing Exercises Based on Your Selections from Our Common Readings (20%):

3 primary source readings, 1 secondary source: Sign up soon on my door to write 4 short essays (450-600 words) (2 pp.) on assigned readings that shed different light on the issues covered by the two books. Do not write on Oates or Olson except as reference points to provide context or comparison. Three essays will respond to primary sources. One essay will be based on your analysis of an assigned secondary source. Do not merely summarize. ANALYZE and ASSESS THEIR IMPORTANCE AND VALUE. HINT: Pick a secondary source that deals directly with what you may be interested in researching. [NB: Primary sources are historical records produced by historical actors themselves. Secondary sources are scholarly articles or book chapters written by historians or skilled nonfiction writers, with the benefit of hindsight and systematic evaluation of many sources].

For the primary sources (designated **PSA** here and on your Blackboard Gradebook): What experiences, analysis or dimensions of an issue does this source add to the perspectives given in Oates or Olson? What is valuable or challenging? First, you should describe the overall point of view, thesis, main ideas or purposes of the piece. Every source wants to persuade someone of something. Then analyze how the evidence provided by this source broadens or challenges our understanding. Refer only briefly to Oates or Olson when it serves to highlight the value or new perspective of the source.

For the secondary source (**SSA** here and the Blackboard Gradebook): What is the scholar's thesis or argument? What are the three main ideas or conclusions? How do they add to the perspectives of Oates or Olson? Again, mention Oates or Olson only as reference points for comparison, or for placing what you are reviewing in context. See Rampolla on history papers and theses, pp. 27-34.

Example: If you are writing on a selected chapter of Timothy Tyson's biography of Robert Williams, don't just summarize the fact that in 1959 Williams asserted the rights of local NAACP chapters to organize self-defense gun clubs, to "meet lynching with lynching." Write something like: "Oates unearths the intellectual traditions King drew upon to defend nonviolence as a strategy of social change. It was surely a powerful ideology, necessary both to reassure nervous whites and to educate blacks in the possibilities of Gandhian social action. But Tyson's portrait of Williams reminds us that ordinary southerners continued to rely on traditions of armed self defense to protect their persons and social spaces. Shooting back at Klansmen trying to firebomb your church meant protecting the only place where protesters could *learn* nonviolence. If advocating that blacks 'fight lynching with lynching' carried 'connotations' of insurrection and rebellion, as King charged, Williams stood his ground (usually) on the principle of self-defense." [That first sentence would be the only reference to Oates that your paper would make].

Format: If you are reviewing one source, you may give a bibliographic citation at the top of the page and then place page references after quotes. If you include other references you must use the footnotes style outlined in Rampolla, ch 7.

V. Three Writing Exercises on Your Discovery of Extra Primary Sources (30%):

3 Essays using as wide a range of primary sources as possible (some documents and many suggestions are on Blackboard). Sign up soon to write 3 essays (900-1200 words) (3-4 pp.) analyzing one big or a few smaller primary sources, placing them in the context of that day's reading and questions. Each essay must draw upon *different* kinds of sources than what you have used before (i.e. don't use the *New York Times* on line constantly as a crutch). To accustom you to using research materials, I will each day provide sources or directions to sources as suggestions on the Blackboard website. You should find your own sources, however, with the tools you pick up in this class. (No use of any but approved web sites). You might analyze one or a couple of

speeches by King in light of in light of press coverage, or in comparison to another speech by A. Philip Randolph. You might do a comparative news analysis of several articles covering one event: the *New York Times* vs. an African American newspaper or a movement source such as *Freedomways*. You might compare what "pundits" had to say in a progressive journal of opinion (*Dissent, Nation*) vs. a conservative journal (*National Review*). You might discuss how a memoir or oral history illuminates or contradicts the story we are reading that day. Don't read an entire memoir; but don't just focus on a couple of telegrams from King to Eisenhower. Depending on the source, your reading might vary from 15 to 30 pages for each of these exercises. As Rampolla describes it, your paper should address a problem, not just a topic. It should be coherent, with good paragraph transitions and a clear thesis paragraph (see evaluation sheets).

