

A TEACHER'S

GUIDE

HIGH SCHOOL



GRADES 9 - 12



CENTER FOR CIVIL
AND HUMAN RIGHTS

The Center for Civil and Human Rights

Teacher's Guide for Grades 9-12

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Introduction

Welcome to the Center for Civil and Human Rights

The Center for Civil and Human Rights (The Center) is the product of The National Center for Civil and Human Rights, Inc. Located in the heart of Atlanta, The Center is an engaging cultural attraction that connects the legacy of the American Civil Rights Movement to today's Global Human Rights Movements.

Through sharing accounts of courage and struggle around the world, The Center encourages students to gain a deeper understanding of the role they can play in helping to protect the rights of all people. Powerful imagery, compelling artifacts, and poignant storytelling will inspire an ongoing dialogue about civil and human rights in your classroom, school and community.

The Center offers students a unique opportunity to learn more about the social issues that are already important to them as well as others that they may not think about as often, such as internet freedom or their "ethical footprint." The historical context of the Civil Rights Movement provides visiting classes with a framework to reflect on how they can act — both individually and as a group — on behalf of others. In fact, the mission of The Center is "to empower

people to take the protection of every human's rights personally." By showing your students these key events of the past, you can better prepare them for what they will face in the future.



What to Expect on your Field Trip

Tips for Planning Your Field Trip

Hours

The Center for Civil and Human Rights is open Tuesday-Saturday 10 a.m. to 5 p.m and Sunday 12 a.m to 5p.m., although group tours can be booked as early as 8:30 a.m.

Group Sales

For information about Group Sales and to schedule your field trip to The Center, contact a representative at 678.999.8966 or visit www.civilandhumanrights.org/tours.

Please be advised that your reservation is not complete until you have a confirmation from us and we have approved your method

of payment. In order to qualify for group or school pricing—a group is defined as a minimum of ten paying visitors—you must have a confirmed reservation at least two weeks in advance of your visit. Groups receive one complimentary chaperone admission for every ten paid visitors. High school tours are facilitated by our exhibit interpreters and last approximately 90 minutes.

Location

The Center is located in downtown Atlanta next to the World of Coca-Cola and the Georgia Aquarium on Pemberton

Place®. The physical address is 100 Ivan Allen Jr. Blvd., Atlanta, GA 30313-1807.

Buses should enter at the Ivan Allen Boulevard Plaza level entrance for student drop-off and pick-up. Buses and any vehicles larger than 7' H x 8' W x 16' L will qualify as oversized and cannot park in the Pemberton Place® garage. The fee for the Georgia World Congress Center bus marshalling yard is \$25 per vehicle per day.

Accessibility and Security

The Center is accessible to people with disabilities and meets ADA requirements. Upon arrival, all students, teachers, and chaperones will be required to pass through a security checkpoint with a metal detector. All bags are subject to search. Please leave large backpacks, tote bags, oversized purses, and bulky coats on the bus. Any questions should be directed to your group sales representative.

Food and Drink

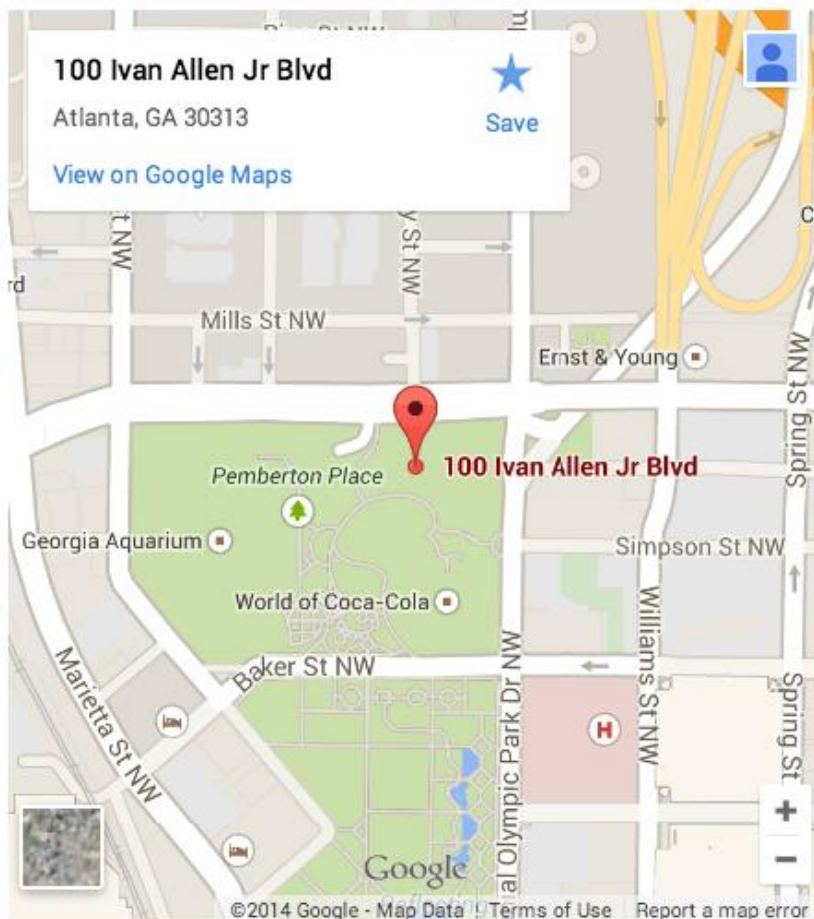
Food and drink are NOT permitted in the galleries or atrium areas. This includes lunches and snacks, personal water bottles, chewing gum, candy and lozenges.

There are a variety of places to eat at a range of price points within walking distance, including Pemberton Café outside of the World of Coca-Cola.

Photography Policies

Photography is not permitted in the *Voice to the Voiceless* gallery featuring The

Morehouse College Martin Luther King, Jr., Collection. The use of flash is prohibited in all galleries at all times. Please be sure your students and chaperones adhere to these guidelines.



Teaching Activities and Project Ideas

Rosa Parks and the Montgomery Bus Boycott

Introduction

By 1955 the contours of the emerging civil rights movement had begun to take shape as the *Brown v. Board of Education* case showed that laws could change and bring about an end to unjust traditions. Events in Alabama would confirm the power of grassroots activism. The target would be the segregated bus system of the state capital of Montgomery, where African Americans were the majority of riders but were only allowed to sit in the back—and only if white riders did not need the seats. Two women, in particular, would bravely refuse to follow the city's rules of segregation, but with very different results.

Claudette Colvin

In March 1955 Claudette Colvin, a 15-year-old high school student, was arrested for refusing to give up her seat to a white passenger. She recalled her inspiration in refusing—"It just so happens they picked me at the wrong time—it was Negro History Month, and I was filled up like a computer." Colvin screamed "it is my constitutional right" as she was pulled from the bus in handcuffs. Although her arrest would be included in the eventual Supreme Court case, *Browder v. Gayle*, her youthfulness, strong will, and a later out-of-wedlock pregnancy caused disapproval and fear that her personal details might overshadow the case itself. Colvin served as a star witness in the case that would end bus discrimination but faced hostility from many sources in Montgomery and in 1958 was forced to leave for New York.



Rosa Parks

Rosa Parks' public image contrasted sharply with Colvin's—Parks was 42 and employed as a seamstress. Additionally, Parks was active in the local NAACP chapter and had recently attended the Highlander Folk School for training in equality and activism. On December 1, 1955, Rosa Parks refused to give up her seat on a segregated bus, and her individual act of conscience became a call for action. She was arrested and quickly emerged as the face of the protest against segregation, her picture and story garnering wide coverage in national newspapers. Her gentle demeanor, impeccable reputation, and connections to the activist community meant she had credibility within the community and with the press. Jo Ann Gibson Robinson, E. D. Nixon, Rev. Ralph Abernathy and Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr., created an organization called the Montgomery Improvement Association (MIA) immediately following the arrest of Rosa Parks, to orchestrate a boycott of the Montgomery City Lines, Inc.

Since Parks had been a member of the NAACP since 1943 and since she was well-known in the Montgomery African-American community, E. D. Nixon, Rev. Ralph Abernathy and Rev. Martin Luther King felt enough people would rally to support a boycott or other protest. The Montgomery Improvement Association would become the organization that would orchestrate most boycott activities during the Montgomery Bus Boycott. About 5,000 attendees at the first

meeting on December 5th support a non-violent approach to protest. They decided to ask not for an end to segregation, but for improved conditions for African-American bus riders.

“My mother told me to be quiet about what I did,” Ms. Colvin recalled. “She told me: ‘Let Rosa be the one. White people aren’t going to bother Rosa—her skin is lighter than yours and they like her.’” In the public’s mind, Rosa Parks became what Colvin could not become—an example of a law gone too far.

The *Browder v. Gayle* case is renowned for its relation to the 1955 bus boycott in Montgomery, a pivotal event in the Civil Rights Movement. Although not a party to the case, Rosa Parks’ arrest record and fingerprints are exhibits to the case. The plaintiffs in this case were Claudette Colvin, Aurelia Browder, Mary Louise Smith, and Susie McDonald, all of whom had been either arrested for refusing to give up their seats to white passengers on Montgomery busses, or harmed by being forced to comply with segregation codes. In fact, all of them were arrested in 1955, the same year that Rosa Parks suffered the same fate. In this case, the three-judge panel ruled Montgomery segregation codes unconstitutional due to their violation of the due process and equal protection clauses of the 14th Amendment. The U.S. Supreme Court later affirmed the District Court’s judgment.

