

# Post WWII Georgia

## Politics:

The white primary:

County Unit System:

Poll Taxes:

24<sup>th</sup> Amendment:

1966:

Gov. Ellis Arnall,  
Progressive Reformer:

**Three Governors Controversy:** Eugene Talmadge won the gubernatorial election in 1946 but died before he could take office. Georgia's Constitution did not offer a clear rule on succession.

### **Three Claimants:**

**Special Election, 1948:** Herman Talmadge wins. He supports:

***Brown v. Board of Education***, 1954

**Overturns Plessy v. Ferguson**

### **Rules**

has no place in the field of public education.

**Resistance to *Brown*:**

-1956 State Flag:

-Temple Bombing

-KKK reemergence

-Sibley Commission/Gov. Vandiver

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-Why is Ellis Arnall considered to be progressive?

-Why was there a "Three Governors Controversy" in 1946?

-How did Southern States React to Brown?

-Atlanta schools desegregated in \_\_\_\_\_;  
the rest of the state by the \_\_\_\_\_.

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Name:

**Modern Georgia: Focus Questions**—March 24-27 2015—Use the Document Packet to Answer the Questions. Bullet point responses are acceptable.

**MARCH 24:** *Men Who Shame Our State and Flag*, Ralph McGill:

- Why did the author create this piece of work? What is the intent?
- Why did the author choose this particular format?
- Who is the intended audience? Who was the author thinking would receive this?
- What does the document "say"?
- Can it tell you more than is on the surface?

**MARCH 25:** *Arnall Tells Georgia's Story Well*

- What can we tell about the author from the piece?
- What can we tell about the time period from the piece?
- Under what circumstances was the piece created and how does the piece reflect those circumstances?
- What can we tell about any controversies from the piece?
- Does the author represent a particular 'side' of a controversy or event?

**MARCH 26:** *Herman Talmadge Says He Will Scrap the School System:*

- What can we tell about the time period from the piece?
- Under what circumstances was the piece created and how does the piece reflect those circumstances?
- What can we tell about any controversies from the piece?

**MARCH 26:** *Talmadge Asks Whites to Bloc Vote in Macon County*

- *What can we tell about the time period from the piece?*
- *Under what circumstances was the piece created and how does the piece reflect those circumstances?*
- *What can we tell about any controversies from the piece?*

**MARCH 27:** *How Housewives and the Atlanta Nine Integrated Georgia's Public Schools:*

- *Why did the author create this piece of work? What is the intent?*
- *What does the document "say"?*

**MARCH 27:** *On Changing the State Flag*

- *What can we tell about the time period from the piece?*
- *What can we tell about any controversies from the piece?*

**Region** It seems to me the Southerner who loves his region must love it enough to fight for it. He most love it enough vigorously to denounce and oppose all those who seek to say the American dream of justice and opportunity for all Americans is not a Southern dream, too. The person who really loves the South must love it enough to refuse to see it exploited by those who seek to say that lynchings and mob violence are a part of the South. They must love it enough to say the Negro may have full justice and economic opportunity without any harm to the South's true traditions.

**Paradox** So, it is perfectly true that the left-wing radicals speak of the objectives of the Southern liberal as "limited" and as a "Jim Crow liberalism." It also is true the extreme right in the South at the same time condemns him as too advanced, as "pink" and as fouling his own nest. It is a paradox which is often frustrating.

But the real Southerner, who loves his region, must first of all be an American determined his region shall be second to no other region in the meaning of America. The South must have education as good as other regions; must have opportunity and justice and jobs; must have happiness and good will. Those who love it will not be afraid to fight for the South and its future as an effective part of a great nation. This means eating the bitter bread of frustration, disappointment and abuse, but these can be digested and the effort is worth while, because a man's region loves him back and there are times when he can feel it and know it.

(July 7, 1949)

### MEN WHO SHAME OUR STATE AND FLAG

Two persons from Bainbridge came to see me. They were solemn and sad, worried and a little bit afraid.

They had a right to be.

This was their story. A short time ago a 15-year-old Negro boy had been arrested on his return from a stay of two weeks in Ashburn. Frigthened, cowed and very much alone, he was taken roughly, he says, to jail.

In a sworn statement from a hospital bed, he said that after arrest he was told he had insulted a white woman. He had not, and he denied it as strongly as he could. The officer then called up a number and had the boy talk into the telephone. "Does that sound like him?" he asked.

The  
Civil  
Rights  
Movement  
Post-WWII  
Georgia

Document  
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The boy said the county officer then hit him with his fist and locked him up. There was no warrant and no charge made.

He says he asked the county officer what he was charged with doing and the officer said to him that if it were up to him the boy would never see his daddy again. That's pretty hard on a boy of 15.

**Waiting** Apparently there was no charge or evidence against him because the next night the boy was released — late, about 10:30 P. M.

In his statement he said that when he came down the steps from the jail two men were waiting. They both hit him and one put a sack over his head. They took him to a car. During the drive they struck him and cursed him. After a while they reached some woods and got out, dragging him with them.

**Boy** Now, whatever his race, this was but a 15-year-old boy. He was, one may assume, very much afraid and in a state of terror. Any boy would have been. He was all alone and knew he might be killed.

