



The Civil Rights Act of 1964: A Case Study of Compromise

Jeffery D. Nokes

jeff_nokes@byu.edu

Brigham Young University

June 26, 2025

Constitutional Literacy Institute

Congress of the United States,

begun and held at the City of New York on
Wednesday the fourth of March, one thousand seven hundred and eighty nine.

THE

RESOLVED

ARTICLES

Paper (parchment) rights:
Rights recorded on paper
without structure do little to
protect rights.

“Citizens of the Russian Federation
shall have the right to gather
peacefully without weapons, and to
hold meetings, rallies, demonstrations,
marches and pickets.”

All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside. No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.

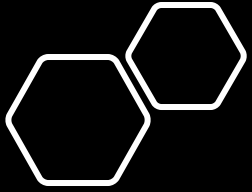


All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside. No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.



All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside. No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.





How did the clash between forces for change and continuity result in the compromise referred to as the Civil Rights Act of 1964?



Compromise, Continuity, and Change

*The New Jim Crow: African Americans,
Civil Rights, and the First Presidential
Election of the 21st Century*

Disfranchising African Americans in Florida, 2000
Bush v. Gore, and black America's
struggle for Civil Rights and Political Power

GODFREY C.

TWENTY-FIRST-CENTURY
Jim Crow
SCHOOL

THE IMPACT OF CHARITABLE
ON PUBLIC EDUCATION

RAYNARD SANDERS
DAVID STOVALL
TERRENDA WHITE

Foreword by KAREN LEWIS

"In this wrenching book, the forces determined to destroy
public education—with modified campaigns to disarm and
destabilize, displace and disenfranchise—have met a
formidable opponent."

—WILLIAM AYERS, author of
To Teach: The Journey of a Teacher

NEW YORK TIMES BESTSELLER

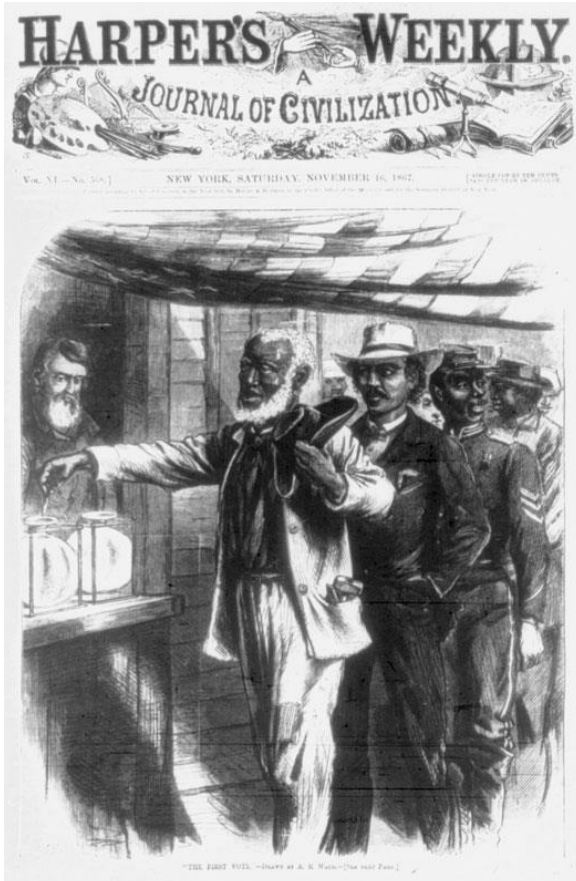
10th
ANNIVERSARY
EDITION

THE NEW JIM CROW

MASS INCARCERATION IN THE
AGE OF COLORBLINDNESS

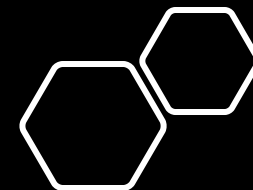
MICHELLE ALEXANDER

WITH A NEW PREFACE BY THE AUTHOR



Compromise,
Continuity, and
Change

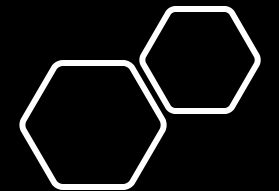
- Radical Reconstruction
- "Redemption"
- Plessy v. Ferguson
- Jim Crow