The Montgomery Improvement Association filed Browder’s case because it would be able to skip being heard in the local courts. Rosa Parks’ case would have had to go through local courts first, where the case might have stayed pending for years. By filing directly with the District Courts, they would also be able to achieve an injunction against the segregation law at the same time.

From the outset, women were integral to the success of the civil rights movement. The success of the Montgomery bus boycott was not just a product of Rosa Parks’ bold refusal to relinquish her seat. It would have been nearly impossible without a network of women activists and organizers. Two years prior to Parks’ arrest, the Women’s Political Council (WPC), an organization of African American women activists, had begun discussing the possibility of a bus boycott. Jo Ann Robinson, the WPC president, met with city officials during 1953 and 1954, pressing them to adopt reforms that would keep segregation in place but no longer require that black passengers surrender their seats to whites.

When they received word that Rosa Parks had been arrested the WPC sprang into action. Robinson, an English professor at nearby Alabama State College for Negroes (now Alabama State University), copied thousands of flyers urging African Americans to boycott buses on the day of Parks’ trial. WPC members canvassed Montgomery’s African American community to spread the word. The one-day boycott proved so successful that the Montgomery Improvement Association (MIA) was formed to direct the movement to change the bus laws.

A simple demand that blacks be able to keep their seats evolved into a battle to end segregated buses altogether. The boycott lasted nearly a year, with a U.S. Supreme Court decision finally ruling the Alabama laws unconstitutional. The victory made Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., the young president of the MIA, a household name.

Primary Source Documents: Rosa Parks and the Montgomery Bus Boycott

1. Police Report on the Arrest of Rosa Parks, 12/1/1955, Record Group 21: Records of the District Courts of the U. S., 1685-2009, National Archives and Records Administration.
2. Photograph of Rosa Parks Being Fingerprinted During Arrest, 12/1/1955, Record Group 21: Records of the District Courts of the U. S., 1685-2009, National Archives and Records Administration.
3. Flyer, "Negroes Most Urgent Needs," by the Montgomery Improvement Association, Courtesy, Inez Jessie Baskin Papers, Alabama Department of Archives & History, Montgomery, AL.
4. Booking Photo of JoAnn Gibson Robinson, No.7042
5. Newspaper Article, "5,000 At Meeting Outline Boycott; Bullet Clips Bus," by Joe Azbell, Montgomery Advertiser, December 6, 1955. Alabama Department of Archives and History Public Information Subject Files – General File, Bus Boycott, SG6945, folder 305b.
6. Judgment, Aurelia S. Browder et al. v. W.A. Gayle et al., No. 1147, 6/19/1956, Record Group 21: Records of the District Courts of the U. S., 1685-2009, National Archives and Records Administration.
7. Exhibit "A," Attached to Exhibit C, Diagram of the Bus Showing where Rosa Parks was Seated on December 1, 1955, Record Group 21: Records of the District Courts of the U. S., 1685-2009, National Archives and Records Administration.
8. Photos of Claudette Colvin. Colvin in a portrait taken in November 2009 (left) and as a child around 1953, by Nicole Bengiveno, The New York Times, and The Montgomery Advertiser, via Melanie Kroupa Books/ Farrar, Straus & Giroux, respectively.
9. Memo, Integrated Bus Suggestions from MIA, 19 December 1956, Inez Jessie Baskin Papers, Alabama Department of Archives and History, Montgomery, Alabama.

Teaching Activities: Rosa Parks and the Montgomery Bus Boycott

1. **K-W-L Introductory Assessment Activity.** The story of Rosa Parks and her refusal to give up her seat on a segregated Montgomery, Alabama, bus is one that most American schoolchildren are exposed to fairly early in their primary school years. That will be a plus to you as you teach this history, but also a minus because, unfortunately, much of the “history” that we learn about Mrs. Parks and the Montgomery Bus Boycott is suffused as much with misinformation and platitudes as it is with actual facts.

Begin by drawing three columns on your board, labeling the columns as “Know,” “Want to Know,” and “Learned.” Solicit answers from your students regarding what they *know* about Rosa Parks. Write down whatever answers you get, regardless of whether or not their answers are correct. Ask them specifically, “What do you know about Rosa Parks?” Hopefully, some of your students will already know that Rosa Parks’ history is intertwined with the Montgomery Bus Boycott, and will mention the boycott by name; but if not, that’s fodder for the rest of the lesson. Once you’ve exhausted all answers to what they know, proceed to solicit what they want to know. Of course, you’ll complete the “Learned” column at the conclusion of the activity, as a quick assessment.

2. **Document Analysis & Interpretation.** Duplicate and distribute the featured primary source documents, along with their corresponding Document Analysis Worksheets (written documents; photographs). Divide the students into groups accordingly, directing each group to analyze and discuss their documents as they complete their worksheets, in preparation for a discussion on the history of Rosa Parks’ arrest, and the Montgomery Bus Boycott.
3. **Vocabulary Development.** Ask students to note any words in the documents whose meanings they aren’t *absolutely sure* of, such as: ... adduced, boisterous, coerced, commensurate, complexion, deplorable, nationality, and reconciliation. Advise your students against assuming that they know what a word means if they aren’t 100% sure. For example:

Ask a student to look up the word “nationality” in a dictionary and read the definition aloud to the class. Direct the students to read again what was written on the police report for Rosa Parks’ nationality. Ask them to compare the dictionary definition with the answer written on the police report. How do they differ? Ask students to discuss the difference between the official view of black citizens of Montgomery, Alabama, at the time of Rosa Parks’ arrest. Conclude this activity with a discussion of why they think information about race and nationality are collected on these and other forms.

4. **Chronological Thinking Activity.** In this activity, students will analyze the documents you’ve given them as they try to piece together a chronological narrative history of the Montgomery Bus Boycott movement as it unfolded from the evening of Rosa Parks’ arrest, on December 1, 1955, until the successful overturning of segregated

transportation, reflected in the cautionary memo issued by the Montgomery Improvement Association, dated December 19, 1956.

Project Ideas: Rosa Parks and the Montgomery Bus Boycott

Write and perform a one-act play based on information in the documents and the suggested readings. Assign students the roles of Claudette Colvin, Rosa Parks, JoAnn Robinson, E.D. Nixon, or Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. Direct students to one of the websites listed in the supplementary Online Lesson Resources document that accompanies this lesson, to create an 'cast of characters' for the play, and to gather additional biographical information. Videotape the best performances and make them available for other classes to view.

Give students a choice of **writing interior monologues** for Parks, Colvin, Robinson, the bus driver, a white passenger, or one of the police officer involved in the bus arrests of 1955, describing his or her thoughts and feelings during the arrest.

Find out more about the life of Rosa Parks and try to determine what motivated her actions on the bus, and what the consequences were for her and others. Then **write a brief essay** on some aspect of this subject.

Research the lives of other people, both famous and obscure, involved in the civil rights movement of the 1950s-60s, and choose one person for **a report in written or oral form**.

Online Activity. Direct students to the website, *The Montgomery Bus Boycott: They Changed the World* (<http://www.montgomeryboycott.com/>). Ask them to be sure to make notes of other people who played a role in the Boycott who are not featured in the documents that accompany this lesson. Have the students write brief biographies of each person involved.

Misc.

POLICE DEPARTMENT
CITY OF MONTGOMERY

Date 12-1-55 19

Complainant J.F. Flake (wm)

Address 27 No. Lewis St. Phone No.

Offense Misc. Reported By Same as above

Address Phone No.

Date and Time Offense Committed 12-1-55 6:06 pm

Place of Occurrence In Front of Empire Theatre (On Montgomery Street)

Person or Property Attacked

How Attacked

Person Wanted

Value of Property Stolen Value Recovered

Details of Complaint (list, describe and give value of property stolen)

We received a call upon arrival the bus operator said he had a colored female sitting in the white section of the bus, and would not move back.

We (Day & Mixon) also saw her.

The bus operator signed a warrant for her. Rosa Parks, (cf) 634 Cleveland Court.

Rosa Parks (cf) was charged with chapter 6 section 11 of the Montgomery City Code.

Warrant #14254

THIS OFFENSE IS DECLARED:

UNFOUNDED ☐

CLEARED BY ARREST ☐

EXCEPTIONALLY CLEARED ☐

INACTIVE (NOT CLEARED) ☐

Officers

F. B. Day

D. W. Mixon

Division Patrol

Time 7:00 pm

12-1-55

POLICE DEPARTMENT

MONTGOMERY, ALABAMA

Date of Arrest 12-1-55

Arrested by Day + Nixon

Charges Requiring the obeying of building
Chapter 6 Sec. 11 of City CodeResidence 634 Cleveland Court
Montgomery.

Disposition #10 + out (app)

Place of Birth Tuskegee Ala.

Nationality Negro

Date of Birth Feb. 4 1913.

Age 42 Height 5 Feet 3 Inches

Weight 140 Eyes Brown.

Complexion Black

Hair Black.

Build Med.

Scars and Marks None

Employed by Montgomery Fair.

Occupation alteration shop.

Relatives Husband, R. A. Parks.
634 Cleveland Court.

Remarks:

Case No. 41464



NEGROES' MOST URGENT NEEDS

FOLLOWING ARE A FEW OF THE MOST URGENT NEEDS OF OUR PEOPLE. IMMEDIATE ATTENTION SHOULD BE GIVEN EACH OF THESE. WHAT IS YOUR STAND TOWARD THEM?