The boy was beaten, very heavily, with a strap and a club. He was asked if he believed in civil rights. He said he didn't know what they were and had never heard of them. The odds are the men who were mistreating him so brutally didn't know what they were either. They asked him if he knew of any niggers insulting white women. He says they told him they were going to beat him until they killed him if he didn't tell. He said, truthfully, he didn't know any. They asked him who he ran around with and he told them. He is afraid they will be beaten, although the boy swears that neither he nor they have ever insulted or sought to insult anyone. He says they then asked him how old he was and he said 15 and they each whipped him hard for every year of his age. They then told him to run.

**Alone** It was after midnight and dark. The 15-year-old boy tried to run, but kept falling down because he was almost unconscious and badly beaten. He says he hid in some bushes all night and the next morning, feverish and sick, asked for some water at a white farmer's house. The man gave him the water and asked him what the matter was. He said nothing was the matter. He went on to a Negro's house and these people bathed him and dressed his badly wounded back and put him to bed. They also called the deputy.

The boy and the deputy found the place where he had been whipped. They also found his shoes which had come off during the beating.

The deputy called the sheriff at Bainbridge and the boy's father, and the boy was put in the hospital at Bainbridge, with raw wounds from the beating.

The case is being "investigated."

**Results** As I have said here before, the Klan or a manifestation of the Klan, is a cancer which will sicken and harm any town which does not rise to put it down.

Bainbridge is a fine city. Its colored and white populations always have got on well together. Its people do not approve of vicious ruffians taking the law into their own hands. The good people must not be afraid of the Klan element, which has pack courage, but only pack courage.

The pattern of this was typical. The law had nothing against the boy. But the outlaws, those of the Klan mentality, wanted to beat and slug someone in order to terrorize the Negro population, rather than allow the law to run down any law violation by any Negro or persons in the town, suspected of saying obscene things over the telephone, which was the offense being investigated.

**Pattern** It could easily have been determined if the boy had been away. If he had been guilty it could have been proved. The boy in question was released because he was not involved.

But, the point to note is that two men knew when the boy would be released and were waiting. That is in the pattern.

What has happened here — as has happened in a few more places — is that a group of men have put themselves above the law.

Somebody at the jail let the men know when the boy would be released.

The people of Bainbridge and the county can join together and say they vote for sheriffs and for courts and they want them to handle their cases. They can demand of the sheriff that he run this down and arrest the guilty men and present the evidence to the grand jury. They can ask the sheriff why prisoners released from his jail can be picked up at the door, a sack put over their head, and then taken away by force and violence at the very door of the building which houses the law enforcement offices of the county. Many persons in the county are outraged and aroused. That's what we need.

Georgia can't go on advertising to the Nation that mobs can mock our law and our courts. We aren't the sort of people these evil persons try to make us seem.

Let the law find the guilty and try them legally, by law, and jail them by law.

We can't go on allowing violent and lawless men to dominate us. The flag of the United States and the flag of Georgia are supposed to fly over our courthouses and public buildings. Let's remember that. They are supposed to stand for law and justice.

*(August 18, 1949)*

## Arnall Tells Georgia's Story Well

*The Atlanta Constitution* (1881-1945); Nov 15, 1945;

ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The Atlanta Constitution (1868-1945)

pg. 8

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# Arnall Tells Georgia's Story Well

It is our considered and continuing opinion that, of all the reforms which his administration has wrought, Gov. Arnall's greatest value to Georgia lies in his constant efforts to redeem the state's reputation in the eyes of the rest of the nation.

Arnall's accomplishments in the realm of governmental efficiency are both numerous and important; but it is as a salesman and promoter that he has rendered the worst-needed service to Georgia.

Recently, for instance, Gov. Arnall has been in New York. And, without exception, the metropolitan dailies have devoted much space to him and the new day which has dawned in Georgia. Arnall, unlike some of his predecessors, is no "character." There is no disposition to write "color" stories holding him up for ridicule and derision. The nation's press has learned to admire and respect him and to send its best men around to do serious, straightforward news stories on his ideas.

Thus, the same week that petulant Mr. Dewey was indulging in a tirade against the "discrimination" of equal freight rates, in such papers as the august New York Herald Tribune, Arnall was being quoted at length, thus:

Gov. Ellis Arnall, of Georgia, advised the governors of the New England states yesterday that they took a narrow view of the national welfare when they deplored the decentralization of industry toward the south.

"We feel that it won't hurt the east in the long run," he said. "When our people earn more money they will buy more of your special products. . . ."

"There is nothing wrong with the south that prosperity won't cure. We've had an inferiority complex. We were a defeated people. We blamed most of our trouble on circumstances and the north. Eighty years ago we had nothing left but the will to live. We've come a long way since then. . . ."

"We still lack education. By and large we can't afford it. My state now pays the largest percentage of its income on education of any state. But we don't spend enough, because our income is low. Our health work is not better because of the same poverty. Poverty breeds prejudice, hatreds, discontent. . . ."