ONE OF THESE (AT LEAST) SHOULD PROBABLY MUSHROOM INTO YOUR FINAL PAPER.

You may use the Blackboard sources if you are pressed for time or if other searches have not been successful. Understand, however, that since I am providing these materials, I will hold work based upon them to a higher standard. In other words, finding rich primary sources on your own earns points, since I recognize this takes time and effort and it is really the point of this class and HIS511.

Your final grade will depend on how imaginatively you draw upon evidence from the following categories (check them off as you go along):

News coverage and interpretive journalism.

Speeches, contemporary testimony or interview material.

Oral histories or written memoirs (see list attached and on Blackboard site).

Bugged or taped telephone conversations (FBI microfilm, Lexis Nexis documents, White House tapes available in printed transcriptions or audio files on line at www.whitehousetapes.org).

Documents and correspondence from manuscript microfilm or manuscript Lexis Nexis collections.

Web sites not listed on the approved web sites page are not permitted. If there is one thing we are doing, we are getting beyond Google. The point is to expand your repertoire of research skills.

VI. Paper Proposal (5%). 3 pp. DUE IN EARLY APRIL, THE EARLIER THE BETTER. If submitted after April 14: No Credit (N/C=0). This is a crucial step in the direction of your final paper. Here you find at least one more secondary source to contrast or supplement your first, and you set up your interpretive historical problem. Make an appointment with me as soon as you develop an interest. The more you see this assignment as a working draft or working hypothesis leading to the final paper, the better. This is not just another review of a secondary source, but one that bears directly on how you are going to approach your paper. In other words, by the time you write this paper, you should be in possession of at least two contrasting or complementary secondary source analyses, and you should list a working bibliography of other primary sources you will consult.

VII. Final Paper (25%): 5-6 pages. Base this on at least two secondary sources and a set of new primary sources you discover. You may integrate material from the course, but this paper should substantially improve upon the perspectives of earlier work. So at least 50% of what you submit should be based on research beyond what you have written before or read in the course. Anything you draw upon from previous exercises must be substantially revised and improved). I give you leeway as to your focus. **You can zero in very specifically on an issue as narrow as the May 10, 1963 Birmingham agreement. Or you may treat this as a more synthetic review essay** on one of the class's main themes. For example, you might consider several of the more synthetic historiographic essays in the field and write a synthetic essay about one of the following or a theme (like religion) you discuss with me.

Examples of more synthetic essays: 1) "Women's activism has been neglected in many histories of the movement. But most writers focus on whether and when women's commitment to *gender* equality emerged in the movement, and how they thought it related to the struggle for racial equality. What we don't yet fully appreciate is how women's *issues* may have differed because of their roles in family, community and movement." 2) "The dominant media portrayed Martin Luther King as either the symbol or the 'field marshal' of the movement. And King relied on this celebrity to draw attention to issues through dramatic protests that would spotlight the need for national reforms. But different reporters and news outlets varied in the degree to which they could see that this was a collective movement, with many local issues, a movement full of unheralded leaders whose organizing styles might not have gained big headlines . . ." 3) "Movement men and women struggled together to pursue not only civil rights, but new forms of community life, new definitions of themselves and their place in American society, and new issues of economic justice affecting all Americans. They may have differed because of their gender, but even moreso their lives speak to the perennial dilemmas . . ."

Format: All essays other than the responses to assigned readings must follow Rampolla's footnote conventions.

Schedule of Class Meetings and Requirements

Codes:

ER =Library electronic reserves

HCR =Library hard copy reserves (on shelves in Reserve Room).

AR = I have an Acrobat Reader copy I can email you.

PDAAHM = Primary Documents in African American History – Manuscripts [Jackson Library Databases]

PDAAHS = Primary Documents in African American History – Speeches [Jackson Library Databases]

KPPSE = King Papers Project Stanford, Sermons (electronic copy of published sermons)

KPPSP = King Papers Project Stanford, Speeches: <http://www.stanford.edu/group/King/>

January 11: Introductions

What we are doing here. How to find news articles. How to find scholarly articles.