- ✓1. The present bus situation. Negroes have to stand over empty seats of city buses, because the first ten seats are reserved for whites who sometime never ride. We wish to fill the bus from the back toward the front until all the seats are taken. This is done in Atlanta, Georgia, Mobile, Alabama and in most of our larger southern cities.
2. Negro Representation on the Parks and Recreation Board. Our parks are in a deplorable condition. We have protested, yet nothing has been toward improving them. Juvenile delinquency continues to increase. In many instances these children are not responsible. The city is. Nobody knows better than Negroes what their needs are. *John Belton Dept.*
3. Sub-division for housing. Just recently a project ~~for a~~ subdivision for Negroes was presented before the City Commission for approval. Protests from whites and other objections prevented the development. There is no section wherein Negroes can expand to build decent homes. What of Lincoln Heights?
- ✓4. Jobs for qualified Negroes. Certain civil service jobs are not open to Negroes, yet Many are qualified. Negroes need jobs commensurate with their training. Everybody can not teach.
- ✓5. Negro representation on all boards affecting Negroes. Negroes are taxpayers; they are property owners or renters. They constitute about fifty percent of the city's population. Many boards determine their destinies without any kind of representation whatsoever. Only Negroes are qualified to represent themselves adequately and properly.
6. Congested areas, with inadequate or no fireplugs. Fire hazards are inviting.
- ✓7. Lack of sewage disposals makes it necessary to resort to out-door privies, which is a health hazard.
8. Narrow streets, lack of curbing, unpaved streets in some sections. Immediate action should be taken on this traffic hazard.

Gentlemen, what is your stand on these issues? What will you do to improve these undemocratic practices? Your stand on these issues will enable us to better decide on whom we shall cast our ballot in the March election.

Very truly yours,
Montgomery Negroes

3 items require
no money



5,000 At Meeting Outline Boycott; Bullet Clips Bus

By JOE AZBELL
Advertiser City Editor

An estimated 5,000 hymn-singing Negroes packed the Holt Street Baptist Church to its outer doors and spilled over into three streets blocking traffic last night as they voted to continue a racial boycott against buses of the Montgomery City Lines Inc.

Meanwhile, J. H. Bagley, manager of the Montgomery City Lines, reported that a bus driven by driver B. S. Johnson, apparently was fired on by a person with a .22 caliber rifle in the Negro Washington Park area.

Bagley said the bullet hit the rear of the bus and Johnson could not determine from where it was fired.

ENFORCE LAW

The bus company manager also reiterated a previous statement that his firm would not violate the law on segregation of bus passengers and that he would continue to require all of his drivers to enforce the law. "If they don't, the drivers can be fined or sentenced," he said.

Meanwhile, police reported an unidentified party threw a large stone and struck the front of a City Lines bus at the intersection of S. Jeff Davis and S. Holt street late yesterday. No personal injury and only slight damage to the bus resulted, officers said.

In a resolution passed at the meeting by the Negroes with a roaring applause, the emotional group voted to ask "all citizens of Montgomery" to refrain from riding buses of the Montgomery City Lines Inc. until the bus transportation situation is cleared up to the "satisfaction of citizens" who ride and patronize them.

The resolution, among other things, stated that "citizens of Montgomery" have been intimidated, embarrassed and coerced while riding the public conveyances and in view of the humiliation they have endured they agreed that they would refrain from using the buses.

It also declared that a "delegation of citizens" was prepared at all times to sit down with officials of the Montgomery City Lines and develop with them a program that the bus lines' patrons would find satisfactory and equitable.

The resolution stated that "no methods of intimidation" would be used or had been used to keep anyone from riding the buses but it asked that a person's "conscience" be his guide.

FROM PARKS CASE

The continuing boycott grew out of the arrest and conviction of Rosa Parks, 42, 834 Cleveland Ave., Negro seamstress at a department store here, on a segregation violation count.

The conviction of the Negro woman may cause a court test on segregation of Negroes and whites on Montgomery buses, The Advertiser learned yesterday.

The Parks woman and Fred Daniel, 19, 1646 Hall St., arrested yesterday for disorderly conduct, were introduced to the large audience and the audience stood, applauding loud. They each were described as churchgoers and industrious, law abiding citizens.

The Rev. M. L. King, pastor of the Dexter Avenue Baptist Church, told the crowd that the "tools of justice" must be used to attain the "day of freedom, justice and equality." He urged "unity of Negroes" for "we must stick together and work together if we are to win and we will win in standing up for our rights as Americans."

Other speakers on the program said the idea of the boycott of the buses being anything like the "methods of the White Citizens Council" is "ridiculous" for "what we are doing is legal and constitutional."

"It is not like the Ku Klux Klan in going to our homes and taking men out and lynching them. It is not terrorism but democracy, a protest of Americans, in action," one of the speakers declared.

A collection was taken up at the meeting to finance the campaign of the citizens group.

In the several speeches at the meeting which was conducted along the lines of a religious revival service, other remarks included: "We will not relinquish one inch in our fight" and "If we are wrong, the Supreme Court is

wrong and our whole foundation of government is wrong."

HELP FINANCE

The resolution passed by the group asked that those "citizens" who live long distances from their jobs and could not ride with other "citizens" ask their employers to finance the trips to and from work. Others who owned cars were asked to form pools to take others to work.

Rosa Parks was fined \$10 and costs in Recorder's Court yesterday for violating a state law requiring racial segregation on city buses.

Thousands of Negroes boycotted city buses yesterday and only about 5 to 10 per cent of the Negroes who normally ride the buses broke the boycott. The boycott reflected an "economic reprisal" in protest of the arrest.

APPEAL DECISION

Fred D. Gray, Negro attorney, told Judge John B. Scott he would appeal the decision of the court to Montgomery Circuit Court. The move apparently was intended as the first step in testing the constitutionality of transportation segregation laws in this Cradle of the Confederacy.

Signing the \$100 appeal bond for the woman were E. D. Nixon of Montgomery, a former state NAACP president, and Gray.

Gray entered a plea of innocent for his client. The woman did not testify. Assisting Gray was another Negro attorney, Charles Langford.

The entire hearing consumed only about five minutes. City Prosecutor Eugene Lee called bus driver J. F. Blake to tell how Rosa Parks refused to leave a seat in the white section and move to the Negro section in the rear last Thursday night. Blake said he asked the Negro woman and other Negro passengers to move to the rear of the bus but the Parks woman refused to leave her seat.

Blake said there were 22 Negroes and 14 whites seated in the 36-seat bus. He sought to equalize the seating, he said, by asking some of the Negroes to move to the rear.

Lee asked Judge Scott to amend his complaint against the Parks woman to make the warrant read a violation of the state law instead of the city ordinance. Gray objected but Judge Scott allowed the amendment.

The state law sets forth as illegal the failure by any person to comply with the assignment or reassignment order of a bus driver to enforce separate facilities for the white and Negro races.

Gray objected that the state law was not a city law and could not pertain to his client. Lee replied the state law covered all transportation.

Passed by the Legislature in 1947, the state statute authorizes bus companies to provide and enforce separate facilities for white and Negro races. Violation is punishable by a maximum fine of \$500.

It was understood that Gray in issue to defend my client."

The court hearing was calm and quiet, and at times witnesses were almost inaudible as they spoke.

90 PER CENT BOYCOTT

The steps leading into the north side of the courtroom and the sidewalk, along with the corridors leading into the east entrance of the courtroom, all were jammed with spectators and witnesses.

Meanwhile, Montgomery City Lines Manager J. H. Bagley yesterday afternoon estimated that some 90 per cent of the Negroes were refusing to ride the buses in protest of the hearing.

The boycott was uncovered Friday after thousands of unsigned circulars were reportedly being spread throughout the Negro districts in Montgomery.

Acting upon the orders of Police Commissioner Clyde Sellers that there was to be no violence yesterday patrolmen arrested a 19-year-old Negro youth who allegedly tried to restrain a Negro woman from getting on one of the morning buses.

Fred Daniel, 19, of 1646 Hall St., was jailed on a charge of disorderly conduct, according to Police Chief G. J. Ruppenthal. Arresting Patrolmen R. M. Hammonds and C. A. Weaver said Daniel grabbed a Negro woman by the arm about 7:15 a.m. at the intersection of Hall and Thurman and pulled her away from a City Lines bus she was attempting to board.

NEGRO TAXI CABS BUSY

All Negro taxi cab operators in the city reportedly told their drivers to charge only 10 cents a head yesterday from the hours 4 a.m. to 9 a.m. and from 3 p.m. until 11 p.m. in an effort to make the bus boycott effective.

Several buses seen on downtown streets carried nothing but white passengers from front to rear.

MTGY ADVERTISER

DEC 6 1955

(over)

IN THE DISTRICT COURT OF THE UNITED STATES
FOR THE MIDDLE DISTRICT OF ALABAMA
NORTHERN DIVISION

FILED

AURELIA S. BROWDER, and
SUSIE McDONALD and CLAUDETTE
COLVIN, by Q. P. Colvin, next
friend, and MARY LOUISE SMITH,
by Frank Smith, next friend,
and others similarly situated,

Plaintiffs,

vs.

