

A HOUSE DIVIDED

A Teaching Guide on the
History of Civil Rights in Louisiana

by Plater Robinson
SECOND EDITION

Southern Institute
for Education and Research
Tulane University



New Orleans, LA

© 1995 by the Southern Institute for Education and Research
All Rights Reserved, Printed in the United States of America

INTRODUCTION

“A house divided against itself cannot stand.”

-- Abraham Lincoln

In an effort meriting the applause of grateful citizens, Xavier University produced the documentary *A House Divided* to record the history of the Civil Rights movement (1950-1965) in New Orleans. This study guide, prepared by the Southern Institute for Education and Research, is for teachers who intend to use *A House Divided* as an instructional resource in the classroom.

This period in our history is little known by subsequent generations, black or white, despite the fact that participants in that epoch often live nearby. Students of today have little or no inkling of racial segregation as it was practiced and enforced in this city only thirty years ago. This is an unpardonable lapse in memory and responsibility.

The Civil Rights period represents the great divide in our city, the divide between the past in which segregation was the law and degradation the rule, and the future in which hope is too often obscured by race, poverty, crime, and fear. It is impossible to understand present-day New Orleans without an understanding of the events which occurred so recently in the city and with such dramatic results.

The documentary *A House Divided* focuses on the years in New Orleans between 1950 and 1965. The major events of those years are the subject of vivid recollections by those who participated directly in the changes of that epochal time.

The segregated public library system was one of the first bastions to fall, as Rosa Keller tells us. Judge Revius Ortique relates the story behind the McDonogh Day Boycott. In protest of the second class status accorded to black children at the annual ceremonies honoring the philanthropist (and slaveholder), black teachers and community leaders staged a boycott of McDonogh Day in May 1954. According to Judge Ortique, the McDonogh Day Boycott represented “the first concerted challenge that color crossed all segments of the black community and we spoke as one.”

Landmark events followed in quick succession: the black boycott of Mardi Gras in 1957 and 1958; the quiet integration of street cars and buses in 1958; the bitter Dryades Street Boycott in 1960; the sit-in and pickets on Canal Street in 1960-'65; the searing desegregation of the public schools and (two years later) the parochial schools; the massive Freedom March in 1963.

One of the final events of the Civil Rights period in New Orleans occurred on a day that will live in infamy in the history of the city: October 31, 1963. Testing the assurances of desegregation in the cafeteria of City Hall, Reverend Avery Alexander was arrested by police and dragged by his heels up two flights of stairs to a paddy wagon.

“Kick him, ‘Rev.’ Kick him,” said a few youngsters while viewing the footage of Avery Alexander

being bounced up the stairs. Why the Reverend did not “kick him” is a subject of no passing interest.



A House Divided is an account of the fear which gripped much of the white and a part of the black communities in New Orleans. It was one of the most fundamental fears of all, the fear of change, the fear of straying from what is understood. New Orleanians, black and white, found themselves in an historical epoch in which the rules of the world were brought into question. This was hard even for those people who desired change, let alone for those who were unsure of everything except the often misused notion of tradition.

In another sense, *A House Divided* is a portrayal of the remarkable individuals at the heart of the struggle to end Jim Crow segregation. Great changes are often brought about by a relative handful of people. Most people find comfort in what they are accustomed to or in what is known to them. It is only the few who are capable of seeing things differently, of risking everything for what they view as a higher purpose. They are the ones who are able to cut the sinews of societal pressure conformity, the ones who are able to conquer the fear within themselves.

The fundamental question is this: what made these individuals different? Why did Oretha Castle risk her job (and, indeed, lose it) at Hotel Dieu Hospital by helping to organize and then partaking in the Canal St. sit-ins? Why did Jerome Smith take the despised but sacrosanct race screen on the St. Claude bus and “pitch it” to the floor? Why did Jimmy and Daisy Gabrielle risk their livelihood and indeed their lives to keep their children in an integrated school? Why did Kit Senter and Betty Wisdom drive children to school, in defiance of threats and ostracization?

The question the student should ask him or herself while viewing and discussing *A House Divided* is one which requires a certain honesty and introspection. It is this: what would I have done? It is a question with no answers, but with a loud echo. It does no harm to a student to ask he or she to enter the world of another person in another time in history, to understand how that person thinks, how that person acts. The point is simple: through the lives and experiences of others we can reach a better understanding of ourselves.

Life is such that at one time or another circumstances will demand a certain moral courage of the student, a decision which defines the character of a person. It is helpful to have already gone the process of decision making, the process of determining where you stand, before the moment arrives.

Plater Robinson
Southern Institute for Education and Research

A HOUSE DIVIDED	1
PART I--LECTURE NOTES.....	1
1. COMPILE A LIST	2
2. DEFINE THE STEREOTYPES.....	2
3. LEGACY OF SEGREGATION	3
4. RIGHTEOUS LIVES	4
PART I: TERMS TEACHER COPY	6
PART I: TERMS STUDENT COPY	7
PART I: QUESTIONS TEACHER COPY	9
PART I: QUESTIONS STUDENT COPY	11
PART II--LECTURE NOTES	12
1. STREET CARS.....	12
2. LANGUAGE	14
3. A WAY OF LIFE.....	15
4. VIOLENCE	16
PART II: TERMS TEACHER COPY	18
PART II: TERMS STUDENT COPY.....	20
PART II: QUESTIONS TEACHER COPY.....	21
PART II: QUESTIONS STUDENT COPY.....	25
PART III--LECTURE NOTES	27
1. RECONSTRUCTION	27
2. PLESSY V. FERGUSON	29
3. A.P. TUREAUD	29
4. BROWN V. BOARD OF EDUCATION.....	30
5. MCDONOGH DAY BOYCOTT	32
6. LATTER MEMORIAL.....	34
PART III: TERMS TEACHER COPY	37
PART III: TERMS STUDENT COPY	39
PART III: QUESTIONS TEACHER COPY	39
PART III: QUESTIONS STUDENT COPY	44
PART IV--LECTURE NOTES.....	46
1. DRYADES STREET	46
2. CANAL STREET.....	47
3. THE WHITE REACTION.....	49
4. NOPD	50
5. ON THE EVE OF SCHOOL DESEGREGATION.....	51
6. BATON ROUGE.....	52
PART IV: TERMS TEACHER COPY.....	55
PART IV: TERMS STUDENT COPY.....	57
PART IV: QUESTIONS TEACHER COPY	58
PART IV: QUESTIONS STUDENT COPY	61
PART V--LECTURE NOTES	63
1. NOVEMBER 14, 1960.....	63
2. CHEERLEADERS	65
3. SAVE OUR SCHOOLS.....	65

4. THE GABRIELLE FAMILY	66
5. BUSINESS ELITE	67
6. CITY HALL: 1963	69
PART V: TERMS TEACHER COPY	72
PART V: TERMS STUDENT COPY	74
PART V: QUESTIONS TEACHER COPY	75
PART V: QUESTIONS STUDENT COPY	78
PART VI--LECTURE NOTES	79
1. LOOKING BACK	79
2. GOALS	80
3. ANSWERS	80
4. ORAL HISTORY PROJECT	81
FINAL EXAM TEACHER COPY	83
FINAL EXAM STUDENT COPY	87
CHRONOLOGY OF THE MODERN CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT IN NEW ORLEANS	89
GLOSSARY	101
BIBLIOGRAPHY	113

A HOUSE DIVIDED

The period of legal segregation, known as the Jim Crow years, lasted from the 1890's until the *Brown v. the Board of Education* decision in 1954. In many localities throughout the South and the nation, the barriers of segregation did not fall until long after 1954. In some localities, the barriers remain to this day.

The documentary *A House Divided* is an account of New Orleans between 1950 and 1965. It is the period of history when a relatively small group of activists in the black community, joined by a few white people, confronted the inequities of Jim Crow segregation in the effort to enjoy the fruits of promises made almost a century before.

PART I--LECTURE NOTES

“Knowing about the past is important for planning for the future. We learn from the experiences and activities of others. Common sense dictates that we avoid the mistakes of the past, and, more importantly, that we build on the good and positive.”

-- Dr. Norman Francis,
President, Xavier University

Part I of *A House Divided* begins with an introduction by Dr. Norman Francis, President of Xavier University. This is followed by a sequence of sound bites from people who were directly impacted by Jim Crow segregation, beginning with Reverend Avery Alexander, one of the central figures in the Civil Rights struggles in New Orleans.

OBJECTIVE: The objective of Part I is to familiarize the students with the world as it was not long ago, the world of a segregated society in which, as Avery Alexander describes it, “They could do everything, and we could do nothing.”

For many students, the inherent inequities and the daily acts of humiliation in segregated New Orleans will be difficult to believe. The students should recognize that they are living in the aftermath of an historic transformation of society, and that their elders were involved in that transformation, either as direct participants or as mere observers. The opportunity for students to engage in an oral history project with local participants or observers of the Civil Rights movement is available.

PREPARATION: Before the students view Part I of *A House Divided*, present a brief lecture to them based on the following information.

1. COMPILE A LIST

It is important that the student understand the innumerable ways in which segregation made itself felt. First of all, the student should begin compiling a list of all the examples of segregation that become apparent in the documentary *A House Divided*.

QUESTION: Ask the students to keep in mind the following questions:

What was the purpose of segregation? What was the meaning behind it?
How did segregation harm people? Which examples of segregation were the most harmful? Which the most subtle? Which the most ridiculous?

In the documentary, Andrew Young, the UN representative who was born and largely raised in New Orleans, says that he was never physically harmed by segregation in New Orleans, but that he later concluded the subtle effects of segregation had been harmful indeed.

“I was not beat up or cussed out. I was protected by my parents. But the subtleties of segregation did more damage than I thought.”

Andrew Young does not explain what the “subtleties” of segregation were, or what the “damage” to him might have been. It is up to the students to explore these questions.

The student should consider how the subtle effects of segregation might harm a person particularly from the point of view of self-worth, of personal esteem, of inherent dignity.

QUESTION: What was the meaning behind segregation? In other words, what was the meaning behind segregated water fountains, separate bathrooms, segregated seating on streetcars? What was one race saying to the other?

ANSWER: The answers, of course, are innumerable. For one, Kenneth Clark, the noted psychologist whose testings of black children demonstrated the unfairness of “separate but equal” in public education, defined segregation this way: “Segregation is the way in which a society tells a group of human beings that they are inferior to other groups.”

2. DEFINE THE STEREOTYPES

In *A House Divided*, many of the stereotypes that whites hold of blacks, and blacks hold of whites, become apparent.

QUESTION: What is a stereotype? Define it. How does a stereotype take root in a society?

The student should begin thinking about the stereotypes that he or she has of other people and

what those stereotypes are based on. Ask the students to compile a list of the stereotypes with which the student views people of a different race.

In Part I, a reference is made to segregated wings in Charity hospital and to the rigid segregation of blood distribution. No white person could receive blood from a black person, nor vice versa. Explain to the students that this is the most elemental form of racism: the blood of two people must not mix; race-mixing is the greatest evil; it “pollutes” a people and weakens it. Likewise, the students should recognize that Nazi Germany was based on so-called “purity of blood,” meaning that no true German had Jewish ancestors in the four preceding generations.

In the documentary, Silas Lee, a professor at Xavier University, offers this opinion about segregation: “If you want to promote myths and untruths and tales about not just a race but another group of people, you separate them.”

Ask the students if they agree with Silas Lee’s statement? Then ask the students some frank questions: what are the differences between white and black people in New Orleans? What are the similarities? What divides the races? What unites them?

ANSWER: A stereotype is a generalization about the characteristics of a group of people. It is usually based upon a “kernel” of truth. The lowest common denominator of a people is seized upon to describe the whole people. The stereotype is difficult to combat because the lowest common denominator of a group is invariably quite visible in everyday life. No people is free of the bad example. It is, however, unfair to argue that the actions of a segment of a people defines the behavior of the majority of that people.

3. LEGACY OF SEGREGATION

One of the central themes of *A House Divided* concerns the legacy of segregation, and what can be done to extricate New Orleans from the grave circumstances it has inherited.

QUESTION: What is the legacy of segregation? What are its consequences? What is our inheritance?

ANSWER: The legacy of segregation is found in every facet of life in New Orleans. The examples are innumerable. For one, some of the “best and brightest” of the black community left the city to find opportunity elsewhere. During segregation, what could a black person aspire to be? A teacher, a preacher, a funeral home director, very rarely a physician, very rarely a lawyer. Little industry existed. There were few jobs. Many in the black community fled to the North or to California to have an opportunity to succeed.

Andrew Young was an example of this disastrous exodus forced upon New Orleans by segregation, and an example of how segregation harmed the South in general.

As Dr. Daniel Thompson says in *A House Divided*, “It was tragic to find the brightest and best of people who were educated in New Orleans who had to seek a career elsewhere.”

The period of segregation influenced greatly the way in which white and black people view one another today. The stereotypes woven into the fabric of the culture through the course of generations (dating back to the arrival of the first slaves in 1720) are difficult to unravel. Misunderstanding, resentment, hatred, and anger, each have been inherited from the past and amplified by the present. Each characterizes relations today in a city where racial polarization appears to intensify daily.

One of the most devastating consequences of segregation was the unfairness of the public school system. Many white people did not see the need for black education at all. Black schools were miserably under-funded. Generations of black children did not have the opportunity to learn. The system encouraged ignorance. An educated black person was seen as a threat to the status quo.

At the very end of Part I, Dave Treen, the Republican governor of Louisiana between 1980-84, reflects on what he describes as “the denial” of equality in public schools: “As time goes on we have realized that this denial has had a profound and very negative effect on the black race.”

4. RIGHTEOUS LIVES

A relatively small group of individuals played important roles during the Civil Rights movement in New Orleans: Avery Alexander, Jerome Smith, Oretha Castle, Lolis Elie, Rudy Lombard, Raphael Cassimire, Rosa Keller, Harry Kelleher, J. Skelly Wright, Jack Nelson, and others. Instruct the students to focus on these individuals, to analyze their opinions and actions. In this way, the student enters the world of another person and begins to understand what motivates other people.

QUESTION: Why were these individuals motivated to action?

The historian Erwin Staub has written, “Goodness, like evil, often begins in small steps. Heroes evolve; they aren’t born.”

Ask your students if they agree or disagree with this statement. Why? Why not? Who is a hero? What constitutes the behavior of a hero? Ask the student who their “heroes” are and why? Who has influenced them by a moral example?

ANSWER: History turns on the work of a few people. There are plenty of theories, but nobody knows for sure what motivates some people to take a moral

stance while others, the majority, are content to remain on the sidelines and to watch events unfold. The pressures of social conformity cripples many people from acting. Fear cripples others.

The people who become moral leaders are often those who reject social conformity and are able to overcome their own fears. They are the ones capable of feeling the pain suffered by another person. Often they are influenced by an incident in which injustice is triumphant. Sometimes they are simply natural fighters. The example of others makes a difference. As Albert Schweitzer observed, "Example is not the main thing influencing others. It is the only thing."