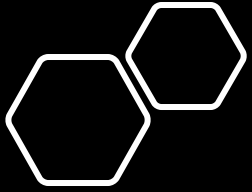
Compromise, Continuity, and Change

- NAACP
- Harlem Renaissance
- CORE
- Brown v. Board
- Montgomery Bus Boycott





A Rising Tide of Discontent



Compromise, Continuity, and Change

1. Vote
2. Jim Crow
3. Schools
4. Employment
5. Poverty



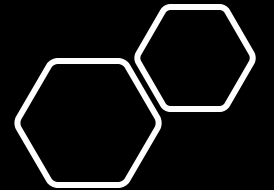
Compromise, Continuity, and Change

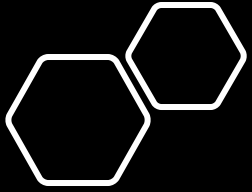




Compromise, Continuity, and Change

- Title II: Discrimination in public places
- Title VII: Discrimination in employment





How did the clash between forces for change and continuity result in the compromise referred to as the Civil Rights Act of 1964?



Document 10: Story

At 8:00 A.M. on July 3, 1964, a thirteen-year-old boy in Kansas City, Missouri, named Eugene Young went into the barbershop at the historic Muehlebach Hotel to get a haircut. He hopped into the chair of Lloyd Soper, one of the barbers. He gave him two dollars. A few minutes later, Young left, another satisfied customer. Young's satisfaction went beyond the mere [haircut]. He was black, and the day before he had been refused service at the same shop.

***Source:** Story from the day after the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, told in the book The Bill of the Century by journalist Clay Risen (2014), published by Bloomsbury Press.
[Changed for easier reading].*

Changes, Continuities, Compromises, and the Civil Rights Act of 1964

How did the clash between forces for change and continuity result in the compromise referred to as the Civil Rights Act of 1964? Complete the following graphic organizer as you consider how each of the documents related to the Civil Rights Act of 1964 demonstrates change, continuity, and compromise. Describe the source of the document in the first column. Tell how it gives evidence of change in the second column. Tell how it captures significant continuities in the third column. (You may adjust the line between the second and third column based on where you need more space as in the example below.) Tell how the document gives evidence of compromise in the fourth column. Some cells of this matrix might be left blank if there is no evidence. After completing the matrix, answer the questions below, drawing from materials in the documents.

Source Information	Evidence of Change	Evidence of Continuity	Evidence of Compromise
1			
2			
3			
4			

Document 2: Kennedy Speech

Source: Video recording of a speech given by President Kennedy on June 11, 1963, telling about his civil rights goals. Found at <https://www.jfklibrary.org/learn/about-jfk/historic-speeches/televised-address-to-the-nation-on-civil-rights> (Transcript can be found at the same site)



[Doc 1: JFK Speech](#)

Changes, Continuities, Compromises, and the Civil Rights Act of 1964

How did the clash between forces for change and continuity result in the compromise referred to as the Civil Rights Act of 1964? Complete the following graphic organizer as you consider how each of the documents related to the Civil Rights Act of 1964 demonstrates change, continuity, and compromise. Describe the source of the document in the first column. Tell how it gives evidence of change in the second column. Tell how it captures significant continuities in the third column. (You may adjust the line between the second and third column based on where you need more space as in the example below.) Tell how the document gives evidence of compromise in the fourth column. Some cells of this matrix might be left blank if there is no evidence. After completing the matrix, answer the questions below, drawing from materials in the documents.

Source Information	Evidence of Change	Evidence of Continuity	Evidence of Compromise
<i>1: President Kennedy's speech. Democrat, public, during Birmingham protests 2½ years after elected</i>	<i>Kennedy proposes legal changes—integrating public facilities, lawsuits to end segregated schools, greater protection of voters. Changes at University of Alabama.</i>	<i>Does not talk much about poverty or employment issues, reformers' priorities</i>	<i>Only mentions demonstrations in Birmingham later in speech. Talks about voluntary reform in schools and public places</i>
2			
3			
4			

Document 3: Political Cartoon

Political cartoon available through the Library of Congress at showing Senators Hubert Humphrey as a baker and Frank Lausche in a business suit protecting a freshly baked loaf of bread, labeled Civil Rights Bill, from demonstrators and extremists. The caption reads, "IF THEY DON'T WATCH OUT THEY'RE GONNA RUIN IT!" (A freshly baked loaf of bread will "fall" or collapse if bumped or exposed to loud noises.)