W. A. GAYLE, CLYDE SELLERS and
FRANK PARKS, individually and
as members of the Board of
Commissioners of the City of
Montgomery, Alabama, and
GOODWYN J. RUPPENTHAL, individually
and as Chief of Police of the City
of Montgomery, Alabama, and
THE MONTGOMERY CITY LINES, INC.,
a corporation, and JAMES F. BLAKE,
and ROBERT CLEERE, and C. C. (JACK)
OWEN, JIMMY HITCHCOCK, and SIBYL
POOL, as members of the ALABAMA
PUBLIC SERVICE COMMISSION,

Defendants.

JUN 19 1956

D. C. DOBSON
Clerk

By: Deputy Clerk

NO. 1147

JUDGMENT

This cause came on to be heard before a three-judge court duly convened pursuant to the provisions of Title 28, United States Code, Sections 2281 and 2284.

After trial on the merits and careful consideration of the evidence therein adduced and after oral arguments and submission of briefs by all parties, the Court, being fully advised in the premises, found in an opinion handed down on June 5, 1956, that the enforced segregation of Negro and white passengers on motor buses operating in the City of Montgomery as required by Section 301 (31a, 31b and 31c) of Title 48, Code of Alabama, 1940, as amended, and Sections 10 and 11 of Chapter 6 of the Code of the City of Montgomery, 1952, violates the Constitution and laws of the United States.

-1-

The diagram shows a rectangular arena with a central black area and a white border. The border is composed of cells, each containing a symbol. The top-left corner cell contains an 'X'. The top-right corner cell contains an 'X'. The bottom-right corner cell contains an 'X'. All other cells in the border contain a 'Y'. Dashed lines indicate specific paths or boundaries within the arena.

Primary Source 7



September 19, 1956

INTEGRATED BUS SUGGESTIONS

This is a historic week because segregation on buses has now been declared unconstitutional. Within a few days the Supreme Court Mandate will reach Montgomery and you will be re-boarding integrated buses. This places upon us all a tremendous responsibility of maintaining, in face of what could be some unpleasantness, a calm and loving dignity befitting good citizens and members of our Race. If there is violence in word or deed it must not be our people who commit it.

For your help and convenience the following suggestions are made. Will you read, study and memorize them so that our non-violent determination may not be endangered. First, some general suggestions:

1. Not all white people are opposed to integrated buses. Accept goodwill on the part of many.
2. The whole bus is now for the use of all people. Take a vacant seat.
3. Pray for guidance and commit yourself to complete non-violence in word and action as you enter the bus.
4. Demonstrate the calm dignity of our Montgomery people in your actions.
5. In all things observe ordinary rules of courtesy and good behavior.
6. Remember that this is not a victory for Negroes alone, but for all Montgomery and the South. Do not boast! Do not brag!
7. Be quiet but friendly; proud, but not arrogant; joyous, but not boisterous.
8. Be loving enough to absorb evil and understanding enough to turn an enemy into a friend.

Now for some specific suggestions:

1. The bus driver is in charge of the bus and has been instructed to obey the law. Assume that he will cooperate in helping you occupy any vacant seat.
2. Do not deliberately sit by a white person, unless there is no other seat.
3. In sitting down by a person, white or colored, say "May I" or "Pardon me" as you sit. This is a common courtesy.
4. If cursed, do not curse back. If pushed, do not push back. If struck, do not strike back, but evidence love and goodwill at all times.
5. In case of an incident, talk as little as possible, and always in a quiet tone. Do not get up from your seat! Report all serious incidents to the bus driver.
6. For the first few days try to get on the bus with a friend in whose non-violence you have confidence. You can uphold one another by a glance or a prayer.
7. If another person is being molested, do not arise to go to his defense, but pray for the oppressor and use moral and spiritual force to carry on the struggle for justice.
8. According to your own ability and personality, do not be afraid to experiment with new and creative techniques for achieving reconciliation and social change.
9. If you feel you cannot take it, walk for another week or two. We have confidence in our people. GOD BLESS YOU ALL.

THE MONTGOMERY IMPROVEMENT ASSOCIATION
THE REV. M. L. KING, JR., PRESIDENT
THE REV. W. J. POWELL, SECRETARY

The Lynching of Emmett Till and Cold War Politics

Introduction

Between the 1880s and the 1940s, thousands of African Americans were lynched. The murder of 14-year-old Emmett Till became a national symbol of the physical abuses African Americans experienced in the South.

In August 1955, Emmett Till boarded a train from his hometown in Chicago to visit his uncle, Moses Wright, in Money, Mississippi. There are conflicting accounts, but some witnesses reported that, while buying soft drinks, Emmett Till might have whistled at, flirted with, or touched the hand of Carolyn Bryant, the white cashier and wife of the store owner at Bryant's Grocery Store.

On August 28, 1955, at approximately 2:30 am, Roy Bryant and his half-brother J.W. Milam kidnapped Emmett Till from Moses Wright's home. Emmett Till was beaten, dragged to the bank of the nearby Tallahatchie River, shot in the head, and tied with barbed wire to a large metal fan. His body was then shoved into the water.

On August 31, 1955, Emmett Till's decomposed corpse was pulled out of the river.

In Chicago, Emmett Till's mother, Mamie Till Bradley, made the decision to have an open casket at the funeral. *Jet Magazine* and *The Chicago Defender* published graphic photos of Emmett Till's body in the coffin. The trial of Bryant and Milam began on September 19, 1955, and was judged by an all-white, male jury.

Emmett Till's uncle, Moses Wright, positively identified Bryant and Milam as the kidnappers. The jury found both men innocent after only 67 minutes of deliberation. Wright and another black man who testified were smuggled out of Mississippi to Chicago for their safety.

Bryant and Milam published their confessions in *LOOK* magazine on January 24, 1956, but were never retried due to the judicial standard of "double jeopardy." Many civil rights activists pointed to Emmett Till's murder as a catalyst for their involvement.

The primary source documents that accompany this lesson are from the holdings of the Dwight D. Eisenhower Presidential Library and Museum and they shed light on the flow of information about Emmett Till's murder and the ensuing case. Initially, denying that there was any cause for federal intervention in the case, the U. S. Department of Justice continued to receive information from interested parties on the ground in Mississippi (as well as from other places around the country) that would suggest that there was, indeed, cause for federal intervention during the murder trial.

While a few historians have made the connection between the role of the United States' foreign policy priorities with regard to the Cold War and how that impacted federal reaction to domestic civil rights issues, a chronological review of the documents here makes it clear that J. Edgar Hoover and the Department of Justice refused to acknowledge the legitimacy of the case, choosing instead to officially attribute the publicity of Emmett Till's murder and trial to the work of the Communist Party.

Primary Source Documents: Emmett Till

1. Telegram, **Chicago Defender** to DDE re: **Emmett Till case**, **September 1, 1955** [DDE's Records as President, Alphabetical File, Box 3113, Emmett Till]
2. Reply to **Chicago Defender** from **J. William Barba**, **September 2, 1955** [DDE's Records as President, Alphabetical File, Box 3113, Emmett Till]
3. Telegram, **Mamie Bradley (mother of Emmett Till)** to DDE, **September 2, 1955** [DDE's Records as President, Alphabetical File, Box 3113, Emmett Till]
4. Letter, **J. Edgar Hoover** to **Dillon Anderson**, **September 6, 1955** [White House Office of the Special Assistant for National Security Affairs, FBI Series, Box 3, FBI T-Z (1)]
5. Night letter, **Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, AFL** to **Attorney General Brownell**, **September 28, 1955** [DDE's Records as President, Alphabetical File, Box 3113, Emmett Till]
6. **Memorandum from National Administrative Committee of the Communist Party to all CP District Boards and Party Committees re: Emmett Louis Till Lynching, September 29, 1955** [White House Office of the Special Assistant for National Security Affairs, FBI Series, Box 3, FBI T-Z (1)]
7. Letter, **W. Beverly Carter**, **Publisher of Pittsburgh Courier**, to **E. Frederic Morrow**, **Admin. Officer for Special Projects**, **Eisenhower Administration**, **September 29, 1955** [DDE's Records as President, Alphabetical File, Box 3113, Emmett Till]
8. **Memorandum for the Record, E. Frederick Morrow, Administrative Officer Special Projects Group, Eisenhower Administration, re: Emmett Till, November 22, 1955** [E. Frederic Morrow Records, Box 10, Civil Rights Official Memoranda, 1956-55]
9. **Memorandum, Maxwell Rabb, Cabinet Secretary, to James Hagerty, White House Press Secretary, Eisenhower Administration, re: Mamie Bradley and the CP USA, October 23, 1955** [DDE's Records as President, Alphabetical File, Box 3113, Emmett Till]

