

Intersectionality & Kentucky's Civil Rights Movement

US History

Common Good

This curricular resource was created in collaboration with the Association for Teaching Black History in Kentucky.



Learn to be *human, humane,*
and to deliberate for the
common good .

CommonGood was founded by educators in order to provide learning resources designed for, and with, diverse communities. Our materials support inquiry-based learning and are designed to center the narratives of communities that are underrepresented in the traditional curriculum.

We believe that for students to learn to be human, humane, and to deliberate for the common good, communities need curriculum that reflects their unique character.

We work directly with communities to collaboratively construct curricular materials that facilitate stronger, more meaningful classroom dialogue. We co-create, curate, and customize learning materials with schools, and community partners.

Our work is grounded in the idea that if teachers have resources designed with their students in mind, and that invites them into co-creating learning experiences for their students, teachers will be more emboldened and effective at meeting their students' learning needs.

Together, we can create
a more *humanizing pedagogy*
for our students.

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A succinct description of the inquiry's context, including the academic grounding, notable teaching considerations, and reflection questions.

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Overview of the formative, summative, and civic action sections of the inquiry. Elements include a description of the framing questions, the student task(s), learning objectives, pathway alignment, suggested instructional guidance, discussion prompts, and disciplinary source list.

Source Collection

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A curated and annotated collection of the primary, secondary, and tertiary disciplinary sources to support inquiry teaching and learning.



Compelling Question: How did intersectionality impact Kentucky’s civil rights movement?

Students investigate the Civil Rights Movement, in Kentucky and nationally, to consider the extent to which they think sexism/classism may have impacted the state -level movement.



Supporting Question 1: *What did the Civil Rights Movement look like in Kentucky?*

Students consider the historical context, local circumstances, and activism of Kentuckians.


Formative Tasks	Create a graphic organizer to document the actions of people in Kentucky during the Civil Rights Movement	Sources: Title Civil Rights Photograph collection Documentary: Title The Place, The March, The Movement Interview with Audrey Grevious Klotter & Friend, <i>A New History of Kentucky (optional)</i>
Assessment Product	Graphic organizer	

Supporting Question 2: *How did sexism/classism impact the Civil Rights Movement?*

Students problematize the movement’s depiction by considering who worked behind the scenes and who was publicly lifted up as leaders.

Formative Tasks	Write a 1 -2 sentence evidence-based answer describing the impact of sexism/classism
<i>Assessment Product</i>	Written statements

Sources:
 Margaret Walker quote
 Barnett, *Invisible Southern Black Women Leaders*
 Height, "We Wanted the Voice of a Woman to Be Heard"
 Simien & McGuire, *A Tribute to the Women*
 Berry & Gross, *A Black Women's History of the United States*

 **Supporting Question 3: *To what extent may sexism have impacted civil rights activism in Kentucky?***

Students apply a critical lens to Kentucky sources, considering the extent to which experiences from the national movement also existed in Kentucky.

Formative Tasks	Make inferences about the extent to which sexism/racism impacted the Kentucky Civil Rights Movement
<i>Assessment Product</i>	Written response

Sources:
 Souvenir Program, *March on Frankfort*
 Onyekwuluje, *Georgia Powers: An Unlikely Journey*
 Hall, Hall, & Kidd, *Passing for Black: : The Life and Careers of Mae Street Kidd*
 Greenwell, "I Never Felt Any Cold Feet" *Lexington Herald* , Advertisement for *March on Frankfort (optional)*
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 **Supporting Question 4: *To what extent may class differences have impacted civil rights activism in Kentucky?***

Students consider how class distinctions may have impacted progress towards expanded civil rights in Kentucky.

Formative Tasks	Create a series of evidence -based claims
<i>Assessment Product</i>	Evidence-based claim statements

Sources:
 Greenwell, "I Never Felt Any Cold Feet"
 Fosl, *Freedom on the Border*

 **Summative Task**

Students construct an evidence -based argument that answers the compelling question: How did intersectionality impact Kentucky's civil rights movement?

Summative Task
Assessment Product

Written argument (e.g., essay)

Alternative Products

Multimedia presentation



Civic Action: Community -Building

Students have the opportunity to take informed action by considering the ways in which divisions or factions can harm advocacy or social movements.

Civic Issue

Student -selected social or advocacy movement

Action Tasks

Create an individual/class statement to encourage understanding and cooperation

Sources:

Student -identified, local sources

Description

This inquiry module leads students through an investigation of the Civil Rights Movement, in Kentucky and nationally, focusing specifically on the actions taken by its leaders, whether well-known or not. With this foundation, students can consider the ways in which identity impacted the movement, considering how one's sex or class impacted involvement, but also discrimination therein. By investigating the compelling question —*How did intersectionality impact Kentucky's civil rights movement?*—students examine state-level efforts, as well as apply a critical lens to consider the extent to which they think sexism/classism may have impacted the state-level movement.

This inquiry module reflects the civic theme of *community-building*. In the inquiry, students explore the role of intersectionality in activism, particularly considering how discrimination—or other divisions—can harm cooperation and/or social movements. By applying this analysis to a modern movement, they can consider how to bridge divides in order to foster community across difference.

Context Information

Prior to using this module/inquiry, students should have some understanding of the Civil Rights Movement. Students should also have had practice in applying **source analysis** and **historical argumentation skills**, where they consider elements of the source that impact its meaning: a source's author, the source type, its purpose, etc.; as well as how to build meaning and inferences with limited source information.

Intellectual Tradition

An intellectual tradition refers to a collection of shared ideas, beliefs, knowledge, and practices that have been passed down over time within a particular academic, cultural, or philosophical community. It encompasses the foundational concepts, theories, and methodologies that shape the way people within that community think, create, and analyze information. Intellectual traditions often influence how individuals approach various disciplines and fields of study, serving as a basis for critical thinking, scholarly inquiry, and the development of new insights.

This module anchors on Black studies, specifically employing the guidance of the Black Historical Consciousness framework, developed by education scholar Lagarrett King.

See the Inquiry Collection's Intellectual Preparation Essay for more information: [Intellectual Prep Essay - Association for Teaching Black History in Kentucky collection](#)

Design Features

Below are four features that ground the designs, and design processes, of CommonGood curricular materials.

Teacher as Co-Curriculum Maker

CommonGood materials invite educators into the co-creation of learning experiences. We believe that teachers excel when given the tools and resources to exercise, and further develop, their pedagogical expertise. As such, our curricular materials are designed to intentionally cultivate teachers' content and pedagogical expertise, while not taking away their power or professional judgment. In this module, Instructional Guidance provides an overview of options for teachers' enactment of materials.

Modularity

Materials are designed to be modular in nature, in that we expect teachers to use material to supplement their existing curriculum or combine the different modules to create a core curriculum. We define a quality curricular resource as being purposeful, authentic, adaptable, relevant, and trustworthy. To that end, these materials strive to be clear and concise, avoiding over-prescription in order for teachers to make use of materials in a way that meets their students' needs and learning goals.

Community Co-Design

We believe that for students to learn to be human, humane, and to deliberate for the common good, they need learning experiences that reflect the unique character of their respective communities. We work directly with communities to collaboratively construct curricular materials that facilitate stronger, more meaningful classroom dialogue. This curricular resource was created in collaboration with the Association for Teaching Black History, whose mission is to: "recover the social, historical, and cultural contributions of black Kentuckians and to make these materials readily available to teachers in the Commonwealth, thereby promoting quality K-12 instruction in history. The goal is to ensure an inclusive, respectful experience for all students that provides for their academic success."

Data Collection

Throughout this module, each task and sub-task presents teachers with an opportunity to gather both formal and informal data about their students' learning. The flexibility of the materials allows teachers to respond to the data in order to reinforce skills and content, provide additional scaffolds, or apply other instructional practices.

CommonGood is also curious about how designs are working in classrooms. We believe that by understanding what is working, and for whom, everyone's practices improve.

As you enact this module, please share feedback here: [Feedback: Intersectionality & Civil Rights](#)

Subject Areas and Grade Bands

This module is designed for **high school** classrooms, reflecting the standards alignment below.

Teachers can adapt this module for a lower grade band by making modifications that scaffold the sources and tasks.

- For sources, teachers should reduce the number of sources or consider modifications to make readings more age-appropriate. The supporting questions may also be combined to reduce cognitive load.

Suggested Subject Areas

This module was designed for incorporation into a **US History** or **Kentucky** history course. The inquiry module may also be adapted for incorporation into a **civics** course.

Standards and Framework Alignment

This module is aligned to the following prioritized standards. Note: this list is not exhaustive, in that it does not include all standards that are aligned, or could be incorporated, into the resources.

College, Career, and Civic Life (C3) Framework

Dimension 1: Developing Questions & Planning Inquiries

D1.1.9-12. Explain how a question reflects an enduring issue in the field.

Dimension 2: Applying Disciplinary Concepts and Tools

D2.His.1.9-12. Evaluate how historical events and developments were shaped by unique circumstances of time and place as well as broader historical contexts.

D2.Civ.2.9-12. Analyze the role of citizens in the U.S. political system, with attention to various theories of democracy, changes in Americans' participation over time, and alternative models from other countries, past and present.

Dimension 3: Evaluating Sources and Using Evidence

D3.2.9-12. Evaluate the credibility of a source by examining how experts value the source.

D3.3.9-12. Identify evidence that draws information from multiple sources to support claims, noting evidentiary limitations.

Dimension 4: Communicating Conclusions & Taking Informed Action

D4.1.9-12. Construct arguments using precise and knowledgeable claims, with evidence from multiple sources, while acknowledging counterclaims and evidentiary weaknesses.

D4.2.9-12. Construct explanations using sound reasoning, correct sequence (linear or non-linear), examples, and details with significant and pertinent information and data, while acknowledging the strengths and weaknesses of the explanations given their purpose.

Kentucky Academic Standards for Social Studies

Questioning

HS.C.I.Q.2 Generate supporting questions to develop knowledge, understanding and/or thinking relative to key civics concepts framed by compelling questions.

Investigating Using Disciplinary Concepts

HS.C.CV.3 Analyze the impact of the efforts of individuals and reform movements on the expansion of civil rights and liberties locally, nationally and internationally.

HS.C.KGO.3 Describe how active citizens can affect change in their communities and Kentucky.

HS.UH.CE.5 Evaluate the ways in which groups facing discrimination worked to achieve expansion of rights and liberties from 1877 -present.

HS.UH.KH.1 Examine how Kentuckians influence and are influenced by major national developments in U.S. history from 1877 -present.

Using Evidence

HS.C.I.UE.3 Use appropriate evidence to construct and revise claims and counterclaims relevant to compelling and/or supporting questions in civics.

Communicating Conclusions

HS.UH.I.CC.2 Engage in disciplinary thinking and construct arguments, explanations or public communications relevant to compelling and/or supporting questions in U.S. history.

Key Ideas & Essential Understandings

- The civil rights movement of the mid-20th century expanded beyond racial equality to address interconnected forms of oppression, including gender and class-based inequities.
- Kentucky's Black women leaders were instrumental in advocating for comprehensive equality, and their contributions are essential to understanding the full scope of the civil rights movement.

Learning Objectives

Students will be able to...

- **construct** evidence-based arguments about the different ways intersectionality (race, class, gender) impacted rights movements.
- **evaluate** primary/secondary sources to situate them in their historical context.
- **make inferences** of sources to evaluate impact.

Black Historical Consciousness

This inquiry module is based upon the following theme from the Black Historical Consciousness framework by Lagarrett King (2020).

BLACK IDENTITIES: Understanding Black identities as Black histories promotes a more inclusive history that seeks to uncover the multiple identities of Black people through Black history. History should not only be about Black men who are middle class, Christian, and heterosexual, and able-bodied.

Civic Applications

Every CommonGood module provides opportunities for students to demonstrate their transferable knowledge and skills by connecting learning to an authentic civic issue. Civic Action tasks are modeled after the C3 Framework's *Taking Informed Action* indicators, where students are expected to:

- (1) **understand** the issues evident from the inquiry in a larger and/or current context;
- (2) **assess** the relevance and impact of the issues; and
- (3) **take action** in ways that allow students to demonstrate agency in a real-world context.

This inquiry has a suggested informed action task. Teachers and students are encouraged to revise or adjust the task to reflect student interests, the topic/issue chosen for the task, time considerations, etc. Taking informed action can manifest in a variety of forms and in a range of venues. They can be small actions (e.g., informed conversations) to the big (e.g., organizing a protest). These actions may take place in the classroom, the school, the local community, across the state, and around the world. **What's important is that students are authentically applying the inquiry to an out-of-classroom context.**

CIVIC THEME This inquiry module reflects the civic theme of *community-building*. When students engage in community-building, they are fostering community by expanding their understanding and cooperation with others. In the inquiry, students investigated the ways in which activist communities were both united and divided along their respective identities. In the Civic Action task, students apply their knowledge to take action on divisions or factions in current movements. By doing so, students further consider the ways in which to advocate on behalf of a topic collaboratively and through deliberation instead of sowing divisions.

Pacing

The needed class periods to teach this module will vary depending on teachers’ decisions around enactment. The structure of the module’s different individual sections is designed to allow for teachers to condense learning into one class period or expand in to multiple.

Course Sequencing

Below is a table that demonstrates an example course sequence that includes this module. The emphasis reflects a curricular sequence of inquiry modules that explore Kentucky-focused Black history, aligned to the Black Historical Consciousness framework.

State/US History Sequence

Module 1	Module 2	Module 3	Module 4	Module 5	Module 6
Black abolitionism	Horse Racing & Jim Crow	Sundown Towns	Intersectionality & Civil Rights Movement	Folk Music	Black Appalachia & “Afrilachia”

Modifications

As teachers are positioned to be co-curriculum makers, they are encouraged to adapt this inquiry module to meet the needs and interests of their students. Furthermore, teachers may decide to build out additional supporting questions and tasks to scaffold and/or reinforce learning. Below are some suggestions to consider when designing instruction.

For students who need a challenge

Provide students the original, rather than modified, versions of the respective texts.

- Teachers may also substitute or supplement the current texts for ones that provide more of a challenge.

Allow for independent student research.

- Each section provides opportunities for students to curate their own sources about the respective supporting questions and other rights’ movements.
- If allowing for student research, provide them guidance for appropriate research methods.

For students who need supports

Build additional source scaffolds for students.

- Consider adding additional annotations or notes that will help students access the content.
- Allow for collaborative reading practices that allow students to discuss information as they read it with peers.

Provide graphic organizers and other task scaffolds.

Compelling Question: How did intersectionality impact Kentucky's civil rights movement?



Supporting Question 1: What did the Civil Rights Movement look like in Kentucky?

Kentucky's Civil Rights Movement

Supporting Question and Task

The first supporting question —*What did the Civil Rights Movement look like in Kentucky?*—asks students to consider the historical context, local circumstances, and activism of Kentuckians. Many forms of direct action from the national movement also took place across diverse Kentucky communities, including a march on the capital (Frankfort), sit-ins, protests, boycotts, etc. While the Civil Rights Movement may be familiar to students, they are likely less familiar with Kentucky's activists, in particular, those that were in their own community.

The formative task has students gather information about the Civil Rights Movement related to the context/reasons for action, actors/actions taken, challenges/impact, and evidence. This information can be gathered in a graphic organizer or other structure (e.g., diagram, list, etc.)

ADAPTATION Teachers can anchor on the March on Frankfort (and respective sources) to shorten the module, using the March as a case study.

INQUIRY OPENER Students generate questions based upon a quote from activist Rosalyn Smith of Louisville.

Task Product

Create a graphic organizer to document the actions of people in Kentucky during the Civil Rights Movement

Alternative Products: group discussion notes; list of notes

Learning Objectives

Students will be able to...