Examination of a primary document: <http://crmvet.org/info/litapp.htm>

January 13: What is Historiography? Competing (or Complimentary) Points of View and Frameworks of Interpretation

Lawson, Steven F., "Debating the Civil Rights Movement: The View from the Nation." In *Debating the Civil Rights Movement, 1945-1968*, edited by Steven F. Lawson and Charles Payne, Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield, 1998. 3-42. **[Download from the Blackboard site].**

Payne, Charles, "Debating the Civil Rights Movement: The View from the Trenches." In *Debating the Civil Rights Movement, 1945-1968*, 99-136. **Download from Blackboard.**

Recommended:

Foner, Eric, *The Story of American Freedom* (Norton, 1998), 275-287, 294-305. **ER** only. This is a great overview again of the movement in relation to the idea of freedom. Read it SOME time as a compliment to Lawson and Payne.

Carson, Clayborne, "Civil Rights Reform and the Black Freedom Struggle," and "Comment," by Steven F. Lawson, In *The Civil Rights Movement in America*, edited by Charles W. Eagles, Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 1986, pp. 19-38.

January 18: Interpreting Primary Sources

Rampolla, *Pocket Guide*, 1-21, 22-3 (on reading and summarizing), 70-81 (on plagiarism and proper quotation). These may be the most important 34 pages you read all semester! Consider in depth: "**Looking at sources: an example,**" pp. 14-21. It would not hurt to read this whole book now if you have time. Carry it around with you as you do research and write.

Find the following story on King in the Jackson library Database: "New York Times Via Proquest." George Barrett, "Jim Crow, He's Real Tired," *The New York Times Magazine*, March 3, 1957; Compare it with Ted Poston, "The Negroes of Montgomery," *New York Post*, 6/15&19/56, in *Reporting Civil Rights*, v. 1, 266-279. **PSA ER and HCR.**

Questions: What elements of the Montgomery story does each piece reveal? Do you note any biases? Who are their audiences, do you think? Freewrite 1-2 pages for 30 minutes.

January 20: Mass Movement and Charismatic Leadership – The Setting

Marable, Manning. *Race, Reform and Rebellion: The Second Reconstruction in Black America, 1945-1990*. 2nd ed. Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 1991, ch. 2, p. 13-32. **SSA**

Morris, Aldon D. "A Man Prepared for the Times: A Sociological Analysis of the Leadership of Martin Luther King, Jr." and comments by Robert Parris Moses, In *We Shall Overcome Martin Luther King, Jr., and the Black Freedom Struggle*, eds. Peter J. Albert and Ronald Hoffman, (NY: Pantheon, 1990), 35-58. 23 **SSA.**

Recommended: A speech by Robeson or DuBois from either of their microfilm collections. Martin Luther King, Sr., *Daddy King* excerpts.

January 25: Making Martin Luther King, Jr.

Oates, *Let the Trumpet Sound*, Prologue and Part 1, 1-51.

Recommended (see Blackboard Site):

King's early rights consciousness from *The Papers of Martin Luther King, Jr.*, v. 1

January 27: Women Fighting Jim Crow

Olson, *Freedom's Daughters*, 13-26, 52-86, 163-181 (Pauli Murray, Lillian Smith, ER, Terrell, Stembridge, Hayden, Braden)

Rampolla, *Pocket Guide to Writing in History*, ch. 3, pp. 22-34. Discussion of writing assignments: get the thesis, don't just summarize.

Recommended: See Blackboard for a list of memoirs from several of these women: Lillian Smith; Casey Hayden; Anne Braden, Pauli Murray. And a biographical profile of Eleanor Roosevelt in *Trailblazers and Torchbearers*.

February 1: Researching and Interpreting Sources

MEET IN CITI LAB, JACKSON LIBRARY

Rampolla, *Pocket Guide to Writing in History*, ch. 4, pp. 39-52.