Teaching Activities: The Lynching of Emmett Till and Cold War Politics

1. **K-W-L Introductory Assessment Activity.** Begin by drawing three columns on your board, labeling the columns as “Know,” “Want to Know,” and “Learned.” Solicit answers from your students regarding what they *know* about Emmett Till. Write down whatever answers you get, regardless of whether or not their answers are correct. Ask them specifically, “What do you know about Emmett Till?” Once you’ve exhausted all answers to what they know, proceed to solicit what they want to know. Of course, you’ll complete the “Learned” column at the conclusion of the activity, as a quick assessment.
2. **Document Analysis & Interpretation.** Duplicate and distribute the featured primary source documents, along with the corresponding Document Analysis Worksheet. Divide the students into groups accordingly, directing each group to analyze and discuss their documents as they complete their worksheets, in preparation for a discussion on the lynching of Emmett Till.
3. **Chronological Thinking Activity.** In this activity, students will create the historical context for the documents they analyzed in activity #2, above, by creating a timeline for the nine primary source documents comprising this lesson. The parameters of the timeline should be as follows:
 - a. Create a timeline consisting of **3 columns, 10 rows**.
 - b. Make the first row a header column, consisting of: **Date, Description, Document** (the last column is where they will insert images of the documents; advise them that they are to resize the images so that the table is not unwieldy).
 - c. Students should use the information about each document from their Document Analysis Worksheets to create a brief summary “Description” of each document to be placed in the middle column.
 - d. For an example of what the finished product should look like, see the sample Emmett Till timeline.
4. **Online Extension Activity.** Direct students to the website, *Timeline: The Murder of Emmett Till*, from PBS American Experience, here:
<http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/amex/till/timeline/index.html>
Direct students to read the events on the timeline in light of the primary source documents from their own timelines. It is important to have them read the events from both timelines in chronological order. Once they have done so, have them answer the following questions:
 - a. Was Mamie Till still married to Louis Till when he was drafted by the army to serve during World War II?
 - b. How much time transpired between the kidnapping of Emmett Till from his uncle’s house and his mother’s telegram to the Eisenhower White House regarding the kidnapping and murder of her son?
 - c. What role did the press play in spreading the news of Till’s murder?
 - d. What role did the image of Emmett Till in his coffin play in the reporting of his murder?
5. **Online Extension Activity #2.** Instruct your student to review the history of the Emmett Till lynching and trial found here: *Famous Trials: Emmett Till Murder (Bryant and Milam) Trial, 1955*:
<http://law2.umkc.edu/faculty/projects/ftrials/till/tillhome.html>

Project Ideas: The Lynching of Emmett Till and Cold War Politics

Write and perform a one-act play. Use the information from the website

(<http://law2.umkc.edu/faculty/projects/ftrials/till/tillhome.html>) to create a 'cast of characters' for the play and to gather additional biographical information.

The White House
Washington

1955 SEP 2 AM 2 50

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THE PRESIDENT

THE WHITE HOUSE

A CHICAGO BOY. EMMET LOUIS TILL 14 WAS KIDNAPPED AND
LYNCHED IN MISSISSIPPI THIS WEEK, WOULD YOU LET US
KNOW IF YOUR OFFICE HAS PLANS TO TAKE ANY ACTION WITH
REFERENCE TO THIS SHOCKING ACT OF LAWLESSNESS

CHICAGO DEFENDER 3435 S INDIANA AVE

CHICAGO 16 ILLINOIS.



*Pink copy not in file
9-23-55*

Seizure

Primary Source 1

RECEIVED
SEP 23 1955
CENTRAL FILES

September 2, 1955

Dear Mr. Sengstacke:

The President has asked me to write you in connection with your wire of September first concerning the shocking death of Emmett Louis Till in Mississippi.

We are advised that the Department of Justice has been in close contact with the development of this case, but that so far their inquiry has failed to reveal any facts which provide a basis for Federal jurisdiction or action. It appears, therefore, that at the present time, the matter is solely within the jurisdiction of the State of Mississippi. In the event any basis for Federal jurisdiction does develop, you may be sure that appropriate action will be taken.

Sincerely,



J. William Barba
Assistant to the
Special Counsel to the President

Mr. John H. Sengstacke
Chicago Defender
X 3435 South Indiana Avenue
Chicago 16, Illinois

JWB/leb

The White House
Washington

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FC CHICAGO ILL SEP 2 307PMC

THE PRESIDENT

THE WHITE HOUSE

I THE MOTHER OF EMMETT LOUIS STILL AM PLEADING THAT YOU
PERSONALLY SEE THAT JUSTICE IS METED OUT TO ALL PERSONS
INVOLVED IN THE BEASTLY LYNCHING OF MY SON IN MONEY
MISS. AWAITING A DIRECT REPLY FROM YOU

MAMIE E BRADLEY 1626 WEST 14TH PL CHGO 8 SEELEY

8-0654.



~~CONFIDENTIAL~~UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

September 6, 1955

PERSONAL AND CONFIDENTIAL
BY COURIER SERVICETill, EmmettHonorable Dillon Anderson
Special Assistant to the President
Executive Office Building
Washington, D. C.

My dear Mr. Anderson:

A confidential informant of the Chicago, Illinois, Office of this Bureau, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised that Communist Party functionaries in Chicago have been conferring with Claude Lightfoot, Chairman of the Illinois-Indiana District, Communist Party, USA, and will launch a huge campaign protesting the killing of the 14-year-old Chicago Negro boy, Emmett Louis Till, whose body was found near Money, Mississippi, on August 28, 1955.

This campaign will take the form of statements and leaflets issued by the Communist Party, the Civil Rights Congress, and other Communist front groups. The Communist Party will also use its influence in the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, which has already been aroused over this slaying. The campaign will also involve letters, telegrams and statements to President Eisenhower demanding the firing of Attorney General Herbert Brownell for failure to enforce provisions of the United States Constitution in the State of Mississippi. The campaign will involve a scathing condemnation of police officials in the State of Mississippi and will be designed to show that full equality for all races does not exist in the United States.



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Authority MR 93-363 #1A
By BBM NLE Date 10/21/94UNCLASSIFIED
~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Letter to Honorable Dillon Anderson
Special Assistant to the President

The informant also advised that this campaign is designed by the Communist Party for the purpose of rabble rousing. Indications are that the Negro people on the south side of Chicago are already aroused to a fever pitch over this incident.

This confidential informant advised that all leading members of the Communist Party in the Illinois-Indiana area are actively engaged in a campaign regarding this slaying and that 10,000 copies of a leaflet were to have been published and circulated on September 2, 1955, with 6,000 copies to have been distributed on the south side of Chicago.

Claude Lightfoot, according to this informant, was to have issued a statement to the press on September 2, 1955, condemning President Eisenhower, Attorney General Herbert Brownell and Federal and local police officials. The Communist Party will start propagandizing the Till slaying under slogans "Brownellism Must Go" and "Brownellism is Only McCarthyism in Disguise or with Legal Trimming."

The Communist Party is working and mobilizing for a huge mass meeting on the Till case and has planned to hold this meeting on the south side of Chicago, probably under the auspices of the Washington Park Forum. The informant advised that the Communist Party and its sympathizers were also in the process of contacting many Chicago ministers to ask them to make the Till slaying and the Mississippi civil rights situation the main topic of their sermons on September 4, 1955.

This informant also advised that the Civil Rights Congress issued a pamphlet on September 2, 1955, in which information was set forth that John T. Bernard, Chairman of the Civil Rights Congress of Illinois, had written President Eisenhower and Senator Thomas C. Hennings, Jr., Chairman of the Senate Subcommittee on Constitutional Rights, relative to this matter.



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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Letter to Honorable Dillon Anderson
Special Assistant to the President

In addition, Chicago newspapers of September 2, 1955, reflected that Mayor of Chicago Richard J. Daley had telegraphed President Eisenhower concerning this case. According to the confidential informant who furnished the information set forth above, pressure of the Negro communities on the south side of Chicago had influenced Daley to send this telegram to President Eisenhower.

The Civil Rights Congress has been designated by the Attorney General of the United States pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

The above is being furnished you for your information. Any additional pertinent information received relative to this matter will be furnished you promptly.

The Attorney General is being furnished the foregoing information.

Sincerely yours,

J. Edgar Hoover



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Primary Source 4

SEPTEMBER 28 - NIGHT LETTER

ATTORNEY GENERAL HERBERT BROWNELL
U. S. DEPT. OF JUSTICE
WASHINGTON, D. C.

URGE YOU TO ORDER IMMEDIATE F.B.I. INVESTIGATION OF WHERE-ABOUTS OF LEROY COLLINS AND HENRY LEE LOGGINS OF MISSISSIPPI BOTH NEGROES. THEY WERE REFERRED TO CONSTANTLY DURING TRIAL BUT HAVE BEEN MISSING SINCE ABDUCTION AND LYNCHING LAST AUGUST OF 14 YEAR OLD NEGRO BOY NAME EMMETT LOUIS TILL. HAVE INFORMATION FROM REPUTABLE SOURCE WHO ATTENDED TILL MURDER TRIAL IN SUMNER, MISSISSIPPI BUT NOW IN NEW YORK THAT THERE ARE PERSONS IN MISSISSIPPI HAVING INFORMATION WHICH WOULD AID FEDERAL AUTHORITIES MATERIALLY. MY SOURCE READY TO COOPERATE ONLY WITH UNITED STATES DEPT. OF JUSTICE. MORE THAN 15,000 NEW YORK CITIZENS OF MANY RACES, LABOR, CIVIC AND RELIGIOUS, PASSED A RESOLUTION UNANIMOUSLY AT MASS RALLY AT WILLIAMS INSTITUTIONAL C.M.E. CHURCH IN NEW YORK CITY, SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 25th URGING PROMPT INTERVENTION OF YOUR DEPARTMENT. RALLY WAS CALLED BY BROTHERHOOD OF SLEEPING CAR PORTERS, A.F.L. TO PROTEST THE LYNCHING OF 14 YEAR OLD EMMETT TILL AT MONEY, MISS. AND THE FREEING OF HIS MURDERERS AT SUMNER, MISSISSIPPI. RESOLUTION FOLLOWING TODAY BY MAIL. WOULD APPRECIATE REPLY AT YOUR VERY EARLIEST CONVENIENCE.