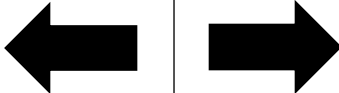


"IF THEY DON'T WATCH OUT THEY'RE GONNA RUIN IT!"

Source: Political cartoon created by Gib Crockett and published in the Washington Star on April 15, 1964, showing lawmakers Hubert Humphrey and Frank Lausche defending the Civil Rights Bill from extremists. Found at http://www.loc.gov/exhibits/civil-rights-act/civil-rights-act-of-1964.html#obj281_01

Changes, Continuities, Compromises, and the Civil Rights Act of 1964

How did the clash between forces for change and continuity result in the compromise referred to as the Civil Rights Act of 1964? Complete the following graphic organizer as you consider how each of the documents related to the Civil Rights Act of 1964 demonstrates change, continuity, and compromise. Describe the source of the document in the first column. Tell how it gives evidence of change in the second column. Tell how it captures significant continuities in the third column. (You may adjust the line between the second and third column based on where you need more space as in the example below.) Tell how the document gives evidence of compromise in the fourth column. Some cells of this matrix might be left blank if there is no evidence. After completing the matrix, answer the questions below, drawing from materials in the documents.

Source Information	Evidence of Change		Evidence of Continuity	Evidence of Compromise
<i>1: President Kennedy's speech. Democrat, public, during Birmingham protests 2½ years after elected</i>	<i>Kennedy proposes legal changes—integrating public facilities, lawsuits to end segregated schools, greater protection of voters. Changes at University of Alabama.</i>		<i>Does not talk much about poverty or employment issues, reformers' priorities</i>	<i>Only mentions demonstrations in Birmingham later in speech. Talks about voluntary reform in schools and public places</i>
2				
3				
4				

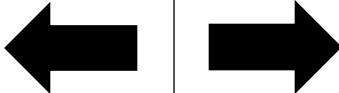
Source: Part of a speech made by President Lyndon B. Johnson on November 27, 1963, after the death of President Kennedy to a joint session of Congress. [Changed to make it easier to read]. Transcript found at http://www.pbs.org/ladybird/epicenter/epicenter_doc_speech.html and video recording at <https://www.vsotd.com/featured-speech/let-us-continue> (starting at 8:35 and 13:47)

<https://prorhetoric.com/let-us-continue/>



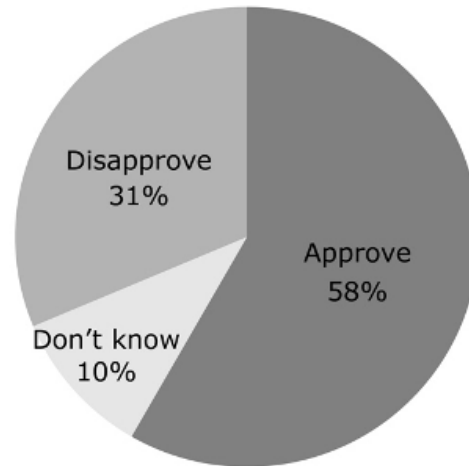
Changes, Continuities, Compromises, and the Civil Rights Act of 1964

How did the clash between forces for change and continuity result in the compromise referred to as the Civil Rights Act of 1964? Complete the following graphic organizer as you consider how each of the documents related to the Civil Rights Act of 1964 demonstrates change, continuity, and compromise. Describe the source of the document in the first column. Tell how it gives evidence of change in the second column. Tell how it captures significant continuities in the third column. (You may adjust the line between the second and third column based on where you need more space as in the example below.) Tell how the document gives evidence of compromise in the fourth column. Some cells of this matrix might be left blank if there is no evidence. After completing the matrix, answer the questions below, drawing from materials in the documents.