- **generate** questions about a quote.
- **organize** evidence to summarize the state's participation in the Civil Rights Movement.

Instructional Guidance

Teachers may enact this section using the following procedures.



1. **OPENER: GENERATE QUESTIONS:** *Louisville advocate*

- Individually, in small groups, or as a class, generate questions using the quote from Rosalyn Smith of Louisville (see below).

OPENER QUOTE *The Inquiry Opener source can be switched with another module source or other related content.*

Representing the National Black Feminist Organization, Rosalyn Smith of Louisville "likened the fears about ERA to the fears about the black civil rights movement. And,' she said, ' **once again the restrooms and the altar are the battleground.** "

Reference: Irene Nolan, "More than 600 jam into ERA hearing," Louisville Courier-Journal, July 8, 1975.

LOCALIZING THE NATIONAL The actions of Kentuckians are similar to those taken by other activists around the country. Teachers may consider teaching the national Civil Rights Movement in parallel to this module, providing locally -relevant examples to demonstrate how the Civil Rights Movement was a result of *local* and *national* work.



2. PHOTOGRAPH & VIDEO ANALYSIS: *The state movement*

- In small groups, students analyze one of the selected images.
 - Groups may have the same or different images.
 - *Note:* Use of the images should be responsive to students' preexisting knowledge of the Civil Rights Movement.
- Students take turns sharing observations, interpretations, and questions.
 - To further scaffold this analysis, use the photo analysis questions (below).
- As a whole class, groups share their analyses.
 - *Optional:* begin drafting an initial response to the supporting question.
- Document notes in the graphic organizer's columns:
 - Context/Reasons
 - Actors/Actions
 - Challenges/Impact
 - Evidence

➤ *For a scaffold, use a four -column chart: [CRM Intersectionality_SQ1_Graphic Organizers](#)*

PHOTO ANALYSIS QUESTIONS Use these questions to scaffold analysis of the photographs.

- What actions do the photographs document?
 - Is the reason for the action clear?
 - If so, what are the reasons for the protest?
 - How do you know?
- Who is represented in the respective images?
- What challenges are depicted? What additional information do you need to be able to identify challenges?
- What impacts are depicted? What additional information do you need to be able to identify impacts?
- What is similar/different between the Kentucky and non-Kentucky images?
- What else do you need to know?
- What research can be done?



3. **ORAL HISTORY:** *Audrey Grevious interview*
- Using the excerpted sections from the Audrey Grevious interview, students add to their organizer.
 - This source is organized to allow for *individual/group* analysis, a *jigsaw* reading, or other desired structure.
 - To scaffold or abbreviate reading, teachers can:
 - (1) excerpt this source further,
 - (2) focus student attention to individual sections,
 - (3) or jigsaw the last three sections (**Travel Project, Employment Discrimination & Grocery Boycott, and Woolworth Sit -Ins**).



4. **OPTIONAL: RESEARCH:** *Connecting national to the local*
- Taking examples of protests from the national movement, research similar actions in your city/county or state.
 - *Examples include:* protest, march, boycott, sit-in, political advocacy, etc.

Sources

The listed sources were selected to help students understand Kentucky's participation in the Civil Rights Movement in ways that mirror or diverge from that national movement. Teachers should annotate, modify, excerpt, or add/subtract sources based on student interests, needs, and local relevance.

Source 1.1 (--- words)	Civil Rights Photograph Source Collection This source collection includes a variety of photographs from the Civil Rights Movement in both national and state-level contexts.
Source 1.2 (--- words)	Documentary: The Place, The March, The Movement—MLK Jr. March on Frankfort (2022) This documentary, and associated resources, provide an overview of the March on Frankfort protest. See website for additional classroom resources.
Source 1.3 (2670 words)	Interview with Audrey L. Grevious (1985) Audrey Grevious was a prominent civil rights activist in Lexington, Kentucky. In this interview, she describes several different ways in which she advocated for racial equality. <i>Teachers should carefully consider how to break up this long reading. See</i> Instructional Guidance <i>above</i> .
Source 1.4 (3042 words)	Optional: A New History of Kentucky (2018) This excerpt provides background information on Kentucky's Civil Rights Movement. Select information from this source to provide additional context on the state's rights movement.

Additional Resources

Oral Histories: The March on Frankfort interviews, performed by Joanna Hay and Le Datta Grimes.

Accessed from: [The March on Frankfort](#)

Civil Rights Resources: Kentucky Historical Society collection. Accessed from: [Civil Rights Resources at KHS](#).

Alternative Inquiry: What Made Nonviolent Protest Effective during the Civil Rights Movement? Inquiry from C3Teachers. Accessed from: <https://c3teachers.org/inquiries/civil-rights/>

Compelling Question: How did intersectionality impact Kentucky's civil rights movement?



Supporting Question 2: How did sexism/classism impact the Civil Rights Movement?

Prejudice in the national movement

Supporting Question and Task

After exploring different actions taken by Kentuckians during the Civil Rights Movement, the second supporting question —*How did sexism/classism impact how the Civil Rights Movement is portrayed?* — asks students to problematize the movement's depiction by considering who worked behind the scenes and who was publicly lifted up as leaders. Specifically, the sources demonstrate the ways in which Black women were important organizers, but often marginalized (or obscured), rather than profiled alongside male leaders. Though less explicit in the sources, students should begin considering how class and socioeconomic distinctions had an impact.

The formative task asks students to use one or more sources to construct a 1–2 sentence response to the question, tied directly to evidence. This task can be tightly condensed or expanded depending on student and classroom needs.

Task Product

Write a 1–2 sentence evidence-based answer describing how sexism/classism impacted how the Civil Rights Movement was portrayed.

Alternative Products: T-chart, list

Learning Objectives

Students will be able to...

- **corroborate** sources.

Instructional Guidance

Teachers may enact this section using the following procedures.



1. **DISCUSSION:** *Intersectionality*

- Share definition of *intersectionality* (or provide own definition)
- Students define/explain the term in their own words.
- Generate examples from previous units/historical eras
 - If students struggle identifying how multiple aspects of one's identity can intersect, encourage them to consider the three listed aspects individually.

INTERSECTIONALITY Intersectionality is a concept that acknowledges that various aspects of a

person's identity (e.g., race/ethnicity, sex/gender, class) can create opportunity and/or oppression. In some situations, one may encounter advantages, disadvantages, or a combination of both.

Termed by Kimberlé Crenshaw*, she explains the idea's origin:

"I argue that Black women are sometimes excluded from feminist theory and antiracist policy discourse because both are predicated on a discrete set of experiences that often does not accurately reflect the interaction of race and gender. These problems of exclusion cannot be solved simply by including Black women within an already established analytical structure. Because the intersectional experience is greater than the sum of racism and sexism, any analysis that does not take intersectionality into account cannot sufficiently address the particular manner in which Black women are subordinated."

In short, Black women's experiences are not the same as Black men, nor of non-Black women. To understand their experience, one must take into consideration both identity markers.

*Crenshaw, K. (1989) "Demarginalizing the Intersection of Race and Sex: A Black Feminist Critique of Antidiscrimination Doctrine, Feminist Theory and Antiracist Politics," *University of Chicago Legal Forum*, 1(8). Available at: <http://chicagounbound.uchicago.edu/uclf/vol1989/iss1/8>



2. SOURCE ANALYSIS: *Close Reading & Corroboration*

- Students read the first selected source individually. (See Sources list for options).
 - Allow for individual processing time.
- In groups, students take turns sharing their initial response to the question.
 - Once all have shared, students should be encouraged to build out their original response using group member's responses.
 - Reflect upon the following questions for the source:
 - *How does this source answer the question?*
 - *What does it not tell you?*
 - *What else do you need or want to know?*
- Repeat this process with all selected sources.

➤ For a scaffold, use a four-column chart: [CRM Intersectionality SQ2 Graphic Organizers](#)

- Source Type (e.g., Interview? Newspaper? Journal article?)
- How it answers question
- Other students' answers
- Evidence

A NOTE ON SOURCES The sources provide different information/context to help answer the question. Teachers can select to use all, some, or one source.

- The sources are broken up into smaller excerpts in order to increase options for teachers.
- For example, teachers can provide students the full source in order for them to find the relevant information or teachers provide only the relevant excerpts.



3. WRITING: *1-2 sentence response*

- Using the collective notes, write a 1-2 sentence synthesis that answers the supporting question.

Sources

The listed sources were selected to help demonstrate the ways in which gender impacted the civil rights movement, considering both the central role Black women played, as well as ways in which its female leaders were intentionally sidelined or marginalized .

Note: Several of these sources are relatively long with content headings added to further excerpt and scaffold. Teachers should further annotate, modify, excerpt, or add/subtract sources based on student interests, needs, and local relevance.

[Source 2.1](#)

(70 words)

[Margaret Walker quote \(1979\)](#) Margaret Walker was a prominent Black woman poet and author. In this brief quote, she succinctly captures the tension between women’s role in rights movements and relative invisibility.

[Source 2.2](#)

(563 words)

[Barnett, B. M. \(1993\). Invisible Southern Black Women Leaders in the Civil Rights Movement](#) In this journal article, scholar Bernice McNair Barnett describes the central role women played in civil rights struggles, but relative invisibility in public consciousness and scholarship.

[Source 2.3](#)

(965 words)

[Height, D.I. \(2001\). “We Wanted the Voice of a Woman to Be Heard”](#) In this excerpt from her book, Dorothy Height discusses how women were marginalized at the March on Washington, despite being central in its planning.

[Source 2.4](#)

(373 words)

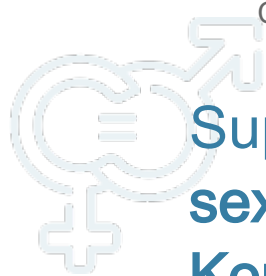
[Simien, E. M., & McGuire, D. L. \(2014\). A Tribute to the Women](#) In this excerpt, scholars Simien and McGuire discuss the marginalization of women in the national civil rights movement, specifically considering Rosa Parks’ experiences.

[Source 2.5](#)

(1342 words)

[Berry, D. R., & Gross, K. N. \(2020\). A Black Women's History of the United States](#) This excerpt provides additional information about the participation—and particular challenges and dangers—Black women faced in the struggle for civil rights.

Compelling Question: **How did intersectionality impact Kentucky's civil rights movement?**



Supporting Question 3: To what extent may sexism have impacted civil rights activism in Kentucky?

Sexism in Kentucky's rights movement

Supporting Question and Task

The third supporting question —To what extent may sexism have impacted civil rights activism in Kentucky?—requires students to apply a critical lens to Kentucky sources, considering the extent to which experiences from the national movement also existed in Kentucky. To do so, they will use primary sources from the March on Frankfort, as well as texts about two Black women political leaders, Georgia Davis Powers and Mae Street Kidd.

The formative task asks students to make inferences in response to the question. Though previous sources were explicit about the impact of sexism at the national level, the sources in this section are far less direct. Thus, this section requires inference -making, reflecting the real work of historians. Likewise, students can use the sources as a launchpad for additional research on the March, or Powers/Kidd to construct a response.

Task Product

Make inferences about the extent to which sexism/racism impacted the Kentucky rights movement.

Alternative Products: discussion notes

Learning Objectives

Students will be able to...

- **make** inferences about the Kentucky Civil Rights Movement.
- **apply** historical analysis to contextualize source evidence.

Instructional Guidance

Teachers may enact this section using the following procedures.



1. **PRIMARY SOURCE ANALYSIS:** *March on Frankfort*
 - Using the two documents about the March on Frankfort (March on Frankfort Program and March Advertisement), students compare content with what they have already learned about the March and the national rights movement.
 - Teachers may provide the optional essay that accompanies the March on Frankfort video.

- Students begin constructing inferential statements about sexism in the Kentucky Civil Rights Movement.

ANALYSIS QUESTIONS Use these questions to frame analysis or as inspiration to build your own questions.

- Who is recognized at the March?
- Who is given the opportunity to speak?
- Who is in the official pictures?
- Who are in the other pictures we have?

HISTORIANS FILLING IN THE GAPS *What information is missing?*

There is limited scholarship on how sexism impacted Kentucky's Civil Rights Movement; so, like historians, students are applying an analytical lens to this era in Kentucky history to make inferences about the impact.

Much of historians' work includes identifying gaps on a topic across sources. Students may be frustrated with gaps —particularly if they are used to sources easily answering all of their questions!

Consider *inference stems* to frame their responses:

- Sources *suggest* that sexism *may have* impacted the March on Frankfort because...
- Sources *suggest* that Georgia Davis Powers reacted to sexism *by*...



2. CLOSE READING DISCUSSION: *Kentucky teenagers' sit-in*

- Using the source "I Never Felt Any Cold Feet" on Henderson sit-ins, read some or all of the excerpts.
 - Note: the italicized portion is a quote from one of the female participants.
- Individually, apply close reading strategies (e.g., annotating text)
- Once individual analysis is completed, as a class, discuss the following questions:
 - *What evidence is the author using?*
 - *What claim(s) do they make?*
 - *What evidence is more/less convincing? Why?*



3. SOURCE ANALYSIS: *Contextualization*

- Teachers select how much of the respective sources students read.
- Using the Georgia Powers and Mae Street Kidd sources, situate them in their time, place, circumstances, and communities.
 - *What makes Powers' and Kidd's elections notable?*
 - *What does it suggest about the views or perspectives of their voters? Of those in the legislature?*
 - *What do their political priorities suggest about their worldviews?*
- This analysis can be done individually, in pairs, or groups.
- *Optional:* To fill in gaps, students can also conduct research on Powers and Kidd.

Sources

The listed sources were selected to help students provide context around Kentucky's civil rights leaders, as well as the experiences they had as women in a largely male -dominated space. Teachers should annotate, modify, excerpt, or add/subtract sources based on student interests, needs, and local relevance.

[Source 3.1](#)

(--- words)

[March on Frankfort, Souvenir Program, \(March 5, 1964\)](#) This source is the March on Frankfort's program, listing speakers and entertainment included for the event.

[Source 3.2](#)

(766 words)

[Onyekwuluje, A. B. \(2010\). Georgia Powers: An Unlikely Journey](#) In this excerpt, sociologist Anne B. Onyekwuluje discusses some of the challenges Powers faced as a Kentucky civil rights leader, as well as her motivations as a political leader.

[Source 3.3](#)

(961 words)

[Hall, W. H., Hall, W., & Kidd, M. S. \(1997\). *Passing for Black*](#) In this excerpt, activist and politician Mae Street Kidd discusses rights issues that motivated her, and her work to have rights bills pass through the Kentucky legislature.

[Source 3.4](#)

(558 words)

[Greenwell, A. T. \(2013\). "I Never Felt Any Cold Feet"](#) In Henderson, Kentucky, students staged their own sit-ins in solidarity with other sit-in movements around the country. In this excerpt, the author describes the sit-ins context, as well as the female students' participation.

[Source 3.5](#)

(--- words)

Optional: [Advertisement for March on Frankfort, Lexington Herald. \(March 4, 1964\)](#) This source is an image of a newspaper advertisement for the March on Frankfort, the day before the event.

[Source 3.6](#)

(--- words)

Optional : [10,000 March for Rights in Kentucky's Capital \(March 6, 1964\)](#) This *New York Times* article describes the March in Frankfort. Though women are featured in the article's accompanying picture, no women organizers or participants are identified in the article text.

Additional Resources

Newspaper Article: Georgia Davis Powers (2014). Revisiting 1964's March on Frankfort. *Louisville Courier-Journal*. Accessed from: [Revisiting 1964's March on Frankfort](#)

Report: Students for a Democratic Society, The March on Frankfort: A Study in Protest Organization, Civil Rights Movement Archive. Accessed from: https://www.crmvet.org/docs/6403_sds_marchfrankfort.pdf

Book: Muetterties, C. & Sheppard, M. (2020). *Bluegrass Bold: Stories of Kentucky Women*. <https://www.butlerbooks.com/bluegrassbold.html>

Compelling Question: **How did intersectionality impact Kentucky's civil rights movement?**



Supporting Question 4: To what extent may class differences have impacted civil rights activism in Kentucky?