A. PHILIP RANDOLPH, INTERNATIONAL
PRESIDENT
BROTHERHOOD OF SLEEPING CAR PORTERS, AFL
217 WEST 125TH STREET
NEW YORK, N. Y.

Primary Source 5

September 29, 1955

TO ALL DISTRICTS

Dear Comrades:

Subject: Emmett Louis Till Lynching

The freeing of the murderers of 14 year old Emmett Louis Till in a so-called Mississippi "trial", and the marked increase of anti-Negro terror in the Deep South as well as in other parts of the country during the past months must become the immediate concern of the entire membership of the Communist Party: every district, every club, every member. The Emmett Till murder highlights the ends to which the Dixiecrats will go to defeat the growing desegregation and right to vote movement in the South. Popular indignation is widespread. Negro organizations, Negro leaders and the Negro press have sounded the alarm. If this important struggle is to be won, however, the Communist Party, and the American Left, in the first place, must be fully mobilized.

Notwithstanding important work already being done by the Party and the Left around the Emmett Till case, the de-segregation, and right to vote movement, we must frankly state that the initiative of the Party on these vital struggles is far from satisfactory. Thus far, insufficient leadership, consciousness, planning, follow through, and check-up are being displayed on the part of Party and Left leadership at all levels. If victory is to be achieved in this crucial fight, these weaknesses must be speedily overcome.

We submit below a number of proposals and suggestions for consideration and action by the Party:

1--Fundamental issues of great importance to the American labor movement, the Negro people, the fight for democracy and peace are involved in this fight. No attempt will be made here to examine these issues. Such an examination is being made in a basic statement of the National Committee on the Till lynching. This statement will be issued this week, and is one that should be given thorough consideration by the Party Leadership and membership in every District. The National Committee Statement, in addition to being published in the Press, is being reproduced in leaflet form. These leaflets may be secured from the National Office at a cost of \$_____ per thousand. We urge the widest possible distribution of the leaflets, and that all



Till Memo - 2

Districts order as quickly as possible.

2--Develop the Movement to Force the Eisenhower Administration to Intervene: This requires hundreds of thousands of postcards, telegrams, letters, petitions and resolutions to the President and Attorney General Brownell from individuals and organizations. This means trade union bodies in the first place at all levels, labor leaders, and rank and file members; it means, likewise, involving, at all levels, church and religious institutions, the major Jewish organizations, Democratic Party organizations; the youth movement; cultural groups; as well as the major organizations of the Negro people. In addition, full support should be given to delegations now being organized to visit Washington. Many leading Negro people and their organizations are working on such delegations. In addition to this, the Party and the Left should stimulate in every way possible the organization of such delegations. Particularly is this desirable from nearby points in the East.

An important aspect of this movement is to petition City Councils in all parts of the country to urge Brownell to act. There is no doubt whatever but that many City Councils will act if the necessary efforts are made, and if the broadest possible approach is developed. Likewise, the movement to force action from the Department of Justice will grow still further, if leading personalities in Negro life, from the labor movement, etc., were to purchase newspaper space in the metropolitan and Negro press to address open letters to the Attorney General and the President. In addition hundreds and thousands of memorial meetings are required. Already, Chicago, Cleveland, Harlem, Baltimore, and Detroit have witnessed large protest rallies involving tens of thousands. But these meetings must be seen as only the beginning. They must spread, until all major cities are included, as well as smaller towns and communities throughout the country. Likewise, organizations of all kinds should take up the Till murder in one or another manner--a small memorial meeting; a brief discussion on an action program, or a resolution, etc.

3--Project this struggle into the center of the preparation for the convening of Congress in January and of the 1956 elections, as well as for a special session of Congress: Among other things this requires a movement to challenge the right of Eastland to sit in the next session of Congress, as well as



Till Memo - 3

the Congressmen from Mississippi. They are in Congress illegally and should be ousted. The Eisenhower Administration must be forced to yield to the demands of the Negro people for a special session of Congress to pass anti-lynch and other civil rights legislation without delay. To win this demand the Democratic Party high command, still silent, must be compelled by the Labor and Negro people's movement to speak out in support of the demand of the Negro people for a special session of Congress. In this connection special emphasis should be given to the Kenning's Committee hearings on Civil Rights. Also it is necessary to insist upon the intervention of the Judiciary Committees of both the House and the Senate.

4--We are informed also that the newspaper Freedom is publishing a pamphlet on the Till murder and related issues, and that it will be off the press in a few weeks. Undoubtedly, this will be a pamphlet deserving of the support of those forces most concerned with this question.

5--Develop still further the militant initiative of the Party and the Left: While fighting for the broadest possible unity of the Negro people and their allies in respect to this issue, we must avoid the error of construing this to mean tagging along after the reformist leadership in the labor and Negro movement. We must find the way, in the broadest and most flexible manner to advance the Party analysis of these events, showing at all times the need for a greater focus on Brownell, and a more rounded program of demands. The huge protest rallies thus far, while marking a high point in the unity and militancy of the Negro people, reflect at the same time certain important weaknesses in regards to the program of demands being advanced, and in regard to the all-important matter of demanding immediate action from the Department of Justice. A central responsibility of the Party and the Left is to work with this movement to overcome these negative factors.

The Party and the Left at the same time must speak out independently, finding the most suitable forms for independent actions. One of those forms would be to give full support to weekend Worker mobilizations that are being organized in a number of cities, where the fight for Worker circulation is tied up with house-to-house or street corner canvassing of telegrams, etc. on the Till murder. Another form is through the organization of mass meetings of a Left or advanced character. There are a number of leading Negro and white progressive leaders who are no doubt available to participate

Till Memo - 4

in such meetings. In addition the Party and Left forces must intensify many times the publication and distribution of material on the Till murder and related issues. There are some Districts where practically no material has been issued. In still others the few leaflets issued have been confined primarily to the Negro communities.

We urge all District Boards and other leading Party Committees and Commissions to examine fully the work of the District thus far in respect to the struggles around the Till murder, with the aim of overcoming whatever errors exist, and hammering out a full District program of action for the period ahead.

Please be sure to send us copies of whatever material you issue in this matter.

Comradely yours,

NATIONAL ADMINISTRATIVE COMMITTEE



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COPY

Primary Source 6

Largest Negro Weekly
Newspaper in the World

THE PITTSBURGH
Courier
AMERICA'S BEST WEEKLY

Member of the Audit
Bureau of Circulations

Published by The Pittsburgh Courier Publishing Company, Inc.

POST OFFICE BOX 1828

MUSEUM 3-2000

PITTSBURGH 30, PA.

September 29, 1955

Mr. E. Frederick Morrow
The White House
Washington, D. C.



Dear Fred:

I know this is out of your department, but because of the urgency of the matter and the need for its being considered at the highest level possible, I am compelled to write you directly.

Negroes across the country are much concerned about the recent Till "trial" murder case in Sumner, Mississippi. This is reflected through literally hundreds of letters which have come to us here at the Courier; a sharp rise in our circulation as a result of the stories we have published in connection with this; and the thousands of Negroes who turned out for mass meetings in New York, Detroit and Chicago verify the height of this interest.

My concern is that from what I have been able to ascertain, not one denunciatory statement has been issued by anyone high in the Federal Government. We know, of course, that there is no violation of the Federal Kidnapping Law, and it is apparent that there is little that the Justice Department can do, but it would be of untold political advantage, insofar as the Negro vote is concerned, if someone at the level of Mr. Brownell or Sherman Adams, or even the Vice President, made clear that the Federal Government looked with dismay on this incident. //

I need not point out to you that this has made us look like a veritable "jackass" in the eyes of the rest of the world, and we must use such public relations tools as are available to make sure that the pendulum of world opinion and of the opinion of many liberal and fair-thinking people in America does not swing back against the Federal Government in Washington because it remains silent on this score.

We have even learned that a Negro by the name of Leroy Collins has admitted that he washed blood out of the 1955 Chevrolet pick-up truck that was supposed to have hauled Till away from the Milam plantation to the river, and that this Negro was deliberately locked up in a Charleston, Mississippi jail until the prosecutor's testimony had been completed. This revelation is deserving of consideration by Federal authorities who might inquire into this version of "Mississippi justice."

more

MR. Frederick Morrow

2

September 29, 1955

The sooner this statement can be prepared and released the sooner will the stock of our administration rise in the eyes of the American Negro and of everyone else who still is looking over our shoulder to see if we are the fair democracy we profess being "with liberty and justice for all."

I will be in Washington on Monday and will give you a ring, but if such a statement as I herein request can be secured from a voice high in Government, I would certainly appreciate having it forwarded here to the Courier just as soon as possible.

By the way, I received a very pleasant note from Sherman Adams today acknowledging my letter to him about your speech in Philadelphia.



Sincerely,

"B. C."

W. Beverly Carter
Publisher

THE PITTSBURGH COURIER PUBLISHING COMPANY, INC.

Primary Source 7

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

November 22, 1955

MEMORANDUM FOR THE RECORD



Having served more than eight years as Field Secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and during this period having faced every manner of problem that comes within the realm of race relations, I am especially alert to racial conditions and situations that will eventually affect the welfare of the country, and which will particularly bring headaches and possibly severe criticism to the Administration. It is for these reasons alone that I presume to present my considered judgment on a dangerous situation that is now afflicting the country.

