The Dream — Then and Now

■ Research Activity: Women Who Led Behind the Men

■ Student Activity: August 28, 1963

■ Think Like a Reporter: Use Primary Sources — March on Washington

■ Student Activity: Figure the Economic Gap

■ Student Activity: 14th Street Revival

■ Map Resource: “14th Street extreme makeover”
When A. Philip Randolph called for a March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom, leaders of black organizations, labor unions and religious denominations eventually came together. In August 1963, more than 250,000 Americans, black and white, young and old, leaders and workers, gathered on the Mall, exercising their First Amendment rights to secure rights for all. When the largest mass demonstration in U.S. history concluded with ten demands and pledges by those who gathered to fight for them, a turning point in the struggle for civil rights took place.

Student activities suggested in this guide focus on the program that was held at the Lincoln Memorial and the role of women in the civil rights movement. The Think Like a Reporter activity leads students through many types of primary sources to get a more accurate and full story of the August 28 program. It re-enforces newsgathering, synthesis and analytic skills. Reading graphs and contrasting data to get the economic pictures, then and now, are based upon Washington Post informational graphics and reliable sources.

The last resource in this guide takes students on a stroll along 14th Street in D.C. Then. On the evening of April 4, 1968, crowds gathered at 14th and U streets as word of the assassination of Martin Luther King, Jr., spread. Subdued at first, the gathering grew in size and anger. Looting, fires and deaths took place over five days. Economic recovery took years, some not until the Metro stations at U Street and Columbia Heights opened, others not until more recently. Now. What are the aspirations of 14th Street?
Women Who Led Behind the Men

Think back to the 1950s and 1960s. The accepted role of women in society was to stay at home, raise children, and work in the church but not serve as leaders. For black women, who often worked in the homes of white families, this role of working but being hidden carried into the civil rights movement.

This was even true when it came to the program for the March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom in 1963. It took a protest to get a “Tribute to Negro Women Fighters for Freedom” added. As The Washington Post’s Krissah Thompson wrote, “Female activists, many of whom had risked their lives alongside men, were assigned to walk with the wives of civil rights leaders on that day.”

In her article, “The sisters were almost forgotten,” Thompson quotes Martin Luther King, Jr.’s daughter Bernice King: “We must ensure that the story of women in the movement is told and the record is accurate.”

This is your assignment. Select one of the women listed below. Research her story — the situation and conditions that existed, her organization and focus, participation and involvement in the struggle for equality, and the impact of her actions. You are to use three or more reliable sources. When possible, read what she had to say about her reasons for making a stand and acting on her beliefs.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Maya Angelou</th>
<th>Myrlie Evers</th>
<th>Anne Moody</th>
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<tr>
<td>Joan Baez</td>
<td>Fannie Lou Hamer</td>
<td>Pauli Murray</td>
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<td>Ella Baker</td>
<td>Patricia Roberts Harris</td>
<td>Diane Nash</td>
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<td>Josephine Baker</td>
<td>Anna Arnold Hedgeman</td>
<td>Eleanor Holmes Norton</td>
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<td>Daisy Bates</td>
<td>Dorothy Height</td>
<td>Rosa Parks</td>
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<td>Anne Braden</td>
<td>Lena Horne</td>
<td>Gloria Richardson</td>
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<td>Mary Fair Burks</td>
<td>Zilphia Horton</td>
<td>Bernice Robinson</td>
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<td>Septima Poinsette Clark</td>
<td>Mahalia Jackson</td>
<td>JoAnn Robinson</td>
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<td>Thelma Daley</td>
<td>Barbara Rose Johns</td>
<td>Eleanor Roosevelt</td>
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<td>Doris Derby</td>
<td>Coretta Scott King</td>
<td>Modjeska Monteith Simkins</td>
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<td>Marian Wright Edelman</td>
<td>Mrs. Herbert Lee</td>
<td>Ruth Turner</td>
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The official program of the events scheduled at the Lincoln Memorial had been planned in two months. Bayard Rustin, a trusted associate of A. Philip Randolph, was in charge of details and organization of the March on Washington. He worked with a core staff of 200 volunteers who organized the largest peaceful demonstration in U.S. history.