1. **Avery Alexander** - Reverend Avery Alexander was one of the foremost blacks leaders of the Civil Rights struggle in New Orleans. He helped lead the Dryades Street Boycott and the desegregation of public facilities in New Orleans, including the cafeteria in City Hall. In recent years, he has led the protest of the Liberty Place monument which celebrates the 1874 victory of the White League in New Orleans. Alexander is currently a state legislator from New Orleans.
2. **Moon Landrieu** - Moon Landrieu was a freshman legislator at the state capitol in Baton Rouge during the early years of the Civil Rights movement. Virtually alone among white legislators, Landrieu voted against the “hate bills” which the legislature passed in the effort to thwart the desegregation of public facilities and public schools. In 1970, Landrieu was elected mayor of New Orleans and brought black people into city government for the first time since Reconstruction.
3. **Dave Treen** - During the Civil Rights period, Dave Treen, typical of the majority of white people in the South, took a strong stand against desegregation. He served as Louisiana governor from 1980-1984, the first Republican to occupy that office since Reconstruction.
4. **Andrew Young** - Andrew Young was born in New Orleans and attended Gilbert Academy on St. Charles Ave. In the 1950’s, he became one of Dr. Martin Luther King’s principle lieutenants and was present in Memphis, Tennessee, when Dr. King was assassinated in April 1968. In 1976, President Jimmy Carter appointed Young the nation’s representative at the United Nations.
5. **Jim Crow** - The term Jim Crow is derived from an early 19th century white performer who performed unflattering portrayals of black people. His depiction of a lame black man named Jim Crow evolved into a racist synonym of the “comic” black life style. By the early 1900’s Jim Crow symbolized legal segregation in American life. Most public and many private facilities practiced total separation of the races.
6. **Gilbert Academy** - Gilbert Academy was a private high school in New Orleans attended by the sons of relatively prosperous black families. It was located at the site of present-day De La Salle High School at 5318 St. Charles Ave. Gilbert Academy operated under the auspices of the Methodist Church between 1873 and 1949. The school is credited with both educating and inspiring its students, including Andrew Young, Tom Dent, and others.
7. **Segregation** - The system of legal segregation, often termed Jim Crow segregation, governed the relations between white and black people in the South (and elsewhere) from the 1890’s until the Civil Rights movement of the 1950’s and ‘60’s. The system decreed separation of the races in virtually every aspect of life. Segregation was based on the premise that black people were inferior to whites and should therefore occupy inferior position in society. The system gave white people every available privilege. This was a major reason why many white

people fought desegregation tooth and nail.

8. **Stereotype** - A stereotype is a generalization about the characteristics of a group of people that is based on the actions or characteristics that describe some of the people within that group. The stereotype is an unfair effort to explain the acts of some by blaming an entire people.
9. **Scapegoat** - People often explain their own shortcomings or failures by blaming somebody else. This 'somebody else' is referred to as a scapegoat. The age old practice of “scapegoating” reflects the inability of many people to criticize their own behavior.

Instructions: identify the following individuals or terms.

1. Avery Alexander -

2. Moon Landrieu -

3. Dave Treen -

4. Andrew Young -

5. Jim Crow -

6. Gilbert Academy -

7. Segregation -

8. Stereotype -

9. Scapegoat-

PART I: QUESTIONS TEACHER COPY NAME _____

Instructions: answer the following questions in complete sentences.

1. Define the term segregation as it applied to the South before the modern Civil Rights movement.

Segregation was a system installed by the dominate white conservative population in the 1890's. Laws prohibited the mixing of the races and attempted to keep them physically apart. Black people were delegated to an inferior role in life.

2. Who was Jim Crow?

In the early 19th century, a white performer depicted a lame black man named Jim Crow. The term Jim Crow became a synonym of "comic" black behavior, and in the early 20th century the term came to symbolize the system of legal segregation.

3. Based on what the individuals in Part I of the documentary have said, list three examples of segregation in New Orleans before the Civil Rights period?

- a) Blacks could not sit at the counter and order a meal at the various stores on Canal St., including Woolworth's, McCrory's, and Kress's. The counter was designated "white only."
- b) The wards at Charity Hospital were divided between white and black patients, and strict separation of blood was also enforced. In other words, white patients could not be injected with blood from a black person, nor vice a versa.
- c) As Sybil Morial attests in the documentary, a black person had to bring all sorts of identification in order to obtain a driver's license, while a white person did not. This was a petty form of harassment based upon segregation of the races.

4. Of the three examples of segregation you have listed, which example do you believe was the most harmful? Explain.

The answer to this question is the student's opinion, but the opinion must be supported by facts and examples.

5. Which example of segregation, in your opinion, was the most subtle? Explain.

Personal opinion.

Which was the most brutal? Explain.

Opinion.

6. What was the purpose of segregation? Explain, and offer examples.

The purpose of segregation was to keep the races separate from one another as much as possible. The ultimate fear of the white supremacists was (and is) the mixing of the races. Segregation relegated black people to an inferior position, and the daily humiliations of segregation served to enforce the point of view that black people were “less” than white people. It also served to diminish the dignity and self-worth of black people. This was a calculated effort to weaken black people and to force them to accept the inherent inequalities of the system. Segregation granted white people inherent advantages in almost every aspect of life. Being a white male was one of the largest affirmative action programs in history.

What was the meaning behind segregation? Explain, and offer examples.

The majority of white people appeared to view black people as inferior. This was reflected in the system of legal segregation, which forced black people to live in a separate world in which everything was inferior to the world in which white people lived.

PART I: QUESTIONS STUDENT COPY NAME_____

Instructions: answer the following questions in complete sentences.

1. Define the term segregation as it applied to the South before the Civil Rights movement.
2. Who was Jim Crow?
3. Based on what the individuals in Part I of the documentary have said, list three examples of segregation in New Orleans before the Civil Rights period?
3. Of the three examples of segregation you have listed, which example do you believe was the most harmful. Explain.
4. Which example of segregation, in your opinion, was the most subtle? Explain.

Which was the most brutal? Explain.
5. What was the purpose of segregation? Explain, and offer examples.

PART II--LECTURE NOTES

“It was a way of life, right?”

-- Joe Giarusso, New Orleans police superintendent, on segregation

Part II of *A House Divided* begins with a scene lifted from the 1954 film *A Streetcar Named Desire*. It is an appropriate introduction. In New Orleans, the history of the street cars reflects the history of race-relations, and the quiet desegregation of the streetcars (May 30, 1958) represented an important step in the desegregation of the city.

OBJECTIVE: The purpose of Part II is to explain how segregation was practiced on street cars and buses in New Orleans. In addition, Part II explores the subtle use of language in the segregated South and the unsubtle use of violence. Both had distinct purposes. Finally, the interviewees in Part II make it very clear in their comments that segregation was accepted by many people (whites approvingly and blacks begrudgingly) as the “natural” way of life.

PREPARATION: Before the students view Part II of *A House Divided*, the teacher should present a short lecture to them based on the historical background information provided below.

1. STREET CARS

Public transportation was one of the early arenas of the struggle for civil rights. In December 1955, Rosa Parks, a black woman in Montgomery, Alabama, refused to give up her seat to a white person on a public bus. Her action sparked the beginning of the modern Civil Rights movement. A majority of the black population in Montgomery elected to boycott all city buses, and the person chosen to lead the boycott was a twenty-seven year old newcomer to Montgomery, the Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr.

QUESTION: Why was public transportation an early battleground in the Civil Rights struggle?

ANSWER: There are many answers to this question. One of them is the simple fact that segregation on the buses (and street cars) defined the unequal relationship between white and black in ways that could not be avoided. It was a daily, or twice daily, act of humiliation. Rosa Parks was well versed in the nascent fight for civil rights. She had

worked for the NAACP. Yet sometimes people are motivated less by intellectual arguments and

more by tired feet. Rosa Parks, traveling home after a long day, was physically tired. Segregation required her to get up and move to another seat. That was an outrage.

Remind the students of the 1896 Supreme Court decision in Plessy v. Ferguson. The landmark case involving Homer Plessy, a light-skinned black man, resulted after Plessy purposely sat in a 'whites only' coach of the train between New Orleans and Covington, Louisiana. After he was ejected from the train, he sued the railroad. The case went to the Supreme Court, which established that "separate but equal" public facilities were constitutional.

HISTORICAL POINT: In New Orleans, the street car has reflected the temper of race-relations for almost two centuries.

During ante-bellum (or pre-Civil War) times, when the street cars were pulled by mules, white people (free people of color and slaves) rode in a street car by themselves while black people were delegated to a separate street car, the so-called "Star" street car named in the dubious honor of the "star" that distinguished it.

During the Civil War, the street cars remained segregated after Federal troops occupied New Orleans in April 1862. Conflicts erupted when black soldiers in the Federal army were denied admittance to the street car of their choice. With the advent of Radical Reconstruction in 1867, the "Star" street cars were discontinued, and both white and black began riding in the same street car. This arrangement lasted until 1902 when the "Star" street cars were reintroduced as the age of Jim Crow segregation solidified its grip.

The "Star" street car eventually faded from use when the novelty arose of both white and black people riding in the same street car but in different sections of the street car. White people sat in the front and black people in the back.

HISTORICAL POINT: For much of the 20th century, white and black people were separated in the street cars by the race screen, a movable sign planted into two holes on the back of the seats. It stated "colored only" on one side and "white only" on the other. Any white person, even a child, could lift the race screen from its position and place it in a new position further back in the street car and all the black people, including the elderly, had to get up and relocate to a seat behind the race screen.

The diverse mix of people in New Orleans caused unique problems for the conductors of street cars and the drivers (or motor men) of buses. Not infrequently, the conductor or driver could not distinguish who was white and who was black, and some light-skinned black people "passed as white" and sat in the front of the street car in the section designated "white only."

QUOTE: In the documentary, Clarence Jupiter of Xavier University offered this comment: New Orleans "has the blackest white people and the whitest black people of any place in the country."

The race screen was a symbol of inferior status imposed on black people. It was a despised tool of segregation. In the documentary, Jerome Smith, a black activist at the forefront of desegregation efforts in New Orleans, tells the story of the time he seized the “race screen” and threw it on the floor. The full quote is repeated here:

QUOTE: “I was on the bus. I took the sign and pitched it in the floor which was the same thing I had seen my father do. The driver told me to move. I did move, and he said he was going to call the police. I was crying, and this old women, an old black women, told the driver and some of the white people, ‘Please don’t call the police. I’m going to take this boy home and see that his grandmother bust his behind. This boy gives too much trouble,’ and when we got off the bus with this old lady she took me to the back side of Autolec store and she grabbed me and hugged me and kissed me and said she was proud of me.”

QUESTION: Why is this quote significant? What does it tell us about segregation?

ANSWER: This quote demonstrates how some black people defied the laws of segregation. It also demonstrates that "this old lady" understood precisely how to play the game of survival under segregation. She acted one way on the bus and another way a safe distance from the bus. Why? Note that Jerome Smith “pitched” the race screen to the floor as he had seen his father do. The impact of his father's example on Jerome Smith cannot be overemphasized. The example of parents, the example of teachers, the example of respected elders, all are very important and all must be recognized as such. As Albert Schweitzer said, “Example is not the main thing influencing others. It is the only thing.”

The New Orleans street cars and the public buses were officially desegregated on May 30, 1958, as a result of a federal court order issued by Judge Skelly Wright. The race screen was removed from the every day life of the city. The holes on the back of the seats in which the race screen had been positioned have since been filled in. The last hint of the race screen has disappeared.

2. LANGUAGE

The importance of language in the system of segregation is also addressed in Part II of the documentary. Language (or the selective use of language) was very much a component of racist thought. It was a means of enforcing, however subtle, the caste system. One word ("Mr.") conferred dignity and respect; one word ("boy") denied both.

During the Jim Crow era of segregation, white people did not address black people with the customary titles of respect, the so-called courtesy titles. The “Mr.” or “Mrs.” did not appear before the name of a black person referred to in a newspaper article. White children called elderly blacks by their first names or as “uncle” and “aunt.” Language helped define and reinforced the inferior status of black people and the nature of the relationship between white and black. In many black communities (Natchez, Mississippi, being one example), early Civil Rights activists demanded the use of “courtesy titles” for black people. It was a minor demand

that signified a great deal.

QUOTE: The use of language in racist thought can be very subtle. In the documentary, Avery Alexander recalls the story of his elderly grandfather and the younger Mr. Ginrich, a white man. The way each man addressed the other left the child Avery Alexander perplexed. It was his introduction to the question of race. Use this quote to explain to the students the ways in which language served as a pillar of the segregated society.

This white man was about thirty or forty years old, and my grandfather was about seventy-five years old. The young white man used to call my grandfather 'Arthur,' and my grandfather used to call him 'Mr. Ginrich'. I said, 'Why do you call him Mr. Ginrich and he calls you Arthur?' He said, 'Oh boy, go ahead in and shut up.' I then realized the difference between white and black.

3. A WAY OF LIFE

Segregation was deeply rooted in the Southern history, as slavery had been before it. Relatively few people knew a life different from the life of Jim Crow. Emphasize to the students how difficult it is to confront ideas and practices that generations have grown accustomed to and have taken for granted.

QUOTES: Here are some quotes from both whites and blacks taken from Part II of the documentary. Use these quotes with your students to promote discussion about how people viewed segregation and how difficult it was to overcome the acceptance of segregation as a way of life:

“I was never conscious of that (segregation) being a problem as far as I was concerned.”

-- Vic Schiro, New Orleans mayor in early 1960's

“It was a way of life, right? It was something we were taught and were brought up with and we accepted it...Since you were not on the losing end, you pretty much took it for granted.”

-- Joe Giarusso, New Orleans police superintendent

“We thought that being separated in that fashion was the way it should have been then.”

-- Llewelyn Soniat, director of the NAACP in New Orleans

“It was degrading to blacks and it gave a false sense of security to whites.”

-- Dr. Daniel Thompsen

HISTORICAL POINT: Emphasize to the students that the acceptance of segregation by many people puts into perspective the actions of those who challenged segregation. Where did these people find the strength to take on a system that appeared omnipotent? Explain to the students that some people within the black community itself looked with fear upon those who demanded change. Change is impossible, many argued. The system is too powerful. Don't risk it. You'll get killed.

4. VIOLENCE

If the selective use of language was a subtle manner in which segregation was enforced, violence (and the implicit threat of violence) was the ultimate guarantor of the unequal system. Just as the bull whip had been used on plantations to instill fear and obedience, violence was employed to reverse the political gains blacks had momentarily enjoyed during the period of Radical Reconstruction (1867-'77). White militia organizations (the Ku Klux Klan, the Knights of the White Camellia, the White League, the Regulators, local militia groups, even the less than ominous sounding "rifle clubs") inflicted violence on blacks who asserted their rights both in New Orleans and in the rural regions of the state. The bloodshed was substantial, particularly at the time of elections. The memory of violence was passed from one generation of blacks to another, cultivating fear and resignation.

Explain to the students that the police were the ultimate enforcers of segregation. In this respect, Joe Giarusso, the New Orleans police superintendent during the desegregation crisis, is an individual whose comments in *A House Divided* should be studied carefully.

QUESTION: How does Giarusso justify the actions of the police department during the desegregation crisis?

ANSWER: His basic argument is that events were forced upon him and that he was simply following orders.

The system of segregation rested fundamentally on the willingness of at least some whites to use violence to subjugate the black populace and the willingness of the rest of the whites to do nothing about this violence. Violence was very much a part of the political landscape. It was given publicity. The body of a black man lynched on the edge of town was left to hang as a warning to others. Black people lived in a veritable police-state. As a result, any black person who confronted the inequities of the system did so with the full understanding that he or she might pay for these actions with their lives. In addition, the violence meted out to blacks was sometimes random and served no purpose other than to vent the pathological frustrations of a person who was in control simply because of the color of his skin.

QUOTE: In Part II, Avery Alexander recalls one particularly brutal police officer:

There was a wake. Now, the wake as we knew it at that time, there were no

facilities for a wake, blacks didn't have adequate funeral homes. We set up the coffin in the front room. Friends come around and we stand around, and while we were standing there a white policeman came by. I need not say 'white policeman' because there were no black policemen. They got out of their vehicles and said, 'Run you niggers, run.' They did that all the time. One fellow couldn't hear. He stood there looking around. 'Didn't I tell you to run?' And he shot and killed him, and of course his people grieved, 'How terrible it was.' But we couldn't even petition. If you said anything, you in turn would be arrested.

Emphasize to the students that under Jim Crow segregation a black person had no legal recourse. Avery Alexander says, "...we couldn't even petition. If you said anything, you in turn would be arrested." The judges were representatives of Jim Crow. They enforced the law, and the law required segregation.

Revius Ortique, a leader of the desegregation efforts in New Orleans, remembers that his father believed that white people would not be inclined to give up the privileges Jim Crow had bestowed upon them: "My father always said there would be bloodshed. He felt strongly that white people would not yield peacefully, that you would have had to fight for it."

Instructions (to teachers): before viewing Part II, review the names and terms listed below with your students. Give the students the blank “Part II: Terms” and have them fill it in during or after the viewing, whichever way you feel is best.