Classism in Kentucky's rights movement

Supporting Question and Task

In the last section, students consider how class distinctions may have impacted progress towards expanded civil rights in Kentucky. Framed by the fourth supporting question — *To what extent may class differences have impacted civil rights activism in Kentucky?* —the sources demonstrate how one's economic position could unite or divide communities. Notably, some sources demonstrate how class (or workplace concerns) could unite workers beyond race; while other sources show that class differences made some individuals more (or less) vulnerable to retaliation. Specifically, economic freedoms allowed some Black Kentuckians to engage in protest, while others saw protests as a nuisance or a threat to their own economic well-being.

For the formative task, students construct a series of evidence-based claims about how class differences may have impacted civil rights activism in Kentucky. Using this section's sources (and previous sources) students should be able to demonstrate an array of claims, as the impact of class on activism varied greatly, depending on context.

Task Product

Create a series of evidence-based claims and counter-claims.

Learning Objectives

Students will be able to...

- **construct** evidence-based claims about classism in the Civil Rights Movement.
- **make** inferences using sources.

Instructional Guidance

Teachers may enact this section using the following procedures.



1. **DISCUSSION:** *Economics and political movements*

- To open this section, students brainstorm and discuss how one's economic position could impact their participation in activism.

DISCUSSION QUESTIONS Use these questions to frame discussion or as inspiration to build your own questions.

- What factors reflect someone’s “economic position”?
 - Job, salary/payment, bills/expenses, family, community
- When (or how) may one’s job or economic position be a source of *empowerment*?
- What factors about one’s job or economic position would make that person *vulnerable*?

INFERENCES ABOUT CLASS While class isn’t directly addressed in the previous sources, they give clues about ways in which class may impact activism.

- The Powers and Kidd sources, respectively, demonstrate both women’s platform priorities in addressing discrimination, including discrimination based on class.
- The March on Frankfort was a Thursday —what factors may allow some people to march over others? What economic risks could someone have for attending?

To complete this section, teachers may select to use one or both noted sources. See options below.



2. **SOURCE ANALYSIS: *Close reading***

- Teachers select excerpts from the article, “I Never Felt Cold Feet.”
 - Reading can be done individually, in groups, or as a jigsaw exercise.
- Using their excerpt(s), students identify an economic factor that may have impacted their participation in the Henderson sit-ins; then, students form a claim based upon this evidence.



3. **SOURCE ANALYSIS: *Corroboration & Contextualization***

- Teachers select excerpts from the article, “Freedom on the Border.”
 - Teachers are encouraged to include at least one oral history quote.
- Students may follow the claim-making process described above; or, they may use the following sequence (from Supporting Question 2):
 - Students read the first selected source individually.
 - Allow for individual processing time.
 - In groups, students take turns sharing their initial response to the question.
 - Once all have shared, students should be encouraged to build out their original response using group member’s responses.
 - Reflect upon the following questions for the source excerpt:
 - *How does this source answer the question?*
 - *What does it not tell you?*
 - *What else do you need or want to know?*
- Repeat this process with all selected source excerpts.

SCAFFOLDING QUESTIONS Use these questions to frame analysis or as inspiration to build your own questions.

- What is the context of these oral histories (who, where, when)?
- What does this source tell you about discrimination (based on race and/or class)?
- What does it say about their respective jobs or social status?
- Does it mention a union (or union organizing)?
 - If yes, how so?
- What does it tell you about how people did or didn't advocate equality?
 - How did people unite or divide across differences?
- What additional information do you need to be able to answer the question?
- How does this information support or challenge information in the previous source(s)?
 - How do the oral histories support or challenge each other?



4. **CLAIM-MAKING:** *Collaboratively build a collection of evidence -based claims*

- Using sources from across the inquiry module, create multiple claim statements about the extent to which class differences may have impacted civil rights activism in Kentucky.
- After creating a collection of claims, individually or in groups, prioritize the claims by ranking the claims (or selecting their top 3 -4 claims) according to how strong they believe the claim and evidence are.
 - For the top three claims, write why they think it is a strong claim and evidence pairing.
 - This justification should connect directly back to the claim/evidence, but also allows students to express a subjective opinion.

Sources

The listed sources were selected to help students consider the possible impact of class or socioeconomic status on Kentuckians' participation in the Civil Rights Movement. Teachers should annotate, modify, excerpt, or add/subtract sources based on student interests, needs, and local relevance. [Other considerations].

[Source 4.1](#)

(713 words)

Greenwell, A. T. (2013). "I Never Felt Any Cold Feet" In Henderson, Kentucky, students staged their own sit-ins in solidarity with other sit-in movements around the country. In this excerpt, the author describes the class/economic factors that may have impacted participation.

[Source 4.2](#)

(1205 words)

Fosl, C. (2009). *Freedom on the Border* In this source, historian Catherine Fosl provides context and oral histories about socio-economic status and other economic factors that impacted the Civil Rights Movement in Kentucky.

Compelling Question: How did intersectionality impact Kentucky's civil rights movement?



Construct an Evidence-based Argument

Compelling Question and Task

Throughout the inquiry, students examined both the national and state -level civil rights movement, specifically taking into consideration the role of women's activism, as well as how race, sex, and class impacted how different people could (or would participate).

In the Summative Task, students communicate their knowledge, apply disciplinary skills, and construct evidence-based claims using multiple sources to create an argument responding to the compelling question: *How did intersectionality impact Kentucky's civil rights movement?*

Task Product

Students construct an evidence -based argumentative essay.

ALTERNATIVE PRODUCTS Students' arguments could take a variety of forms, including a multimedia presentation, a socratic seminar, or other structure that authentically communicates their informed perspective.

Potential Responses

Students' arguments should reflect a range of possible responses, including one or more of the following:

- *Prejudice within/outside the Civil Rights Movement hindered progress towards expanded rights for all.*
- *Despite sexism/racism, many Black women Kentuckians were able to bring change through activism/advocacy, as well as through public service (elected positions)*
- *Though often hidden from the historical record, women's leadership in the Civil Rights Movement (nationally/Kentucky) were pivotal in the big/small successes; but also left a legacy of advocacy in different communities.*
- *The intersectional challenges and/or privileges of civil rights activism is demonstrated by who/when/where Black Kentuckians were able to take action.*

Extension Task

To what extent did disunity harm the Civil Rights Movement in Kentucky? Using the inquiry and the locally-relevant sources, students can evaluate a historical reform movement (e.g., Progressive era reforms, other voting rights efforts, labor organizing, etc.) and assess the extent to which racial animus (or other prejudice) undermined the movement's progress.

- This extension exercise will help students consider parallels across space and time in reform movements. The extension task can also be combined with the Taking Informed Action option described below.

Civic Action: How can we build community to achieve shared goals?

Apply Learning to a New Context through Informed Civic Action

Students have the opportunity to take informed action by considering the ways in which divisions or factions can harm advocacy or social movements. They can use what they learned in this inquiry module to consider how divisions or factions can strengthen (e.g., leading to deliberation, balance of different perspectives) or weaken progress towards goals.

Civic Theme: *Community -Building*

This inquiry module reflects the civic theme of *community -building*. When students engage in community -building, they are fostering community by expanding their understanding and cooperation with others. In the inquiry, students investigated the ways in which activist communities were both united and divided along their respective identities. In the Civic Action task, students apply their knowledge to take action on divisions or factions in current movements. By doing so, students further consider the ways in which to advocate on behalf of a topic collaboratively and through deliberation instead of sowing divisions.

Understand

Examine a current civil rights, social movement, or locally -relevant issue and the different divisions/factions within in addressing the issue.

- What ideas or beliefs do people share?
- Where is there disagreement or tension?
 - If generally united, are there more community members who can be brought into the conversation?

Assess

Evaluate the extent to which these divisions/factions strengthen or weaken progress towards addressing a purpose/goal/mission.

- Where is there an opportunity to build dialogue or consensus? Connect people across race, gender, identity?

EXAMPLE For example, students could assess movements related to gun laws (e.g., Moms Demand Action, Everytown for Gun Safety).

- Students understand the issue by comparing how different groups are collaborating or not collaborating with one another, incorporating people from diverse backgrounds, etc.
- Students can assess by evaluating what other perspectives are needed in their advocacy.
 - For example, students may determine that these organizations need more rural voices.
- Students can act by contacting one or more organizations, encouraging them to actively seek

more diverse perspectives.

Take Action

Create an individual/class statement to: (1) encourage the different wings of the movement to collaborate on common goals; or (2) if the movement is relatively united, suggest more diverse voices/perspectives.

- *Alternative:* Facilitate a panel discussion of stakeholders and students.

Supporting Question 1 Sources

Source Collection 1.1

Civil Rights Photograph Source Collection

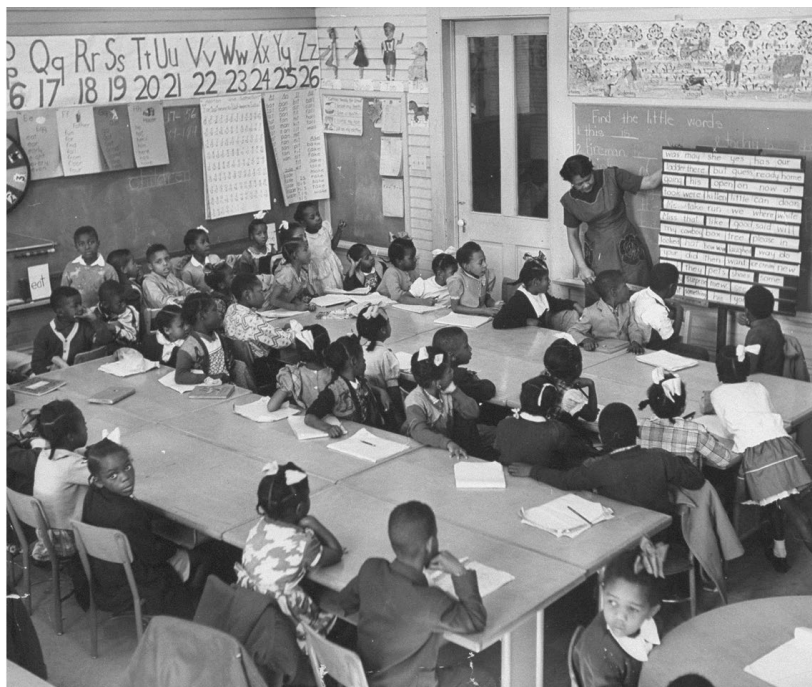
This source collection includes a variety of photographs from the Civil Rights Movement in both national and state -level contexts.

SEGREGATION PHOTOGRAPHS



A cafe near the tobacco market, Durham, North Carolina.

Accessed from: [Library of Congress, Civil Rights.](#)



Schools were also segregated during the Jim Crow Era. African American schools were severely underfunded and overcrowded compared to their counterpart. Thus, the schools often lacked vital resources. Most of the teaching resources in this photo are handmade by the teacher herself.

Segregated elementary Classroom New Orleans

Accessed from: [Library of Congress, Civil Rights.](#)



White schools during the same era were usually less crowded and had ample supplies. In this picture, students clearly have a supply of supplemental books, textbooks, globes, and maps.

Segregated elementary classroom, Oklahoma, 1960.

Accessed from: [Library of Congress, Civil Rights.](#)



Parents protesting outside William Frantz elementary school, New Orleans, 1960. These protests were held in opposition to integration (Ruby Bridges' attendance)

KENTUCKY PROTESTS PHOTOGRAPHS



Integrating Louisville's Downtown In 1960, young members of CORE began weekly sit-ins at segregated businesses in downtown Louisville. After several of them were arrested in February 1961, the number of demonstrators multiplied every week as others turned out to protest the police action. Louisville witnessed picket lines like this one throughout the rest of that year.

Accessed from: [KET, Living the Civil Rights Movement in Kentucky](#)



Nothing New for Easter Civil rights activists organized a boycott of selected downtown Louisville department stores in 1961. The campaign urged customers to buy "nothing new for Easter" from any store that practiced discrimination.

Accessed from: [KET, Living the Civil Rights Movement in Kentucky](#)



Business Boycott For much of 1961, civil rights activists waged a campaign against racial discrimination by downtown Louisville businesses, with picket lines manned weekly.

Accessed from: [KET, Living the Civil Rights Movement in Kentucky](#)



Marching for Housing In the mid-1960s, the issue of segregation in housing took center stage in Louisville. This march is from 1967.

Accessed from: [KET, Living the Civil Rights Movement in Kentucky](#)



Open Housing Movement
 Years of activism and demonstrations paid off in 1967 when the city of Louisville passed an ordinance banning discrimination in housing. Jefferson County's ordinance was passed in 1970.

Accessed from: [KET, Living the Civil Rights Movement in Kentucky](#)



Henry Jones and his younger brother leading a demonstration on Lexington's Main Street (circa 1960s)

Accessed from: [Calvert McCann Photographs](#)



Women at a lunch counter sit-in, Lexington, KY (circa 1960s)

Accessed from: [Calvert McCann Photographs](#)

THE MARCH ON FRANKFORT (1964) PHOTOGRAPHS



Picture at the March on Frankfort, featuring Georgia Davis Powers.

Accessed from: [UofL Libraries](#)



10,000 Strong These women were among the 10,000 people who rallied at the Kentucky state capitol in support of civil rights legislation in March 1964.

Accessed from: [KET, Living the Civil Rights Movement in Kentucky](#)



King in Kentucky Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. speaks at the 1964 March on Frankfort. The rally brought more than 10,000 people—including Jackie Robinson, Rev. Ralph Abernathy, and Mahalia Jackson—together in support of civil rights legislation.

Accessed from: [KET, Living the Civil Rights Movement in Kentucky](#)



March on Frankfort led by (from left) Martin Luther King, Jr.; Ralph Abernathy; Wyatt Tee Walker; and Jackie Robinson

Accessed from: [Calvert McCann Photographs](#)



Crowd at the March on Frankfort

(1964 March 5)

Accessed from: [Calvert McCann Photographs](#)

Source 1.2


The Place, The March, The Movement —MLK Jr. March on Frankfort (2022). Kentucky Educational Television, PBS LearningMedia.

This documentary, and associated resources, provide an overview of the March on Frankfort protest. See website for additional classroom resources.


Access documentary here: [The Place, The March, The Movement | MLK Jr. March on Frankfort | PBS LearningMedia](#)

Screenshot of Documentary:


The Place, The March, The Movement | MLK Jr. March on Frankfort




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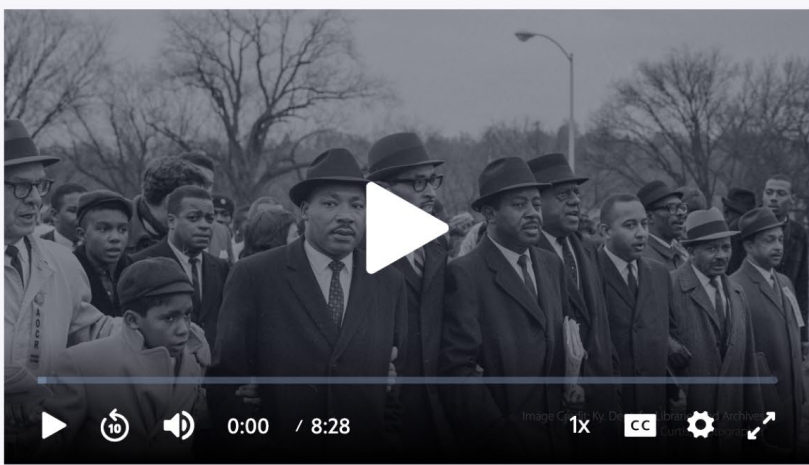


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Video Grades: 3-5 Collection: [Kentucky's Black History and Culture](#)



0:00 / 8:28

 Transcript
  Download

Support Materials for Teachers

USING THIS RESOURCE

[The Place, The March, The Movement: Teaching Tips](#)

BACKGROUND READING

[1964 March on Frankfort, Kentucky Background Reading](#)

ACTIVITY

[Federalism and the Role of Citizens](#)

[The Power of Language](#)

Source 1.3

Interview with Audrey L. Grevious (1985) in *The Civil Rights Struggle in Lexington: An Interview with Audrey L. Grevious.*

Audrey Grevious was a prominent civil rights activist in Lexington, Kentucky. In this interview, she describes several different ways in which she advocated for racial equality.