"But we're doing many things. The war has demonstrated that our southern stock can become good technicians. We are beginning to develop a balanced industrial and agricultural economy. As long as our people are only drawers of water and hewers of wood we'll be poor. Therefore, we are doing all we can to convince industry that there's a southern frontier that's crying for development. . . ."

There was, of course, a great deal more. But that suffices to illustrate the type of good publicity from which Georgia—and, indeed, the entire south—benefits because of Arnall.

It is worth, because of the fact that such favorable comment has been so rare in the past, a very great deal to all of us.

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## If Court Bans Segregation

# Herman Talmadge Says He Will Scrap School System.

BY INTERNATIONAL NEWS SERVICE

Gov. Herman Talmadge reaffirmed his intention yesterday of abolishing Georgia's Public School System should the U. S. Supreme Court abolish racial segregation in the schools of South Carolina.

The court decision is now pending.

The Governor declared:

"I would be reluctant to abolish the public school system, but it would be my duty as Governor to prevent killings, bloodshed and possible lynchings. I haven't got enough troops in Georgia, and neither has the U. S. Army got enough troops to prevent bloodshed if segregation in the common schools in this state is destroyed." Talmadge said the ruling on South Carolina would not have an immediate effect on Georgia, but contended that it would set a precedent which would also abolish segregation in his state within a short time.

Gov. Talmadge has arranged for a meeting of state education, financial and legal authorities in the event the high court abolishes segregation in the pending cases.

Under the Governor's plan, educational facilities would be leased to private individuals. Money which now goes to public school systems would be distributed equally to each student as a subsidy for his education at the "private" schools. The Governor said:

"I think I have arrived at the only solution to maintain an excellent school system for all people, rich and poor alike, and at the same time maintain segregation."



# ██████████ Asks Whites To Bloc Vote In Macon Campaign Rally

Ignores Own Voters

Measure Designed To

Stop Voting In Bloc

MACON, Ga. — (SNS) — Gov. ██████████ Talmadge, adamant advocate of Georgia's unique, ancient county-unit system and pugnacious proponent of the state's voters re-registration law designed to stop the so-called evils of Negro "bloc" voting, gloated at a campaign rally here Wednesday night that this year "we're going to have a white bloc vote."

"I carried Bibb county by a 3,000 majority of white voters," Talmadge recalled in his address beamed at 4,500 Municipal listeners, "but lost it when the colored bloc vote came in."

"This year there's going to be a white folks bloc," boasted the gubernatorial candidate who has repeatedly assailed bloc voting as "unintelligent."

Confident of carrying white Bibb county votes in a bloc, Eugene Talmadge's incumbent son who attempted to snatch Georgia's governorship by force a few years ago continued to hammer with pride his efforts to herd white voters in a bloc.

**"WHITE BLOC VOTE"**

"We are going to have a white bloc vote in Bibb county this time," he emphasized.

"These foreign-owned Macon papers won't be able to laugh that off," he claimed as he launched an attack aimed at the Macon News and the Macon Telegraph.

Talmadge's blast at the Telegraph was apparently in response to an editorial appearing in Wednesday's paper.

The Telegraph editorially took Talmadge to task for failing to "tell us in plain old Georgia language" how he stands on the ██████████

He levelled off on the Macon News as having "the doubtful distinction of being the only newspaper in Georgia that came out editorially in support of the whole civil rights program lock-stock and barrel."

Talmadge, who has the doubtful distinction of being the only southern governor pledged to defy the United States Supreme court rulings on segregation, said the two Macon papers are trying to destroy the unit system.

# How housewives and the 'Atlanta Nine' integrated Georgia's public schools

By John Martin, CNN

Atlanta (CNN)—My great aunt Muriel Lokey passed away August 27, 2012, at age 90. Family and friends gathered recently in Atlanta, more to celebrate her being and her attitude toward life than to mourn her passing. During her rich life, Lokey explored the world with her husband, Hamilton (Ham), climbing the world's mountains and rafting down America's rivers.



Muriel Lokey co-founded a group that helped integrate Georgia's public schools.

Decades before those accomplishments, Lokey was a force for justice and social change in her home city of Atlanta.

In 1954, the U.S. Supreme Court decided in the now famous case *Brown vs. Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas*, that all public schools must desegregate. Soon after, Georgia passed a series of laws, in defiance of the court, to bolster segregation. Ham Lokey, Muriel's husband and my great-uncle, was in the state legislature and he and six or seven of his fellow representatives were often the only votes against these measures.

By 1958, the state of Georgia mandated that if any public school integrated, its school district would be shut down.

The Lokeys had five children and they believed in public schools. Muriel Lokey began to talk about the issue with other Morris Brandon Elementary School parents, over coffee or when dropping off or picking their children up from school in the daily carpool. Later, she told the Atlanta History Center, "The school crisis came to a head in 1958, and I had a front row seat in watching the amount of changing in our society and I climbed on the stage and played a role in the drama."

Lokey helped galvanize Georgia's opposition and hosted the first meeting of Help Our Public Schools Inc., known as HOPE, in December 1958. The group stated its purpose was "to give factual information to those citizens of Georgia who want to keep our public education from being destroyed by the closing of public schools."