**MARCH ON WASHINGTON FOR JOBS AND FREEDOM**

**AUGUST 28, 1963**

**LINCOLN MEMORIAL PROGRAM**

1. The National Anthem  
   Led by Marian Anderson.

2. Invocation  

3. Opening Remarks  
   A Philip Randolph, Director March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom.

4. Remarks  
   Dr. Eugene Carson Blake, Stated Clerk, United Presbyterian Church of the U.S.A.; Vice Chairman, Commission on Race Relations of the National Council of Churches of Christ in America.

5. Tribute to Negro Women Fighters for Freedom  
   Daisy Bates  
   Diane Nash Bevel  
   Mrs. Medgar Evers  
   Mrs. Herbert Lee  
   Rosa Parks  
   Gloria Richardson  
   Mrs. Medgar Evers

6. Remarks  
   John Lewis, National Chairman, Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee.

7. Remarks  
   Walter Reuther, President, United Automobile, Aerospace and Agricultural Implement Workers of America, AFL-CIO; Chairman, Industrial Union Department, AFL-CIO.

8. Remarks  
   James Farmer, National Director, Congress of Racial Equality.

9. Selection  
   Eva Jessye Choir

10. Prayer  
    Rabbi Uri Miller, President Synagogue Council of America.

11. Remarks  
    Whitney M. Young, Jr., Executive Director, National Urban League.

12. Remarks  
    Mathew Ahmann, Executive Director, National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice.

13. Remarks  
    Roy Wilkins, Executive Secretary, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

14. Selection  
    Miss Mahalia Jackson

15. Remarks  
    Rabbi Joachim Prinz, President American Jewish Congress.

16. Remarks  
    The Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., President, Southern Christian Leadership Conference.

17. The Pledge  
    A Philip Randolph

18. Benediction  
    Dr. Benjamin E. Mays, President, Morehouse College.

“WE SHALL OVERCOME”
1. These individuals were active in the civil rights movement. Do more reading to learn their stories and the role that individuals and organizations played in achieving their aspirations.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name</th>
<th>Image</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Marian Anderson, vocalist, broke barriers for African American performers.</td>
<td><img src="image1.png" alt="Marian Anderson" /></td>
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<tr>
<td>John Lewis, National Chair, Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC)</td>
<td><img src="image2.png" alt="John Lewis" /></td>
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<td>Mrs. Medger Evers, widow and author, sought justice for her husband’s murder.</td>
<td><img src="image3.png" alt="Mrs. Medger Evers" /></td>
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<tr>
<td>Mahalia Jackson, gospel singer, had an international audience.</td>
<td><img src="image4.png" alt="Mahalia Jackson" /></td>
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<td>A. Philip Randolph, Director, March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom; president, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters; president, Negro American Labor Council; vice president, AFL-CIO</td>
<td><img src="image5.png" alt="A. Philip Randolph" /></td>
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<tr>
<td>Roy Wilkins, Executive Secretary, National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP)</td>
<td><img src="image6.png" alt="Roy Wilkins" /></td>
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<tr>
<td>Whitney M. Young, Jr., Executive Director, National Urban League</td>
<td><img src="image7.png" alt="Whitney M. Young, Jr." /></td>
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<td>James Farmer, National Director, Conference of Racial Equality (CORE)</td>
<td><img src="image8.png" alt="James Farmer" /></td>
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<tr>
<td>Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., President, Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC)</td>
<td><img src="image9.png" alt="Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr." /></td>
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<tr>
<td>Bayard Rustin, strategist and organizing genius</td>
<td><img src="image10.png" alt="Bayard Rustin" /></td>
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2. What is the significance of the other individuals who were on the program — The Very Rev. Patrick O’Boyle, Dr. Eugene Carson Blake, Walter Reuther, Rabbi Uri Miller, Mathew Ahmann, Rabbi Joachim Prinz and Dr. Benjamin E. Mays?

3. At the end of the day, the “Top Ten” leaders of the march met with President John F. Kennedy at the White House. They discussed the day’s events and the proposed civil rights legislation. What events would take place before passage of the comprehensive bill on July 2, 1964.

**RESOURCES**

http://civilrights.jfklibrary.org/Chapter-Read-More/The-Civil-Rights-Bill.aspx;
Use Primary Sources — March on Washington

How do you know what really happened? If a friend is sharing an experience, you assume that she is relating what really happened — or you know when he is embellishing the story. If you are eyewitness to a fight, can you relate the events that took place in chronological order — or was your line of vision limited?