*Note: To support reading, the interview text was excerpted and headers (in **bold/underlined**) were added.*

Reprinted within fair use. Available at: [The Civil Rights Struggle in Lexington: An Interview with Audrey L. Grevious](#).

Context: Grievous' Journey to Advocacy

Ms. GREVIOUS: My name is Audrey Louise Ross Grevious. I was born in Lexington on September the 3rd, 1930. I had my elementary schooling at Constitution School. My junior high and high school education was at Dunbar High School on Upper Street. Have lived in Lexington all of my life and have mixed feelings about childhood in Lexington as a black, or as a Negro, as we were called then. Felt many, many times that educational opportunities could have been better in that more subjects could have been offered to the Negro students during their time. We were fortunate enough to have super, super, super, superb teachers who were in the field because they loved it, were definitely qualified, and had the disadvantage of having no other area to go in to show the world what they were capable of doing. So they took as their task preparing Negro students for life later.

As Negro school students, we were often concerned that we had, supposedly, separate but equal facilities, and we always felt like this was a joke simply because I cannot recall getting a new book at all, ever. The books that we would get would be the books that came from the white schools where they had changed or had been torn or written into or what have you. But, even with this handicap, we had made up our mind that we were somebody, and that we were going to show the world that we were, and we were going to absorb as much knowledge as we possibly could and benefit from the guidance that we received from these superb teachers-black teachers-that we had.

We were aware that things were not as bad in Lexington as they were further south, but they were not as good as further north. We were just comfortable. And this was a bad state to be in, I think, growing up, in that you were aware there were many, many things that could be better. You did not know how to go about making these changes. We would read about people not being able to sit on the buses. We had always been able to sit on the buses, even as a small child riding the streetcar. [...]

I went away to school and became familiar with a number of students from the North, and they began to talk about many of the things they were able to do, some of the cultural things that they were exposed to that we were not exposed to here in Lexington. They were here, but they were not open to Negro students and Negro adults. [...]

[Grevious worked as Secretary for a Black newspaper - *The Town Crier*, based in Lexington]. It also made me aware of how limited black America was within Lexington's society, Lexington's everyday working, just a part of Lexington. I still did not know in which direction I was going to go to try to make a change or try to even get involved. Still was just concerned, unhappy, wanting a change and not knowing how to go about getting the change. It was only in 1955, when my brother came back to Lexington from the service. He had married. And he and his wife decided that they were going to go to school on the G.I. Bill. I was

working at one of the department stores at that particular time and decided that, "Hey, that's a sensible thing. I wasted my time. Why not go back to school with them?" [...]

During this time, I decided, also, I would get involved with the NAACP here in Lexington. I knew about it all along, but I also knew that they were not doing anything to solve any of the many problems. And my sister-in-law and brother had their first baby during this time. And here was a new body going to grow up with the same limitations that I did, that their father did. And their mother, who came from South Carolina, was more involved with discrimination than even we here in Lexington. And I decided that there was no way I was going to sit still and let my nephew grow up under the same conditions and circumstances that I did.

I became a member of the organization and came right in wanting to do something. This took an awful long time because they were an organization that met, talked about situations, but really were not doing anything to make a change. And I think this was because they were not quite sure how they could go about making a change. As I mentioned to you before, that Lexington was not as bad as the far South, and not as good as the far North. So we were rather complacent. It was only after I had attended one of the national conventions that I was aware that something could be done.

Travel Project with the NAACP

I volunteered for a project to drive from New York back to Kentucky through Washington and Virginia, and try to stop at the various restaurants and hotels to be served. Now, when we talk about Lexington not having open facilities, Lexington was not by itself. The whole United States was faced with this same problem. And my job was to stop and see if I could eat and be served, and all along the way I was refused. A number of places we were offered an opportunity to have a paper bag given to us through a side window or a back door and, of course, we refused them and left. There was another young lady and a gentleman with us. And we reported this. Then we were to fly back to New York. And this time when I came through I was to be in a fancy big car with a chauffeur, dressed in silk and furs and diamonds, and with something around my head that kind of represented the African look. And would you believe that every place we stopped we were served, simply because they thought they were denying service to an ambassador's wife or something. And this made me so angry that when I came back I decided, "No way am I going to sit still and let this go on. If the same person can change a look and get service, then I refuse to be denied service any longer because I happen to be black." And this is when I declared war on all segregation in Lexington, Kentucky. And they were very sorry that I so did this. I was elected president of the Lexington NAACP right after the convention [in 1957].

Employment Discrimination & Grocery Boycott

Ms. GREVIOUS: [...]At the same time that I was elected, I was coming out of college looking for a job. When I was a member in '55 or '56, I was on a negotiating team with the Fayette County School System for integrating the system. And it was even before they combined the two systems, the Fayette County and the city system, and they wanted to know the best way to integrate the school systems. And I had an opportunity to really see what the thinking was. Surprisingly enough, Lexington's educational bodies were not aware of the fantastic teachers they had in the black faculty. I had to point out to them that when they

got a black teacher, especially during that time, they got the cream of the black society, of the black race, simply because there were no other jobs available for them. So your most qualified, your brightest black people, went into teaching. And this was not the case for other people, simply because there were other jobs open for them, and they chose the ones that were going to pay the most or give them an opportunity for more advancement. Also made the teachers realize that they were pretty special, because they had become complacent.

We decided that the first thing that we needed to try to change in Lexington was job opportunities. We began to meet with the grocery stores. The grocery stores that were in the black communities, their whole livelihood depended on the black population. And, as we talked to these men, we were told by them that they were doing all that they could for the blacks. They had someone who was cleaning the floors and washing the food that and stacking the boxes and what have you. And that was all they intended to do. And I remember telling them that if that was all they intended to do, they might as well plan to move, because we were going to see to it if they were going to make their living from the blacks, then they were going to have to offer some opportunities for black people to have jobs. Many, many meetings were held with these people without them making...

Prof. GRAHAM : Excuse me. Were these national chains?

Ms. GREVIOUS: Neither of them was. We felt that we would wait and tackle A & P and Kroger's later, because even though they did get quite a bit of business from the blacks, these groceries that were in the black neighborhoods had to depend entirely upon black customers. And so this was the reason we chose them. [...]

We decided one Christmas that we were not going to buy anything downtown, that we were going to call a city-wide boycott of all of the stores on Main Street. At this time, CORE had organized in Lexington, and the two organizations joined together for manpower. The president of CORE was the vice president of the NAACP, and I was the vice-president of CORE. So it was a two-way organization where we had the manpower for both. And we walked the picket line in the snow.

Prof. GRAHAM : Excuse me. In the future someone may not know what CORE is.

Ms. GREVIOUS: Congress of Racial Equality. An organization that was started in New York and was basically responsible for many of the sit-ins that went across the country and down South. We walked the picket lines, we met with the managers. It was quite successful with the exception that many of the blacks were slipping in the back door on Vine Street, so that we could not see them. No one was going past our picket line, but they were coming in.

Woolworth Sit -Ins

After we had success there, the two groups decided, "Now, we're tired of eating at the little short lunch counters. We need to be able to spend our money wherever we want to spend it." We chose the ten-cent stores because this is where we spent most of our money. And each one of the ten-cent stores had a little lunch counter on the side where blacks were supposed to either stand, or maybe they had one or two little benches there where you could sit. But you could not sit at the nice, long, clean counters where the white customers could. And this is where there was an advantage of working with CORE, because it had more white members than the NAACP. We used this format, where a black and a white would go into this ten

cent store and sit down. The black would order and, of course, they would be refused. The white would order something where the sandwich would come in two pieces. Most of the time they had ordered a club sandwich. And they would share their sandwich with their black partner right next to them. This blew the manager's mind. He went stark raving mad the first Saturday this was done. But nothing they could do about it at the time. They began to recognize our white partners, and so they stopped serving them, and we just sat there. Now this meant that while we were sitting there, they could not even serve other customers. And it was cutting down on their business. We had an arrangement with the police department, Chief E. Carroll Hale, that the only time he would arrest us would be when a manager took out a warrant, and none of them did. He had instructed his policemen that unless we became disorderly or caused problems, they were to leave us alone. It was a hands-off policy, and we really appreciated it. It kept Lexington from having many of the problems that the other cities had with the police brutality, with the hose, with the dogs, or what have you. Even though the times were hard, we did not get what we wanted without struggling for it. We still were not faced with many, many of the problems that they were faced with deeper South.

Prof. GRAHAM : Excuse me. Can you tell me what year, about?

Mrs. GREVIOUS: This was in 1960 -'61-'62, along in that time '58 -'59, right along in that time. Dates are very fuzzy for me. So much went on at that time, but it was in that wide range of time. The only time that we had problems was one Saturday when we had an awful lot of young ladies at Woolworth's sitting along the counter. And there was a group of white youths that came in that tried to set fire to the hair of the girls sitting there. Our policy was that there would always be someone walking along behind as a customer, to observe what was going on, so that if we spotted anything that might cause problems, we would pull them out immediately. Fortunately for us there happened to be a policeman in the place at the time, and I immediately got him, and he ushered them out, which kept some young lady, or a lot of young ladies, from having permanent damage in the head. The only other thing was one time we were at another business, and we had been fortunate enough the week before to get inside of the lunch counter before he was aware we were there. And the waitress turned over a whole thing of grape soda all over us and got our clothes - they were ruined. The next week, when we got there, he had put a chain around the front entrance of the lunch counter. He sat on a stool, and he would open the chain and let the white customers go in. Of course, when we got ready to go in the chain was closed. We were standing there. It was my turn to be in front of the line. He had the chain. He took the chain. He just kept swinging it and hitting me on the leg. The men in the group were terribly upset about it. They were beginning to lose their composure, and they said, "No way," you know. So we had to send them off of the picket line because I think that would have been our first fatality. That they were just angry enough to have lynched him at that particular time. My legs were getting sore, and I was getting angry, and I stood there and looked at him and sang Yield Not to Temptation for three hours. I did not know that I knew every verse of Yield Not to Temptation, and some I made up. The only thing about it was I was not aware of the damage that was being done to the nerve of my leg, and for about three years after that I did have to wear Ace bandages on my legs to control the pain as a result of the chain hitting it so long. But we were able to get them to open up the lunch counter. Would you believe that after going through all of this, that it took quite some time for the blacks to go to eat? I think one reason was that we were disappointed in the quality of the food! It looked good, but it certainly didn't taste good after we got down there and began to eat it!

Optional: Source 1.4

Klotter, J. C., & Friend, C. T. (2018). *A New History of Kentucky*. Academic book/textbook.

This excerpt provides background information on Kentucky's Civil Rights Movement. Use information from this source to provide additional context on the local rights movement.

Used with permission.

Implementing Integration

Strong leadership came to the forefront and made Kentucky an early model of peaceful integration for the South and for the nation. That leadership came at three levels. The commonwealth's chief newspaper at the time, the *Courier-Journal* came out in favor of acceptance of the *Brown* decision and supported the actions of others who did so. In the political arena, both US senators spoke in favor of the decision, while Governor Lawrence W. Wetherby resisted southern efforts to oppose *Brown*. On March 1, 1955, the governor stated clearly that "Kentucky will meet the issue fairly and squarely for all." In the gubernatorial elections of 1955 and 1959, no candidate for either party took a pro-segregation stance.

The victor in the 1955 race was Happy Chandler. His mailbag quickly filled with dire warnings of doom should integration occur. A Hopkinsville woman concluded, for example, that if such a step took place, "we might as well open the doors of Hell." From Lexington a woman warned that the races might next be swimming together in pools. A Madisonville paper criticized the court decision for breaking down "the character of the Anglo-Saxon race."

The governor's background provided clues that he could support either southern extremists or the US Supreme Court. As a US senator, Chandler had voted against anti-lynching and poll tax repeal bills. In 1948, he had headed the racially conservative Dixiecrat movement in the state, had entertained its candidate J. Strom Thurmond in his home, and had given little evidence that his racial views varied drastically from those of others of his generation. Yet at almost the same time, he had faced the question of integrating baseball in his position as commissioner of that sport. While Chandler would overstate his role later, it remains correct to say that had he opposed the move, integration of baseball would have been much more difficult. Instead, he supported the action.

The man who integrated baseball in the twentieth century was Jackie Robinson, who had had a less than ideal experience during his military service at Kentucky's Camp Breckinridge and who had been roundly booed when he appeared in a minor league game in 1946 in Louisville. Yet when Robinson entered the major leagues in 1947, his chief supporter and friend on his team, the Brooklyn Dodgers, was Louisville's Harold ("Pee Wee") Reese, later elected to baseball's Hall of Fame. In a sense, Robinson's varied experiences with Kentuckians represented the divisions existing within the society.

And the rules were different across the commonwealth. Mae Street Kidd grew up in Millersburg in Bourbon County and would later represent Louisville in the Kentucky General Assembly for some seventeen years. So light-skinned that, as she said, she had trouble "passing for black," she grew up in an integrated neighborhood and could try on clothes in Millersburg stores, in contrast to most African Americans in Kentucky. Her white father's family and his black family intermingled and attended funerals of family members together.

But in most of the state that would not be the norm. Discrimination still dominated. What historian Gerald

Smith has termed “the blurred lines of segregation in Kentucky” made it all even more complex.

But in 1956 Governor Chandler indicated publicly that the US Supreme Court’s decision was the law of the land and he would enforce the law. Privately in letters he said he did not know whether he as an individual favored integration, but “I do not think it is Christian, and I know it is not lawful, to deny any of our fellow citizens equality of opportunity and protection under our laws.” Already blacks were attending public institutions of higher education in Kentucky, and in 1955 the commonwealth’s highest court finally ruled the Day Law unconstitutional. That summer a young black woman entered Lafayette High School in Lexington, and soon afterward several students integrated the Wayne County system during the regular school term. By fall, as historian William E. Ellis notes, 92 of the state’s 160 districts had integrated peacefully.

A few resisted. On August 31, 1956, nine black children enrolled in the Union County school at Sturgis. Anger at the action resulted in the father of two of the children being fired from his job, the family’s water being disconnected, and their being unable to buy goods in Sturgis stores. It took courage to challenge the status quo.

When classes began, a crowd of several hundred people opposed the attempt to integrate the school. While the situation seems to have been resolved locally, press reports spurred Governor Chandler to bring in police and troops, and that action intensified the dispute. On the night of September 6, a pro-segregation white citizens’ council held a meeting attended by a thousand people. Nevertheless, calm followed. Meanwhile, at the nearby town of Clay, similar events and reactions brought Kentucky National Guard forces there as well. The state’s attorney general issued an interpretation of the *Brown* decision that allowed the local school board to reject integration for the moment but to draw up a plan for it to take place in the near future. The some one thousand state troops and soldiers were withdrawn, a court case ordered full desegregation the next year, and in 1957 blacks and whites sat in the same classes at Sturgis High School. A boycott by some students ended quickly when they were given unexcused absences. In 1965 the once all-black high school closed, and integration was complete. Symbolically, however, the incidents at Sturgis and Clay showed Kentuckians that the state government would support the integration process, by force if necessary. No further incidents of that scope occurred, and school segregation began to end peacefully.