HOPE did not declare a position on segregation, or on state's rights versus federal rights, or on the Supreme Court's landmark decision. "From the beginning we felt that our best strategy would be to stress the one issue of preserving public schools. And to maintain a neutral position in arguments over integration," Lokey said. "I do think that those of us who worked the hardest were very much concerned about the integration issue," Lokey also acknowledged.

Through grass-roots efforts, Lokey and HOPE began to galvanize opposition to segregation across the state, and the group even made national news. An Associated Press photograph of Muriel Lokey and HOPE President Fran Breedon planting bumper stickers that declared "We WANT public schools" was plastered all over national newspapers: a 1950s way of going viral.

HOPE itself was not integrated, causing internal strife and costing the group at least one key member. Lokey explained that HOPE's exclusion of blacks was pragmatic, not racist. "We chose not to be a biracial organization but rather to be white people persuading white people. It was seen as a tactical necessity."

Founding member Nan Pendergrast knew that an integrated group couldn't crack Atlanta's business community. "My particular job was talking to the Kiwanis and the Rotarians and the Civitans who at that time would never have allowed a black person in their door and probably not allowed anybody who was known to consort with those people," Pendergrast told a historian.

In January 1960, HOPE presented to the Georgia Legislature a statewide petition with 10,000 names of people who wanted to keep Georgia's public schools open. The group pasted all the names together on one roll and took it to the third floor of the state Capitol building and unfurled it over the railing until it reached the first floor. "And of course we had all the press and everything taking pictures of it," said HOPE member Frances Pauley years later.

By January 1961, the statewide support for HOPE eventually caused Gov. Ernest Vandiver, who once famously said "no, not one" black student would integrate a Georgia school under his administration, to ask the state legislature to adopt a new bill allowing for some integration in Georgia.

Now that integration was a forgone conclusion bound by law, HOPB began to work with the Organizations Assisting Schools in September, or OASIS, a group of black and white leaders that would define how the city schools would integrate. All sides were in agreement about one thing: The racial violence over integrated schools in cities like Little Rock, Arkansas, had no place in Atlanta. For one thing, the Atlanta business community would not support a policy that could harm the city's growing economy and its reputation. On Wednesday, August 30, 1961, 15 minutes after schools opened citywide, nine black students - Thomas Welch, Madelyn Nix, Willie Jean Black, Donna Gaines, Arthur Simmons, Lawrence Jefferson, Mary James McMullen, Martha Ann Holmes and Rosalyn Walton - integrated four Atlanta public high schools. The 10th student, Darnats Allen, elected to attend Spelman College instead.

Other Southern cities had experienced massive protests and violence while integrating schools. On this historic day in Atlanta, five arrests were the extent of the unrest on the city's streets, as reported by the daily papers. Welch, who integrated Atlanta's Joe Brown High School, said the scene was quiet; he and Nix were escorted by police and arrived after all the other students were in class. "That was deliberate on the part of Atlanta Public Schools." He did see a few protesters, but police kept them at bay. Once inside Brown, reactions varied. "Some students were welcoming, other students were openly hostile, but for the most part the students acted like students," Welch said.

Jim Martin (no relation to the author), junior class president at Northside High School when it was integrated, said Simmons, Black and Gaines probably had similar experiences at Northside. "The black students weren't treated badly, but they weren't embraced and they didn't demand that. They were just going to school," Martin said.

Martin said that at Northside, Principal Weddington Kelley's attitude made all the difference. "He was bound and determined that Northside wasn't going to look bad."

At Brown, Welch found that teachers had various attitudes toward his presence. "Some teachers were very standoffish, while other teachers were actively making sure we were treated as equals," Welch said. "There were some incidents, both my first and second year there," Welch said.

Welch's mother occasionally received hostile phone calls late at night, sometimes even death threats. It didn't deter the family.

Welch recalled that in one class, the teacher would have the students move as far away from Welch no matter where he sat. "If I sat in the front, they moved to the back. If I sat in the middle, they moved away around me ... there were one or two students who tried to, and did, resist that." In another classroom, the students started to pull the same prank. The teacher scolded them, "Are you crazy? You're not doing that in here!" and forced the students to move back in rows.

Welch said teachers at his original school, Booker T. Washington High School, were as motivated and intelligent as his new teachers at Joe Brown. "Booker T. had an excellent reputation," Welch said. But there was an ROTC program at Joe Brown, and there wasn't one at Washington, so Welch filled out the transfer forms.

In ROTC, Welch eventually became a squad leader and won the respect of his peers. Most of them, anyway. Once, while waiting in line during a drill, a white student spit on Welch and yelled, "I spit on the n\*\*\*\*\*!" Two student officers grabbed the other student, took him into a nearby room with the U.S. army sergeant in charge and yelled at him. "I couldn't hear what they said. The sergeant came out and said, 'He won't bother you again,' and this kid never came near me ever again," Welch said.

Welch said he understands why Atlanta undertook only token integration at first: Little Rock was still on everyone's mind. "It was very deliberate on the part of the political and business establishment to minimize any kinds of disruptions. As I think back on it, even though it was gradual, it was probably the best way to do it without creating the negative uproar that would have been very difficult to control," Welch said.