Walker, Jenny. "A Media-Made Movement? Black Violence and Nonviolence in the Historiography of the Civil Rights Movement." In *Media, Culture and the Modern African American Freedom Struggle*, edited by Brian Ward, 41-66. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2001. **25 SSA.** You may skim this if media interpretation is not your thing. The main point is about the hidden tradition of violent self-defense. Discussion of the importance of interpreting press accounts in relation to other sources.

"Palm Sunday Sermon on Mohandas K. Gandhi," 3/22/59, in Carson, ed., *Papers of Martin Luther King, Jr.*, v. 1, v. 5 (forthcoming, no pagination). 9 **PSA** Question: How many layers of Gandhism can you find in King beneath the obvious ideology of nonviolent resistance? That is,

how should a leader relate to his or her people, how should the diverse members of an oppressed group relate to each other?

February 3: Montgomery – Charismatic Leadership in a Mass Struggle

Oates, *Let the Trumpet Sound*, Part 2, 55-112.

Recommended: Analysis of King speeches or the mass meetings recorded in *Daybreak of Freedom*.

February 8: Montgomery – Women Activists

Olson, *Freedom's Daughters*, chs. 5-6, pp. 87-131.

Burns, Stewart, ed. *Daybreak of Freedom*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997, selected voices of protest and resistance: pp. 101-3, 115, 118-119, 125-127, 222-225 **ER, PSA, HCR**. [Check also Blackboard, as I will upload them as Ereserves makes them available].

Recommended: Memoirs of Rosa Parks, Jo Ann Robinson, Oral histories of Erna Dungee Allen and Mary Fair Burks. See Blackboard.

February 10: SCLC and the Organizing Tradition

Olson, *Freedom's Daughters*, ch. 7, 132-146, ch. 12, 213-224. (Ella Baker, Daisy Bates Septima Clark).

Oates, *Let the Trumpet Sound*, Part 3, 115-146.

Recommended: Timothy Tyson on Robert F. Williams, or selections from Williams' radical newsletter *The Crusader*, in PDAAHM. Ella Baker oral history or oral histories of Septima Clark and Bernice Robinson.

February 15: Sit ins and Freedom Rides

Olson, *Freedom's Daughters*, ch. 8, 151-162. Ch. 10, 182-199.

Oates, *Let the Trumpet Sound*, 149-55, 174-178.

Watters, Pat. *Down to Now: Reflections on the Southern Civil Rights Movement*. New York: Pantheon, 1971, pp. 69-89. **ER, SSA**. Media failed to capture the spiritual possibilities inherent in nonviolence and the beloved community.

"An Appeal for Human Rights," in Garrow, ed., *Atlanta, Georgia, 1960-1961* (Carlson, 1989), 183-187. **PSA**. Julian Bond helped write this. Is it true he really did not think about "much more than a hamburger" before hearing Ella Baker?

February 17: Battling on the New Frontier

Oates, *Let the Trumpet Sound*, 155-174, 178-188.

King Debate with James J. Kilpatrick on "The Nation's Future," 11/26/60, in Carson, ed., *Papers* 5 (forthcoming). 1-9. 9 Something on Kennedy civil rights? **PSA**

Recommended:

Martin Luther King, Jr., "If the Negro Wins, Labor Wins," December 11, 1961, in Washington, ed., *A Testament of Hope*, Harper, 1986, pp. 201-207.

February 22: Voting Rights and Protest at the Grass Roots

Oates, *Let the Trumpet Sound*, Albany, 188-201

Olson, *Freedom's Daughters*, 200-12, 225- 47

James Forman, *Making of Black Revolutionaries*, 247-259, 274-277. **PSA**

Recommended: Reportage of Reese Cleghorn and Pat Watters of SNCC field operations and the spirit of nonviolence.

February 24: Birmingham, 1963

Oates, *Let the Trumpet Sound*, 205-243.