Leadership also came from school officials themselves. In Louisville, superintendent Dr. Omer Carmichael instituted a plan that rapidly integrated the city’s major system and gave Louisville a national reputation as a model for the South. Under the plan, the entire system was redistricted without regard to race, and pupils were assigned to the nearest school. Voluntary transfers were allowed, however, which meant that in practice the plan was far less sweeping than it seemed on the surface.

Future problems would result from that situation, but by the fall of 1956 fifty-five of the city’s seventy-five schools, containing almost three quarters of the student population, had integrated without major opposition. A reporter for the New York Times watched classes open and announced: “Segregation died quietly here Today.”

In one sense, integration and the state’s reaction to it showed how far Kentuckians had come in a little more than eight decades. During the immediate post-Civil War years, white people of the commonwealth had matched those elsewhere in resistance to black rights. Lynchings and segregation had continued well

into the twentieth century. But in the 1950s white citizens were still far from racial egalitarians. That same year as the *Brown* decision, for example, activists Anne and Carl Braden purchased a home in a white neighborhood and then sold it to an African American couple in a deliberate attempt to integrate Louisville housing. The new owners, Charlotte and Andrew Wade, soon saw their windows broken, their loan and insurance revoked, shots fired into the house, and a cross burned nearby. Meanwhile, in the McCarthy era that saw a communist hysteria grip the nation, the Bradens were criticized for their actions on integration. Then on a Sunday morning, a bomb destroyed half of the Wade home. Soon after, in an attempt to silence them, Anne and Carl Braden were indicted for sedition and an attempt to disrupt race relations. Anne's brother severed all ties with her; Carl lost his job. He was found guilty and sentenced to fifteen years in prison. His conviction would be overturned by court rulings that invalidated the sedition laws. The Wades rebuilt their home and continued to live in it. But the episode showed that some citizens would not be deaf to racial appeals in later years. Nor was integration in the state quite so widespread as journalists pictured it. Yet the press, the politicians, and the school officials had set the standard and the examples at a crucial time. When confronted by racial questions in the 1950s, Kentucky reacted in a way that allowed it to be viewed as a leader in integration. A decade after the *Brown* decision, still only 62 percent of Kentucky's African Americans attended schools with whites, but that same year only 2 percent of those in the South did. It was a strange but welcome position for the state.

Civil Rights in the Sixties and Beyond

Kentuckians still had a long way to go on racial matters, however, and the state's leadership position would rise and fall over the next few decades. Education had been only the first fight on the integration front, and attention soon turned toward achieving equal rights in other areas.

In politics, African Americans in Kentucky had continued to vote, so the struggles taking place elsewhere in the South regarding voting rights were largely absent in the state. Gains did take place in other areas, however. In 1961 the first black woman, Amelia Tucker, was elected to the legislature; six years later Georgia Davis (later Georgia Davis Powers) became the first black woman elected as state senator. In 1968 the city of Glasgow, where white voters outnumbered blacks by ten to one, made educator Louska J. Twyman Kentucky's first black mayor elected to a full term. Still, despite the individual gains, by 1970 African Americans comprised less than 1 percent of elected officials in the commonwealth.

Away from the political world, change was taking place in ways both small and large. In 1952, a federal judge had ruled that Louisville golf courses must be open to all. The next year, when the Mississippi Valley Historical Association held its national meeting in Lexington, one hotel in the city opened its doors to black guests for the first time. The next year the city directory there dropped the "c" (for "colored") designation after people's names. In 1955 the Kentucky Court of Appeals banned all segregated public recreational facilities in the state. Change occurred slowly and piecemeal, but it occurred.

The most significant victories, though, were won in the 1960s. At the beginning of that decade, stores, restaurants, theaters, pools, and other public places remained segregated in many areas of Kentucky. In Hopkinsville, for example, where 30 percent of the population was not white, housing, public toilets, theaters, restaurants, motels, and county fair competitions remained segregated. Two of the twelve councilmen and four of the thirty-five policemen were black, however, and the library, sporting events, and religious services had been integrated. Faced with such situations across Kentucky, blacks, and their white allies, began an eventually successful series of "sit-ins," "stand-ins," and boycotts of eating places and

stores, particularly in Lexington, Frankfort, and Louisville. Perhaps the first sit-ins occurred in Louisville in 1942 at the Main Library, then in 1953 at a bus station, and then three years later at theaters, clothing stores, and lunch counters—well before the more publicized ones in North Carolina. In Lexington, the newly formed Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) held its first sit-in at a restaurant in 1959.

And when arrested, as some of the protesters were, they increasingly faced juries that included, at long last, members chosen from a more diverse pool. But change came slowly. A Mt. Sterling paper reported in 1964 how the circuit court jury had an African American juror for the first time ever and a woman for the only time in the last half century. Not until 2006 did an African American justice—William E. McAnulty—sit on the state’s highest court.

In 1960, the Kentucky Commission on Human Rights was formed and began to issue reports on civil rights. It found in 1961 that state parks and bus terminals were open to all races, but that twenty-six of eighty-seven drive-in theaters surveyed were not. The next year it noted that six cities still had “whites only” pools but that thirty-five of forty Little League baseball programs had been integrated. In fact, sports became a key area for gains by blacks, and in 1967 University of Kentucky football player Nate Northington became the first African American athlete to play in the South-eastern Conference. Increasingly, whites who had decried integration would find themselves cheering the sporting accomplishments of a black high school or college player on their favorite team.

Resistance to integration continued, though. When working as a janitor as a young man, Jesse Crenshaw confronted a white supervisor about the discrimination that still existed. The man told him some things could not change. Crenshaw, who became a lawyer and legislator, later noted, “At sixteen, I knew that was not true. I knew there were many things you could change.” To him and others, it became clear that further action would be needed to bring about full change. At the national level, Kentuckian Whitney M. Young Jr. led the National Urban League through the decade and became a major spokesman for racial moderation: “We must learn to live together as brothers or we will all surely die together as fools.” At the state level, Governor Bert T. Combs, in the last year of his term of office, issued a Fair Services Executive Order and a Code of Fair Practices, which affected those dealing in state contracts. That same year, the city of Louisville passed a bill “to prohibit discrimination in public places”—probably the first in the South. The major achievements, however, came under governor Edward T. (“Ned”) Breathitt Jr. Attempts to pass a statewide public accommodations bill in 1964 brought the Reverend Martin Luther King Jr., the Reverend Ralph Abernathy, and Jackie Robinson to a March rally attended by thousands at the state capitol. A sit-in and fast in the legislative gallery by supporters of civil rights followed. But neither the original Norbert Blume draft nor a compromise bill could secure the governor’s strong support or enough votes to get out of committee before the session ended. Months later a national civil rights bill became law. The two US Kentucky senators and Representative Carl D. Perkins voted for it, and four other Kentucky congressmen opposed the bill. That national action, accomplished under a Democratic president, helped the situation in the state when a stronger anti-discrimination bill came before the Kentucky General Assembly in 1966.

This time the bill had the more forceful backing of Governor Breathitt. As a young attorney after World War II, Breathitt had found the double standard of justice for blacks and whites morally unacceptable. He stated that it “was against everything that I had been taught at the university and that I believed in.” With the support of new legislative leaders, the resulting Kentucky Civil Rights Act passed easily and was signed into law at the base of the statue of Abraham Lincoln in the capitol rotunda. The first such act in

the South, and broader than the national act, the law opened public accommodations to all races and prohibited discrimination in employment in firms with eight or more workers. That same year Bardstown took the lead in enacting a local open housing ordinance. In 1968 the commonwealth became the first state in the South to pass a comprehensive Fair Housing Act.

At that time Kentucky seemed to have avoided the racial tragedies that had ended in beatings and death elsewhere for those supporting civil rights. But the successes blinded too many to the still unsolved problems, issues smoldering beneath the surface tranquility. Following the murder of Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. in 1968, a May rally in the Parkland section of Louisville erupted in some minor disorders, the police moved in, and then, as one observer noted, “all hell broke loose.” Before the rioting ended, many black businesses were destroyed, two black teenagers were killed, dozens of people, black and white, were injured, and nearly five hundred individuals were arrested. More than two thousand National Guard members joined city and county police in restoring order. Across Kentucky that summer several black churches and businesses were bombed, and a September exchange of shots between blacks and a white supremacy group meeting near Berea left two whites dead. The state had prided itself on its moderate stance on race, but the summer of 1968 left a scar, reminding Kentuckians that the fight for racial equality could not stop.

In the field of education, the promise of the 1950s seemed to be continuing. The number of schools with students of both races rose from 41 in 1955 to 685 a decade later, while the percentage of blacks in desegregated classrooms increased from 46 in 1962 to 68 in 1964. But by 1968—the year of the riot—the city once held up as a national model now saw headlines that read, “Schools Move Back Toward Segregation.” Ten Louisville schools remained either all-black or all-white; in twenty-five others, over 95 percent of the students were of one race. The situation worsened between 1968 and 1974, as the growth of suburbs drew whites from the city. By then, the school system was more segregated than it had been two decades earlier. As a result, the federal judiciary became involved. A district court’s decision favorable to the existing system was overturned at a higher level, which ordered the city and county school systems to merge “not only to eliminate the effects of the past but also to bar future discrimination.” Court-ordered busing for racial balance brought forth a violent reaction by whites, especially in the south-western parts of Jefferson County. Demonstrators damaged school buses, looted stores, and destroyed other property in September 1975 riots, which resulted in fifty people injured—including at least twenty law enforcement officers—and some two hundred arrests. State and local police, together with over eight hundred members of the National Guard, brought an uneasy peace.

Louisville’s—and the state’s—once-strong record on race appeared to be only a distant memory. Yet the integration taking place across the commonwealth was resulting in drastic change. In 1974 some 29 percent of Kentucky African Americans went to schools that were over 90 percent black; six years later none did. National studies, based on 1986, 1991, and 2001 figures, proclaimed Kentucky schools the most integrated in the United States.

Supporting Question 2 Sources

Source 2.1

Margaret Walker quote (1979) in Sterling, D. (1988). *Black Foremothers: Three Lives* .

Margaret Walker was a prominent Black woman poet and author. In this brief quote, she succinctly captures the tension between women's role in rights movements and relative invisibility.

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Even in pre-civil war days, Black women stood in the vanguard for equal rights; for freedom from slavery, for recognition of women as citizens and co -partners with men in all of life's endeavors....However, because of the nature of American history, and part icularly because of the institutions of slavery and segregation, the names and lives of Black women leaders are all but unknown in American society —black as well as white.

Source 2.2

Barnett, B. M. (1993). Invisible Southern Black Women Leaders in the Civil Rights Movement: The Triple Constraints of Gender, Race, and Class. *Gender & Society*, 7(2), 162 -182. Academic journal article

In this journal article, scholar Bernice McNair Barnett describes the central role women played in civil rights struggles, but their relative invisibility in public consciousness and scholarship.

Note: In-text citations were removed for ease of reading; and excerpts were formatted to include bolded elements, headers, and other organizational features to support in reading.

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Even while suffering the daily indignities heaped on them by their location in the structure of society, many southern Black women were much more than followers in the modern civil rights movement; many were also leaders who performed a variety of roles comparable to those of Black male leaders. Although seldom recognized as leaders, these women were often the ones who initiated protest, formulated strategies and tactics, and mobilized other resources (especially money, personnel, and communication networks) necessary for successful collective action.

The diversity of their experiences is matched only by the diversity of their backgrounds. Sisters in struggle - sharecroppers, domestic and service workers, schoolteachers, college professors, housewives, beauticians, students, and office secretaries - all shed blood, sweat, and tears in the movement. In their homes, churches, voluntary associations, political organizations, women's clubs, college campus organizations, neighborhoods, and work groups, southern Black women of differing backgrounds shared a common desire for freedom from oppression. They courageously engaged in civil rights struggles in the South, a region historically characterized by a dangerous climate of legalized bigotry, labor exploitation, sexual assault and insult, and institutionalized violence and intimidation.

Although embedded within a structural context of three interlocking systems of oppression - racism, sexism, and classism - modern Black women activists in communities throughout the South nevertheless performed roles that by any standard would merit their being considered "heroes" and "leaders" of the movement. However, until recently, most of these women have remained anonymous, a category of invisible, unsung heroes of one of the most revolutionary periods of modern American history. During the period of more than thirty years of scholarship since the heyday of the civil rights movement, their experiences and their leadership roles virtually have been neglected, forgotten, or considered inconsequential or of secondary importance relative to those of men.

The invisibility of modern Black women leaders and activists is in part a result of gender, race, and class biases prevalent in both the social movement literature and feminist scholarship. Social movement scholarship has focused almost exclusively on great men and elites as movement leaders. Most of the leadership recognition and pioneering research covering the civil rights movement of the 1950s and early 1960s, in particular, has concentrated on the leading roles and charisma of elite male professionals within the Black community, such as ministers; or on the resource-providing role of elite supporters outside the Black community. Of those leaders within the Black community, Martin Luther King, Jr., has occupied the majority of that focus. To a lesser but still significant degree, focus has been on three groups of Black men who can be categorized as the organization heads - positional leaders, the Young Turks-shock troops, and

the revolutionaries -separatists. Thus, although the movement scholarship of sociologists typically has been critical of the "great man" theory of leadership (most forcefully promoted by Thomas Carlyle), it has nevertheless implicitly used this perspective in leadership analysis because it primarily has reported the activities and charismatic traits of male leaders.

Feminist scholarship, until recently, has focused almost exclusively on the activism of white women. Although white women performed crucial roles in the civil rights movement, Black women in communities and organizations throughout the South and other regions were struggling during a time that some feminist scholars initially labeled the "cessation" phase and "doldrums" for women's activism. Black women and other women of color have been assumed to be uninvolved in feminist organizations or unconcerned about women's rights.

Source 2.3

Height, D.I. (2001). "We Wanted the Voice of a Woman to Be Heard" Black Women and the 1963 March on Washington, in *Sisters in the Struggle: African American Women in the Civil Rights -Black Power Movement* . Academic book.

Dorothy Height was a civil rights activist, whose work focused on both issues of racial and gender discrimination. In this excerpt from her book, she discusses how women were marginalized at the March on Washington, despite being central in its planning.

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[W]hen the 1963 March on Washington was being planned, people quite naturally asked me, "What's going to happen?" Many prominent women were concerned about the visible participation and representation of women leaders in the program. Most of these women thought that the CUCRL [Council for United Civil Rights Leadership] was organizing the March and making decisions about the platform. When the question was raised, we were always referred to Bayard Rustin, the Executive Director of the March, appointed by A. Philip Randolph, who first issued the call.

I went along with Anna Arnold Hedgeman, a woman with a long history of working for freedom and equality, to meet with Bayard Rustin. We discussed the women's participation in the March. We were amazed to hear the response, "Women are included." Rustin asserted that, "Every group has women in it, labor, church," and so on. When we asked Rustin who was doing the planning, he referred to the heads of the National Council of Churches, NAACP, National Urban League, several Jewish groups, and other organizations. When the question was raised in the CUCRL meetings, it was always referred back to Bayard Rustin. There was an all-consuming focus on race. We women were expected to put all our energies into it. Clearly, there was a low tolerance level for anyone raising the questions about the women's participation, *per se*.

The men seemed to feel that women were digressing and pulling the discussion off the main track. But it wasn't just a male attitude. There were black women who felt that we needed to stick with the "real" issue of race. It was thought that we were making a lot of fuss about an insignificant issue, that we did not recognize that the March was about racism, not sexism. We knew all that. But, we made it clear that we wanted to hear at least one woman in the March dealing with jobs and freedom. We knew, first hand, that most of the Civil Rights Movement audiences were largely comprised of women, children, and youth.