When reporters and historians write of events, what do they use for their sources? Were they eyewitnesses? Who is a reliable source of information? What documents and data support the news? This activity gives you experience in using primary and reliable sources. We begin with the official program for the August 28, 1963, Lincoln Memorial program.

USING PRIMARY SOURCES

Documents

Official documents are essential research tools. These include deeds, records of sales, concert programs and inserts to programs, police records and election results.


Official Program for the March on Washington (1963)

Read the official program for the speakers and others who were scheduled for the end-of-day event.

1. You are to write the first paragraph of a news story about the program that took place at the end of the March on Washington. What essential information is provided in the program?
   Who:
   What:
   Where:
   When:
   Why:
   How:

2. As you begin to draft your paragraph, remember you are to use only the information you can gain from the official program. Write the lede of a news story.
USING PRIMARY SOURCES

Recordings of the March on Washington, August 28, 1963

Before the invention of cameras and voice recorders, artists captured events in block prints, pen and ink drawings, oil paintings and other media. If reporters were not eyewitnesses, they interviewed those who were there as observers or participants, they read official reports and added historic perspective.


March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom — 1963 Broadcast and Schedule

From The Educational Radio Network (ERN)
The Educational Radio Network, a precursor to NPR, began its 15-hour broadcast at 9:00 a.m. WGBH retained the original broadcast materials and made them available unedited on August 28, 2013. Go to this site (for the broadcast schedule) and to the WGBH Open Vault for available audio.


March on Washington — Presidential Recordings Program

Listen to the recordings of the Lincoln Memorial program.

1. Do they substantiate the details of the printed official program?

2. What “sound bites” and ambient sound add to your understanding of the day?

3. Do you hear any changes from the official printed program?

4. Why is it important for reporters and historians to use video and audio recordings to report on events?
USING PRIMARY SOURCES

Speeches

Printed advance copies and taped live speeches are valid primary sources. A comparison and contrast of one speaker’s speech may give insight into forces placed upon the speaker or how the spirit of the event and response of the audience can change wording.

John Lewis

   John Lewis, 23, was the youngest speaker at the Lincoln Memorial. Leader of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, Lewis gained attention because of his planned use of “revolution” and “masses.” The text of his speech is provided by the NEH project Democracy, The U.S. Oratory Project. Textual authentication is provided.

   50 Years After March on Washington, John Lewis Still Fights
   John Lewis is interviewed about the draft of his August 28, 1963, speech and the decision to edit it.

3. [http://lightbox.time.com/2013/01/29/this-is-the-day-the-1963-march-on-washington/#1](http://lightbox.time.com/2013/01/29/this-is-the-day-the-1963-march-on-washington/#1)
   Out There, Tuesday, January 29, 2013, “This is the Day: The 1963 March on Washington
   Julian Bond, chairman emeritus of the NAACP and American University professor, recalls the March on Washington, when he was SNCC’s communications director, and pressure was placed on John Lewis to edit his speech.

Martin Luther King, Jr.

   Draft of I Have a Dream, text
   The King Center provides the five-page draft of the speech Martin Luther King, Jr., planned to present on August 28.

2. [http://www.thekingcenter.org/archive/document/i-have-dream-3](http://www.thekingcenter.org/archive/document/i-have-dream-3)
   Draft of King’s “I Have a Dream” speech that reflects edits.

3. [http://www.thekingcenter.org/archive/document/i-have-dream-1](http://www.thekingcenter.org/archive/document/i-have-dream-1)

Read either the John Lewis or the Martin Luther King speech. Both speeches were presented on August 28, 1963, at the Lincoln Memorial.

1. Who was the target audience of the speech?
2. What is the tone of the speech? Include words or phrases to support your idea.
3. Describe the changes made in the speaker’s speech.
4. Why is it important that reporters and historians are aware of changes made to speeches that have been released to the press before events? Include the edits made to the original speech.
USING PRIMARY SOURCES

Letters

Official and personal letters add insight into the reasons behind actions and inaction. Reports might provide the leaders’ record of events as they wish them to be remembered; letters from those involved give the personal story of fighting a battle, facing famine or enduring floods. The Library of Congress, the National Archives and historical societies and museums are chief repositories for letters that are primary sources.


Message from James Farmer About March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom

The King Center provides a typed letter sent from James Farmer. As the national director of the Congress of Racial Equality, Farmer was one of the six leaders of civil rights groups scheduled to speak on August 28.