1. **Lolis Elie** - Lolis Elie is a black lawyer who during the Civil Rights period served (with Robert Collins and Nils Douglas) as counsel for many activists including those of CORE (Congress of Racial Equality).
2. **Joe Giarusso** - Joe Giarusso was superintendent of New Orleans police during the desegregation of the city. He later served as a city councilman.
3. **Oretha Castle-Haley** - Oretha Castle (she later married fellow activist Richard Haley who became a CORE director) was a student at Southern University in New Orleans when she became a participant of the Dryades Street Boycott in 1960. At odds with the step by step legal approach of the NAACP, Rudy Lombard, Jerome Smith, and Oretha Castle formed a New Orleans chapter of CORE in 1960. She helped organize the Canal Street boycotts that began in September 1960. Her sister, Doris Jean Castle, was also an activist. Their parents were very supportive of their efforts, and the family home served as a headquarters for CORE activists in New Orleans.
4. **Vic Schiro** - Vic Schiro was mayor of New Orleans in the early 1960's during much of the desegregation crisis. He replaced Chep Morrison. In his approach to desegregation, Schiro was largely instructed on what to do by the white business leaders of the city.
5. **Jerome Smith** - Jerome Smith was one of the leading members of the New Orleans chapter of CORE. His father, a merchant seaman, had taught him to defend and demand courtesy for his mother. His mother read poetry to the children each night. Jerome Smith joined the Dryades Street Boycott in 1960 and helped picket the shopping district. He joined the demonstrations at Southern University in 1960. As a CORE activist, he participated in the sit-ins on Canal Street in the early 1960's and also in the Freedom Rides in 1961.
6. **Llewellyn Soniat** - Llewellyn Soniat was director of the New Orleans branch of the NAACP. He helped organize many of the protests in New Orleans, a task from which he did not shy despite the fact that as a family man he risked a great deal.
7. **Race screen** - The race-screen was an implement of segregation used on street cars and buses to divide seating between white (in the front) and black (in the back). It was positioned on the back of a seat and could be moved at the convenience of any white person and to the inconvenience of any black person.
8. **“Star” street cars**- During ante-bellum times, the “star” street cars were reserved for black

patrons; White patrons rode in a separate street car. This arrangement lasted until 1867 when at the start of Radical Reconstruction a law was passed that permitted both races be able to ride in the same street car. In 1902, the “star” street car was reintroduced and lasted until the segregated street car was established.

9. **Plessy v. Ferguson** - The landmark Supreme Court case in 1896 established the constitutionality of “separate but equal” in public facilities. The case was the result of a law suit filed by Homer Plessy in New Orleans. Plessy, a light-skinned black person, was denied the right to sit in a “white only” coach of a train between New Orleans and Covington, Louisiana.
10. **Rosa Parks** - Rosa Parks refused to give up her seat to a white person in Montgomery, Alabama, in December 1955. Her arrest for having violated segregation laws was one of the sparks which led to the modern day Civil Rights movement.

PART II: TERMS

STUDENT COPY

NAME _____

Instructions: identify the following individuals and terms in complete sentences.

- 1. Lolis Elie -**
- 2. Joe Giarusso -**
- 3. Oretha Castle-Haley -**
- 4. Vic Schiro -**
- 5. Jerome Smith -**
- 6. Llewellyn Soniat -**
- 7. Race screen -**
- 8. “Star” street cars -**
- 9. Plessy v. Ferguson -**
- 10. Rosa Parks -**

PART II: QUESTIONS TEACHER COPY NAME _____

Instructions: answer the following questions in complete sentences.

1. How was segregation practiced on the street cars and buses in New Orleans? Specifically, what was the race screen? How did the race screen operate?

Before the Civil Rights movement, the laws of segregation stipulated that white people sat in the front of street cars and buses, and black people sat in the rear. The race screen was a movable sign which served to separate white and black people on the street cars and buses. On one side it said “white only” and on the other “colored only.” Any white person could remove the “race screen” from its position on the back of a seat and place it on another seat and thus require all black people to get up and move behind the screen.

What difficulties peculiar to New Orleans did street car operators have when enforcing segregation on the street cars?

In New Orleans, the conductors of street cars and the motor men on buses sometimes could not tell who was white and who was black.

In your opinion, why was public transportation one of the early battlegrounds of the Civil Rights movement? Explain.

The answer to this question depends on the students’ opinion, but the opinion must be supported by evidence. One answer might be that segregation as practiced on public transportation was often a daily reminder (a twice daily reminder) to black people of the inequities of the system, a reminder which directly impacted them in ways that were personal and humiliating. It was also physically taxing to people.

2. Jerome Smith, a black activist at the forefront of the Civil Rights struggle in New Orleans, describes an incident which occurred in the 1950’s while he was riding the bus on St. Claude Avenue. What did Jerome Smith do on the bus to arouse the anger of the bus driver and how did the bus driver respond?

Jerome Smith seized the race screen and threw it on the floor of the bus. The driver told Jerome Smith to move to the rear of the bus which was reserved for black people. Jerome Smith refused to move to the back, and the bus driver threatened to call the police.

Jerome Smith describes the actions of “an old black woman” on the bus. What was her

reaction to the incident?

The elderly black woman intervened on Jerome Smith's behalf by pleading with the bus driver not to call the police. She told the bus driver that she would take Jerome Smith home to his grandmother who would discipline the child.

The "old black woman" described by Jerome Smith handled herself one way on the bus and another way off the bus? Why? Explain.

The black woman pleaded with the bus driver, saying Jerome Smith "gives too much trouble." In other words, she suggested that Jerome was at fault. But off the bus the black woman took Jerome to a safe spot behind a nearby store and hugged and kissed him and said she was proud of him for his defiant actions. The woman was shrewd. She understood that in order to rescue Jerome from this difficult situation, she had ostensibly to observe the rules of segregation. Jerome was wrong, she said to the driver. Safely away from the bus driver, the woman expressed her admiration for Jerome's courage.

In your opinion, why did Jerome Smith throw the race screen on the ground?

Once again, the answer to this question depends on the students' opinion. But possibly one reason Jerome Smith "pitched" the race screen is because he had seen his father do the same thing. Also, the race screen was a symbol of humiliation to black people, and Jerome Smith might have felt the proper place for such a symbol was the floor.

3. Compare and contrast the two quotations taken from Part II. One is from a white man, the other from a black man.

Quote 1: Joe Giarusso, the white police chief in New Orleans during the late fifties and early sixties, describes segregation this way: "We were not on the losing end, and so we took it for granted."

Quote 2: Llewelyn Soniat, a black man and director of the New Orleans chapter of the NAACP during the Civil Rights struggle, says this about segregation, "We felt that being separated in this fashion was the way it should have been then."

How are the two statements similar?

The two statements are similar in the respect that both of the men seemed to accept legal segregation, to quote Llewelyn Soniat, "as the way it should have been then."

In what ways do the statements reflect the period in which the two men grew up? Explain.

The point is that neither man knew a different way of life. This made it very difficult for people to think in terms of change.

In your opinion, what does Joe Giarusso mean by his comment?

A possible answer: he is saying that white people did not suffer the indignities of segregation and as a result the unfairness of the system was not given a second thought. It is an honest response that nonetheless reflects a selfish attitude, an attitude that was common: the system is good for me; the system must stand.

4. In the documentary, Avery Alexander recalls a situation he observed as a child involving his elderly grandfather and a young white man.

How did each man address the other and why did this perplex the young Avery Alexander?

The young white man addressed the elderly black man by his first name, Arthur, but the elderly black man addressed the young white man as Mr. Ginrich. This was one of the rules of segregation, but the young Avery Alexander did not yet understand that. He assumed that an elderly man, black or white, was entitled to respect and to the courtesy of being addressed as "Mr."

How did the grandfather answer when Avery Alexander asked him why he called Mr. Ginrich "Mr Ginrich" and why Mr. Ginrich called him "Arthur"? In your opinion, why did he answer this way?

The grandfather refused to answer the question, and basically told the young Avery Alexander to forget about it. Why? He refused to talk about it perhaps because he saw no need in discussing the matter: this was the reality of life; it made no sense to discuss it; there was no hope of changing the system, unfair as it was. He might also have refused to discuss this with his grandson because he recognized that a youth who even asked questions of this nature was in danger of getting in trouble with the upholders of segregation.

In your opinion, why does Avery Alexander say, "I then realized the difference between white and black"?

A possible answer: at this early age, and as a result of observing the relationship between his grandfather and Mr. Ginrich, Avery Alexander recognized that all the privileges and advantages in the segregated South go to white people, even the privilege of being addressed as a "Mr." Furthermore, a black person does not have the right to even question the arrangement.

In this instance, how did language uphold the rules of segregation?

Language upheld the rules of segregation because simple words defined who was superior and who was inferior. The way each person addressed the other reflected who was in control.

5. In the documentary, Avery Alexander recounts an incident of police brutality that occurred while a black family was conducting a wake for a deceased relative in the front room of a home.

One police man shot and killed a mourner. Why?

The police arrived at the wake, and one police man ordered the mourners “Run you niggers run!” One mourner, who was deaf, did not hear the order and did not run. The police man evidently believed this mourner was being defiant, and for this reason he shot and killed him.

What was the response of the family whose son had been killed at the wake?

According to Avery Alexander, the family could not do anything to protest the murder. To discuss the killing publicly would invite further bloodshed. There was no legal recourse. To whom could the family report the crime? The police? No, a police man was the killer. “We couldn’t even petition,” Avery Alexander says. The only thing family could do was grieve (and quietly) for their son who was killed because he was black and could not hear.

What was the purpose of white directed violence in the segregated South?

The purpose of white directed violence was to punish black people who had violated the rules of segregation and to intimidate other black people in the effort to dissuade them from even thinking of fighting for change. The enforcement of Jim Crow segregation was based on terror, and any hint of a violation of segregation’s hard rules invited punishment and death. Not infrequently, terror was randomly applied to sow doubt as well as fear.

PART II: QUESTIONS STUDENT COPY NAME _____

Instructions: answer the following questions in complete sentences.

1. How was segregation practiced on the street cars and buses in New Orleans? Specifically, what was the race screen? How did the race screen operate?
2. Jerome Smith, a black activist at the forefront of the Civil Rights struggle in New Orleans, describes an incident which occurred in the 1950's while he was riding the bus on St. Claude Avenue: What did Jerome Smith do on the bus to arouse the anger of the bus driver and how did the bus driver respond?

Jerome Smith describes the actions of "an old black woman" on the bus. What was her reaction to the incident?

The black woman described by Jerome Smith handled herself one way on the bus and another way off the bus? Explain.

In your opinion, why did Jerome Smith throw the race screen on the ground?

3. Compare and contrast the two quotations taken from Part II. One is from a white man, the other from a black man.

Quote 1: Joe Giarusso, the white police chief in New Orleans during the late fifties and early sixties, describes segregation this way: "We were not on the losing end, and so we took it for granted."

Quote 2: Llewelyn Soniat, a black man and director of the New Orleans chapter of the NAACP during the Civil Rights struggle, says this about segregation, "We felt that being separated in this fashion was the way it should have been then."

How are the two statements similar?

In your opinion, what does Joe Giarusso mean by his comment?

In what ways do the statements reflect the period in which the two men grew up? Explain.

4. In the documentary, Avery Alexander recalls a situation he observed as a child involving his elderly grandfather and a young white man.

How did each man address the other and why did this perplex the young Avery Alexander?

How did the grandfather answer when Avery Alexander asked him why he called Mr. Ginrich "Mr Ginrich" and why Mr. Ginrich called him "Arthur"? In your opinion, why did

he answer this way?

In your opinion, why does Avery Alexander say, "I then realized the difference between white and black"?

In this instance, how did language uphold the rules of segregation?

5. In the documentary, Avery Alexander recounts an incident of police brutality that occurred while a black family was conducting a wake for a deceased relative in the front room of a home.

One police man shot and killed a mourner. Why?

What was the response of the family whose son had been shot and killed at the wake?

What was the purpose of white directed violence in the segregated South?

6. List two examples of segregation which become apparent in Part II of the documentary.

PART III--LECTURE NOTES

“We know we have to do something.”

-- Arthur Chapital of the NAACP, calling for a boycott of McDonogh Day in 1954

Part III of *A House Divided* covers the period of history from Reconstruction (and the attendant violence) to 1960.

OBJECTIVE: In Part III, the students should understand the importance of the two Supreme Court decisions: Plessy v. Ferguson (1896); and Brown v. Board of Education (1954). In addition, the students should become familiar with the first efforts towards achieving civil rights in New Orleans, beginning with the law suits filed against the Orleans Parish School Board by A.P. Tureaud of the NAACP (1951) and continuing with the following events: the desegregation of public libraries; the McDonogh Day Boycott; the desegregation of buses and street cars.

Part III ends prior to 1960, the year of the school desegregation crisis in New Orleans.

PREPARATION: Before the students view Part III of *A House Divided*, present a brief lecture to them based on the historical background information provided below.

1. RECONSTRUCTION

In the beginning of Part III, there is a brief reference to “the end of Reconstruction and the withdrawal of Federal troops.”

HISTORICAL POINT: In New Orleans, Reconstruction began with the fall of the city to Admiral Farragut in late April 1862. Lincoln’s Emancipation Proclamation (January 1, 1863) did not free slaves in the regions of Louisiana under Federal control, which included most of the River parishes and also New Orleans. The 1864 Louisiana Constitution, sanctioned by President Lincoln, did not grant black people (men, in this instance) the right to vote. In a March 1864 letter to Governor Michael Hahn of Louisiana, Lincoln referred to "elective franchise" and added, "I barely suggest for your private consideration, whether some of the colored people may not be let in [to the forthcoming constitutional convention], as, for instance, those very intelligent, and especially those who have fought gallantly in our ranks."

Lincoln was assassinated in April 1865 shortly after Lee's surrender to Grant at Appomatox, Virginia. His vice-president, democrat Andrew Johnson of Tennessee, became President. He was reluctant to impose racial change on the defeated South, the supposed fruit of victory. In July 1866, a massacre of Republican legislators and others (black and white) took place at the

Mechanic's Institute on Dryades and Canal Streets (the present-day site of the Fairmont Hotel).

The legislators had met in hopes of re-writing the 1864 state constitution to permit black suffrage. The slaughter, in which 137 were killed and several hundred wounded, shocked northern public opinion and led to Radical Reconstruction, the period from 1867 until (in Louisiana) 1877. This was a brief period in Louisiana history in which black people in the state exercised their political and civil rights in the face of violent white opposition.

On September 14, 1874, several thousand armed whites known as the White League attacked the Metropolitan Police force, an integrated militia supporting the Republican administration. The White League wanted to overthrow the Republican administration in the state and restore white rule. The Metropolitan Police were arrayed before the Customs House near the bottom of Canal Street. They were routed. The twelve minute conflict, with its distinctly racial edge, has been heralded as the Battle of Liberty Place by white supremacists ever since.

White conservative rule in Louisiana, under the Democratic Party, was re-established in 1877 when the Federal government removed troops from the state. The brief period in Louisiana during which black people enjoyed political and civil rights was over.

QUOTE: In *A House Divided*, Duplain W. Rhodes recalls the story handed down to him about the violence meted out to his family in Thibodaux, Louisiana. It is of note that the school teacher was killed. Why the teacher? As black people who owned land, the Rhodes family was a magnet for attacks by white vigilantes. The quote from Duplain W. Rhodes follows:

If you owned land, you had to get out, and the easiest thing to do is to kill you. Just hung him if you could catch him. They got rid of a school teacher, left the body on the street with sign on it as a warning to all blacks in that location. My daddy had to make himself not to be found. He went into the woods. My mother started selling what we had. My daddy came at night and took my mother in a wagon and a horse. They left there and went here (New Orleans) from Thibodaux.

QUESTION: At another point in *A House Divided*, Judge Revius Ortique repeats a question often asked of him: ““Why did we wait so long?”” Ask the students the same question: why did black people “wait” so long?