Prior to the 1963 March on Washington, whenever there was a civil rights rally, the platform was filled predominantly by males. When we said that we wanted the voice of a woman to be heard, and gave the names of women to be considered, such as Deborah Partidge Wolfe, and Anna Arnold Hedgeman, and mentioned that there were a number of possibilities, Rustin and others would say that they did not know who to choose. The women were quick to say that they were ready to make a selection or nomination, but we could never get to that point. We knew that other groups had not had the question raised on who they would choose. But it came up around the concerns of women.

It was unnerving to be given the argument that women were members of the National Urban League and all of the other organizations, and so, they were represented. As the time approached, there was no agreement on having the students speak either. SNCC was carrying on direct action protest activities. Roy Wilkins said that at times the SNCC students were upsetting all the good work that the NAACP had done.

He emphasized that the NAACP worked through the courts. There was real tension in the meetings of the Council of Civil Rights Leadership at the beginning of the discussions about the March. But, as a woman, I just kept saying that I did not see how we could leave our young people out. We needed them around the table.

To address the issue, the organizers gave a number of us prominent seats on the platform. We were seated. In all the March on Washington pictures, we're right there on the platform. There were several women who just refused to do anything. Some were so angry that they didn't really want to take part. The women represented a cross section of organizations, including labor, religion, and social welfare groups. What actually happened was so disappointing, because actually women were an active part of the whole effort. Indeed, women were the backbone of the movement. A look at the pictures gives the impression that we were intimately involved. [...]

Our white sisters find it hard to understand the positions we often take. It is characteristic of black women to put the race issue ahead of everything else, so that when we confront sexism, we are not an angry caucus. We fully supported the 1963 March on Washington because we felt it would strike a major blow against racism. However, it did not go down easily that the young people were only reluctantly admitted. I think the women began to say that "this March has to speak up for jobs and freedom," ironic aspects that may seem.

Essentially, the race issue, and not the gender issue, had won out again. In the end, like everyone else, we were thrilled by the success of the March.

Looking back on the March on Washington, most people remember Dr. King's great "I Have a Dream" speech. However, for many black women who were actively involved in the Civil Rights Movement, especially those in leadership positions, the blatantly insensitive treatment of black women leaders was a new awakening. We began to reflect upon the importance of black women in our community. They are the backbone of the churches. The evidence of their work can be seen everywhere. It made some of us sit up and think in new and different ways. We were forced to recognize that, traditionally, black women, through their unstinting support of race movements and their willingness to play frequently unquestioned subordinate roles, and to put the men out front, made it seem that this was acceptable. Little or no thought had been given to ourselves as women.

Source 2.4

Simien, E. M., & McGuire, D. L. (2014). A Tribute to the Women: Rewriting History, Retelling Herstory in Civil Rights. *Politics & Gender*, 10(3), 413 -431. Academic journal article.

In this excerpt, scholars Simien and McGuire discuss the marginalization of women in the national civil rights movement, specifically considering Rosa Parks' experiences.

Note: In-text citations were removed for ease of reading.

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This silencing of female leaders was not unusual, especially in national civil rights organizations like the NAACP or the SCLC. In Montgomery, Alabama, NAACP leaders did not invite Rosa Parks or Jo Ann Robinson, leader of the militant Women's Political Council who organized and launched the 1955 – 56 bus boycott, to the meeting where the Montgomery Improvement Association (MIA) was formed with Martin Luther King Jr. as its president. It was not until the first mass meeting at the Holt Street Baptist Church on December 5, 1955, that Robinson realized her leadership had been subverted by the male ministers and activists. "The men took it over," she said. They had "definitely decided to assume leadership." That did not stop Robinson from running things, however. Indeed, she was the chief strategist and negotiator for the boycott, and her living room served as the boycott's nerve center. In 1956, an oral historian from Fisk University recognized Robinson's crucial role. In his notes he wrote, "[T]he public recognizes King as the leader, but I wonder if Mrs. Robinson may be of equal importance."

Rosa Parks faced similar treatment. Despite the fact that she was, as historian J. Mills Thornton put it, "more actively involved in the struggle against racial discrimination, and more knowledgeable about efforts being made to eliminate it, than all but a tiny handful of the city's forty -five thousand black citizens," she did not speak at the boycott's first mass meeting. Just before she was presented to the standing -room-only crowd, she asked Reverend E.N. French if the ministers wanted her to speak. French told her that she "[had] said enough and you don't have to speak." Instead of lauding Rosa Parks' long history of activism and militancy —of her work defending the Scottsboro Boys in the 1930s, organizing to secure justice for rape survivors in the 1940s , or the voter registration workshops she and her husband hosted after World War II, she was presented to the audience as a silent but saintly victim of segregation. From that day forward, Rosa Parks's radicalism was all but erased as she became a simplistic symbol—a woman who, as one of her many eulogists put it in 2005, "sat down in order that we might stand up."

Source 2.5

Berry, D. R., & Gross, K. N. (2020). *A Black Women's History of the United States* .

In this book, Black women's experiences are central in telling a story of the United States. This excerpt provides additional information about the participation —and particular challenges and dangers —Black women faced in the struggle for civil rights.

*Note: To support reading, the interview text was excerpted and headers (in **bold/underlined**) were added.*

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Montgomery Bus Boycott

SHORTLY AFTER ROSA PARKS'S ARREST in Montgomery, on December 1, 1955, activists quickly followed with calls for action. Jo Ann Robinson, of the WPC, created a flyer that denounced the arrest and called for a boycott. She took it to the Albany State College campus where she worked and, with a colleague, stayed up all night to mimeograph thirty thousand copies. Moreover, the "WPC had planned distribution routes months earlier and, the next day, Robinson and two students delivered bundles of flyers to beauty parlors and schools, to factories and grocery stores, to taverns and barber shops." Fifty thousand African Americans, mostly masses of Black women, heeded the call to walk rather than ride, impelled by righteous indignation and guided by the tireless grassroots activism of Jo Ann Robinson and the WPC. Unlike Rosa Parks, these were not seasoned activists but everyday Black women who had endured physical assaults, loss of work and wages, and daily threats and harassment. The boycott, which lasted over a year, finally ended on December 20, 1956, after the Supreme Court ruled segregation unconstitutional in *Browder v. Gayle* .

The grueling victory was one that Black women had collectively achieved through the courage of their convictions, incredible sacrifice, and a level of selflessness rarely seen. Marnie Till, Aurelia Browder, and other women ever sought credit for their actions.

Perhaps they knew that getting the laws changed was just the beginning of the long journey to equality, since the end of the bus boycott did not end the dangers for Black women passengers. On December 28, 1956, Mrs. Rosa Jordan, a twenty-two-year-old Black laundress, was shot while riding a desegregated bus in Montgomery. Reportedly, though she was "shot in the legs ... by a sniper," Mrs. Jordan survived, however her left leg was shattered. Despite such deadly threats, Black women and girls continued to ride the buses and continued to press for change, often confronting both racism and sexism in the process.

For Rosa Parks, the costs of being the face of the boycott were also severe. She was fired from her job and contended with both unemployment and underemployment for the next decade. Threats of violence forced Rosa and her husband to move out of state, though even then they continued to receive death threats. At the end of her life, Rosa battled poor health and financial instability, but these challenges did not diminish her commitment to civil rights, and she remained active in social justice causes until her death, in 2005.

"Jane Crow"

Whether challenging segregation in education or in public spaces, Black women and Black girls were on the front lines where new laws were transformed into changed daily practices. But many were also beginning to combat gender disparities within their own communities. In the 1940s and 1950s Pauli Murray hotly criticized what she coined "Jane Crow," marking an early version of intersectional Black feminism. She was incensed by sexist ideas and practices at Howard University and within the civil rights

movement that sought to limit women's leadership and intellectual contributions, especially as Black women were increasingly leading desegregation efforts. Black leaders such as Ella Baker, a seasoned grassroots organizer going back to the 1930s, had fought to move Dr. King and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) away from hierarchical approaches. Baker and King rarely saw eye to eye as she pushed for more broad-based coalition building that empowered everyday Black women and men. In addition to helping coordinate nonviolent social protest activities with the SCLC, Baker helped create a space for young people to organize themselves. Convening young activists at Shaw University in [p.170] 1960, she effectively gave birth to the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC). For Baker, having young minds play a central, independent role in the movement was essential, because she felt they enlivened the struggle and were less likely to be weighted with "scars of battle, the frustrations and the disillusionment that come when the prophetic leader turns out to have heavy feet of clay."

Direct Action

Baker herself proved to be prophetic, because SNCC took grassroots organizing to a new level. SNCC members worked with local African Americans throughout the South and were committed to direct action. They fought for Black equality, which included exercising the right to vote. Ruby Doris Smith Robinson, a young Black woman, helped run SNCC's command center in Atlanta, which supported the organization's actions across the country. Black women in rural parts of the nation were equally engaged. Among the African American women who joined the organization were Unita Blackwell, born March 18, 1933, in Lula, Mississippi, and forty-four-year-old Fannie Lou Hamer, born in Montgomery County, Mississippi. Blackwell, who went from chopping cotton for three dollars a day in rural Mississippi to becoming a full-time civil rights organizer in SNCC, to later going on to become the first Black woman elected as a mayor in the state, in 1976, stands as a testament to Black women's ability to truly "specialize in the wholly impossible." 17 SNCC members brought vitality and a new kind of resolve to the movement.

Freedom Rides

When faced with the prospect of halting the Freedom Rides during the summer of 1961, after riders had been beaten and a bus set on fire in Anniston, Alabama, Diane Nash, a SNCC member, had strong objections. Freedom Rides, which involved Black and white activists attempting to use "whites only" bathrooms and water fountains in bus depots in the South after the Supreme Court ruled segregation in these areas unconstitutional, often ended in bloody clashes with local white racists. Diane recalled, "Some people said 'Well, why not let things cool off, and maybe, you know, try again in a few weeks or ... or a few months?' And that was really ... that would have been really a huge mistake because it's like metal. If the metal is hot, you can fashion it and shape it. Once it's cold, you can't shape it anymore." As she understood it, "We had to move at a critical time and we had to make certain that the Freedom Rides continued, especially since there had been a great deal of Violence." [...]

Black Women & *The Negro Family*

EVEN AS SHIRLEY CHISHOLM blazed a new path for Black women's political engagement, she and other Black women had to face the harmful vestiges of the report by assistant secretary of labor Daniel Patrick Moynihan on the status of Black families and what supposedly ailed them. *The Negro Family: The Case for National Action*, published in 1965, rather than homing in on systematic racism, suggested that Black matriarchies, or female-headed households, had contributed to a kind of Black urban pathology. The report concluded that not only were many of these women on welfare and thus deemed a drain on the state, but it also alleged that the women had failed to raise their children, particularly their sons, to be

productive members of society. This deficit was seen as contributing to a cycle of poverty and welfare dependency. Initially, prominent Black leaders and intellectuals condemned the report, but the notion that Black women were emasculating and the cause of Black dysfunction dovetailed with the current strain of Black Nationalist ideology and longstanding sexist attitudes within the Black community. In particular, it was believed that the liberation of Black people rested in the Black man being restored to his rightful place at the head of Black families and of Black social justice movements. African American women from every stratum, especially those active in civil rights and Black power, found themselves caught between wanting to support Black men and Black communities while at the same time carving out a space for their immense talents as leaders, strategists, protesters, and grassroots organizers.

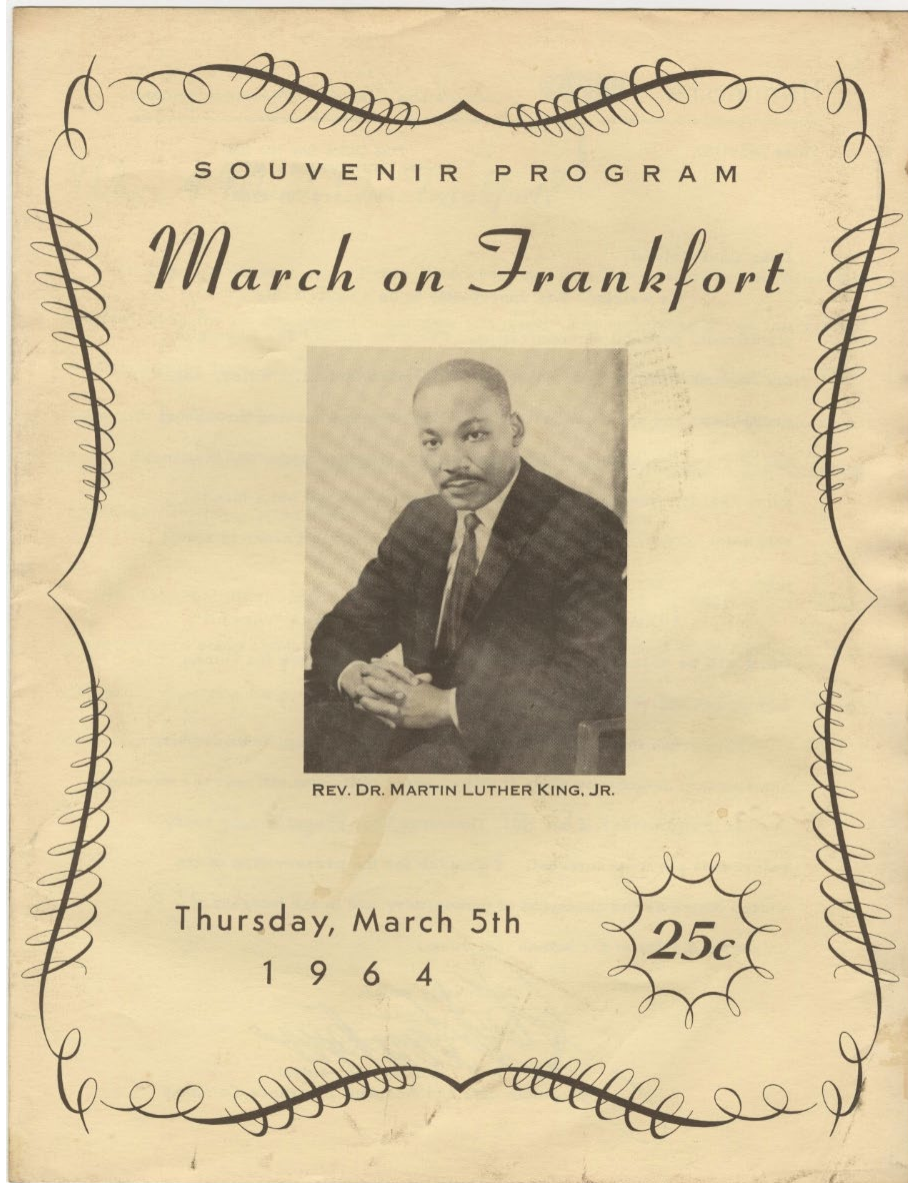
How Black women responded was neither simple nor uniform, though most opted to work within Black communities. Few could align themselves with white women's feminist activism of the 1960s, as it was so heavily based on middle-class white women's needs. In Black organizations, African American women forged their own versions of Black female liberation.

Supporting Question 3 Sources

Source 3.1

March on Frankfort, Souvenir Program, (March 5, 1964).

This source is the March on Frankfort's program, listing speakers and entertainment included for the event.