Read James Farmer’s letter.

1. What insight does it give to the accuracy of the official program document?

2. In what ways does this information change the reporting of the event?

USING RELIABLE SOURCES

Media Coverage/Interviews

The Washington Post publisher Philip Graham called the daily newspaper the “first rough draft of history.” Local, national and international reporters act as eyewitnesses to events to give as thorough as possible coverage. Over the years, as the expectations of accurate, objective reporting and clarity of expression have been refined, the use of reliable sources remains a hallmark. This is true of news coverage and reflective pieces.


“The sisters were almost forgotten,” Krissah Thompson, The Washington Post, August 23, 2013

http://apps.washingtonpost.com/g/page/local/post-front-page-march-on-washington/381/
The Washington Post Thursday, August 29, 1963, front page article and photograph


“An overlooked dream, now remembered,” Robert G. Kaiser

Read media coverage of the event, both at the time of the event and in retrospect.
USING RELIABLE SOURCES

Memories of participants

While time may dim memory, there are certain events that remain vivid. It is not too late to interview individuals weeks or years after events to get a fuller picture of the event. For some, time gives permission to tell more details. For others, the import of what seemed insignificant at the time, now has perspective. Certainly, it is a means to learn the impact of an event.

1. http://whospeaks.library.vanderbilt.edu/
   Robert Penn Warren’s Who Speaks for the Negro?
   Interviews conducted by Robert Penn Warren in 1964 when he traveled across the U.S. In addition to leaders in the civil rights movement, Penn Warren interviewed individuals who worked “in the trenches of the movement whose names might otherwise be lost to history.”

   Memories From the March: The Root spoke to young organizers of the 1963 march

   Memories of the March: 10 voices recall 1963 March on Washington

Listen to or read one of the above reliable sources.

1. What confirmation of information did you get?
2. What new insight did you get from a source?

CONCLUSIONS

1. Why should reporters, historians and students involved in research projects use more than one primary source?

2. How does a range of interviewees add to the telling of the full story? Leaders, participants, eyewitnesses and those who clean up after events, senior citizens and children — all offer different perspectives on the story. Give a specific example from the March on Washington, indicating the sources used.

3. If you were to write an opinion piece/commentary or write a history book section on the 1963 March on Washington, what would be the focus of your writing? What type of sources or which of the sources to which you were introduced in this activity would you include?
Figure the Economic Gap

Annual unemployment rate of whites and blacks (1963–2012 average) compared with average annual national unemployment rate during recessions since 1963

Background
The March on Washington in 1963 focused on jobs and freedom. A. Philip Randolph, who called upon leaders to mobilize in D.C., was well aware of the economic disparities and was dedicated to improving the economic condition of black Americans. Have changes taken place? In “For Obama, 50 years after historic march, economic equality the path to racial justice,” Zachary Goldfarb writes: “ Fifty years ago, the unemployment rate was 5 percent for whites and 10.9 percent for blacks, according to the Economic Policy Institute. Today, it is 6.6 percent for whites and 12.6 percent for blacks.”

Read More and Look Closer
1. What were the employment and economic conditions in 1963?
2. To what extent are there parallels between 1963 and 2013 conditions?
3. Using the bar graph (above), what do unemployment averages indicate?
4. Read reports of the Economic Policy Institute, U.S. census data, and Goldfarb’s August 17, 2013, Washington Post article. Select an area to discuss. Prepare a graph to accompany your presentation.
14th Street Revival

After days of grief and anger, looting and loss of life, despair and destruction, the future of 14th Street was uncertain. Some wanted it to remain burned out and broken as a symbol. Others wanted it to be rebuilt and renewed.

Read “A City in Turmoil,” chronological, interactive maps that relate the events that began the evening of April 4, 1968, when news of the assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., spread. These riots and tough economic times of the 70s and 80s tested businesses. Some like Ben’s Chili Bowl remained in business. Others never returned or moved to the suburbs.

Study the “14th Street’s extreme makeover” maps. Discuss the benefits and drawbacks of revitalization. What kinds of businesses and structures are altering the corridor? What are the economic stimuli and personal challenges of urban renewal?

Diners at Estadio at 1520 14th Street, NW.

Eugene Hughes, owner of Midtown Youth Academy, has been helping teens for years at his 14th Street location. He trained as a boxer, since 1952, in the same building.