ANSWER: In response to the question, Judge Ortique said, “...I suppose the answer comes very quickly. We were not prepared.” In addition, a fundamental reason for waiting “so long” was the effective use of violence, terror, and intimidation by whites.

The example of the Duplain family is one among countless examples.

2. PLESSY V. FERGUSON

In 1877, white conservative rule returned to Louisiana. Francis T. Nicholls, an ex-Confederate general who lost an arm and a leg in the battles in Virginia, became Democratic governor. The same class of people, if not the same people, who had ruled Louisiana before the Civil War were now once again in control. The Redeemers, as they styled themselves, promised full equality to black citizens, but these promises were not kept. Slowly but surely, the civil rights blacks had enjoyed during the heyday of Reconstruction were whittled away. The white supremacists were cautious; they did not care to risk the return of Federal troops to the state and thus did not immediately deprive the black population of all of its rights. The process of so-called Redemption was a slow but steady one.

In 1892, Homer Plessy, a light skinned black gentleman, was ousted from his seat on the train from New Orleans to Covington, Louisiana. In a deliberate test of his rights as a black person, Plessy sat in a section for “whites only.” After being arrested, Plessy filed suit against the railroad company. The suit reached district court in New Orleans, where the Federal Judge, John Ferguson, decided in favor of the railroad company. In appeal, the case went to the U.S. Supreme Court. On May 18, 1896, the Court, in Plessy v. Ferguson, upheld Louisiana’s laws regarding public transportation, stating that separate facilities for the two races were constitutional as long as the facilities were “equal.” This was later referred to as the “separate but equal” doctrine.

Plessy v. Ferguson was a landmark decision, and it effectively ushered in the period of legal segregation, often referred to as Jim Crow segregation.

QUOTE: U.S. Supreme Court Justice John Holland wrote in his dissenting opinion:

The destinies of the two races in this country are indissolubly linked together, and the interests of both require the common government of all should not permit seeds of race hate planted under the sanction of law.

QUESTION: This statement by Justice Holland touches upon one of the profound question of the age: whether or not the different races can live together in relative peace and harmony. Ask the students if they agree or disagree with the statement by Justice Holland that “the two races are indissolubly linked”? If so, why? If not, why not?

ANSWER: The answer to the question rests with the opinion of the individual student. Point out to the student, however, some basic facts, namely, that neither of the races intends to pack up and leave the country. In this sense, the races “are indissolubly linked.”

3. A.P. TUREAUD

A.P. Tureaud, a black lawyer, was local counsel for the New Orleans branch of the NAACP in

the 1930's, '40's and '50's. He challenged segregation in the courts. In 1951, he filed suit in federal court on behalf of Oliver Bush, a black man in New Orleans who wanted his son Earl to attend a neighborhood school which happened to be all-white. The case was dismissed in 1952, but on appeal it reached the U.S. Supreme Court, which chose instead to rule on another case, *Brown v. the Board of Education*, in 1954.

In 1948, Tureaud filed suit against the Orleans Parish School Board in the effort to have black teachers receive the same salary as white teachers. He won the suit, an early victory in the Civil Rights struggle. Hitherto, blacks had received less than half the salary of their white counterparts.

In the aftermath of the *Brown v. the Board* decision, the White Citizens' Council in New Orleans, led by Leander Perez, attempted to destroyed the NAACP in Louisiana. Under a 1924 law designed to unmask the Ku Klux Klan, the NAACP was required to publicize its membership list. This was the equivalent of signing the death warrants for all its members. Tureaud was forced to resign from the NAACP or face being disbarred from the law profession, and the NAACP suspended activities in New Orleans for the immediate future. NAACP activities, however, were continued by "Voter Leagues."

In 1957, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference was founded in New Orleans during a visit to the city by Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., who for a time had entertained the thought of becoming chaplain at Dillard University. The SCLC was based on Ghandian principles of non-violence and direct action. It was at the forefront of the Civil Rights movement in the South and throughout the nation.

4. BROWN V. BOARD OF EDUCATION

On May 17, 1954, the Supreme Court issued its unanimous decision in *Brown v. the Board of Education*. The decision established that "separate but equal" treatment accorded to blacks and to whites (of *Plessy v. Ferguson*) was unconstitutional, and, specifically, that segregation in public education was unconstitutional. Chief Justice Earl Warren said: "We conclude that in the field of public education the doctrine of 'separate but equal' has no place. Separate educational facilities are inherently unequal."

Brown v. the Board was greeted by supporters of civil rights as the first step in a long battle to achieve the full rights of citizenship for black Americans.

QUOTE: In *A House Divided*, Benjamin Hooks, former executive director of the NAACP, had this to say about the *Brown v. the Board* decision:

The victory was tremendous. It was the most important since the 13th, 14th, and 15th amendments. It was the most important psychological victory since Emancipation.

QUESTION: Ask the students to define the Emancipation Proclamation, as well as the 13th, 14th, and 15th amendments.

ANSWER: President Abraham Lincoln issued the Emancipation Proclamation on January 1, 1863. It freed the slaves in the states then in rebellion. The Proclamation did not free the slaves in the territories then occupied by Federal troops in Louisiana, including “the Parishes of St. Bernard, Plaquemines, Jefferson, St. Johns, St. Charles, St. James, Ascension, Assumption, Terrebonne, Lafouche, St. Mary, St. Martin, and Orleans, including the city of New Orleans.”

Lincoln wrote in the Emancipation Proclamation: “...I do order and declare that all persons held as slaves within said designated States, and parts of States, are, and henceforward shall be free; and that the executive government of the United States, including the military and naval authorities thereof, will recognize and maintain the freedom of said persons.”

Immediately after the Civil War, many states continued to deny black citizens basic constitutional rights, including the right to vote.

The 13th Amendment, in 1865, stated: “No slavery shall exist within the United States or in any lands under its control.”

The 14th Amendment, in 1868, stated: “All persons born or naturalized in the United States and subject to its law are citizens of the United States and of the state in which they live. All former slaves shall be considered citizens. They shall be entitled to the same protection of the Constitution as all other citizens.” It extended constitutional rights and liberties to blacks and to other people previously denied those rights. Of critical importance was the fact that the 14th Amendment made the federal government the protector of those rights, an arrangement which led to the conflict over “state's rights.”

The 15th Amendment, in 1870, stated: “The right of a citizen of the United States to vote shall not be denied because he was once an indentured servant or a slave. The right to vote cannot be denied because of race or color.”

Ask the students why NAACP director Benjamin Hooks viewed the *Brown v. the Board* decision as the “the most important psychological victory since Emancipation.” Specifically, what does Hooks mean by “psychological victory?”

A possible answer: the Supreme Court’s decision in *Brown v. the Board* established that black people should be treated equally in the field of education, and this offered the possibility that education would empower black people to confront and overcome the disadvantages and problems before them. *Brown v. the Board* represented a light at the end of the tunnel, a tunnel through which no light had hitherto been seen. White supremacists had traditionally denied black children the opportunity to be educated in the calculated hope that an ignorant populace would be unwilling to confront the unfairness of Jim Crow segregation.

HISTORICAL POINT: The segregationists of the South condemned the Brown v. the Board decision in vitriolic terms and labeled May 17, 1954 as “Black Monday.” Senator James O. Eastland of Mississippi said flatly that the white people of the South did not have to obey the decisions of the Supreme Court. He urged Massive Resistance to integration. White Citizens’ Councils were founded throughout the South, beginning in Indianola, Mississippi. The Councils comprised the so-called elite of the white communities (the doctors, bankers, lawyers, store owners, etc), and their purpose was to halt desegregation. Black people who challenged the system were threatened with severe economic reprisals, such as having the mortgage called in or losing jobs as school teachers or as a maids.

In New Orleans, one of the leading figures behind the establishment the Whites Citizens’ Council of Greater New Orleans was Leander Perez, a owner of vast land holdings and oil wealth in St. Bernard and Plaquemines Parishes, which he ruled like a personal fiefdom. Perez railed against blacks and Jews with the same venom. Emphasize to the students that this was a time in American history of intense Red-baiting. The tactic of smearing opponents by labelling them communists was practiced to a tremendous degree. Perez argued that integration was a communist plot to weaken the nation by promoting race-mixing. Indeed, a characteristic slogan of the White Citizens’ Council said, “Integration is the Southern expression of communism.”

Perez, a lawyer and judge, was hired by the Orleans Parish School Board after the Brown decision to help prevent desegregation. In this he failed, but his angry tongue inflamed passions on both sides of the racial divide.

QUESTION: What were the similarities and the differences between the White Citizens’ Councils and the Ku Klux Klan?

ANSWER: The leadership of the White Citizens’ Councils comprised the economic and social elite of the white communities, in contrast to the Ku Klux Klan, which mostly comprised farmers and workers.

Whatever the techniques employed, be it economic reprisal by the White Citizens’ Council in the form of an unfair dismissal from a job or violence by the Klan in the form of a lynching or a cross burned on a front lawn, the intent of both the Citizens’ Councils and the Klan was the same: to prevent the slightest change to the caste system that was Jim Crow segregation.

5. MCDONOGH DAY BOYCOTT

One of the first organized protests of the Civil Rights struggle in New Orleans was the McDonogh Day Boycott in May 1954. John McDonogh was a parsimonious eccentric who died a generous philanthropist, leaving an endowment to the public schools in Baltimore, Maryland,

and in New Orleans. He was a slave holder, but one with a curious twist: he educated a handful of his slaves, freed them (manumission), and helped them establish a model community at McDonoghville in present-day Algiers. He did this in the hopes of preparing the former slaves for a new life in Liberia, West Africa.

In May of each year, a timeless ritual was played out: students from the segregated school system gathered at Lafayette Park in downtown New Orleans to pay homage to John McDonogh. They placed flowers at the foot of his statue, the different bands played, the students sang the McDonogh Ode, and finally each delegation picked up a symbolic "key to the city" from the mayor who stood across the street at Gallier Hall, which was then the City Hall.

The white students, according to the dictates of segregation, were the first to deposit their flowers at the McDonogh statue, the first to sing, and the first to receive the keys of the city from the mayor. The black children, in contrast, often had to wait in the hot sun while the white students finished their ceremony and only then did the ceremony for black students begin. It was a subtle act of denigration, typical of the system. Nonetheless, McDonogh Day was an occasion that stood out in the minds of all children.

QUOTE: In *A House Divided*, Revius Ortique recalled that "as a child he was proud to participate" in the McDonogh Day ceremonies. He enjoyed dressing up for the occasion; he enjoyed the pomp and circumstance; he was young and did not understand the degrading symbolism; he felt special even within the constraints of segregation.

In 1954, the black teachers' associations protested the discrimination evinced at the McDonogh Day ceremonies. Arthur Chapital, director of the local branch of the NAACP and a postal employee, called for a boycott of McDonogh Day. He said, "We know we have to do something." Chapital urged Revius Ortique to make radio broadcasts urging black parents to keep their children home on McDonogh Day. Ortique, then vice president at large of the Louisiana Council of Labor and also an employee of the state Department of Labor, agreed, and his radio broadcasts began a life of civil rights activism. A.P. Tureaud, A.L. Davis, and other black leaders supported the boycott.

In May 1954, white students from Orleans Parish met at Lafayette Park and honored John McDonogh in the traditional manner. The crowd of dignitaries and others awaited the sound of one of the bands from a black school. The sound was not forthcoming. The boycott was almost total. Only thirty-four of the city's 32,000 black students showed up. One black principal appeared; she never regained a leadership role in the black community.

The boycott was effective. The mayor of the city, Chep Morrison, stood in front of Gallier Hall with 32 keys to the city in his hand but no school delegation to bestow them on. The boycott lasted for the next two years.

QUOTE: Revius Ortique, one of the organizers of the boycott, was impressed at the almost total compliance of the black community in honoring the boycott. In *A House*

Divided, he says, “I would say the McDonogh Day incident was the first concerted challenge that color crossed all segments of the black community, and we spoke as one.” This quote reflects the fact that the black community in New Orleans had deep cultural, class, and political divisions. What were they? How were they overcome? Do they exist today?

6. LATTER MEMORIAL

In New Orleans, as everywhere in the South, the public libraries were segregated. The libraries for blacks received less of everything and what they received was of an inferior quality, usually hand-me-downs from a white library (just as black schools received worn textbooks from white schools). In the aftermath of *Brown v. the Board of Education*, the Orleans Parish School Board made a futile effort to improve black education and to make it truly “separate but equal” in the forlorn hopes of preserving the segregated system.

HISTORICAL POINT: Segregated libraries were an attempt to keep black children less educated, less capable, and less willing to challenge the system. Segregation was not just a matter of black children receiving second hand books from the white schools. It was a matter of black children receiving an inferior education which, in turn, prepared them for an inferior role in a segregated system.

In 1954, the New Orleans League of Classroom Teachers petitioned the city’s Library Board to desegregate Latter Memorial Library on St. Charles Avenue in Uptown New Orleans. Albert Dent, president of Dillard University, urged three clergy men (“a Catholic, a Jew, and a Protestant”) to urge the Library Board to integrate the libraries.

In 1953, Rosa Keller was appointed to the Library Board by Mayor Chep Morrison. She was the first woman appointed to the board. Keller was astonished to discover that black children in Uptown New Orleans were not permitted to use Latter Memorial Library. Keller suggested to the Library Board that Latter Memorial be open to all children regardless of color. It was “as if the roof fell in,” she says in *A House Divided*. The resistance was so great that Keller apologized to Mayor Morrison, saying she had “gotten in over my head.” Much to her surprise, the mayor replied, “No, you’re right. They’re wrong.” He was evidently aware that the *Brown v. the Board* decision made the integration of libraries inevitable. Morrison urged Keller to continue in the efforts to desegregate the library. She did, and in 1955 Latter Memorial was open to all. By the end of 1955, all public libraries in the city were integrated. However, water fountains and bath rooms remained segregated.

The integration of the libraries was one of the few civil rights gains achieved without a lawsuit and protest. The victory was quietly celebrated; the media honored the request not to publicize the first day. Nonetheless, word of the desegregation leaked out, and some whites protested by removing the chairs from at least some of the libraries.

QUOTE: Rosa Keller, a daughter of the wealthy and socially connected Freeman family, was one of the few white people who fought for Civil Rights in New Orleans. In the 1950's, she was president of the Urban League, an integrated organization devoted to increasing black employment. Her comments about the attitudes of her fellow white people are instructive: "Let these people (black people) get as good as we are, to our level" before the system is changed. Keller describes that attitude as "junk." Another attitude typical of the white community: segregation was "a benefit" to black people, who, according to the stereotype, were inferior and thus incapable of taking care of themselves. "Change," she reflects at another point in the documentary, "is hard for people."

The overwhelming majority of white people in New Orleans did not object to segregation. They did not see it as a moral problem. Indeed, they feared that the slightest change to the complicated system of segregation would destroy their economic, political, and social privileges. They evinced a fear of racial change that was not unlike the fear evinced by their ancestors during the turbulent and violent time of Radical Reconstruction.

QUESTION: Emphasize to the students that people like Rosa Keller were few and far between. However, it is precisely because there were so few people like her that these people are so important to remember, and to study. The essential question: what made Rosa Keller different?

ANSWER: The answer, of course, is we don't know. Here are some clues: Keller was raised a Presbyterian and lectured by her family "to do what is right, even if it hurts you." She defied convention when she married a U.S. Army officer who was Jewish. She traveled with him to various outposts and saw the world beyond New Orleans. She also became familiar with anti-Semitism through her husband's eyes.

Keller was deeply influenced in her view on segregation by the Nazi annihilation of Jews in Europe during World War II. To her, the Holocaust was not only a demonstration of racial hatred pursued to a murderous conclusion, but of the failure of one people to accept another and to live side by side that people despite the differences and in honor of the similarities.

The circumstances between Germans and Jews (and Poles and Jews) were quite different than the circumstances between whites and blacks in her own homeland, but the echo was quite distinct, and required Keller to stand up and do something.