Pre-Program Entertainment from 10:30 a.m. to noon

Program

FREEDOM MARCH ON FRANKFORT
Thursday, March 5, 1964

FRANK STANLEY, JR., *Presiding*

THE STAR SPANGLED BANNER	Led By The Frankfort Choral Group <i>Under the Direction of Professor Carl Smith of Kentucky State College</i>
INVOCATION	The Rev. Allen J. Meier, Covington
STATEMENT OF PURPOSE	The Rev. W. J. Hodge, Louisville
ADDRESS	Mr. Jackie Robinson, Stamford, Connecticut
ADDRESS	The Rev. Ralph Abernathy, Atlanta, Georgia
ADDRESS	Mr. James Farmer, New York City
ADDRESS	The Rev. Wyatt T. Walker, Atlanta, Georgia
MUSICAL SELECTION	"The Battle Hymn of the Republic" <i>The Frankfort Choral Group</i>
ADDRESS	Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., Atlanta, Georgia <i>Introduction by Dr. D. E. King, Louisville, March Chairman</i>
ADDRESS	Bishop C. Gresham Marmion, Louisville
BENEDICTION	Rabbi Herbert S. Waller, Louisville

THE REV. ALLEN J. MEIER — Personal Representative of His Excellency, The Most Reverend Richard H. Ackerman, Bishop of the Covington Diocese of the Roman Catholic Church.
 THE REV. W. J. HODGE — Pastor of the Fifth Street Baptist Church of Louisville, Kentucky and President of the State of Kentucky N.A.A.C.P.
 MR. JACKIE ROBINSON — Internationally Famous Sports Figure and Businessman.
 MR. JAMES FARMER — National Executive Secretary of the Congress On Racial Equality.
 REV. WYATT T. WALKER — National Executive Secretary of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference.
 REV. DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR. — President of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference.
 THE REV. C. GRESHAM MARMION — Bishop of the Diocese of Kentucky of Episcopal Church.
 DR. HERBERT S. WALLER — Rabbi of Temple Adath Israel of Louisville, Kentucky.

What To Do After The March

- ★ *Write Your Legislator*
- ★ *Support A.O.C.R.*
- ★ *Contact Your Legislator*
- ★ *Talk About Public Accommodations*
- ★ *Call Your Legislator*
- ★ *Come Back To Frankfort*
- ★ *Visit Your Legislator*
- ★ *Work With A.O.C.R.*
- ★ *See Your Legislator*

Until A Good Public Accommodations Bill Is Passed In Kentucky

1915

“Mammoth Means Much More”

1964

PREPARATION *versus* **OPPORTUNITY**

The future belongs to those who are prepared.

We here at Mammoth Life have subscribed to the principles of helping to make the American dream a reality by giving financial and moral support to those who suffered most from the imperfections of our society.

Those who are marching for equal rights and privileges as citizens of these United States are making every sacrifice possible for the youth of TODAY and TOMORROW.

Prepare for the opportunities that await you. Education is a step in the right direction. This is a MUST!

Life insurance is the answer to financing a college education.

See A Mammoth Representative Today!
Don't Delay!

MAMMOTH 
Life and Accident Insurance Company

HOME OFFICE in the heart of downtown
Louisville, Ky.

Source 3.2

Onyekwuluje, A. B. (2010). Georgia Powers: An Unlikely Journey, The Proof She Was There. *Journal of African American Studies*. Academic journal article.

Georgia Davis Powers was the first Black and first female state senator in Kentucky. Previous to this role, she was central in the state's civil rights movement and planning the March on Frankfort. In this excerpt, sociologist Anne B. Onyekwuluje discusses some of the challenges Powers faced, as well as her motivations as a political leader.

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Powers became determined as a “Negro” woman to empower her mind and find her pathway to purpose. She had in mind to continue the fights of Kentucky women like Nannie Helen Burroughs (1879 –1961) and Laura Clay (1849 –1941). These two women, like Powers, had been involved in a common project to restore Kentucky’s democratic principles. By 1888, Laura Clay and other suffragists founded the Kentucky Equal Rights Association (KERA). In 1900, Nannie Burroughs, with other women, organized the Negro Outlook Committee. In 1903, Nannie Burroughs moved to Louisville and organized more than a million women from northern and southern states to participate in the Women’s Convention. The Convention’s goals were to fight for women’s right to vote and have equal economic opportunities irrespective of race. Powers, like the women before her, would encourage the government of Kentucky to set a different kind of base for equality for blacks and women —to leave behind decisions made because of ideology and politics. Powers has said she did not want her colleagues to ignore the evidence provided in history —the racism, sexism, and classism. She realized the years of equality in Kentucky had been short compared to the long years of slavery and Jim Crow in Kentucky. Powers was ready to stand face-to-face with the divisions, politics, policies, and traditions of the past that kept blacks and women subordinated —this was her feminist sociology.

Georgia Powers’ determination to be a local leader for the black race and for women in Kentucky started with her waging a war for a seat on the Democratic County Executive Committee. [...]

The attitude of the Kentucky Democratic Party and committee had absorbed society’s negative attitudes towards blacks and women. [...] Given the nature of the Kentucky Democratic Party as a party shaping culture and beliefs it is simply a fact Kentuckians were rarely in a position where a black woman would share her stories and information. Georgia Powers pried open the closed doors of a patriarchal political system in Kentucky, making it possible for women —especially self-made black women to exert power and influence in the Commonwealth. [...]

As a co-laborer Powers was determined too, to, do important things and work with men for civil rights. By taking this initiative —emulating men with authority Powers broke down barriers between men and women. After winning in 1967, in a general election for a Kentucky State Senate seat, Senator Georgia Powers assumed office during an era of vociferous conservatism (Kentucky’s traditional identity) and what was perceived as a tumultuous period of non-commitment to blacks and women. She recognized the absence of a legalized color line did not mean one did not exist in practice or in the minds of most Kentuckians.

Kentucky white men had regular connections and conversations with their wives, mothers, and sisters but not with a black woman like Powers. Having grown up with eight brothers and being second to the oldest; Powers, as described by her brothers —was strong, determined, and showed experience when interacting

with males on all matters, big and small. She knew the state government of Kentucky —ruled by white men was an important political system with the ability to empower counties, municipalities, townships, school districts, and special districts. [...]

In looking at this list one may imagine the complex agency and position of Powers in “male politics” as she fought to pass her bills during those years. Aware white men, as decision -makers, could easily turn the legislative clock back at will, Powers worked to help her constituents survive. She saw equality across race, class, and gender among workers as the mainspring of the economy. She demonstrated that belief in matters of gender equality when in 1980 she presented to the legislature Senate Bill (SB) 14 to amend KRS 337.420 to prohibit employers with one or more employees, rather than eight or more employees, from wage discrimination on the basis of sex. [...]

Feminist activist Suzy Post argues inclusiveness was not in place for Powers, a race factor existed: “I am not sure when she was elected [that] feminists embraced her because she was the first female senator. I think race would have gotten in the way of that happening.” Irrespectively, Powers’ eyes were opened to the costs of exclusion by white women and white and black patriarchy. She made the observation that “women she knew in the Kentucky Civil Rights Movement did all the strategizing and the black men then made the announcements.” Kentucky historian Blaine Hudson agrees: “Early on it would have been more males in the uplift days, and women were certainly organized but not in the forefront.” Not true for Powers, she was there in the forefront.

Source 3.3

Hall, W. H., Hall, W., & Kidd, M. S. (1997). *Passing for Black: The Life and Careers of Mae Street Kidd*.

Mae Street Kidd was a prominent Kentucky civil rights activist, who also served as a state House representative. In this excerpt, Kidd discusses rights issues that motivated her, and her work to have rights bills pass through the Kentucky legislature.

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First, I based my platform on the promise that I would always tell the truth to the voters. Then I began canvassing the legislative district in order to meet the voters. I wanted to involve as many people in my campaign as I could - from the very young to the very old. Even the children who were too young to vote were important to me. I told the voters that I would be representing everyone in my district in Frankfort, regardless of age or sex or color or anything else. [...]

I did, however, become a friend of Georgia Davis, the black woman from Louisville who was elected to the Senate the year I was elected to the House. Kentucky has never elected many blacks to public office, but we were not the first ones to go to Frankfort. There had been a few other blacks to serve in the Kentucky General Assembly. In fact, Charles W. Anderson Jr. was a black Louisville lawyer who was elected as a Republican House member in 1935.

I decided that since so many of the people in my district were low -income families, I would focus my energies on housing -open housing and low -cost housing. [...] I worked day and night to get the bill approved. When the bill passed, we cried tears of joy. It was a milestone in Kentucky history.

The open-housing bill simply provided that anyone could live anywhere he had the money to pay for it. Specifically, the bill prohibits discrimination by reason of race, color, religion, or national origin in the sale or rental of housing and gave the Human Rights Commission the power to enforce the law. Louisville already had an open -housing ordinance, but this bill took precedence and covered the entire state. It meant that whether you lived in Pikeville or Paducah, you could live where you wanted to -if you could afford to. Of course, that was the catch. The white man always has had the advantage over us blacks because he has the money. If you don't have money, you can't do certain things the law allows. You can't live in good housing. You can't have decent food and clothing. Segregation by economics is still with us, but at least now the law is on the side of equal justice.

Throughout my legislative career, I never considered myself a representative who did special favors for black people. I didn't consider myself their representative. Everything I did was for the good of all people - black, green, gray, or white. I didn't go to Frankfort hollering, "Do this for me because I'm black." I never used race as a justification for any bill or project I supported. I was in Frankfort for all the people of my district and for all the people of Kentucky. I wanted to help all the people, and I did. I wish I could be put down in history as a representative who tried to help more people than anybody before me. If I felt a special obligation to anyone, however, it was to the low -income people of all races and colors. Mr. Powell wrote in this article on March 11, 1970: "She is not just a Negro woman fighting for a cause; she is well - rounded in her attention to bills for all the public." [...]

Another bill that I promoted was House Bill 137, which provided for a statewide program for the prevention, screening, diagnosis, and treatment of lead poisoning, which was passed at the following legislative session and signed into law by our new governor, a Democrat, Wendell Ford. I got interested in

this issue because so many of the families in my district live in old houses with leaded paint peeling off the walls and floors. Children were putting the poisonous paint in their mouths and getting sick. My big project during the 1970 legislative session, however, was a bill to create a Kentucky housing corporation to provide mortgage loans for low -income people. When I introduced the bill, Governor Nunn was against it. But I was able to convince enough legislators to support it and it passed. It's not easy to get a bill passed, especially a controversial one that plows new ground. You've got to convince a lot of people to vote for it. Some of the legislators said, "If we don't vote for her bill, Mrs. Kidd will choke us with our neckties." I didn't exactly say that, but I didn't care what they said I said as long as they voted for the bill.

It was a controversial bill, and I knew I had to have 51 votes to pass it. One of the most vocal opponents was a clothing store owner from the mountains named Dawahare. He got up eight or nine times to attack the bill, and finally the Speaker of the House said, "Mr. Dawahare, you cannot speak again. You have used up all your time. We know where you stand." After one of his attacks on the bill, I got up and said, "I feel sorry for this gentlemen. What would he do if early one morning he was shaving and looking at himself in the mirror and suddenly, before his own eyes, he turned black? Would he cut his throat or just jump in the river? I feel sorry for the gentleman that he should live in such fear of black people." I was very nervous as we approached the final vote on the bill. I had told the Speaker that I wanted him to lock the voting machine as soon as I got 51 votes so that nobody could change his vote. It was finally passed by both houses and in 1972 Governor Ford signed it. In 1974 I introduced a bill to make the Kentucky Housing Corporation more flexible, and we passed it too.

Source 3.4

Greenwell, A. T. (2013). "I Never Felt Any Cold Feet" How Age, Gender, and Family Background Shaped the Sit -In Movement in Henderson, Kentucky. *Souls*, 15(1-2), 110-132.

In Henderson, Kentucky, a northwestern town in Kentucky, students staged their own sit -ins in solidarity with other sit -in movements around the country. In this excerpt from an academic journal article, the author describes the sit -ins context, as well as the female students' participation. Additional excerpts from this article about class/economic factors of participation are included in Source 4.1.

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With the news of sit -in activity popping up in and around their state, Henderson natives were well aware of direct action's potential effects. They were not content to see change occur all around them without being involved in shaping their future. [...]

At the start of the twentieth century blacks comprised nearly 40 percent of Henderson's population. Due to such a large proportion, whites could not avoid all contact with blacks. Still, whites used the legal system to keep the races separate. Documents from a 1913 mortgage agreement prohibited the new owner from selling to a person of color. Another Henderson housing document was even more specific: "No sale shall be made to a colored person for 99 years or any residence erected on any of said leased or occupied by a colored person, other than for strictly servants or of the person occupying or owning said residence." These legal documents strictly controlled ownership and movement of bodies within certain spaces. All were designed to maintain a racial hierarchy where whites were on top and blacks were at the bottom of the economic and social ladder. [...]

The *Journal* and *Courier* photo that accompanied its article featured nearly all women, the two young black female participants, their mothers who came to pick them up and the white male police chief. The caption read: "Henderson police chief Aubrey Williams gives instructions to parents of Negro teenagers arrested Saturday when they staged a sit -in demonstration at Ruby's Restaurant." The fact that two of the five protestors were female complicates the iconic, yet gendered Greensboro photo with four black male college students seated at an unwelcoming lunch counter. Repeated news accounts reinforce the stereotype that the typical participant was male and college -aged. Though males played a major role in Henderson sit -ins, females did as well. And in the 1963 case all were high school students or about to enter high school. Scholars have acknowledged that black women of all ages have played a major role in organizing and protesting unfair treatment during the civil rights movement. Females were organizing and protesting in Henderson as well. [...]

Judy Winters, 14; -- *I never felt any cold feet. At 14 years old, I should have had all kinds of butterflies. I wanted to do it. I don't think I was afraid at all. I knew that the adults had our backs. I was angry because I knew what was going on in the restaurants downtown and I said to myself, "we are trying to spend our money and these people are telling us we cannot sit down." We had to use the back door. We couldn't just sit down to eat a sandwich.*

[...] Although women were part of the Henderson sit -in movement, it does not appear they were equal at least in the eyes of male participants. Both Michael Jackson and Anthony Brooks said women were there but not as "out front," perhaps "because they feared the possibility of violence." To this author their explanations seemed to center on men's fears on behalf of the women. Interestingly, when asked about

the percentage of women participants, Brooks said they numbered about half —a proportion that does not indicate fear on the young women's parts. Equally interesting was the fact that he could not remember many of the young women's names, though he could remember several of the men's names.

Optional: Source 3.5

Advertisement for March on Frankfort, *Lexington Herald*. (March 4, 1964).

This source is an image of a newspaper advertisement for the March on Frankfort, the day before the event.

24 The Lexington Herald, Wednesday, March 4, 1964

YOU MISSED this ONE!



Washington, D.C.

But you should not fail to march on Frankfort
It is not too late to participate

Freedom March On Frankfort, Tomorrow, Thursday, March 5th.

Speakers: Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. • Jackie Robinson • Rev. Ralph Abernathy • Rev. Wyatt T. Walker • James Farmer • Rev. Allen J. Meier Covington Diocese of the Roman Catholic Church • **Rabbi Herbert S. Walker,** President Louisville Board of Education
• **Bishop C. Gresham Marmion,** Episcopal Bishop of Kentucky • **Peter, Paul and Mary** • **Mahlia Jackson**

Organize a Car Load, Bus Load or Join One! No American who Believes in Freedom Can Afford to Miss the March on Frankfort.

Instructions for MARCH On FRANKFORT, March 5th.