The killing of the young Negro, Emmett Till, in Mississippi this fall, has received official attention from this Administration through the Office of the Attorney General. Under normal circumstances, this would be enough to satisfy most people; that the police arm of the Federal Government was alert to all situations where possible Federal laws have been violated. However, this particular situation is so fraught with emotion because of the circumstances under which the crime was committed, and the fact that the victim was a youngster, that normal methods of dealing with the usual case of crime are not completely acceptable to all of the interested parties.

Because of many years of investigating lynchings, mob violence, and various forms of terrorism in the country, I am able to spot signs that indicate that we are on the verge of a dangerous racial conflagration in the Southern section of the country. My official duties in the past few months have taken me to the deep South, to the Middle West, and throughout the Eastern seaboard, and the one theme that is on the lips and minds of all Negroes is the injustice of the Till case, and the fact that nothing can be done to effect justice in this case. The warning signs in the South are all too clear: the harrassed Negro is sullen, bitter, and talking strongly of retaliation whenever future situations dictate.

Mass meetings are being held by the scores across the country, and being attended by thousands of people who want to hear the story from the mother of the boy or other witnesses. The Till case is a subject of unceasing publicity in the press, and the subject of numerous Sunday sermons in the

pulpits of the land. An example of the passion that this case has generated was indicated to me in Youngstown a few weeks ago, when I attended services at a prominent church, and heard the well-educated minister of the congregation state that: "we Negroes lynch too easily and we must learn to resist with everything in our power if we would put a stop to this barbarous custom".

It is a well-known fact that the Negroes in Mississippi have formed an underground, and are determined to protect themselves by methods that, if used, can only lead to further terror and bloodshed.



On the other hand, a frightening power has been built in Mississippi by the anti-desegregation White Citizens Councils, and their principal method is one of economic terrorism. These Councils are fanning out throughout the South, and they have created a climate of fear and terrorism that holds the entire area in a vise.

As a member of the White House Staff, I am sitting in the middle of this, and I have been accused of being cowardly for not bringing this situation to the attention of the Administration, and requesting the President to make some kind of observation on this unwholesome problem. My mail has been heavy and angry, and wherever I go, people have expressed disappointment that no word has come from the White House deploring this situation. I always point out, of course, that our Attorney General has followed this situation with interest and skill, and that he will act when and if Federal laws are violated. But this does not still the protestations. There is a clamor for some kind of statement from the White House that will indicate the Administration is aware of, and condemns with vigor, any kind of racist activity in the United States.

I feel the time has come when it might be advisable for Governor Adams or Vice President Nixon to invite to Washington a dozen of the prominent Negro leaders in the country and sit down and exchange views on this very dangerous problem. It will not be a matter of committing the Administration to anything, but it will be a demonstration for the whole country to see that the responsible leaders, white and Negro, have a deep concern about this situation and wish to sit down and talk about it intelligently and dispassionately. There is precedent for this kind of meeting, for in my lifetime it has happened several times with Presidents Hoover, Roosevelt and Truman. Meetings of this kind always have a steadying effect upon the Negro leaders, for they are able to go out through the country and assure the Negro citizens that the head of the country is concerned about their welfare and will exercise the prestige of his office to prevail upon all to exercise common sense and common decency in dealing with the situation.

I would be happy to sit down with anyone, and help work out a list of invitees for such a meeting, and I feel that time is of the essence.

E. Frederic Morrow
Administrative Officer
Special Projects Group



THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

October 23, 1956

~~Confidential~~

MEMORANDUM FOR: Jim Hagerty
FROM: Max Rabb

This wire was not answered at the direct suggestion of the Department of Justice (Warren Olney) and the FBI (Lou Nichols) with whom I discussed this case personally.

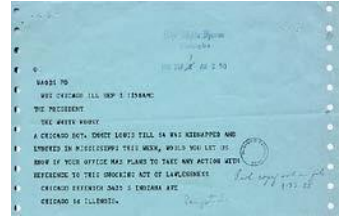
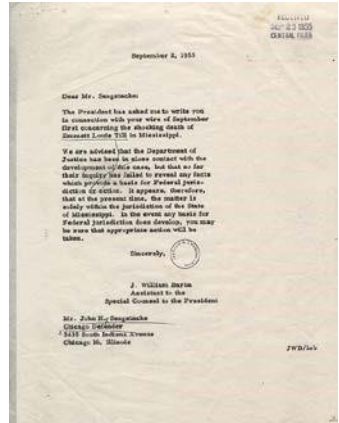
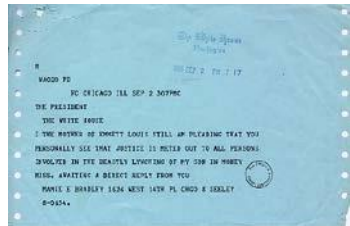
While it cannot be said openly, the FBI had definite knowledge that Mrs. Bradley permitted herself to be the instrument of the Communist party, which seized upon the case as a cause celebre and upon her as the means of making the race question a burning issue. Mrs. Bradley was taken around the United States by Communists as a prize exhibit and they pulled all the stops in their exploitation. While the facts in the case reflected discredit upon those who perpetrated the crime, Lou Nichols labelled Mrs. Bradley herself as a "phoney". Any recognition of her would have been used to further Communist causes in this country. Subsequently, Mrs. Bradley was discredited for using her son's death as a means of making a living. The boy's father, incidentally, was executed by the Army in Italy on a sex charge.

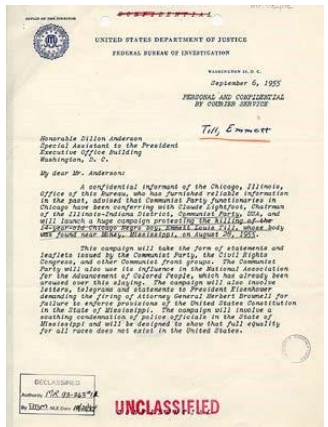
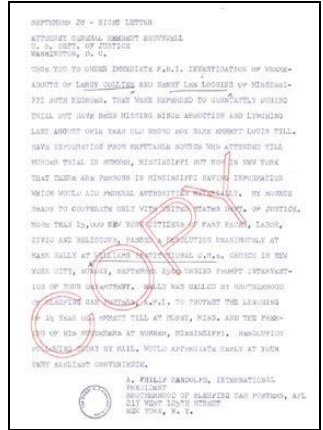

For these reasons, it was felt inadvisable to make a courteous reply. Such a response would have been distorted to build up the Communist claim that this was another Willie McGee or Rosenberg case.

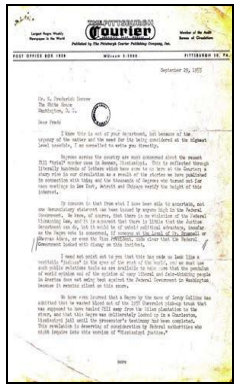
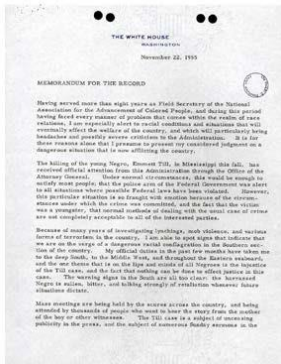
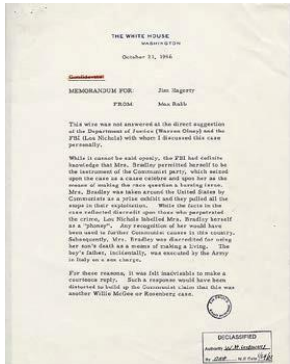


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Authority	<u>W.H. Guidelines</u>
By	<u>QTH</u> NLE Date <u>1/24/85</u>

Timeline: The Lynching of Emmett Till & Cold War Politics

DATE	DESCRIPTION	DOCUMENT
1 Sept 1955	<p>Chicago Defender (Sengstacke) to DDE re: Emmett Till case</p> <p>"A Chicago boy, Emmett Louis Till 14 was kidnapped and lynched in Mississippi this week, would you let us know if your office has plans to take any action with reference to this shocking act of lawlessness."</p>	
2 Sept 1955	<p>Reply to Chicago Defender from J. William Barba</p> <p>J. William Barbra, the Assistant to the Special Counsel to President Eisenhower, replies to John Sengstacke, Publisher, the Chicago Defender, telling him that the DOJ so far sees no basis for federal intervention in the Till murder but, in the event that that changes, they will let him know.</p>	
2 Sept 1955	<p>Mamie E. Bradley (mother of Emmett Till) to DDE</p> <p>"I the mother of Emmett Louis Till am pleading that you personally see that justice is meted out to all persons involved in the beastly lynching of my son in Money Miss. Awaiting a direct reply from you."</p>	