QUESTION: Rosa Keller was influenced by the righteous example of her parents and also by the murderous example of the Holocaust. Ask the students this question: what are some of the events and who are the individuals that have impacted you and helped shape your own view of people, of the race question, of the world? And why?

ANSWER: This is a question that requires a personal answer.

7. STREET CARS AND BUSES

Public transportation in New Orleans remained segregated until May 30, 1958. That day, a Monday, that buses and street cars in the city were ordered desegregated by Federal Judge Skelly Wright. However, it took longer to overcome certain attitudes and fears.

QUOTE: In *A House Divided*, Avery Alexander remembers, “We had to put on a campaign to get blacks to ride in front of the bus, in front of a white person, and whites would get on the bus and stand up behind the driver before they would sit behind blacks.”

HISTORICAL POINT: It is not mentioned in *A House Divided*, but black people in New Orleans, honoring the Montgomery Bus Boycott, were urged to boycott Mardi Gras in 1957. An advertisement in a black newspaper read: “No dancing in New Orleans while blacks are walking in Montgomery.” The boycott was honored by major black carnival organizations except Zulu, which refused to participate in the boycott and paraded hurriedly on Mardi Gras morning amidst dire threats.

Members of the black community in Baton Rouge, Louisiana, under the leadership of J.T. Jemison, a Baptist minister, launched a boycott of public transportation in that city in the summer of 1953. This was the first act of organized resistance to segregated public transportation in the South, and it served as a model for the Montgomery boycott two years later.

Instructions: identify the following individuals and terms in complete sentences.

1. **Revius Ortique** - Revius Ortique, born in New Orleans, was a black attorney who helped organize the McDonogh Day Boycott in 1954 and other black protests. He also worked with the Urban League. Ortique was influenced by Albert Dent, president of Dillard University, and by A.P. Tureaud, a lawyer for the NAACP in Louisiana in the 1950's, both of whom inspired Ortique to fight for civil rights. Ortique was later elected a civil court judge in New Orleans.
2. **A.P. Tureaud** - A.P. Tureaud, a lawyer for the New Orleans branch of the NAACP, filed a series of law suits to force the desegregation of public facilities in Louisiana, including Louisiana State University in Baton Rouge which occurred in 1952. In 1951, he filed suit in *Bush v. Orleans Parish School Board* in 1951. It called for the desegregation of public schools in New Orleans. Tureaud was a leading figure in the early days of the modern Civil Rights movement in Louisiana.
3. **Leander Perez** - Leander Perez, a lawyer, a judge, and a white supremacist, led the White Citizens' Council in its fight against desegregation. His contempt of blacks was equal to hatred of Jews. He viewed integration as a communist inspired effort to destroy the United States. As a result of his vehement opposition to the integration of Catholic schools, Perez was excommunicated by the Pope.
4. **Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC)**- The Southern Christian Leadership Conference, founded in New Orleans in 1957, was based on the Gandhian principles of non-violence and direct action. Martin Luther King, Jr. was the director of the SCLC, which played a leading role in the struggle for civil rights across the country, but, relatively speaking, a minor role in New Orleans.
5. **John McDonogh** - John McDonogh was a 19th century philanthropist who endowed the New Orleans public schools. Each year both white and black students from Orleans Parish public schools paid homage to McDonogh in ceremonies that were segregated. In 1954, black schools boycotted McDonogh Day in one of the city's first organized black protests of the modern Civil Rights period.
6. **Arthur Chapital** - Arthur Chapital was director of the New Orleans branch of the NAACP in the 1950's. He was an early leader of the black community, helping to organize the McDonogh Day Boycott in 1954.
7. **Chep Morrison** - Chep Morrison was mayor of New Orleans in the late 1950's and early '60's. He did not believe in desegregation, but he desired the limited black vote and thus worked for improvements for the black community within the limits of segregation. He built Shakespeare Park for his black constituency, and he backed the construction of Ponchartrain

Park, a housing development for middle-class black people. Morrison arranged for the desegregation of public libraries in New Orleans, but he did not arrange for the police to protect the black children who entered public school in November 1960. Morrison ran for governor that same year and was not entirely free of playing the race card. He lost but subsequently was appointed ambassador to the Organization of American States (OAS).

8. **Rosa Keller** - Rosa Keller was one of the few white people who fought for racial change in New Orleans. Her husband was Jewish and she became familiar with prejudice through his eyes. Keller was also deeply influenced by the Nazi Holocaust in Europe. It was an example of unbridled racism, and she was left to wonder about racism in her own country. In addition to her other work in facilitating racial change in New Orleans, Keller was instrumental in the desegregation of the public libraries in 1955. She later served as president of the Urban League of New Orleans.
9. **John Holland** - In 1896, John Holland was the U.S. Supreme Court Justice who voiced a dissenting opinion in the Plessy v. Ferguson case. He said that the two races “were indissolubly linked.”
10. **Oliver Bush** - With the help of the local branch of the NAACP, Oliver Bush filed suit in 1941 on behalf of his son Earl who wanted to attend a neighborhood school that happened to be all white. This was one of the early desegregation law suits. Judgement on the desegregation issue was rendered by *Brown v. the Board* in 1954.

PART III: TERMS STUDENT COPY NAME_____

Instructions: identify the following individuals and terms in complete sentences.

- 1. Revius Ortique -**
- 2. A.P. Tureaud -**
- 3. Leander Perez -**
- 4. Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC)-**
- 5. John McDonogh -**
- 6. Arthur Chapital -**
- 7. Chep Morrison -**
- 8. Rosa Keller -**
- 9. John Holland -**
- 10. Oliver Bush -**

PART III: QUESTIONS TEACHER COPY NAME_____

Instructions: answer the following questions in complete sentences.

1. What was Radical Reconstruction? When did it occur? How did it end? What was its significance?

Radical Reconstruction was the period following the Civil War from 1867 to 1877 during which so-called Radicals in the U.S. Congress controlled Federal policy towards the South. During this period of time, despite the intense opposition by white vigilantes, black people in the South enjoyed political and civil rights. In Louisiana, those rights were gradually abolished following the withdrawal of Federal troops from the state in 1877.

2. What happened to the Rhodes family in Thibodaux, Louisiana? What happened to the school teacher? What was the purpose behind these actions?

The Rhodes family was threatened with death and forced to flee Thibodaux to New Orleans. As a black family which owned land, the Rhodes were viewed as a threat to local whites. Segregation was based on the premise that blacks were inferior. A black who owned land was an inviting target to a white man who did not. Black and white teachers of black children were particularly inviting targets. Educating black children was the great taboo. It threatened the structure of segregation, which was based upon keeping a people ignorant.

3. Who was Homer Plessy? Describe the incident that led to the Supreme Court case Plessy v. Ferguson. In what year did the incident occur?

Homer Plessy was a light-skinned black man who decided to test Louisiana's segregation laws in 1892. He sat in an "all white" coach on a train from New Orleans to Covington. Plessy was ejected from his seat. He promptly sued the railroad company. John Ferguson, a Federal judge in New Orleans, decided in favor of the railroad company, and the case was then appealed to the U.S. Supreme Court.

What did the Supreme Court decide in Plessy v. Ferguson?

The Supreme Court endorsed the opinion of the lower court and decided in favor of the railroad company. The court established that "separate but equal" in public facilities was constitutional.

What effect did the Supreme Court's decision have on race relations in the United States?

The decision greatly contributed to the entrenchment of legal segregation in the South.

4. One Supreme Court Justice, John Holland, disagreed with the decision in Plessy v. Ferguson. He wrote, "The destinies of the two races in this country are indissolubly linked together, and the interests of both require the common government of all should not permit the seed of race hate planted under the sanction of law."

Do you agree or disagree with the statement, "...the two races in this country are indissolubly linked together?" Explain your answer.

This answer depends on the student's opinion, but it must be supported by examples.

5. What was the Supreme Court's decision in the case of Brown v. the Board of Education? In what year was this decision rendered?

In May 1954, the Supreme Court decided in Brown v. the Board that "separate but equal" in public education was unconstitutional.

What was the reaction of the majority of the white South to Brown v. the Board of Education?

Generally speaking, the white South opposed the Brown v. the Board decision and stood against integration of public schools. White supremacists organized the White Citizens' Council to fight desegregation.

6. Benjamin Hooks, then director of the NAACP, describes the Brown v. the Board decision this way: "The victory was tremendous. It was the most important since the 13th, 14th, and 15th amendments. It was the most important psychological victory since Emancipation."

What was the Emancipation Proclamation? Who issued it? In what year?

President Abraham Lincoln issued the Emancipation Proclamation on January 1, 1863. It freed the slaves in the states then in rebellion. The Proclamation did not free the slaves in the territories then occupied by Federal troops in Louisiana.

What were the 13th, 14th, and 15th amendments to the constitution?

In 1865, the 13th Amendment abolished slavery. The 14th Amendment, in 1868, established that all person born or naturalized in the United States enjoyed the rights of citizenship. It extended constitutional rights and liberties to blacks and to other people previously denied those rights. It made the federal

government the protector of those rights. In 1879, the 15th Amendment stated: “The right of a citizen of the United States to vote shall not be denied because he was once an indentured servant or a slave. The right to vote cannot be denied because of race or color.”

Ask the students why NAACP director Benjamin Hooks viewed the Brown v the Board decision as the “the most important psychological victory since Emancipation.” Specifically, what does Hooks mean by “psychological victory?”

A possible answer: the Supreme Court’s decision in Brown v. the Board established that black people should be treated equally in the field of education, and this offered the possibility that education would help black people overcome the problems before them. White supremacists had traditionally denied black children the opportunity to be educated in the hope that an ignorant populace would be unwilling to confront the unfairness of Jim Crow segregation.

7. Who was Leander Perez, and what was his role during the Civil Rights period?

Leander Perez was a wealthy white supremacist and lawyer who led the White Citizens’ Council in its fights against desegregation. He despised blacks and Jews and described integration as a communist inspired attempt to promote race mixing and thereby to weaken the United States.

8. Who was Rosa Keller, and what was her role during the Civil Rights period?

Rosa Keller was a wealthy white woman from Uptown New Orleans who was one of the few white people to work in favor of desegregation.

9. Who was John McDonogh?

John McDonogh was a 19th century philanthropist and slave owner who endowed the Baltimore and New Orleans public schools.

Describe the traditional McDonogh Day celebration.

Each year in May students from public schools in New Orleans paid homage to McDonogh by placing flowers at the foot of his statue in Lafayette Park. It was a festive occasion involving bands and singing. Afterwards, each school paraded before the mayor who stood across the street at Gallier Hall and handed out keys to the city to each school delegation.

Why did black teachers and community leaders object to the way in which the ceremony was organized?

Black people objected to the McDonogh Day ceremony because it was conducted according to the rules of Jim Crow segregation. White children went first, and black children followed after the last white school delegation had received its keys to the city. Black children often had to stand in the hot sun and watch as the white schools went before them. The ceremony was humiliating and suggested that the black children were “less” than the white children.

Describe the McDonogh Day in 1954. What happened?

Black schools staged a boycott of McDonogh Day in 1954. They simply did not show up. The boycott was observed by the overwhelming majority of blacks students and teachers in the city.

What was the significance of the McDonogh Day Boycott?

It was the first time that all the diverse groups within the black community banded together to stage a large protest of segregation.

PART III: QUESTIONS STUDENT COPY NAME _____

Instructions: answer the following questions in complete sentences.

1. What was Reconstruction? When did it occur? How did it end? What was its significance?
2. What happened to the Rhodes family in Thibodaux, Louisiana? Why did this happen?
3. Who was Homer Plessy? Describe the incident that led to the Supreme Court's case Plessy v. Ferguson. In what year did the incident occur?

What did the Supreme Court decide in Plessy v. Ferguson?

What effect did the Supreme Court's decision have on race relations in the United States?

4. One Supreme Court Justice, John Holland, disagreed with the decision in Plessy v. Ferguson. He wrote, "The destinies of the two races in this country are indissolubly linked together, and the interests of both require the common government of all should not permit the seed of race hate planted under the sanction of law."

Do you agree or disagree with the statement "the two races in this country are indissolubly linked together?" Explain your answer.

5. What was the Supreme Court's decision in the case of Brown v. the Board of Education? In what year was this decision rendered?

As succinctly as you can, compare and contrast "Plessy vs. Ferguson" and "Brown vs. the Board of Education."

6. Benjamin Hooks, then director of the NAACP, describes the Brown v. the Board decision this way: "The victory was tremendous. It was the most important since the 13th, 14th, and 15th Amendments. It was the most important psychological victory since Emancipation."

What were the 13th, 14th, and 15th Amendments?

What was the Emancipation Proclamation? Who issued it? In what year?

In your opinion, what does Hooks mean with the expression "psychological victory?" Explain.

7. Who was Leander Perez, and what was his role during the Civil Rights period?
8. Who was Rosa Keller, and what was her role during the Civil Rights period?
9. Who was John McDonogh?

Describe the traditional McDonogh Day celebration.

Why did black teachers and community leaders object to the way in which the ceremony was organized?

Describe the McDonogh Day Boycott of 1954. What happened?

In your opinion, what was the significance of the McDonogh Day Boycott?

PART IV--LECTURE NOTES

“I had a lot of people say, ‘Why don’t you let someone else do it?’ You know, if everybody said, ‘Let somebody else do it,’ and nobody’s going to do nothing.”

-- Vergie Castle, mother of Oretha Castle-Haley

Part IV of *A House Divided* focuses on a dramatic year in the history of New Orleans: 1960.

OBJECTIVE: In Part IV, the student should become familiar with the events of 1960. In this year, the Consumer League intensified its boycott of the merchants on Dryades St., and shortly afterwards CORE activists launched the sit-ins of the segregated lunch counters on Canal Street. On November 14, 1960, the New Orleans public schools were ordered desegregated by Federal Judge Skelley Wright. Here, on the eve of the school desegregation crisis, Part IV ends.

PREPARATION: Before the students view Part IV of *A House Divided*, present a short lecture to them on the information provided below.

1. DRYADES STREET

For many years the stores along Dryades Street, the second largest shopping district in the city, served the black clientele of the neighborhood. Virtually all of the people who worked in the stores as managers and clerks were white; the great majority were family members in one extended way or another. Black people were occasionally employed on the mops and brooms level.

QUOTE: In *A House Divided*, Avery Alexander says this about Dryades Street:

There were a hundred stores and there were no blacks clerking in any of the stores. No managers, no assistant managers. No white collar workers. We didn’t believe it was equitable when ninety percent of the customers were black.

HISTORICAL POINT: An organization of early black activists known as the Consumer League came into existence to protest the discriminatory hiring practices of the Dryades St. merchants. Among the leaders of the Consumer League were Avery Alexander, Dr. Raymond Floyd, A.L. Davis, Dr. Henry Mitchell, and others. Their lawyers, Lolis Elie, Nils Douglas, Robert Collins, Ernest “Dutch” Morial, and others, provided free legal counsel.

The Consumer League representatives negotiated with representatives of the Dryades Street merchants for several months, but no progress ensued.

QUOTE: Dr. Henry Mitchell described the dialogue:

We conferred with the owners, the shop owners. The dialogue went on for two or three months. Their answer was, 'What will happen to our white customers?' Our answer was, 'You better worry about the ninety-five percent of your customers.'

The merchants did not budge, and the Consumers' League launched a boycott of the Dryades Street stores. The Consumer's League members were joined on the picket lines by black students from the local colleges, including Oretha Castle, Jerome Smith, and Rudy Lombard. A few white students joined them. In the summer of 1960, these students organized a New Orleans chapter of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE).

HISTORICAL POINT: The Dryades Street Boycott was the first organized march for civil rights in New Orleans during the twentieth century.

The boycott began to be felt by the merchants in April 1960. Easter was a traditional time of good business, but Dryades Street was quiet on the Friday before Easter. There were no shoppers. This pressure compelled several of the merchants to hire blacks for jobs above the menial level. The Consumer League claimed credit for thirty jobs for black people on Dryades Street. But some merchants refused to yield. Inevitably, they were forced to close, or they chose to move to the suburbs. Dryades Street, once a bustling shopping district, is today a veritable ghost town. It comprises a row of boarded up store fronts, mute testament to one of the early civil rights victories in New Orleans.