1. Time of arrival for March: 10 a.m. March 5th.
2. Any police officer will give directions to assembly point. Every vehicle should have some mark of identification: bumper sticker, sign, badge, etc.
3. Every vehicle captain should be identified and have a list of the people in his vehicle.
4. Assembly point: 2nd Street and Capitol Ave.
5. Parking will be available on streets adjacent to, and which intersect 2nd Street. Police officers will be available to direct you.
6. Wear comfortable clothing and shoes.
7. Concession places will be stationed along the parade route for food and refreshments.
8. Hospital and emergency facilities are available one- and one-half blocks from the parade route.
9. Song to be sung: "We Shall Overcome."
10. This March is to be entered into ONLY in a religious spirit of non-violence. Arms or alcohol will NOT be tolerated. If you cannot attend in this frame of mind, you are NOT welcome.
11. All individuals are to remain in their groups throughout the entire day.
12. The march will proceed up Capitol Avenue to the Capitol Building.
13. When the program is completed, the March will proceed back to the Assembly Point on 2nd and Capitol Avenue, at which time persons will systematically get back into their cars and buses and be routed back out of town.
14. REREAD NUMBER 10 ABOVE.

It will cost less than 50¢ to jump over to Frankfort in your car. • Box lunches will be available for everyone • The March is only 4½ blocks • There will be courtesy cars available to give rides to any senior citizen who cannot walk in the March.

Map by Bob Ramsey, Louisville Courier Journal.

THIS MAP is a guide to Thursday's civil rights march on Frankfort. Car and bus parking areas, the parade-forming area, and St. Mary's Hospital are shown. The parade will form at Second at Capitol and move up Capitol Avenue to the Capitol.

This advertisement sponsored by friends of the

ALLIED ORGANIZATIONS FOR CIVIL RIGHTS IN KENTUCKY

301 West Main Street, Suite 108 Louisville, Kentucky 40202 Telephone 585-4387

Optional: Source 3.6

Herbers, J. (March 6, 1964). 10,000 March for Rights in Kentucky's Capital. *The New York Times* .

This article from the New York Times describes the March in Frankfort. Though women are featured in the article's accompanying picture, no women organizers or participants are identified in the article text.

10,000 March for Rights in Kentucky's Capital: Dr. King and Jackie ...

By JOHN HERBERS Special to The New York Times
New York Times (1923-); Mar 6, 1964; ProQuest Historical Newspapers: The New York Times
 pg. 27

10,000 March for Rights in Kentucky's Capital

**Dr. King and Jackie Robinson
 Address Rally in Drive for
 Equality Legislation**

By JOHN HERBERS
 Special to The New York Times

FRANKFORT, Ky., March 5 —Ten thousand persons from throughout Kentucky marched on Frankfort today.

Despite a cold drizzle and blustery winds, they stood for three hours before the state Capitol and asked passage of a bill that would fully remove racial barriers in public accommodations.

The marchers came from all over—the coal mines of Appalachia and the plantations of western Kentucky. It was said to be the largest civil rights assemblage since the March on Washington last Aug. 28.

It was also an orderly demonstration, under substantial police protection. The marchers seemed moved by a sense of unity and purpose.

The Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., the Southern Integration leader, told them that Negroes must continue to press for equal rights at the risk of being called immoderate.

Says 'Time Is Now'

"If moderation means slowing up in our fight," he said, "then moderation is a tragic vice which members of our race must condemn. The time is now to make real the promises of democracy."

Gov. Edward T. Breathitt, who remained in his office during the demonstration, said afterward he would continue to support a public accommodations bill that was much milder than the one sought by the civil rights organizations.

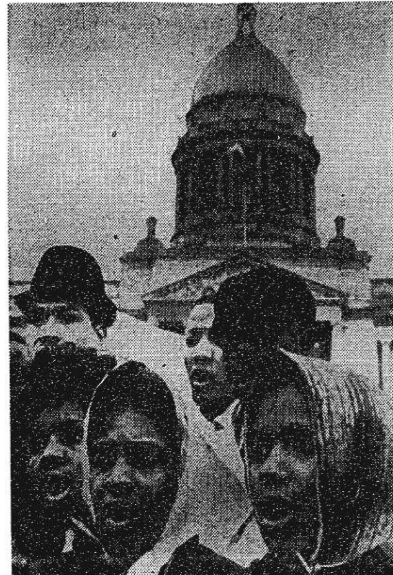
Frank L. Stanley Sr. of Louisville, chairman of the Allied Organizations for Civil Rights, which sponsored the march, told the Governor the milder bill "would in effect be legalizing Jim Crow by selected businesses, an onus which we would not want to see Kentucky place on itself and have to bear under your administration."

Frankfort is a city of 11,800, sitting amid bare limestone hills, 50 miles east of Louisville. The muddy Kentucky River is a few hundred feet from the imposing Capitol overlooking the city.

240 Policemen on Hand

The marchers began assembling five blocks from the Capitol at 10 A.M. By 11:30 they had begun to move up Capital Avenue, a broad boulevard that leads from the business district to the Capitol.

Two hundred and forty state and local policemen lined the route. The marchers, 20 abreast, chanted and sang as they moved along. The estimate of 10,000



Associated Press Wirephoto
 Demonstrators chanting yesterday near the state Capitol

was made by the state police.

About 10 per cent of the marchers were white — ministers, students and housewives in fur coats. Some signs read:

"University of Louisville for Freedom Now," "National Council of Jewish Women Marches for Freedom," "We Will March Outside Until We March Inside with Dignity."

Dr. King arrived by private plane from Louisville and led the procession to a platform on the Capitol lawn. A few hundred spectators, mostly Negroes, gathered on the sidewalk.

Jackie Robinson, the former baseball star, told the crowd that no Negro would be free until "the last Negro in the Deep South has it made."

After the rally Dr. King conferred with Governor Breathitt in the latter's office. They

emerged later and posed for pictures, warmly shaking hands.

Compared with other Southern states, Kentucky has made much progress toward racial integration in public facilities and private businesses. Negroes, constituting 7.2 per cent of the state's population, number 216,000, of whom 70,000 live in Louisville.

Legislators, however, were not caught up in the spirit of the day. There was strong opposition to the bill sought by the civil rights groups. Several legislators said the march had done nothing to improve its chances.

The bill was drawn by the State Human Rights Commission, an official agency. It would make it illegal for almost any business, including boarding houses, to turn away people because of racial reasons.

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Supporting Question 4 Sources

Source 4.1

Greenwell, A. T. (2013). "I Never Felt Any Cold Feet" How Age, Gender, and Family Background Shaped the Sit -In Movement in Henderson, Kentucky. *Souls*, 15(1-2), 110-132.

In Henderson, Kentucky, a northwestern town in Kentucky, students staged their own sit -ins in solidarity with other sit -in movements around the country. In this excerpt from an academic journal article, the author describes the class/economic factors that may have impacted participation. Additional excerpts from this article about the participants are included in Source 3.4.

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An examination of these parents' jobs shows most did not have to depend on whites for their incomes. Conversely, parents whose livelihoods depended on whites feared their child's participation would bring reprisals. Participants' experiences expand our knowledge of how the sit -in movement operated in small towns bordering northern and southern regions of the United States.[...]

Black businesses were not an anomaly in Henderson during the early years of Reconstruction. This history would also prove important to the sit -in movement more than a century later. [...]

Using newspaper articles to confirm his recollections, I was able to reconstruct the mood and actions of a hot summer Saturday in 1963 when five teenagers staged a sit -in at Ruby's Restaurant in downtown Henderson. In addition to race, gender, age and education, the family's economic background was a key factor in shaping the identity of protestors and enabling them to participate. Several participants' parents owned their own businesses or worked for black -run institutions, allowing the teens more social and political mobility. [...]

Retribution was always a possibility. Judy Watkins' father was well respected and owned a barbershop. She explained that shortly after she participated in the sit -in, one night white men on motorcycles tried unsuccessfully to run over her father.

Retaliation from whites was not the only worry. Sit -in participants also faced backlash from their own community. As the authors of *Encounters of Unjust Authority* assert, people do not necessarily choose the legitimating frame of segregation over the injustice frame of civil disobedience. Sometimes they alternate between the two frames, depending on the day, time and circumstances. Threats to their livelihood were a major deterrent to resisting the status quo. The average black person did not want anything to do with the sit-in movement and was openly critical, according to Jackson: "They'd say, 'You're wrong. You shouldn't be doing that stuff. Why are you always trying to perpetuate those things that when left alone will take care of themselves?'"

Teens were less vulnerable to retribution because they did not have jobs yet. They did not have to worry about getting fired if they participated. To be sure, some parents feared retribution because of their children's involvement. [...] Jack M. Bloom argues that the politics of race and "middle class" were mutually influential and beneficial to sustaining the civil rights movement. He posits that without middle -class blacks whose jobs did not depend on whites —sit-ins and other civil disobedience acts would not have succeeded. This class tension further splintered the black community since the majority of blacks came from low -income households.⁵³ Tension surrounding class is not unusual in any group. Low -income black

families in Henderson might have looked at their middle -income, protesting counterparts with envy, only to be reminded of the stark income differences. Parents whose jobs depended on the largesse of the white community could not afford to risk their liveli hoods because of direct action. Most of the Henderson sit -in protestors' families examined here did not have that burden. As mentioned, Judy Watkins' father owned a barbershop that had white and black patrons in downtown Henderson. Her mother was a stay -at-home parent until Judy and her older sister attended high school. [...]

Bloom's argument that middle -class status was crucial to the success of sit -in movements is reflected in the Henderson case. In many ways, these families had more latitude to protest than others. Their incomes would continue even if their children were arr ested and thrust in the limelight. Although being an entrepreneur was not devoid of challenges, it provided a level of freedom of action and thought that blacks working in white -controlled jobs could not contemplate. These freedoms may also have produced e ough confidence and consciousness in middle -class parents to offer approval and even encouragement to their children. Families of Henderson teen protestors who were not already middle class in income often were middle class in attitude and aspirations, ac cording to Brooks. Judy Watkins explained that her family was the first black family to purchase a television. Although she said "there were kids from single -parent households and kids who lived in the projects," families with only one provider were less likely to offer approval. Bloom's theory that middle -class status was the major driver of the civil rights movement held true for a majority of the Henderson protestors, but not for everyone.

Source 4.2

Fosl, C. (2009). **Freedom on the Border: An Oral History of the Civil Rights Movement in Kentucky.**

In this source, historian Catherine Fosl provides context around how socio-economic status and other economic factors impacted the Civil Rights Movement in Kentucky. The portions in italics are quotes from oral histories with various Kentuckians. (While most oral histories are with Black Kentuckians, an excerpt from Anne Braden is included below, who was a well-known white woman civil rights activist from Louisville.)

Used with permission.

One vital area of the Kentucky economy that was almost completely closed to blacks was industrial employment. As industry spread across the state, white owners and workers cooperated to keep African Americans out. [...]

Similarly, blacks were pivotal but limited in Kentucky's coal industry. to a great extent they were recruited by owners who hoped to keep the workforce divided and thus docile. As the mines mechanized, the tobacco pattern repeated itself, with blacks being forced into unskilled positions, kept out of supervisory roles, and eventually pushed out altogether as machines lessened the need for labor. As a result, while . percent of miners were black in 100, the proportion dropped to 1. in 10, to 10 percent in 10 , and it continued to decline. By the World War II era, when industry boomed in the state, a survey by the urban league showed employers even in the commonwealth's largest city still resistant to the idea of hiring blacks in industry above the level of custodial or menial labor.

As was the case with other elements of Jim Crow, the first efforts to fight for economic opportunity came from individuals. African Americans demanded equal treatment from their white employers and fought their way into jobs and up economic ladders through perseverance and hard work. occasionally, they would meet a sympathetic employer who would see the value of economic opportunity and make a change. But more often, it took organized action by civil rights organizations, unions, or ad hoc coalitions to push doors open. the roots of the modern campaign for equal economic opportunity were in the post – World War II era. At that time the economy was expanding and blacks wanted a bigger piece of the pie. linking wartime rhetoric against fascism to American racism , civil rights advocates focused on jobs for returning veterans. [...]

Beginning in 1964, Lyndon Johnson's War on Poverty gave new energy to civil rights activists to campaign for better jobs. though not specifically a civil rights program, nor aimed solely at African Americans, the War on Poverty was closely related to the struggle against economic inequality. The civil rights movement had drawn the nation's attention to the persistent problem of poverty. The language of community empowerment that was so integral to the rising black power movement now informed the ideology of the fight against poverty. And more specifically, many of the people and organizations that led the War on Poverty programs had their roots in the civil rights movement. The story of War on Poverty organizing in Kentucky, then, sheds light on how communities went beyond the more limited goal of guaranteeing job opportunity to tackle the intractable, systemic problems of poverty. [...]

Recalling the fight for equal economic opportunity, Kentuckians tell stories of individual as well as collective struggles here, connecting 1960s -era employment activism to campaigns against poverty, and to battles still ongoing.

The mines hadn't gotten fully mechanized at the time, they were just about to revert from "a strong back and a weak mind" to machinery. The mine we went to, it was fully mechanized. As time moved on and the mechanization increased in the coalfield, well, that pushed the black man back further, finally pushed him just about all the way out. When I first went into the mine, I went into a mule mine, where I didn't stay but two weeks. The only white man you saw underground was the mine foreman, the entry foreman, and the man that rode the rope that's pulling the coal. All the rest of them under there were black men. You didn't see no more [white men] because they didn't want that kind of work.

—David Pettie, Earlington

My father grew up during the depression and he was thought by some people to be highly intelligent. He basically as a young man made his own money. . . . He joined the labor union movement. It was sort of a radical movement in the late '40s and the early '50s. When International Harvester came, they actually were probably the first persons and this is really in the South —to effectively implement integration. The [union leaders] convinced the white workers here in Louisville not to accept a higher wage than the black workers. The argument that they had was that the bosses were dividing them and that they had what they called the southern differential, which was that they paid workers in the North greater than they paid workers in the South.

—Sterling Neal Jr., Louisville

They had this line, the FE [Harvester union] did, that black and white workers had to unite because that's the only way they could win. This was in the interest of white workers just like it was to the black workers. They preached it all the time. They really did, the organizers that would come. So they created a different atmosphere in that union hall . . . where if you were white and you came in there, you were accepted if you weren't biased. That was the atmosphere. That was what you were supposed to do. Whereas out in the street, out in the world, out in the white world, you were accepted if you were antiblack. It makes all the difference in the world in the way people behave. So what the FE organizers preached constantly was the self interest of the white workers, that we had to have black/white unity. They always bragged that the International Harvester plant had the highest wages in the South. They said the reason they had it was we wouldn't let them divide us by race. That's what has kept us down and all that. So it was in the self-interest of the white workers.

I remember vividly one night some black worker had been fired for no good reason. So they were going to walk out the next day for that department to support him. I remember this white guy got up and said, "This just isn't fair. We're not going to put up with it." He didn't talk about this isn't in my self-interest. It's not fair. Which has led me to believe —I think it is in the self-interest of white workers —but I [p.166] don't think it's the only appeal. I think there's a sense of fairness in people if you can appeal to it. Organized labor knows inherently that if you're going to be strong you got to be fair. That you're not going to have a strong union if there's favoritism for this person or favoritism for that. That destroys you. It's a sense of fairness but also this is a way we can fight.

—Anne Braden, Louisville

The main issue as I see it is economics. The black community is suffering. It really is like colonialism is taking place here. They suck the blood from the black community. The black community suffers because there is no economic development in the black community that's worth anything and the few jobs that come up, the city jobs and the other jobs, there's discrimination. . . . I think the little people are the people that we need to be fighting for and to fight for jobs and job opportunity and for businesses and minority contracts and sub -contracts and all, I'm in for that.

—Joseph McMillan, Louisville

Appendix

Directions: Copy and paste select sources into the scaffold of choice.

Scaffold 1

Use this scaffold if you intend on substantively modifying the text. By including the original and modified side-by-side, students are able to digest information in a more student-friendly way, but also compare it to the original. This approach maintains the rigor and authenticity of the source analysis, as well as help students comprehend difficult text.

ORIGINAL	MODIFIED
[text]	[text]

Scaffold 2

Use this scaffold if you want students to conduct a close reading and/or want to analyze particular portions of the text.

MODIFIED, Numbered Lines	
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