Martin, the white Northside alumnus, agreed. "A lot of the violence [elsewhere] occurred because good people allowed that to happen. In Atlanta they weren't going to let the demagogues and hate take over," he said.

With the peaceful integration of the four high schools, HOPB's goals were obtained. No one was threatening to shut down public schools anymore, and HOPB folded in 1961.

In the decades since Welch and the others of the "Atlanta nine" integrated the city's high schools, "white flight" has taken over much of Atlanta. Neighborhoods have shifted, some have integrated and some completely turned over. "I've been told now you'd be lucky to find two white students at Brown," Welch said.

The four high schools are still around; Brown is now a middle school. Around 85% of Atlanta's current students are black, and around 3/4 of the city's students are eligible for reduced-price or free meals.

Decades later, the local public school Lokey fought so hard to keep open for her children is also still around. Her Buckhead neighborhood's demographics haven't changed much. Around 86% of Morris Brandon Elementary students are white and only 7% of its students are eligible for reduced-price or free meals.

Martin, who ran for several statewide offices in the 2000s, said segregation in Georgia has evolved. "What you do see is not racial segregation, but real economic segregation even among people of the same race. The economic segregation is almost as startling as the racial division," Martin said.

In 1961, nine students enrolled in four white high schools in Atlanta, Georgia. And the city didn't burn.

## On Changing the State Flag

So the Georgia House of Representatives passed a bill on Thursday to replace the present state flag design of red and white stripes with the Confederate stars and bars. The bill has already passed the Senate and is waiting the signature of the governor to become law. If approved the law would require every public school, every highway patrol station wagon and many other public institutions to replace the present flag with the new Confederate battle model.

In speaking of the bill, House Leader Groover said it would "replace those meaningless stripes with something having deep meaning in the hearts of all true Southerners." He also added — "anything we in Georgia can do to preserve the memory of the Confederacy is a step forward."

In all our civic and social enterprises the flag has a distinct function not to be included or duplicated in any other gesture. Fights of such intervals call for saluting, waving and such other demonstrations as bespeak the loyalty and devotion of a people or country.

Out of a spirit of eternal gratitude and native pride one should be constrained to wave or salute a flag. A flag is not sanctified with any measure of force or left-handed devotion. Therefore it is left without argument for the fair-minded citizen to arrive at what is meant by the speaker in the term "all good Southerners" and if a certain segment of citizens also included in the public school plan can honestly stand attention, salute or insist devotion in something that stood for the enslavement of its people and which revives and enlivens a cause that claimed once upon a time so much that it had to be subdued by the Federal government as a rebellion and put down at the cost of thousands of lives on both sides.

An economic phase also enters into the equation, in that the change over for the Confederate battle flag would entail a great expense at the tax-till in which every citizen, every hour in the day is being called upon to replenish.

Secondly, coming so soon upon the declaration that there should be no discrimination of citizens in the public schools, there is an air of defiance in such revival of something the country and the world have longed to see forgotten. In that there is no contribution made to either race; both living side by side here in one great America and attesting the fact that human slavery does not belong in the agenda of a proud Democracy while insisting for the common welfare that we are all one country now, one in faith and one in respecting the rights of his fellowman. Thirdly, — it is obviously unfair to require any Negro school to fly the battle flag of the Confederacy nor its students to repeat its pledge or salute it as it chants the ode of the swan-song of tragedy which we thought had died on the desert air.

On the other hand, the purpose and spirit of patriotism should not be mocked or imperturbed by those spasmodic thrusts, smacking of defiance of the Constitution of the United States itself and the mandate-agency of its courts and those improper and impossible demands made upon those who under no conditions or circumstances could consciously subscribe.

These must be sad days of bitter relation against the insistence of the activation of a real democracy on our home front.

The spirit of yesterday, though grim in the dim distance is revealed in a story once told at Atlanta University of one of its graduates, who was principal of a public school here in Atlanta who, when he was ordered to close his school for a Confederate memorial, quietly submitted his resignation. Surely the members of the General Assembly would not contend that they have a mandate from the people to undermine the principles underlying the ancient structure of fealty and unstinted devotion.