Source Information	Evidence of Change		Evidence of Continuity	Evidence of Compromise
<i>1: President Kennedy’s speech. Democrat, public, during Birmingham protests 2½ years after elected</i>	<i>Kennedy proposes legal changes—integrating public facilities, lawsuits to end segregated schools, greater protection of voters. Changes at University of Alabama.</i>		<i>Does not talk much about poverty or employment issues, reformers’ priorities</i>	<i>Only mentions demonstrations in Birmingham later in speech. Talks about voluntary reform in schools and public places</i>
2				
3				
4				

Broad Support for New Civil Rights Law in 1964

Percent ... of the Civil Rights Act of 1964

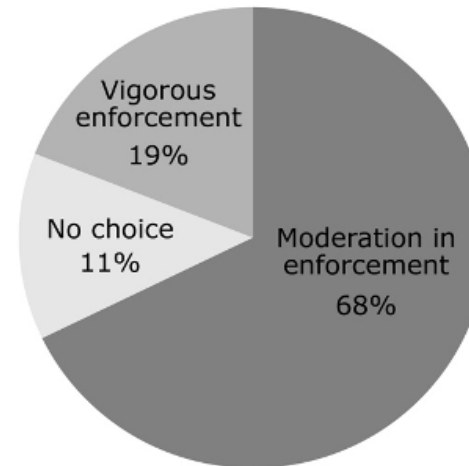


Source: Gallup, October 1964

PEW RESEARCH CENTER

Moderate Enforcement of 1964 Law Much Preferred

Percent who prefer ... of the new civil rights law



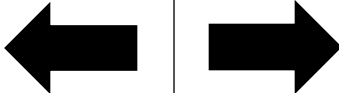
Source: Opinion Research Corporation, Nov. 4-8, 1964

PEW RESEARCH CENTER

Source: Results of an October 1964 Gallup Poll asking about the public's approval or disapproval of the recently passed Civil Rights Law (left) and the public's views about the enforcement of the law (right). Found at <http://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2015/03/05/50-years-ago-mixed-views-about-civil-rights-but-support-for-selma-demonstrators/>

Changes, Continuities, Compromises, and the Civil Rights Act of 1964

How did the clash between forces for change and continuity result in the compromise referred to as the Civil Rights Act of 1964? Complete the following graphic organizer as you consider how each of the documents related to the Civil Rights Act of 1964 demonstrates change, continuity, and compromise. Describe the source of the document in the first column. Tell how it gives evidence of change in the second column. Tell how it captures significant continuities in the third column. (You may adjust the line between the second and third column based on where you need more space as in the example below.) Tell how the document gives evidence of compromise in the fourth column. Some cells of this matrix might be left blank if there is no evidence. After completing the matrix, answer the questions below, drawing from materials in the documents.

Source Information	Evidence of Change		Evidence of Continuity	Evidence of Compromise
<i>1: President Kennedy's speech. Democrat, public, during Birmingham protests 2½ years after elected</i>	<i>Kennedy proposes legal changes—integrating public facilities, lawsuits to end segregated schools, greater protection of voters. Changes at University of Alabama.</i>		<i>Does not talk much about poverty or employment issues, reformers' priorities</i>	<i>Only mentions demonstrations in Birmingham later in speech. Talks about voluntary reform in schools and public places</i>
2				
3				
4				

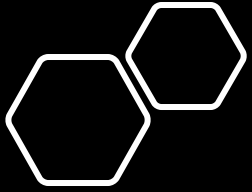
Civil Rights Act

- Title I: Voting rights
- Title II: Discrimination in public accommodations
- Title III: Desegregation of public facilities
- Title IV: Desegregation of public education
- Title V: Commission on Civil Rights
- Title VI: Nondiscrimination in federally assisted programs
- Title VII: Equal employment opportunities
- Title VIII: Voting statistics to be gathered
- Title IX: US a party in state civil rights cases
- Title X: Community Relations Service created

Civil Rights Act didn't address

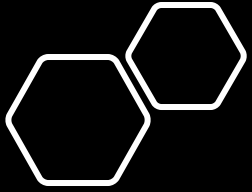
- Poverty





How did the clash between forces for change and continuity result in the compromise referred to as the Civil Rights Act of 1964?





What does the process used in passing the Civil Rights Act of 1964 teach about the process of compromise and outcomes?



Teaching Debriefing

- How would you adapt this for your classroom?