Lentz, Richard. "Snarls Echoing 'Round the World: The 1963 Birmingham Civil Rights Campaign on the World Stage." *American Journalism* (2000), 69-89. **SSA 20**

Recommended: Scholarship on the cold war as an impetus to desegregation. Comparison of aspects or key events in black and white news coverage of the May 2-11 confrontations, agreement and/or riot.

March 1: The Negro Revolution of 1963

Olson, *Freedom's Daughters*, ch. 15, 248-63, ch. 17 278-82.

Gloria Richardson, "Cambridge, Maryland, 'City of Progress' for Rich," *New America* (August 31, 1963), and John Lewis, "Rise Up to Change this System." ER

Oates, *Let the Trumpet Sound*, 243-255.

"Debate on the Civil Rights Bill of 1963": John F. Kennedy, June 11, 1963, vs. Richard Russell, June 12, 1963, in Dudley, ed., *The Civil Rights Movement: Opposing viewpoints*, 177-186.

PSA

Recommended: Annette Brock on Gloria Richardson, Kennedy Oval Office taped conversations, news coverage of Danville, Virginia police brutality.

March 3: "Radiant Day" or "Farce on Washington"? The March on Washington

Oates, *Let the Trumpet Sound*, 256-276

Olson, *Freedom's Daughters*, 283-290.

Rosenberg, Jonathan, and Zachary Karabell, eds. *Kennedy, Johnson, and the Quest for Justice: The Civil Rights Tapes*. New York: Norton, 2003, "Meeting on Civil Rights," August 28, 1963 pp. 130-140. [Print out the last six pages of the Acrobat Reader file ONLY – preceding is optional]. **PSA**

Thelwell, Michael. "The August 28th March on Washington." In *Duties, Pleasures and Conflicts: Essays in Struggle*, edited by Michael Thelwell, 57-73. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1987. MOW a "subtle and terrible betrayal" of original promise to use aggressive civil disobedience. **PSA**

Tom Kahn, "March's radical demands point way for struggle," *New America*, 9/24/63, (1963 march on Washington document) **PSA**

Questions: Clearly with the release of the Kennedy tapes we now know that the March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom did not entirely lose the "Jobs" focus it originally had. But were these goals diluted? Why were the students of SNCC so adamant that it was a "castrated giant?" Were there women's issues neglected as women's contributions were not given recognition?

Recommended: John Lewis' memoir of how he changed his speech. Labor leaders' speeches in the summer of 1963 about realizing social democracy through the civil rights movement. Dorothy Height on lack of recognition to women and women's issues.

SPRING BREAK – Have a great one; you deserve it. Give at least some thought to the final research paper. I hope by now to have seen each of you in my office hours. Remember, I am here to HELP.

March 15: Elements of Good Writing and Revising

Rampolla, *Pocket Guide to Writing in History*, finish, chs. 5, 7.

In-class discussion of various examples of writing. Discussion of each student's ideas for final paper and "working hypotheses."

Last Day to Drop This Course Without Penalty

March 17: Mississippi Freedom

Olson, *Freedom's Daughters*, 264-77, 291-312. SNCC sexual dynamics and freedom summer.

Baker, Elaine Delott. "They Sent Us This White Girl." In *Deep in Our Hearts: Nine White Women in the Freedom Movement*. Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 2000. , 255-87. **PSA** [Skim material not directly relevant to Mississippi if you wish, but appreciate how profoundly this experience changed so many white as well as black students' lives]. Question: What were the serious pitfalls of interracial organizing? What achievements do you see?

Recommended: Everyone, if time permits, poke around the wonderful website on the Freedom Schools at <http://www.educationanddemocracy.org/> At least one of you will want to write a paper on these, I am sure.

March 22: "The Federal Government is a White Man": The Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party at the Democratic National Convention, 1964

Oates, *Let the Trumpet Sound*, 306-311. Alignment with the Democratic party.

Olson, *Freedom's Daughters*, ch. 19, 313-330.