QUOTE: Avery Alexander, one of the leaders of the boycott, described the attitude of the merchants:

They ignored our pleas to hire blacks. (We said) 'If we boycott then blacks may leave and they might not come back,' and that's true. The place is just about dead now.

(question) "Was it worth it to kill Dryades Street?"

(Avery Alexander) "Yes."

QUESTION: Ask the students: was it "worth it to kill" the Dryades Street shopping district? A great deal was lost, but a great deal was gained. What were the losses? What was gained? Was it a matter of principle over practicality?

2. CANAL STREET

The students who met on the picket lines boycotting the Dryades Street stores formed a CORE chapter in New Orleans. They agreed to stage sit-in demonstrations at the segregated lunch counters on Canal Street. The black protest on Dryades Street and black protest on Canal Street were two different matters altogether.

HISTORICAL POINT: The Dryades Street merchants were largely Jewish, but the businesses on Canal Street were owned by (or involved as lawyers, bankers, etc) the Christian white business elite of the city. This segment of the populace was not without anti-Semitic bias and tended to view the Jewish merchants of Dryades Street with a certain derision. In contrast, the protest on Canal Street was seen much more clearly as a threat to the existing order because it involved not the Jewish merchants but the wealthy denizens of the Boston Club and the other social clubs representing wealthy Uptown New Orleans.

On September 9, 1960, seven CORE activists struck at the Woolworth's on Canal Street. The lunch counter at Woolworth's was not an exception to the general rule of segregation, and black people were not permitted (by law) to sit at the counter reserved for "white only."

On this September morning, the CORE members sat at the "white only" counter. The waitresses, all of whom were white, refused to serve the black patrons and pointed out in a dumbfounded manner that blacks were not permitted to sit at the counter. It was, they tried to explain, the law. To the CORE members, the law was precisely the problem.

Rudy Lombard of CORE, one of the activists at Woolworth's the first day of the sit-in, said: "We went in the morning, and waited until the afternoon. They finally decided to arrest us. They were talking to everybody trying to figure out what to do." The activists were arrested for "criminal mischief" and released when local black congregations and the ACLU posted bond.

The next day activists from the NAACP Youth Council picketed Woolworth's. The sit-ins on Canal Street continued, despite the daily arrests and trips to Central Lockup. Crowds of angry whites gathered at Woolworth's and later at McCrory's and Kress's department stores to observe the sit-ins by CORE and NAACP activists. The crowds gawked at the protesters and heaped abuse upon them, including racial epithets, scalding coffee, and acid.

Arrested the first day of the sit-ins, Rudy Lombard of CORE understood that jail was a part of the struggle: "My idea of going to jail is to show the extent of your commitment."

HISTORICAL POINT: The Canal Street protest was led by activists from CORE, the Congress of Racial Equality. Rudy Lombard was the chairman of CORE in New Orleans, and among its leading members were Oretha Castle and Jerome Smith. CORE was largely at odds with the NAACP, believing the NAACP relied too heavily on legal challenges rather than militant protest and direct action. The CORE chapter in New Orleans was racially mixed. There were black students from Southern University of New Orleans as well as from LSU in New Orleans (later UNO). A relatively few students joined from Dillard and Xavier Universities. In addition, a few white students from Tulane University and LSU in New Orleans. Some of the university presidents expelled the students who participated in civil rights protests.

In *A House Divided*, Rudy Lombard says, “CORE felt this was not enough. People in CORE decided the legal process would work but it would take too long. We wanted to change segregation immediately.”

QUOTE: In reference to the small number of activists who took part in the desegregation action on Canal Street, Rudy Lombard said, “I think a small group of people are responsible for the most part for big change.”

QUESTION: Do you agree or disagree with this statement? Who are the leaders in your group, in your class, in your community? How do people become leaders? How are leaders different from others?

Oretha Castle has this to say about the small number of CORE activists who launched the protest on Canal Street: “We must have been crazy.” Her mother, Vergie Castle, says this: “I had a lot of people say, 'Why don't you let someone else do it, you know.' If everybody said, 'Let somebody else do it,' and nobody is going to do nothing, you know.” Explore this point with your students.

3. THE WHITE REACTION

The black protesters on Canal Street met with distinct hostility on the part of angry whites who in the form of a mob gathered at Woolworth's (and other protest sites) and spat abuse. But what of the rest of the white population of the city? How did it view this assault on the venerable walls of segregation?

The day following the first protest on September 9, 1960, Oretha Castle-Haley was summarily fired from her job at Hotel Dieu Hospital: “The good nun gave me my paycheck and said, 'Take it, and get out of here, and don't ever come back.' I really thought they'd find a reason, you know, to say I was not doing my work adequately. I hadn't expected it was going to be immediate.”

HISTORICAL POINT: This is a good example of economic reprisal by white bosses on those black employees who took concrete action to change the status quo. One of the goals of the White Citizens' Council was to intimidate black people (and to dissuade them from registering to vote) by hurting them economically. To repeat, black people who challenged the system had a lot to lose: their job, their mortgage, their life.

QUOTE: According to Avery Alexander, the white community generally viewed black protesters as “law breakers, renegades, and outlaws. The conservative white community felt that way. When they were talking about crime in the streets, they weren't talking about anybody going out and holding up people. We were the criminals. That was the crime in the streets, and we were marching and demonstrating for our rights.”

The mayor of New Orleans, Chep Morrison, issued a statement on September 12, 1960, after the

first sit-in on Canal Street: “I carefully reviewed the reports of these two initial demonstrations by a small group of misguided white and Negro students or former students. It is my considered opinion that regardless of the avowed purpose or intent of the participants, the effect of such demonstrations is not in the public interest of this community.” The mayor banned further sit-ins, but to no avail.

On September 17, 1960, CORE chairman Rudy Lombard, Tulane student Sydney “Lanny” Goldfinch, Oretha Castle, and Dillard student Cecil Carter sat at the lunch counter at McCrory’s department store on Canal Street. They were arrested. Goldfinch, who as a Jew was a particularly disagreeable white person, was charged with “criminal anarchy” which carried a \$2,500 bond and the threat of ten years in prison.

Lolis Elie and the other lawyers for CORE were inexperienced in criminal cases and felt that Goldfinch especially needed a white lawyer. They asked John P. Nelson for assistance. He agreed. In the book Righteous Lives, Nelson said, “Once I had done that, I was hooked. I knew this was something.” Nelson fully understood that by embracing a civil rights case, he was committing political suicide in the white community. He said, “It was not an act of despair.” In 1963, Nelson argued the Lombard v. Louisiana case before the U.S. Supreme Court.

HISTORICAL POINT: The white community was generally frightened and angered by the actions of CORE and other black activists in the city. It was also perplexed. The militant actions of the activists refuted all of the stereotypes the white community had embraced for centuries: blacks were content; blacks were passive; segregation was good for everybody.

QUOTE: Dr. Henry Mitchell, of the New Orleans branch of the NAACP and the Consumer League, recalls that among his white colleagues in the medical field a persistent question arose:

Why can’t you mature blacks talk to these radicals, ’they said, ’and tone down the discord, the disruption between whites and blacks.’ As much as I had been a prominent figure in the NAACP, I pointed out that peaceful means hadn’t worked.

QUESTION: What choice did the black activists have?

4. NOPD

The New Orleans Police Department was at the center of the desegregation crisis in the city. Its superintendent at the time, Joseph Giarusso, is quoted at length in *A House Divided*. He maintains that he and the police force were enforcing the law when they arrested black protesters on Canal Street. The police department was not to blame, Giarusso explains, the state legislature is to blame. In contrast to “Bull” Connor and the police in Birmingham, Alabama, the police in New Orleans were not overtly brutal in their handling of black protesters. The city does not have

the searing memory of black children being violently hosed down by police.

In *A House Divided*, Rudy Lombard makes this point: “I would think they (the police) were very deliberate about not trying to engage us in any overt political violence at least in public, and they succeeded in that.”

It should be noted that Lombard says the police violence was absent “...at least in public...”

QUOTE: In *A House Divided*, Joseph Giarusso, police superintendent, explains the actions of the police department in the following ways:

The black people were not fooled or deluded by the fact that the legislature was the one compelling the police into action situations that we could have done without, making the police do it.

At another point, Giarusso says, “You're following law. You're saying that, a lot of people don't want to hear that, if you believe in the principles of government, that when you're sworn to do something and you do it and don't exceed it, then you do it. I think that's what we did. We didn't go beyond.”

In contrast, Jerome Smith of CORE offers this opinion: “A lot of people have died or been destroyed in the name of men doing their duty.”

QUESTION: Who is responsible? The juxtaposition of these two quotes, by Joseph Giarusso and Jerome Smith, provides an opportunity for students to discuss the topic “of men doing their duty.” In many respects, a civilization depends on people following orders, but at the same time “just following orders” (blindly, unthinkingly, coldly) has led to unparalleled hardship and death in this century.

When is it the responsibility of an individual not to obey orders?

5. ON THE EVE OF SCHOOL DESEGREGATION

In New Orleans, Federal Judge Skelly Wright ordered the public schools to desegregate on Monday, November 14, 1960. Since the *Brown v. the Board* decision in 1954, the Orleans Parish School Board had fought desegregation through various law suits and appeals. The delaying tactics now came to an end, and the School Board begrudgingly acquiesced to desegregation. As a result, members of the School Board were shunned by their former friends.

The role of Judge Skelly Wright was critical. Lolis Elie, the black lawyer, said, “The only man I know who stood hard and fast for change was Judge Skelly Wright, the federal judge. He was forcing the city to face the reality of having to integrate the school system.”

After the first day of school desegregation, Skelly's effigy was hung from a post outside a high school. His name was vilified. He and his wife were ostracized by Uptown society. Skelly was born into a milieu that now expelled him.

QUOTE: In *A House Divided*, Skelly described his approach to the desegregation of the public schools:

As I came to these problems, I had no particular moral convictions. I was just another Southern guy who didn't give a lot of thought. But it became clear to me that not only was it legal, but it was also right.

HISTORICAL POINT: A poll conducted by the Orleans Parish School Board indicated that eighty percent of white people in the city would prefer that the public schools be closed rather than integrated. In anticipation of the school desegregation crisis, following immediately in the footsteps of the Canal Street protests, the white leadership in the city, both political and business, failed completely to prepare for the anger and turmoil about to erupt on the streets in front of the two public schools designated for integration.

Iris Kelso, a newspaper reporter at the time, recalls sitting in Mayor Chep Morrison's office on the eve of the desegregation of the schools: "I sat in Chep Morrison's office one day when he was on a conference call desperately trying to round up business leaders, to sign up business leaders in favor of a simple statement that they were in favor of law and order. This was before the schools were about to open. He realized what would happen. He didn't get any support. One of the results is that the police didn't provide protection. He didn't make any plan for doing that in an orderly way."

Police superintendent Joseph Giarusso says this about the school desegregation crisis: "We were the first major city where had to do court order, and I can speak only for myself. I would have to say that I was ill-prepared. It was something that was thrust on me and I'm talking in the sense of the police department."

Each morning and afternoon of the desegregation crisis the quiet dignity of the handful of black children attending school contrasted sharply with the racial hatred spewed by angry whites who lined the entrances to the schools. The ugly spectacle caught the eye of the nation when it was replayed on the national news. It was an ignominious moment in the history of New Orleans.

6. BATON ROUGE

In Baton Rouge, the state capital, Governor Jimmie Davis reflected the will of the majority of the white populace and came out vehemently against school desegregation. 1960 was a gubernatorial election year, a coincidence which did help the political atmosphere. In order to obtain the majority of the white vote, the three candidates, including Jimmie Davis, played the race card to various degrees, inciting the fears of racial change.

In 1959, one of the gubernatorial candidates, state legislator Willie Rainach, a driving force behind the White Citizens' Council, addressed the state legislature on the subject of race: "I love the nigger, but I know he can't run this country. The breeding in him does not allow him to run a civilization, and I won't let our civilization go to ruin." Polite society turned up its nose at Willie Rainach, but the sentiments expressed by the North Louisiana legislator were the same sentiments overheard in the offices and homes of bankers, lawyers, doctors, and other members of the social and political elite.

Chep Morrison, the mayor of New Orleans, was the third gubernatorial candidate in 1960. He was criticized by his opponents as a "moderate" on the race question, a "kiss of death" among the white populace of the state. In the end, Jimmie Davis won reelection.

HISTORICAL POINT: In the effort to thwart the desegregation of public schools, Governor Jimmie Davis threatened to resort to the tactic called "interposition." Unconstitutional in the extreme, "interposition" stated simply that a state did not have to obey a Federal law it did not like. Jimmie Davis stated his goal flatly: "I want to do everything...we will do everything a man can do to maintain segregation. Of course, 'interposition' would be the last thing before we succeeded from the Union."

Lloyd Rittiner, president of the Orleans Parish School Board, argued for the peaceful integration of the public schools. He had something of a duel with Governor Jimmie Davis and Attorney General Jack Gremellion over the issue of desegregation of public schools in Orleans Parish. He said, "I visited Jack Gremellion and Jimmie Davis in his office at the state capitol, and they told us we were under their jurisdiction and we had to take our orders from them, and that they wanted to close the schools on November 14 (1960). So I told the governor, I said, 'You may think we work for the state and you may think that we have to take orders from you (and they wanted the schools closed on November 14) but we are not going to close the schools on November 14. They will stay open.' He said he would see that they wouldn't stay open and implied that he would send the state police down to New Orleans and see that the principles closed the schools."

The state legislature passed a law which stopped state funding to integrated schools. Teachers at these schools were not paid. The legislature also abolished compulsory attendance at all public schools (allowing white students the opportunity to protest by staying away) and banned students at integrated schools from graduating.

Jimmie Davis issued Executive Order Number One. It called for state officials to take over the administration of public schools system in New Orleans. Lloyd Rittiner replied, "As many times they did that the Federal government kicked them out and put us back in."

The New Orleans White Citizens' Council, led by Leander Perez, protested the integration of the schools. In *A House Divided*, Samuel Rosenberg, a lawyer for the School Board, says, "They (the School Board members) were influenced by those who composed the White Citizens'

Council who were determined the schools not be desegregated, and those people I think would have preferred for public schools to be closed completely, and for private schools to take over the education of all children in the state.”

HISTORICAL POINT: The two public schools chosen to be the initial targets of desegregation were McDonogh 19 and William Frantz Elementary School, both located in the 9th Ward of the city, a neighborhood of poor whites and equally poor blacks. Why this neighborhood was chosen, as opposed to a neighborhood in Uptown New Orleans where presumably the reception would be less hostile, has never been determined. In a particularly gross act of negligence, the teachers at these two schools were not informed of the events about to involve them.

Lloyd Rittiner of the Orleans Parish School Board describes his thoughts on the eve of school desegregation: “When we said we were going to integrate the schools and that we would have trouble, but I never dreamed that we would have as much trouble as we had.”

Iris Kelso concludes Part IV with a chilling memory of the angry women who greeted the first black children, all first-graders, to integrate McDonogh 19 and William Frantz: “I saw them spit on the children.”

Instructions: identify the following individuals and terms.