<p>6 Sept 1955</p>	<p>J. Edgar Hoover to Dillon Anderson [3 pgs]</p> <p>Hoover informs Special Assistant to the President Dillon Anderson that members of the Communist Party in Chicago, were going to launch a campaign protesting Emmett Till's murder. They planned to print and distribute flyers, send out letters and telegrams, etc. Hoover's informant is obviously highly placed in the CP USA Chicago, as evidenced by the details of the CP and the NAACP's plans to criticize the Eisenhower administration over their lack of involvement in prosecuting Till's case.</p>	
<p>28 Sept 1955</p>	<p>Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, AFL to Attorney General Brownell</p> <p>A.P. Randolph urges an FBI investigation into the whereabouts of two "negroes" – Leroy Collins and Henry Lee Loggins - mentioned during the Till trials who seemed to have gone missing. Also informs Brownell of a Brotherhood-sponsored rally at Williams Institutional C.M.E. Church attended by various labor, civic, and religious groups. He informs Brownell that a resolution drafted as a result of that meeting is forthcoming.</p>	
<p>29 Sept 1955</p>	<p>Memorandum from National Administrative Committee of the Communist Party to all CP District Boards and Party Committees re: Emmett Louis Till Lynching [4 pgs]</p> <p>Memo goes into great detail about possible organizing activities that the CP could be doing in relation the Till murder. Gives a very brief but accurate summary of the politics of terror of the South as it relates to "Negro" history. Proposes protest activities designed to force the Eisenhower Administration to intervene in the case.</p>	

<p>29 Sept 1955</p>	<p>W. Beverly Carter, Publisher of Pittsburgh Courier, to E. Frederic Morrow, Admin. Officer for Special Projects, Eisenhower Administration [2 pgs]</p> <p>Bev Carter informs Morrow that her paper has been receiving hundreds of letters from people all around the country regarding the Till case. She is concerned that “not one denunciatory statement has been issued from anyone high in the Federal government.” She mentions Leroy Collins, the black man who allegedly washed Emmett Till’s blood out of the Chevy pick-up truck used by Till’s killers to haul his body to the river, who had been locked in a Charleston, MS, and suggests that, if true, that would be enough of a reason for Federal intervention.</p>	
<p>22 Nov 1955</p>	<p>Memorandum for the Record, E. Frederick Morrow, Administrative Officer Special Projects Group, Eisenhower Administration, re: Emmett Till [3 pgs]</p> <p>Morrow is bringing the president up to speed on the mood around the country, especially among Black people, regarding the Till case, and is trying to convince Eisenhower that a statement from high up in the administration would go far toward easing the violent tensions around the country. He reminds Eisenhower that previous presidents, both Democratic and Republican, have sat down with ‘Negro leaders’ in the past to discuss racial issues.</p>	
<p>23 Oct 1956</p>	<p>Maxwell Rabb, Cabinet Secretary, to James Hagerty, White House Press Secretary, Eisenhower Administration, re: Mamie Bradley and the CP USA Rabb explains to Hagerty that the Administration never directly responded to Mamie Bradley’s wire message at the suggestion of the Department of Justice and the FBI, who had come to the conclusion that rather than her truly being concerned at the brutal lynching of her son, she was merely being used as a pawn by the Communist Party USA in order to make her cause “the means of making the race question a burning issue.” He then mentions some other personal issues regarding her husband, and reaffirms that for these reasons they didn’t respond to her.</p>	

Additional Resources

Secondary Sources

Rosa Parks and the Montgomery Bus Boycott

Kohl, Herbert. “*The Politics of Children’s Literature: What’s Wrong with the Rosa Parks*

Myth,” from Putting The Movement Back Into Civil Rights Teaching: A Resource Guide For K12 Classrooms, pp. 25-31, Ed. by Deborah Menkart, Alana D. Murray, and Jenice L. View.

Parks, Rosa, with Jim Haskins. *Rosa Parks: My Story*. New York: Puffin Books, 1992.

Robinson, Jo Ann Gibson. *The Montgomery Bus Boycott and the Women Who Started It: The Memoir of Jo Ann Gibson Robinson*. Knoxville, Tenn.: University of Tennessee Press, 1987.

Williams, Donnie, and Wayne Greenhaw. *The Thunder of Angels: The Montgomery Bus Boycott and the People Who Broke the Back of Jim Crow*. Chicago: Lawrence Hill Books, 2006.

The Lynching of Emmett Till and Cold War Politics

Till-Mobley, Mamie. *Death of Innocence: The Story of the Hate Crime That Changed America*. One World/Ballantine: 2004.

Borstelmann, Thomas. *The Cold War and the Color Line*. Harvard UP: 2003.

Dudziak, Mary L. *Cold War Civil Rights: Race and the Image of American Democracy (Politics and Society in Twentieth-Century America)*. Princeton UP: 2011.

Online Resources

Rosa Parks and the Montgomery Bus Boycott

The Montgomery Bus Boycott: They Changed the World:

<http://www.montgomeryboycott.com>

Explore: Rosa Parks, from the Black Culture Connection Online, by PBS:

http://www.pbs.org/black-culture/explore/rosa-parks/#.U_tfl8U7t8E

Before Rosa Parks, There Was Claudette Colvin. National Public Radio (NPR) Weekend Sunday online interview/story, by Margot Adler:

<http://www.npr.org/templates/story/story.php?storyId=101719889>

The Montgomery Boycott and the Women Who Started It: The Memoir of JoAnn Gibson Robinson, National Humanities Center Resource Toolbox [pdf]

<http://nationalhumanitiescenter.org/pds/maai3/protest/text5/robinsonbusboycott.pdf>

Teaching the Montgomery Bus Boycott, from Putting the Movement Back Into Civil Rights Teaching:

<http://civildrightsteaching.org/about/in-the-news/teaching-themontgomery-bus-boycott-50-years-later/>

The Lynching of Emmett Till and Cold War Politics

Famous Trials: Emmett Till Murder (Bryant and Milam) Trial, 1955:

<http://law2.umkc.edu/faculty/projects/ftrials/till/tillhome.html>

The Dwight D. Eisenhower Presidential Library, *Civil Rights: The Emmett Till Case*.

http://eisenhower.archives.gov/research/online_documents/civil_rights_emmett_till_case.html

Timeline: The Murder of Emmett Till, PBS American Experience.

<http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/amex/till/timeline/index.html>

January 24, 1956: Emmett Till Murderers Make Magazine Confession, from 'This Day In History,' by the History Channel:

<http://www.history.com/this-day-in-history/emmettill-murderers-make-magazine-confession>

Photo Analysis Worksheet

Step 1. Observation

A.

Study the photograph for 2 minutes. Form an overall impression of the photograph and then examine individual items. Next, divide the photo into quadrants and study each section to see what new details become visible.

B.

Use the chart below to list people, objects, and activities in the photograph.

People	Objects	Activities

Step 2. Inference

Based on what you have observed above, list three things you might infer from this photograph.

1.

2.

3.

Step 3. Questions

A.

What questions does this photograph raise in your mind?

B.

Where could you find answers to them?

Written Document Analysis Worksheet

1. **TYPE OF DOCUMENT**
(Check one):

- | | | |
|----------------------------------|-------------------------------------|--|
| <input type="radio"/> Newspaper | <input type="radio"/> Map | <input type="radio"/> Advertisement |
| <input type="radio"/> Letter | <input type="radio"/> Telegram | <input type="radio"/> Congressional Record |
| <input type="radio"/> Patent | <input type="radio"/> Press Release | <input type="radio"/> Census Report |
| <input type="radio"/> Memorandum | <input type="radio"/> Report | <input type="radio"/> Other |

2. **UNIQUE PHYSICAL CHARACTERISTICS OF THE DOCUMENT** (Check one or more):

- | | |
|---|---|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Interesting Letterhead | <input type="checkbox"/> Notations |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Handwritten | <input type="checkbox"/> "RECEIVED" stamp |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Typed Other | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Seals | |

3. **DATE(S) OF DOCUMENT:**

4. **AUTHOR (OR CREATOR) OF THE DOCUMENT:**

POSITION (TITLE):

5. **FOR WHAT AUDIENCE WAS THE DOCUMENT WRITTEN?**

Designed and developed by the
Education Staff, National Archives and Records Administration

Curriculum Correlations

Rosa Parks and the Montgomery Bus Boycott

This lesson correlates to the Common Core Georgia Performance Standards:

Literacy Standards for Reading in History/Social Studies (RH) **Grade 9 – 10:**

- **L9-10RH1:** Cite Specific textual evidence to support analysis of primary and secondary sources, attending to such features as the date and origin of the information.
- **L9-10RH2:** Determine the central ideas or information of a primary or secondary source; provide an accurate summary of how key events or ideas develop over the course of the text.
- **L9-10RH3:** Analyze in detail a series of events described in a text; determine whether earlier events caused later ones or simply preceded them.

Literacy Standards for Reading in History/Social Studies (RH) **Grade 11 – 12:**

- **L11-12RH1:** Cite Specific textual evidence to support analysis of primary and secondary sources, connecting insights gained from specific details to an understanding of the text as a whole.
- **L11-12RH2:** Determine the central ideas or information of a primary or secondary source; provide an accurate summary that makes clear the relationship among the key details and ideas.
- **L11-12RH3:** Evaluate various explanations for actions or events and determine which explanation best accords with textual evidence, acknowledging where the text leaves matters uncertain.

This lesson correlates to the National History Standards:

- Era 9 -Postwar United States (1945-early 1970s)
- Standard 4A -Demonstrate understanding of the Second Reconstruction and its advancement of civil rights.

This lesson correlates to the National Standards for Civics and Government:

- Standard V.B.4. -Evaluate, take, and defend positions on the relationships among personal, political, and economic rights.

The Lynching of Emmett Till and Cold War Politics

This lesson correlates to the Common Core Georgia Performance Standards:

Literacy Standards for Reading in History/Social Studies (RH) Grade 9 – 10:

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