SOURCE: www.washingtonpost.com/wp-srv/metro/specials/mlk40/map
An Integrated Curriculum For The Washington Post Newspaper In Education Program

14th Street’s extreme makeover

The torrid pace of redevelopment on a one-mile stretch of 14th Street NW is altering the once riot-scarred corridor, with two dozen restaurants and hundreds of condos and apartments hitting the market or under construction over the past nine months. Here’s what’s opened and what’s coming:

Building status
- Complete or soon to be opened
- Under construction
- Proposed

Building type
- Food
- Residential

Piola
A pizza and Italian restaurant in a remodeled building, with 80-100 seats inside. Another 40-50 seats are planned outside.

2200 14th
Eighteen condos are planned to replace a parking lot and existing building.

Diego
A 178-seat Tex-Mex restaurant.

The Louis
Opening: 2014
A nine-story, 267-unit apartment and retail development.

Tico Taco
An American-Spanish-Mexican restaurant.

Trader Joe’s
New grocery store.

Taqueria Nacional
The facade of this 55-seat Mexican taco spot is from the 1950 T Street Post Office, the first in D.C. run by African Americans, who were denied window jobs downtown.

BakeHouse
Cupcakes and other treats. About 15 seats.

2221 14th
Opening: 2014
A six-story, 30-unit apartment building is planned.

Jefferson at 14W

Kapnos
A Mediterranean small plate restaurant with 160 seats inside, 45 outside.

G sandwich
Opening: Soon
A 40-seat restaurant.

Sweetgreen
New spot for the local chain of healthy food eateries, with 60 seats inside and 20 outside.

Anthony Bowen YMCA
Opening: 2013
A 44,000-square-foot fitness and community center named for the man who a century ago founded the first Y for African Americans nearby.

Hanoi House
A Southeast Asian restaurant.

1919 14th
A large, new residential building. A displaced post office moved to Reeves Center at 14th and U streets.

Matchbox
A wood-fired pizza and burgers restaurant with 250 seats inside, 60 outside.

Compass Rose
Opening: October
Neighborhood tavern.

Lupo Verde
An Italian restaurant from Med Lahlou, owner of Utah Bistro on U Street.
BakeHouse
Cupcakes and other treats. About 15 seats.

District
A 125-unit residential building. Now leasing.

1728 14th
Four-story commercial building.

Bar Di Bari
A 70-seat café in the Northern Exchange building.

Northern Exchange
Originally a 1902 telephone switchboard center, now converting to 36 loft condos. Sold out.

Mcafé Bar
Opening: Early August
A 90-seat Italian restaurant.

The Aston
Thirty-one condos in a new seven-story building. Sold out.

Taste of Barcelona
A Spanish tapas and wine bar.

Ghibellina
An Italian pub and restaurant with more than 90 seats.

Chipotle
Opening: 2013
An outpost of the restaurant chain will go into this former pawn shop.

The Bentley
Construction start: 2013
A six-story, 51-unit residential building to replace a vacant lot and former garage. Project formerly known as The Irwin.

B Too
A 175-seat Belgian restaurant, an offshoot of the Belga Café in Capitol Hill. Former home of Downtown Lock.

Lock and Electric Lofts
Loft apartments above B Too.

Lupo Verde
An Italian restaurant from Med Lahlou, owner of Ulah Bistro on U Street.

Ted’s Bulletin
Opening: August
A 180-seat outpost of the Ted’s Bulletin on Capitol Hill.

Doi Moi
Opening: August
A Thai and Vietnamese street food restaurant. 135 seats.

Central Mission project
Construction start: July
The homeless shelter here since 1983 has moved to Massachusetts Avenue. The project involves four existing buildings and creates condos and retail.

14th & Corcoran
Construction start: 2014
A new seven-story building with 36 apartments is planned.

Le Diplomate
A 260-seat restaurant styled after a French brasserie. Corner last occupied by a dry cleaner.

Etto
A 42-seat pizza and Italian restaurant in a remodeled townhouse.

14th & P
Being developed by the owners of Taylor Gourmet.

Black Whiskey
A bar and music venue with 250 seats.

14th & Rhode Island
Construction start: 2014
A new six-story building with 30 apartments, offices and a restaurant are planned for 1400-02 14th St. The project also will incorporate the existing building at 1404 14th.