# MARCH ON WASHINGTON FOR JOBS AND FREEDOM

AUGUST 28, 1963

## LINCOLN MEMORIAL PROGRAM

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| 1. The National Anthem                            | Led by Marian Anderson.  |
| 2. Invocation                                     | The Very Rev. Patrick O'Boyle, Archbishop of Washington.   |
| 3. Opening Remarks                                | A. Philip Randolph, Director March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom.   |
| 4. Remarks  | Dr. Eugene Carson Blake, Stated Clerk, United Presbyterian Church of the U.S.A.; Vice Chairman, Commission on Race Relations of the National Council of Churches of Christ in America. |
| 5. Tribute to Negro Women<br>Fighters for Freedom | Mrs. Medgar Evers  |
|   | Daisy Bates<br>Dinne Nash Bevel<br>Mrs. Medgar Evers<br>Mrs. Herbert Lee<br>Rosa Parks<br>Gloria Richardson  |
| 6. Remarks  | John Lewis, National Chairman, Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee.  |
| 7. Remarks  | Walter Reuther, President, United Automobile, Aerospace and Agricultural Implement Workers of America, AFL-CIO; Chairman, Industrial Union Department, AFL-CIO.                        |
| 8. Remarks  | James Farmer, National Director, Congress of Racial Equality.  |
| 9. Selection                                      | Eva Jessye Choir   |
| 10. Prayer  | Rabbi Uri Miller, President Synagogue Council of America.  |
| 11. Remarks                                       | Whitney M. Young, Jr., Executive Director, National Urban League.  |
| 12. Remarks                                       | Mathew Ahmann, Executive Director, National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice.   |
| 13. Remarks                                       | Roy Wilkins, Executive Secretary, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.  |
| 14. Selection                                     | Miss Mahalia Jackson   |
| 15. Remarks                                       | Rabbi Joachim Prinz, President American Jewish Congress.   |
| 16. Remarks                                       | The Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., President, Southern Christian Leadership Conference.   |
| 17. The Pledge                                    | A Philip Randolph  |
| 18. Benediction                                   | Dr. Benjamin E. Mays, President, Morehouse College.  |

"WE SHALL OVERCOME"

Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.

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Lewis, "Speech at the March on Washington," Speech Text  
JOHN LEWIS, "SPEECH AT THE MARCH ON WASHINGTON" (28 AUGUST 1963)

[1] We march today for jobs and freedom, but we have nothing to be proud of. For hundreds and thousands of our brothers are not here. For they are receiving starvation wages, or no wages at all. While we stand here, there are sharecroppers in the Delta of Mississippi who are out in the fields working for less than three dollars a day, twelve hours a day. While we stand here there are students in jail on trumped-up charges. Our brother James Farmer, along with many others, is also in jail. We come here today with a great sense of misgiving.

[2] It is true that we support the administration's civil rights bill. We support it with great reservations, however. Unless Title III is put in this bill, there is nothing to protect the young children and old women who must face police dogs and fire hoses in the South while they engage in peaceful demonstrations. In its present form, this bill will not protect the citizens of Danville, Virginia, who must live in constant fear of a police state. It will not protect the hundreds and thousands of people that have been arrested on trumped charges. What about the three young men, SNCC field secretaries in Americus, Georgia, who face the death penalty for engaging in peaceful protest?

[3] As it stands now, the voting section of this bill will not help the thousands of black people who want to vote. It will not help the citizens of Mississippi, of Alabama and Georgia, who are qualified to vote, but lack a sixth-grade education. "One man, one vote" is the African cry. It is ours too. It must be ours!

[4] We must have legislation that will protect the Mississippi sharecropper who is put off of his farm because he dares to register to vote. We need a bill that will provide for the homeless and starving people of this nation. We need a bill that will ensure the equality of a maid who earns five dollars a week in a home of a family whose total income is \$100,000 a year. We must have a good FEPC bill.

[5] My friends, let us not forget that we are involved in a serious social revolution. By and large, American politics is dominated by politicians who build their careers on immoral compromises and ally themselves with open forms of political, economic, and social exploitation. There are exceptions, of course. We salute those. But what political leader can stand up and say, "My party is the party of principles"? For the party of Kennedy is also the party of Eastland. The party of Javits is also the party of Goldwater. Where is our party? Where is the political party that will make it unnecessary to march on Washington?

[6] Where is the political party that will make it unnecessary to march in the streets of Birmingham? Where is the political party that will protect the citizens of Albany, Georgia? Do you know that in Albany, Georgia, nine of our leaders have been indicted, not by the Dixiecrats, but by the federal government for peaceful protest? But what did the federal government do when Albany's deputy sheriff beat Attorney C.B. King and left him half-dead? What did the federal government do when local police officials kicked and assaulted the pregnant wife of Slater King, and she lost her baby?

[7] To those who have said, "Be patient and wait," we have long said that we cannot be patient. We do not want our freedom gradually, but we want to be free now! We are tired. We are tired of being beaten by policemen. We are tired of seeing our people locked up in jail over and over again. And then you holler, "Be patient." How long can we be patient? We want our freedom and we want it now. We do not want to go to jail. But we will go to jail if this is the price we must pay for love, brotherhood, and true peace.

[8] I appeal to all of you to get into this great revolution that is sweeping this nation. Get in and stay in the streets of every city, every village and hamlet of this nation until true freedom comes, until the revolution of 1776 is complete. We must get in this revolution and complete the revolution. For in the Delta in Mississippi, in southwest Georgia, in the Black Belt of Alabama, in Harlem, in Chicago, Detroit, Philadelphia, and all over this nation, the black masses are on the march for jobs and freedom.

[9] They're talking about slow down and stop. We will not stop. All of the forces of Eastland, Barnett, Wallace, and Thurmond will not stop this revolution. If we do not get meaningful legislation out of this Congress, the time will come when we will not confine our marching to Washington. We will march through the South; through the streets of Jackson, through the streets of Danville, through the streets of Cambridge, through the streets of Birmingham. But we will march with the spirit of love and with the spirit of dignity that we have shown here today. By the force of our demands, our determination, and our numbers, we shall splinter the segregated South into a thousand pieces and put them together in the image of God and democracy. We must say: "Wake up America! Wake up!" For we cannot stop, and we will not and cannot be patient.

Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr.  
*I Have a Dream*

I am happy to join with you today in what will go down in history as the greatest demonstration for freedom in the history of our nation.

Five score years ago, a great American, in whose symbolic shadow we stand today, signed the Emancipation Proclamation. This momentous decree came as a great beacon light of hope to millions of Negro slaves who had been seared in the flames of withering injustice. It came as a joyous daybreak to end the long night of their captivity.

But one hundred years later, the Negro still is not free. One hundred years later, the life of the Negro is still sadly crippled by the manacles of segregation and the chains of discrimination. One hundred years later, the Negro lives on a lonely island of poverty in the midst of a vast ocean of material prosperity. One hundred years later, the Negro is still languished in the corners of American society and finds himself an exile in his own land. And so we've come here today to dramatize a shameful condition.

In a sense we've come to our nation's capital to cash a check. When the architects of our republic wrote the magnificent words of the Constitution and the Declaration of Independence, they were signing a promissory note to which every American was to fall heir. This note was a promise that all men, yes, black men as well as white men, would be guaranteed the "unalienable Rights" of "Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness." It is obvious today that America has defaulted on this promissory note, insofar as her citizens of color are concerned. Instead of honoring this sacred obligation, America has given the Negro people a bad check, a check which has come back marked "insufficient funds."

But we refuse to believe that the bank of justice is bankrupt. We refuse to believe that there are insufficient funds in the great vaults of opportunity of this nation. And so, we've come to cash this check, a check that will give us upon demand the riches of freedom and the security of justice.

We have also come to this hallowed spot to remind America of the fierce urgency of Now. This is no time to engage in the luxury of cooling off or to take the tranquilizing drug of gradualism. Now is the time to make real the promises of democracy. Now is the time to rise from the dark and desolate valley of segregation to the sunlit path of racial justice. Now is the time to lift our nation from the quicksands of racial injustice to the solid rock of brotherhood. Now is the time to make justice a reality for all of God's children.

It would be fatal for the nation to overlook the urgency of the moment. This sweltering summer of the Negro's legitimate discontent will not pass until there is an invigorating autumn of freedom and equality. Nineteen sixty-three is not an end, but a beginning. And those who hope that the Negro needed to blow off steam and will now be content will have a rude awakening if the nation returns to business as usual. And there will be neither rest nor tranquility in America until the Negro is granted his citizenship rights. The whirlwinds of revolt will continue to shake the foundations of our nation until the bright day of justice emerges.

But there is something that I must say to my people, who stand on the warm threshold which leads into the palace of justice: In the process of gaining our rightful place, we must not be guilty of wrongful deeds. Let us not seek to satisfy our thirst for freedom by drinking from the cup of bitterness and hatred. We must forever conduct our struggle on the high plane of dignity and discipline. We must not allow our creative protest to degenerate into physical violence. Again and again, we must rise to the majestic heights of meeting physical force with soul force.

The marvelous new militancy which has engulfed the Negro community must not lead us to a distrust of all white people, for many of our white brothers, as evidenced by their presence here today, have come to realize that their destiny is tied up with our destiny. And they have come to realize that their freedom is inextricably bound to our freedom.

We cannot walk alone.

And as we walk, we must make the pledge that we shall always march ahead.

We cannot turn back.

There are those who are asking the devotees of civil rights, "When will you be satisfied?" We can never be satisfied as long as the Negro is the victim of the unspeakable horrors of police brutality. We can never be satisfied as long as our bodies, heavy with the fatigue of travel, cannot gain lodging in the motels of the highways and the hotels of the cities. We cannot be satisfied as long as the Negro's basic mobility is from a smaller ghetto to a larger one. We can never be satisfied as long as our children are stripped of their self-hood and robbed of their dignity by signs stating: "For Whites Only." We cannot be satisfied as long as a Negro in Mississippi

cannot vote and a Negro in New York believes he has nothing for which to vote. No, no, we are not satisfied, and we will not be satisfied until "justice rolls down like waters, and righteousness like a mighty stream."<sup>1</sup>

I am not unmindful that some of you have come here out of great trials and tribulations. Some of you have come fresh from narrow jail cells. And some of you have come from areas where your quest -- quest for freedom left you battered by the storms of persecution and staggered by the winds of police brutality. You have been the veterans of creative suffering. Continue to work with the faith that unearned suffering is redemptive. Go back to Mississippi, go back to Alabama, go back to South Carolina, go back to Georgia, go back to Louisiana, go back to the slums and ghettos of our northern cities, knowing that somehow this situation can and will be changed.

Let us not wallow in the valley of despair, I say to you today, my friends.

And so even though we face the difficulties of today and tomorrow, I still have a dream. It is a dream deeply rooted in the American dream.

I have a dream that one day this nation will rise up and live out the true meaning of its creed: "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal."

I have a dream that one day on the red hills of Georgia, the sons of former slaves and the sons of former slave owners will be able to sit down together at the table of brotherhood.