Beschloss, Michael R. *Taking Charge: The Johnson White House Tapes, 1963-1964*. New York: Simon & Schuster, 1997. **ER.** Presidential conversations regarding the MFDP challenge in Atlantic City, July 23-August 25, 1964, 466-67, 510-511, 515-516, 524-527, 534-535. (10 pp.) **PSA** Read carefully. What is LBJ afraid will happen if the poor sharecroppers get recognized by the Democratic Party?

Dittmer, John. *Local People: The Struggle for Civil Rights in Mississippi*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1994, ch. 12. the MFDP and the Atlantic City Challenge, 285-302. (17 pp.) **SSA**

March 24: Crisis of Victory: King in 1964

Oates, *Let the Trumpet Sound*, Part 6, 279-322.

"Statement by Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. On Accepting the N.Y.C. Medallion," 12/17/64, Cleveland Robinson Papers, NYU Tamiment Library. Compare this statement with the New York Times coverage of the event (search under "King" and "Medallion" and December 1964). **Both PSA**

March 29: Selma and the Voting Rights Act

Oates, *Let the Trumpet Sound*, 325-364, 369-373.

Olson, *Freedom's Daughters*, 339-46.

March 31: Southern Roots of Black Power

Oates, *Let the Trumpet Sound*, 395-405. Meredith March.

Olson, *Freedom's Daughters*, 382-396.

Smith, Jean. "I Learned to Feel Black." In *The Black Power Revolt*, edited by Floyd Barbour, 247-62. New York: Collier, 1968. **PSA** (This has been many people's favorite reading in my courses: a memoir of idealism and adaptation to harsh realities).

Stokely Carmichael, "Power and Racism" (*New York Review of Books*, September 1966), 63-76, **PSA**; OPTIONAL [second piece in the Acrobat reader file]: Floyd McKissick, "Programs for

Black Power," 211-214 In *The Black Power Revolt*, edited by Floyd Barbour. New York: Collier, 1968.

Recommended: Mike Thelwell, "Notes from the Mississippi Delta," *The Massachusetts Review* (Spring 1966), in *Reporting Civil Rights, v. 2., 476-490.*

April 5: Race and Gender: Fighting on Two Fronts

Olson, *Freedom's Daughters*, 331-9, 346-368. Freedom Movement as springboard to feminism.

Sara Evans, "Women's Consciousness and the Southern Black Movement," in Chafe and Sitkoff, eds., *A History of Our Time* (New York: Oxford, 1999), 199-209. **ER, SSA**

Casey Hayden and Mary King, "A Kind of Memo," under "Documents": 1964, Women in the Movement — SNCC Position Paper at www.crmvet.org PSA

Paper proposal due between now and April 14, or no credit.

April 7: Black Power and Welfare Rights in the North

Olson, *Freedom's Daughters*, 369-381.

Pope, Jackie. "Women in the Welfare Rights Struggle: The Brooklyn Welfare Action Council." In *Women and Social Protest*, edited by Guida West and Rhoda Lois Blumberg, 57-74. 17 New York: Oxford University Press, 1990. **ER, SSA**

Abron, JoNina M. "'Serving the People': The Survival Programs of the Black Panther Party." In *The Black Panther Party Reconsidered*, edited by Charles E. Jones. Baltimore: Black Classic Press, 1998, 177-188. **SSA**

April 12: Chicago Freedom

Oates, *Let the Trumpet Sound*, 364-369, 376-380, 387-395, 405-419. [I've broken up the text to focus on the Chicago parts, Vietnam next time, you may read straight through if you care to].

"Program of the Chicago Freedom Movement, July 1966," in David Garrow, ed., *Chicago, 1966* (New York: Carlson, 1989), 97-109. **PSA**

April 14: Vietnam Paper proposal absolutely due.

Oates, *Let the Trumpet Sound*, 373-376; 380-383, 426-444, to the last full paragraph.