1. **Vergie Castle** - Vergie Castle was the mother of CORE activists Oretha Castle and Doris Jean Castle. She encouraged her daughters to participate in civil rights activities and supported them at every turn.
2. **A.L. Davis** - Reverend A.L. (Abraham Lincoln) "Jack" Davis was one of the founders of the Consumers' League which launched the Dryades Street Boycott in 1960. He was also a leader of the Interdenominational Ministerial Alliance which led the efforts to desegregate the street cars and buses in New Orleans (May 30, 1958). Reverend Davis offered support to CORE activists who picketed Canal Street and to the Freedom Riders who arrived in New Orleans in 1961.
3. **Skelly Wright** - Skelly Wright, born in New Orleans, was the Federal judge who ordered the desegregation of public transportation and public schools in the city. In 1952, he ordered the desegregation of Louisiana State University in Baton Rouge, and in 1963 he ordered the desegregation of Tulane University. Wright and his wife were ostracized by former friends. The Wrights left New Orleans when he was appointed to the U.S. District Court of Appeals in Washington, D.C.
4. **Jimmie Davis** - Jimmie Davis was Louisiana governor in the late 1950's and early '60's during the desegregation crisis. Reflecting the will of the majority of white voters in the state, Davis stood firmly against integration of schools. Under his direction, a plethora of bills ("hate bills") designed to prevent desegregation. He won popular support by advocating the "state's rights" position and by appearing to defy the Federal government. He wrote and sang the popular song "You are my sunshine."
5. **CORE** - CORE, or the Congress of Racial Equality, was an integrated organization of activists committed to achieving civil and political rights for black people. In New Orleans, the CORE chapter was led by Rudy Lombard, the chairman, and by others including Oretha Castle and Jerome Smith. CORE was at odds with the NAACP, believing the NAACP relied too heavily on legal challenges rather than on militant protest and direct action. The CORE chapter in New Orleans included black students from Southern University of New Orleans, LSU of New Orleans (UNO), and a few from Dillard and Xavier Universities. In addition, several white students from Tulane University and LSU in New Orleans were CORE members.
6. **Consumers' League** - The Consumers' League was established in 1959'-60 to protest job discrimination in the Dryades Street shopping district. It was organized by Avery Alexander, A.L. Davis, Dr. Henry Mitchell, and others. The actions undertaken by the Consumer's League were based on the argument that blacks should not shop in stores that did not hire black employees for jobs over the modern broom level.

7. **Rudy Lombard** - Former student body president at Xavier University, Rudy Lombard became the chairman of CORE in New Orleans and was one of the leading participants of the sit-ins at stores on Canal Street.
8. **Ernest “Dutch” Morial** - Ernest Morial was deeply influenced by A.P. Tureaud, the local counsel for the NAACP in New Orleans, who took Morial as a law partner. Morial was the first black graduate of LSU law school. With Lolis Elie, Nils Douglas, and Robert Collins, Morial helped defend black activists arrested in the 1960’s. He served as head of the New Orleans chapter of the NAACP. In 1978, Morial was elected mayor of New Orleans, the first black man to hold that office.
9. **Jack Nelson** - A decorated war veteran and a devout Catholic, Jack Nelson was the rare white lawyer who embraced civil rights. He was influenced by Father Twomey, a Jesuit priest and president of Loyola University. Nelson became involved in civil rights when he was asked to represent Rudy Lombard and other CORE members who had been arrested at their sit-in at McCrory’s Department Store on September 17, 1960.
10. **Interposition** - During the desegregation crisis, Governor Jimmie Davis argued that Louisiana did not have to obey Federal laws if it did not approve of the laws. This tactic, patently unconstitutional, was referred to as “interposition.”

PART IV: TERMS

STUDENT COPY

NAME _____

Instructions: identify the following individuals and terms.

1. Vergie Castle -

2. A.L. Davis -

3. Skelly Wright -

4. Jimmie Davis -

5. CORE -

6. Consumers' League -

7. Rudy Lombard -

8. Ernest "Dutch" Morial -

9. Jack Nelson -

10. Interposition -

PART IV: QUESTIONS TEACHER COPY NAME _____

Instructions: Answer the following questions fully and in complete sentences.

1. Why did black leaders in New Orleans decide to launch a boycott of the Dryades Street stores?

In what year did the boycott begin? What group organized it?

The Dryades Street boycott, which began in early 1960, was launched because black leaders objected to the fact that no black people were employed above the menial level in the Dryades Street shopping district, although almost all of the customers were black. The black leaders formed a group, the Consumers' League, to protest job discrimination.

What did black leaders demand?

Black leaders wanted black people hired above the menial level by the Dryades Street merchants

What was the reaction of the merchants on Dryades Street to black demands? Why did they react this way?

The merchants rejected all efforts to hire blacks above the menial level. They argued that black people would continue to shop at Dryades Street despite the threatened boycott. In addition, they said that whites would not shop in their shops if blacks worked behind the counter as clerks and managers.

What were the results of the boycott? Why?

The Consumers' League managed to obtain thirty clerk-cashier type jobs for black people in the Dryades Street shopping district. The merchants changed their mind about hiring practices when the black customers almost unanimously boycotted the stores. In other words, when the merchants began to feel the economic pinch, they changed their policies.

What was the significance of the Dryades Street boycott? Explain.

The Dryades Street Boycott, and the black people who picketed the stores, represented the first organized civil rights march in the modern history of New Orleans.

2. What was CORE's strategy? How was its philosophy different from the philosophy of the NAACP?

CORE's strategy was based on non-violent direct action. CORE believed that the NAACP relied too heavily on legal challenges rather than on militant protest actions. Members of CORE, like Rudy Lombard, wanted change and wanted change fast. In addition, NAACP Youth Group activists, a small number led by Raphael Cassimire, also organized direct action protests in New Orleans.

Specifically, why did CORE members target the stores on Canal Street? How did CORE members protest the store policies?

The Canal Street stores, like stores everywhere in the South, practiced segregation. The lunch counters were designated "white only." CORE members objected to the segregated counters. They staged sit-ins at the counters, demanding to be served.

What was the white response to the actions undertaken by black activists on Canal Street?

The CORE activists were arrested by police and charged with "criminal mischief." Group of angry whites gathered at the Canal Street stores and heaped abuse on the black activists sitting at the counters. Generally, the white population in New Orleans was both angered and surprised by the actions of black activists on Canal Street. Many white people believed that the black populace was content, and these whites did not understand what the sit-ins were all about.

What distinguished the Dryades Street Boycott from the sit-ins on Canal Street?

The Dryades Street merchants were mostly Jewish. What occurred on Dryades Street, located in a black neighborhood, was of little interest to the white business leaders of the city, some of whom were blatantly anti-Semitic. But protests on Canal Street, the largest shopping district in the city, touched pocket books closer to home. It was more of a challenge to the members of the business elite.

3. In the protest on Canal Street, the black activists were arrested by the New Orleans police department.

In the *A House Divided*, Giarusso says, "You're following law. You're saying that, a lot of people don't want to hear that, if you believe in the principles of government, that when you're sworn to do something and you do it and don't exceed it, then you do it. I think that's what we did. We didn't go beyond."

In contrast, Jerome Smith of CORE offers this opinion:

"A lot of people have been died or destroyed in the name of men doing their duty."

Using these two quotes as examples, answer the questions: when is it right, and when is it wrong, to obey orders?

The answer to this question depends on the student, but it must include examples.

4. The desegregation of public schools in New Orleans was ordered to take place on November 14, 1960.

Who ordered the desegregation of the public schools?

Federal Judge Skelly Wright ordered the desegregation of the public schools.

Who was Louisiana governor at the time of the desegregation crisis? What position did he take on the issue? Why?

Jimmie Davis was Louisiana governor. He was strongly opposed to integration of the schools. A segregationist himself, Davis' position on desegregation simply reflected the will of the majority of white people in Louisiana.

How did the Louisiana governor attempt to prevent the desegregation of the public schools in New Orleans? Explain.

Davis argued that the state government controlled the state and the Federal government did not have the right to interfere. This was the "state's rights" argument. As a result, Davis maintained that the state of Louisiana did not have to accept Federal laws it did not like. The defiance of Federal laws was termed "interposition."

5. Who was the mayor of New Orleans at the start of the desegregation of the public schools? How did he respond to the crisis? Why?

Chep Morrison was mayor of New Orleans at the time. Although viewed by some as a moderate on the race question, Morrison believed firmly in segregation. He was against the integration of public schools and did not provide police protection for the black children who arrived for their first day of school on November 14, 1960. According to newspaper reporter Iris Kelso, Morrison had asked for help in solving the crisis from the city's business elite. He received none.

PART IV: QUESTIONS STUDENT COPY NAME _____

Instructions: Answer the following questions fully and in complete sentences.

1. Why did black leaders in New Orleans decide to launch a boycott of the Dryades Street stores?

In what year did the boycott begin? What group organized it?

What did black leaders demand?

What was the reaction of the merchants on Dryades Street to black requests for compromise on the issue of jobs? Why did they react this way?

What were the results of the boycott? Why?

What was the significance of the Dryades Street boycott? Explain.

2. What was CORE's strategy? How was its philosophy different from the philosophy of the NAACP?

Specifically, why did CORE members target the stores on Canal Street? How did CORE members protest the store policies?

What was the white response to the actions undertaken by black activists on Canal Street?

What distinguished the Dryades Street Boycott from the sit-ins on Canal Street?

3. In the protest on Canal Street, the black activists were arrested by the New Orleans police department.

In contrast, Jerome Smith of CORE offers this opinion:

Using these two quotes as examples, answer the questions: when is it right, and when is it wrong, to obey orders?

4. The desegregation of public schools in New Orleans was ordered to take place on November 14, 1960.

Who ordered the desegregation of the public schools?

Who was Louisiana governor at the time of the desegregation crisis? What position did he take on the issue? Why?

How did the Louisiana governor attempt to prevent the desegregation of the public

schools in New Orleans? Explain.

5. Who was the mayor of New Orleans at the start of the desegregation of the public schools? How did he respond to the crisis? Why?

PART V--LECTURE NOTES

“Now, strangely, we advanced to picking up the garbage.”

-- Avery Alexander

Part V of *A House Divided* is the longest section of the documentary.

OBJECTIVE: The students should become knowledgeable about the struggle for civil rights in New Orleans from November 14, 1960, the first day of desegregation at two public schools in the city, through the events which culminated with the arrest and rough expulsion of Avery Alexander from the cafeteria in City Hall on October 31, 1963.

PREPARATION: Before the students view Part V of *A House Divided*, present a brief lecture to them based on the information provided below.

1. NOVEMBER 14, 1960

In March 1960, Judge Skelly Wright ordered the desegregation of public schools in Orleans Parish to take place on November 14, 1960.

After a summer of anticipation and increasingly strident statements from the governor's mansion, four black children, selected from a group which had passed the most rigorous testing, were escorted by federal marshals to the two public schools chosen for the initial effort at desegregation. Three students (Leona Tate, Tessie Prevost, and Gail Etienne) arrived at McDonogh 19 and one student (Ruby Bridges) at William Frantz. The Orleans School Board decided that these two schools would be the first to integrate. Both schools were located in the Lower Ninth Ward, a white working class neighborhood where a hostile reception was almost guaranteed.

HISTORICAL POINT: This was a time of brave actions on the part of some and ugly actions on the part of others. The four children who broke the color barrier in the New Orleans public school demonstrated uncommon courage. No experience in their young lives prepared them for the sights and sounds that greeted them outside their respective schools on the morning of November 14, 1960. The parents of the four children also demonstrated extraordinary courage. Many paid a price. For one, Ruby Bridge's father was fired from his job as a result of his daughter attending Frantz.

The vast majority of white parents kept their children home from school on the first day of integration. Other white mothers hurried to McDonogh 19 and to William Frantz to pick up their

children. On November 15, 1960, the White Citizens' Council packed Municipal Auditorium with 5,000 supporters. Willie Rainach and Leander Perez urged a boycott of the integrated schools.

The aim of the White Citizens' Council and ardent segregationists was to force the closing of the schools. Teachers who did not honor the boycott were subjected to economic threats. Parents who sent their children to school were treated similarly.

QUOTE: Kit Senter, a member of Save Our Schools, an organization of white women devoted to keeping the schools open, is quoted in *A House Divided* describing the handful of parents who continued to send their children to the integrated schools:

They were stoned in the street. They lost their jobs, their children were attacked by former friends.

Leontine Luke, a NAACP official who helped protect the black children enrolled in the two schools, is quoted in Righteous Lives: "There were other people who, because they left their children in school where Ruby was, lost their jobs. I'm speaking of people of the white race, who left their children in school. They lost their jobs. People let them go. You know, I figured it was mean because they had no control over it. The law had passed. The courts had passed the law. And firing these men who had jobs so that their families would be in need, I don't think, you know, was the proper thing."

On November 15, 1960, a mob of white people, many of them teenagers, stormed through the central business district and then attacked the School Board offices and City Hall.

Jimmie Davis, governor of the state, declared November 14, 1960, a state holiday, thereby excusing white children from attending school on the first day of integration.

QUOTE: A white mother is quoted in *A House Divided* discussing the first day of integration: "My little boy is in the room, Mrs. Mize's room, with the three little niggers. I didn't send him Monday. The governor said it is a holiday, and I did abide by him. He is the governor of this state."

HISTORICAL POINT: Language, or the selective use of language, is very much a part of racist thought. A single word can de-humanize another people, depicting he or she as "the other," as inferior, as less than human.

QUESTION: What words do you use to describe people different from yourself? What words do you hear others use? How do words serve to de-humanize other people?

2. CHEERLEADERS

One of the most disagreeable aspects of the desegregation crisis in New Orleans was the appearance of a group of white women who described themselves as the Cheerleaders. Vigorously protesting integration, these women carried signs equating integration with communism and signs quoting the Bible, and hurled racial epithets and spittle at the black children entering the two schools.

QUOTE: In a surrendipitous twist, the writer John Steinbeck happened to be in New Orleans at the time of the crisis. He observed the rancorous crowd outside of the two public schools and later described the angry women in his book Travels With Charlie.

Now I've heard the words bestial and filth and degenerate, but there was something far worse than dirt, a kind of frightening 'witches' Sabbath.' These are not mothers, not even women. They were crazy actors playing to a crazy audience.

Una Gaillot was the leader of the Cheerleaders. She says, “The parents came to me and asked me to help them. I helped them. I picketed and I would tell the ladies how they should do it, very lady-like of which they did.”

In *A House Divided*, Gaillot responds to the “witches’ Sabbath” quote in Steinbeck’s book: “Now when he [Steinbeck] talks about a 'witches' Sabbath,' let’s clarify one thing. Every lady down there was a lady, and Chief Joseph Giarusso is there to admit it.”

QUOTE: Iris Kelso, the newspaper reporter, covered the desegregation of the two public schools: “I was working outside Frantz school and it hurt me so much to be there and see these children brought through these lines of jeering people in these dreadful 'fish wife women' and I saw them spit on those children.”

3. SAVE OUR SCHOOLS

In anticipation of the desegregation of the public schools, a small group of concerned white women formed a group called Save Our Schools, known as SOS. The group included Mary Sand, Kit Senter, Betty Wisdom, Ann Dlugos, Peggy Murison, and Helen Mervis. This organization was devoted to the task of keeping the public schools open, and to achieve this task SOS established a car pool to transport white children to the schools each morning. It also provided support for the families and tried to encourage other white families to send their children to the integrated schools. SOS members suffered verbal taunts and physical intimidation at the hands of the angry crowds of white people outside the schools.

HISTORICAL NOTE: In a private interview, Betty Wisdom noted that the white children she transported to school were “terrified” of the New Orleans police. The police, Wisdom maintains, took a neutral role during the early days of the crisis, a role of “referees.” The license plates on the cars driven by SOS member were sometimes

obscured by the drivers themselves to prevent the angry segregationists from getting their telephone numbers (from cohorts in the Department of Motor Vehicles) and harassing them with late night threatening phone calls. Police ticketed Wisdom because her license plate had been obscured for this purpose.

Several SOS members were Jewish. All braved ostracization by their neighbors and friends. The SOS was very careful to fashion its message purely in terms of keeping the schools open. It shied away from the controversial topic of integrated schools and did not openly support desegregation.

QUESTION: Was SOS right not to support integration openly? What would you have done? When does politics get in the way of principles?

SOS was minimally successful. At the end of the 1961 school year, forty-nine white children remained in the city's two integrated schools. Six hundred and eight four students attended schools in St. Bernard Parish, at least one of which had been quickly established by Leander Perez. Two hundred and eighty six students did not attend school at all.

4. THE GABRIELLE FAMILY

One of the poignant stories to emerge from the desegregation crisis in New Orleans concerned the working-class Gabrielle family.