I have a dream that one day even the state of Mississippi, a state sweltering with the heat of injustice, sweltering with the heat of oppression, will be transformed into an oasis of freedom and justice.

I have a dream that my four little children will one day live in a nation where they will not be judged by the color of their skin but by the content of their character.

I have a dream today!

I have a dream that one day, down in Alabama, with its vicious racists, with its governor having his lips dripping with the words of "interposition" and "nullification" -- one day right there in Alabama little black boys and black girls will be able to join hands with little white boys and white girls as sisters and brothers.

I have a dream today!

I have a dream that one day every valley shall be exalted, and every hill and mountain shall be made low, the rough places will be made plain, and the crooked places will be made straight; "and the glory of the Lord shall be revealed and all flesh shall see it together."<sup>2</sup>

This is our hope, and this is the faith that I go back to the South with.

With this faith, we will be able to hew out of the mountain of despair a stone of hope. With this faith, we will be able to transform the jangling discords of our nation into a beautiful symphony of brotherhood. With this faith, we will be able to work together, to pray together, to struggle together, to go to jail together, to stand up for freedom together, knowing that we will be free one day.

And this will be the day -- this will be the day when all of God's children will be able to sing with new meaning:

Let freedom ring from the mighty mountains of New York.

My country 'tis of thee, sweet land of liberty, of thee I sing.

Let freedom ring from the heightening Alleghenies of Pennsylvania.

Land where my fathers died, land of the Pilgrim's pride,

Let freedom ring from the snow-capped Rockies of Colorado.

From every mountainside, let freedom ring!

Let freedom ring from the curvaceous slopes of California.

And if America is to be a great nation, this must become true.

But not only that:

And so let freedom ring from the prodigious hilltops of New Hampshire.

Let freedom ring from Stone Mountain of Georgia.



Let freedom ring from every hill and molehill of Mississippi.

From every mountainside, let freedom ring.

Let freedom ring from Lookout Mountain of Tennessee.

And when this happens, and when we allow freedom ring, when we let it ring from every village and every hamlet, from every state and every city, we will be able to speed up that day when all of God's children, black men and white men, Jews and Gentiles, Protestants and Catholics, will be able to join hands and sing in the words of the old Negro spiritual:

Free at last! Free at last!

Thank God Almighty, we are free at last!

*"When The Ship Comes In"*

Oh the time will come up  
When the winds will stop  
And the breeze will cease to be breathin'  
Like the stillness in the wind  
'Fore the hurricane begins  
The hours when the ship comes ind.

And the seas will split  
And the ship will hit  
And the sands on the shoreline will be shaking  
Then the tide will sound  
And the wind will pound  
And the morning will be breaking.

Oh the fishes will laugh  
As they swim out of the path  
And the seagulls they'll be smiling  
And the rocks on the sand  
Will proudly stand  
The hour that the ship comes in.

And the words that are used  
For to get the ship confused  
Will not be understood as they're spoken  
For the chains of the sea  
Will have busted in the night  
And will be buried at the bottom of the ocean.

A song will lift  
As the mainsail shifts  
And the boat drifts on to the shoreline  
And the sun will respect  
Every face on the deck  
The hour that the ship comes in.

Then the sands will roll  
Out a carpet of gold

For your weary toes to be a-touchin'  
And the ship's wise men  
Will remind you once again  
That the whole wide world is watchin'.

Oh the foes will rise  
With the sleep in their eyes  
And they'll jerk from their beds and think they're  
dreamin'  
But they'll pinch themselves and squeal  
And know that it's for real  
The hour that the ship comes in.

Then they'll raise their hands  
Sayin' we'll meet all your demands  
But we'll shout from the bow your days are  
numbered  
And like Pharaoh's tribe  
They'll be drowned in the tide  
And like Goliath, they'll be conquered.

## Why March On Washington?

Atlanta Daily World (1932-2003); Mar 26, 1968;

ProQuest Historical Newspapers: Atlanta Daily World (1931-2003)

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# Why

# March

# on

# Washington?

The proposed "Poor people's **march** to the Capitol this spring may well have all of good intentions, but the real consideration must be given to the practicality of the trip.

In the first place one of the tried and proven organizations in this country (the NAACP) does not condone this **march** according to high official Alfred Baker Lewis.

Secondly, the only persons that seem to be urging enlistments are the so called "Leaders," who are not so poor. To work for the poor is certainly a noble thing, but then what phase of poverty are we most concerned with?

Is it the poor in spirit? Is it the poor in ability? Is it the poor in material things of this society? Availability to better income does not necessarily wipe out the poor from the land, as a matter of Biblical truth, Christ said that we would have the poor with us forever.

The poor have always enjoyed great consideration in all ages, the Bible and all respected literature noted their status, a common concept is that the poor (materially) have a better chance of getting into Heaven than the rich man, but in all history, the poor were not able to travel about the country.

The poor that stays at home somehow maintain their good image, but when the poor of the land becomes wanderers, they are often called "vagabonds," some even call them "Bums."

In short, if the poor is too poor to have the necessary things of life, how will they afford to travel to **Washington** and if they do get there, will their quarters be any better there, than at home?