Martin Luther King, Jr., "A Time to Break Silence (Beyond Vietnam)" from *A Testament of Hope*, James Washington, ed. (NY: Harper and Row, 1986), pp. 230-244. **PSA**

Carl Rowan, "Martin Luther King's Tragic Decision," in C. Eric Lincoln, ed., *MLK, Jr.: A Profile* **PSA**

April 19: Radicalization

Oates, *Let the Trumpet Sound*, 419-426; 444-469

King, Martin Luther, "The President's Address to the Tenth Anniversary Convention of the SCLC, Atlanta, Ga., August 16, 1967," in Robert L. Scott and Wayne Brockriede, eds., *The Rhetoric of Black Power* (NY: Harper, 1969), 146-165. **PSA** Transcription of the original sound recording is at the King Papers Project website.

King, "The Crisis in America's Cities," *Gandhi Marg* 12 (January 1968), 17-23. **PSA.** Delivered 8/15/67, SCLC Convention and before the Kerner Commission on Civil Disorders.

April 21: Memphis

Oates, *Let the Trumpet Sound*, 469-487.

Honey, Michael. *Black Workers Remember: An Oral History of Segregation, Unionism, and the Freedom Struggle*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999, Ch 7, 286-321. **PSA**

April 26: Women and School Desegregation

Theoharis, Jeanne. "'I'd Rather Go to School in the South': How Boston's School Desegregation Complicates the Civil Rights Paradigm." In *Freedom North: Black Freedom Struggles Outside the South, 1940-1980*, edited by Jeanne Theoharis and Komozi Woodard, 125-151. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003. **SSA**

Film: Connie Curry, *Intolerable Burden* (on Mae Bertha Carter).

April 28: Continuing Struggles

Robin D.G. Kelley, "Looking Forward: How the New Working Class Can Transform Urban America," in *Yo' Mamma's disFUNKtional!* (Beacon, 1997), 124-158. **SSA**

Final Paper: Due during the regular exam period for the class.

APPROVED WEB SITES FOR USE IN THIS CLASS

Martin Luther King, Jr. Papers Project, Stanford University. [Cited in Syllabus as MLKPP]
<http://www.stanford.edu/group/King/>

Under "Published Documents": King "Speeches" and "Sermons" published recently by Time Warner. These are actual transcripts with notes of audience response. Under "About King," see especially "Encyclopedia," compiled by the staff of the Project, "Biography," and "Chronology," very detailed with hypertext links to various biographical and other web sites.

Civil Rights Movement Veterans, <http://www.crmvet.org/>

"A non-commercial website created by civil rights workers who were active in the Southern Civil Rights Movement during the 1960s. We provide movement history and background, a speakers list and veteran contact information, personal stories, narratives and interviews, Frequently Asked Questions (FAQ), and an extensive movement-related bibliography and list of web links."
Veterans Roll Call: 272 brief self-portraits, many with links or longer narratives.

The 1960 Greensboro Sit-ins.

Greensboro News and Record and the Greensboro Public Library.

<http://www.sitins.com/index.shtml>

Audio interviews by Jim Schlosser and the Library staff. Click "multimedia"

"Media/Headlines" consist mostly of News and Record Articles commemorating the sit-ins.

The Memphis Sanitation Workers' Strike, 1968

American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, *Memphis: We Remember.*

<http://www.afscme.org/about/memphist.htm>

Links to oral history, retrospective accounts from the AFSCME newspaper and several scholarly articles and photographs.

Walter Reuther Library, "*I Am a Man.*" Exhibit honoring the strike: photographs, testimony.

<http://www.reuther.wayne.edu/man/1Intro.htm>

Freedom School Curriculum, Mississippi Freedom Summer 1964, Edited and Introduced by Kathy Emery, Sylvia Braselmann, and Linda Gold, <http://www.educationanddemocracy.org/>

Mississippi Humanities Council, Mississippi Department of Archives and History

Civil Rights Oral History Bibliography, University of Southern Mississippi

Transcripts <http://www-dept.usm.edu/~mcrohb/transcripts.html>

John F. Kennedy Library; Lyndon Baines Johnson Library; U. Virginia www.whitehousetapes.org