Despite the intense public pressure on the part of many whites against such a move, James and Daisy Gabrielle insisted on sending their children to the integrated public schools. After November 14, 1960, the two public schools (McDonogh 19 and William Frantz) were virtually empty. The black children continued to attend, enduring the withering comments of the vile crowd. A small number of white children also continued to attend. Most white children were kept home by their parents. Many parents opposed integration because they believed it was not in the best interest of their own children. Centuries of stereotypes were deeply imbedded into the popular consciousness. Fear of the unknown raged. Some parents opposed integration because they were intimidated by public pressure. Young boys home from school were among those in the crowd hurling insults at the black children arriving at school each morning.

QUOTE: James Gabrielle describes the ordeal which had turned his son against him: "So I tried to talk to my boys [attending public school], and my boy says to me, 'I don't want to have a damn thing to do with you.' In plain English, 'I don't want to have a damn thing to do with you.'"

The story of the Gabrielle family is an important one to underline in discussions with students. The abuse they suffered was substantial: the home was attacked and set on fire by a mob of whites; James Gabrielle suffered taunts and threats at his city job, and then he was fired; Daisy Gabrielle was assaulted by a group of white mothers as she walked her child home from school. The family eventually relocated to Norfolk, Virginia.

In addition to the Gabrielles, a few other white parents continued to send their children to public schools. Many of these parents were Baptist seminarians. They lost their jobs at a large grocery store. Many were not from New Orleans. Very few white people raised in New Orleans, where the rules about race were ingrained, chose to break with tradition, and conformity, on the issue of school desegregation.

QUESTION: Why did the James and Daisy Gabrielle do it? Why did the Gabrielle family and the other white families brave the rancorous atmosphere and insist on their children attending the two schools? This touches upon the issue of conformity and is an opportune time to define conformity. No doubt many white families refused to send their children to the integrated schools because they feared the opinions, and actions, of their neighbors. Why did the Gabrielle family and the others defy this fear and break with conformity? What made them different?

In contrast to the daily harassment the Gabrielle family suffered, the family also received letters of encouragement and support.

QUOTE: In *A House Divided*, Daisy Gabrielle offers this quote: “My faith in the people of New Orleans has always been that they are wonderful people and it has never wavered. In fact, I have to proof through the mail. Many, many letters from the people of New Orleans and all the letters are letters of encouragement and admiration...I cried a couple of times when I read those letters because it did make me realize that I have more friends than enemies.”

QUESTION: Who represents the white people of New Orleans? Do the angry crowds outside McDonogh 19 and William Frantz represent them? Or do the embattled members of SOS represent that people?

5. BUSINESS ELITE

Scenes of the angry crowds in front of McDonogh 19 and William Franz schools were broadcast across the nation. Once again during the Civil Rights movement the electronic media played an important role. The sight of angry women screaming at black children turned the stomach of the nation. The city was embarrassed. The politicians and the white business elite were afraid the negative publicity would have a deleterious economic impact on the city. The school desegregation issue now touched everybody.

In 1961, Vic Schiro took over as interim mayor once Chep Morrison was appointed U.S. ambassador to the Organization of American States. Schiro said this about the desegregation crisis: “It was a difficult time for people in this country. We had so many people who were obstinate, and people were not tuned into cooperation.”

Prompted by the negative publicity the city had suffered as a result of the desegregation crisis, the white business leaders of the city decided to negotiate with the black leadership in the effort

to preserve “peace and order.” This was a decisive step towards easing the tense racial situation and developing a solution to the crisis. The business elite of the city comprised members of the wealthy Uptown neighborhoods, men who ran the banks, the law firms, the large businesses in the city. These same men participated in the Mardi Gras organizations such as Momus, Proteus, Rex, and Comus. They were members of the Boston Club, the Louisiana Club, and the Pickwick Club. Not a few of the business elite had grandfathers who fought as Confederate soldiers in the Civil War.

HISTORICAL POINT: Harry Kelleher, Darwin Fenner, and Harry McCall are the three men who played the decisive roles on the part of the white business elite.

On January 30, 1961, members of the white elite held a testimonial dinner for members of the embattled members of the Orleans Parish School Board. The Board, after its initial reluctance, came down on the side of desegregation. Tickets to the testimonial had been sold surreptitiously for fear the event would be assaulted by angry crowds. The testimonial was attended by a crowd 1,200 which packed the Roosevelt Hotel’s dining rooms. Kelleher said the basic issues of the crisis were public education and the rule of law. On both issues, he said, “This country and the South cannot go backward.” After this speech, Kelleher was branded a moderate on race. The role of the elite of a community in shaping the attitudes and actions of the community cannot be overestimated.

The business elite had to persuade the white business elite of New Orleans that change had come, and that accommodating change was in their best economic interest. In the winter of 1960-'61, several major retailers reported a forty to fifty percent drop in sales. Hotel and restaurant business had fallen off by twenty percent.

QUOTE: In *A House Divided*, Kelleher is forthright on the connection between economic interests and racial change: “The specter of economic pressure certainly tipped the scales in favor of affirmative action.”

He is further quoted: “I remember at the meeting of the retail luncheon bureau, we presented the retail sales statistics of Birmingham [Alabama, site of major racial strife and economic disruption]. Its economy had been devastated by mass picketing and disruptive behavior that became prevalent through downtown Birmingham. In essence, we were saying to these merchants, 'Are you willing to ask for this kind of a development in New Orleans? Or are you willing to face realities of this situation, and take constructive steps to solve these problems in a way that is responsible to the community?’”

HISTORICAL POINT: Fifteen members of the white business elite formed an “informal conference” with an equal number of black leaders. Kelleher and attorney Harry McCall were spokesmen for the white group, and Revius Ortique, Lolis Elie, and others represented the black group, which was known as the Citizens’ Committee. According to historian Kim Lacy Rogers, “In negotiations that lasted for more than two years, these black and white leaders hammered out the largely peaceful desegregation

of the city.”

QUOTE: In *A House Divided*, lawyer Lolis Elie expresses his astonishment that the great decisions in the city were made by individuals who did not hold public office.

“The whites who were really making the decisions, the power structure, they knew damn well they wouldn’t be affected by giving some black a job as a cashier or giving some black a job as a sales person in one of the stores, or permitting blacks to go and have a hamburger at Woolworth’s or McCrory. That was no invasion on their territory.”

“It was the people who run Mardi Gras, the people from the Boston and Pickwick Clubs, the bankers, were the people who were really making the decisions for everybody in the city.”

The political leadership in the city took orders from the white elite. In the book Righteous Lives, Elie recalled a 1963 meeting with Darwin Fenner and other white business negotiators: “I remember Darwin Fenner got on the phone to Vic Schiro, and he goes, 'Vic, this is Darwin. Come over here, I want to see you.' And in five minutes, here comes Vic. This agreement is shoved in his face, he signs, it, and leaves. That was the only time a politician was involved.”

QUESTION: What motivated the white business elite to become involved in the desegregation crisis?

6. CITY HALL: 1963

By the summer of 1963, the lunch counters on Canal Street were desegregated, and the stores had begun hiring black people above the modern mop and broom level. Picketing and demonstrations continued through 1965. CORE activists picketed segregated theaters and other facilities, and the NAACP Youth Council picketed the downtown stores, in defiance of the older black leaders of the Citizens’ Committee who had reached an agreement with the white store owners. Raphael Cassimere, president of the Youth Council, said the merchants on Canal Street had not delivered as many jobs as they had promised.

In 1962, Judge Skelly Wright ordered the first six grades integrated in all the city’s public schools. In the same year, Catholic schools were desegregated. Audubon Park, which had been off limits to black people except maids with white children, was desegregated in 1963. After a “friendly” lawsuit that was anything but “friendly,” Tulane University became an integrated institution in 1963.

HISTORICAL POINT: To the black population, progress appeared too slow. On September 30, 1963, ten thousand black and three thousand white protesters marched from Shakespeare Park to City Hall. The Freedom March, as it was labeled, was the largest organized protest in the city’s history, and it demonstrated the widespread black support enjoyed by the civil rights leaders. The white business elite cooperated with the Freedom March, securing a parade permit for the march and also warning the

White Citizens' Council not to provoke the marchers. Neither the mayor nor members of the city council greeted the marchers at City Hall.

A.L. Davis, Milton Upton, Avery Alexander, Ernest "Dutch" Morial, A.J. Chapital, and Oretha Castle led the march. Oretha Castle addressed the crowd in front of City Hall: "As long as we are held in economic and political slavery, they [the whites] aren't free either."

On October 31, 1963, Avery Alexander led a group of protesters, including CORE members, to the cafeteria in City Hall. Despite promises to the contrary, the cafeteria remained "white only."

QUOTE: In *A House Divided*, Alexander recalls the events of October 31, 1963: "We met that morning and decided we were going down and we weren't going to leave until we got what we wanted. We went into the cafeteria. We had four or five hours I suppose, and they wouldn't serve me, you see. They said, 'We can't serve you. Don't you know better than that? You don't understand? Don't you have any manners?' I have manners. I'm a minister. That's food. I'm hungry. I want to be served.' They got the manager; he came up, 'You people must be crazy.' They called the police. The police came, 'All right, get on out of here. Okay.' I said, 'I'm not going.'"

The New Orleans police arrived and arrested the protesters. Police carried Doris Jean Castle and Sondra Nixon out of the cafeteria on chairs. Reverend Alexander who remained seated on the floor. Two police officers seized him by the legs and dragged him across the cafeteria and up two flights of stairs to the paddy wagon. The incident was filmed by a television crew and is graphically depicted in the *A House Divided*.

QUESTION: Who was responsible for the arrests at City Hall and for the brutal treatment meted out to Avery Alexander? Using the following quotes, explain how each person rationalizes what happened at City Hall on October 31, 1960? How does each person explain their own behavior? Who do you believe? Who do you not believe?

Harry Kelleher: "We had given assurances to the black community that on a given day the cafeteria would be desegregated, and they sent their desegregation team there, and Avery Alexander...I don't know to this day who gave orders for that to happen, and I don't know what triggered it. But I remember we were terribly upset about it. The truth was and is that we'd had gotten on the whole very good cooperation from City Hall and we just concluded that there had been some breakdown along the way in communication."

Revius Ortique: "The police were directed by Mayor Schiro to enforce the law and not to permit blacks, any blacks, to eat at the facilities in City Hall."

Joseph Giarusso: "I was not present at the integration of the cafeteria here in City Hall. But I do remember the incident quite vividly. It was a mistake. The police made a mistake. We made a mistake. And there was no reason that it had to be done in that fashion. Another technique probably would have been a better substitute for what occurred, and for the bad publicity we

received not locally, not nationally, but I believe internationally.”

Avery Alexander: “The doctor said I was injured enough to be hospitalized. It ruined the suit I had on...[Martin Luther] King had taught us that if you're thirsty and there's a water fountain you can have that water but when you start to drink from that fountain, you're broken the law. So be prepared to pay the penalty for breaking the law...I encountered some boys and they said to me, "Rev, when we saw it on the television we were hollering, 'Kick him, Rev. Kick him, Rev. Why didn't you kick him?' And, I thought about it at the time, but I didn't. I thought about all the things that Jesus had gone through, and I wasn't being crucified. Nobody spat on me. They didn't kill me. They didn't put me in the grave. And I said, 'If Jesus can have all that happen to him, I can go through this little thing.'...After this incident, we were able to cut grass on the neutral ground. We were able to pick up the garbage. Now, strangely, we advanced to picking up the garbage.”

Instructions: identify the following people and terms.

1. **SOS** - SOS stands for Save our Schools. This was a small group of liberal white women, several of whom were Jewish, who encouraged the parents of white children to continue sending their children to integrated schools and who helped transport the children to and from school each day. In its public definition of itself, SOS said it was in favor of keeping open the schools, but it said nothing about integration. That topic was too controversial.
2. **Kit Senter** - Kit Senter was a member of SOS. She braved the angry crowds of white people and helped transport white children to the integrated public schools.
3. **Citizens' Committee** - The Citizens' Committee was a group of about fifteen black businessmen and community leaders. During the desegregation crisis, in an effort to bridge the impasse, members of the Citizens' Committee met fifteen of their white counterparts in the city. The negotiations between these two groups cleared the way for the desegregation of the city.
4. **Harry Kelleher** - Harry Kelleher was one of the leading members of the white business elite. He helped lead the negotiations with black leaders to assure the desegregation of the city. Kelleher says that the economic interest was the prime factor behind the decision of the white business elite to become involved in trying to solve the desegregation crisis.
5. **Una Gaillot** - Una Gaillot was leader of the Cheerleaders, a group of white women who protested the integration of the public schools. Each morning and afternoon this group stood outside the schools and heaped abuse on the black children arriving and departing school. Una Gaillot was later excommunicated by the Pope because of her extreme and unyielding stand against the integration of Catholic schools, which occurred in 1962.
6. **John Steinbeck** - John Steinbeck, the author, happened to be in New Orleans during the November 1960 desegregation of public schools. He observed the Cheerleaders verbally assaulting the black children and graphically described the ugly spectacle in his book Travels With Charlie.
7. **Daisy Gabrielle** - Daisy Gabrielle and her husband James continued to send their children to the integrated schools. Daisy Gabrielle was assaulted on the street by a group of white women as she returned from school with one of her children. The family home was attacked and burned. James Gabrielle was fired from his job. Yet the family also received many letters of support, according to Daisy Gabrielle. In the end, the family fled to Virginia.
8. **Ruby Bridges** - Ruby Bridges was the single black child who attended William Frantz School beginning on November 14, 1960. She was escorted to the school by Federal marshals, and the image of that was preserved in a painting by the artist Norman Rockwell. Members of

the angry crowd outside the school shouted to Ruby Bridges that they were going to poison her. As a result, the child did not eat her lunch until it was noticed she was growing thin. Her uneaten sandwiches were found piled up in her locker. In 1995, Ruby Bridges began working as a counselor at William Frantz School. Her job is to involve parents in school life.

9. **Freedom March** - The Freedom March occurred on September 30, 1963. Ten thousand black people and three hundred whites marched from Shakespeare Park to City Hall. No city officials greeted them. It was the largest protest march in the history of New Orleans.

PART V: TERMS

STUDENT COPY

NAME _____

Instructions: identify the following people and terms.

1. **SOS -**
2. **Kit Senter -**
3. **Citizens' Committee -**
4. **Harry Kelleher -**
5. **Una Gaillot -**
6. **John Steinbeck -**
7. **Daisy Gabrielle -**
8. **Ruby Bridges -**
9. **Freedom March -**

PART V: QUESTIONS TEACHER COPY NAME _____

Instructions: answer the following questions in complete sentences.

1. "It was worse than dirt. It was a kind of frightening 'witches' Sabbath.' They were not mothers, not women, but crazy actors playing to a crazy audience."

Who wrote this?

John Steinbeck wrote this line in his book Travels With Charlie.

Specifically, who are the 'crazy actors?'

Steinbeck witnessed the spectacle of the Cheerleaders, a group of angry white mothers, harassing the black children attending the two integrated public schools in New Orleans during the desegregation crisis of November 1960. He was repulsed by the behavior of the Cheerleaders, and he thus described them as "crazy actors playing to a crazy audience."

In regard to the New Orleans desegregation crisis, what did Steinbeck have in common with the much of the nation?

Like Steinbeck, much of the nation was repulsed by the behavior of the Cheerleaders and others in New Orleans during the desegregation crisis. The negative publicity surrounding the crisis threatened economic interests in the city. This threat brought the white business elite into the controversy. Hitherto, the white businessmen had no interest in the matter.

2. What happened to the families, black and white, whose children attended one of the integrated schools? Why?

Generally, the parents of these families were fired from their jobs. They were harassed at work and on the street. Neighbors and friends shunned the whites. The pressure was merciless, and much of it brought to bear by the White Citizens' Council, which encouraged economic reprisals on black and white people who tampered with segregation. Ruby Bridges' father was fired from his job.

Who was the Gabrielle family? What happened to this family? What was the final result?

The Gabrielles were a white working-class family who lived in the Ninth Ward. During the desegregation of the schools in November 1960, James and Daisy Gabrielle decided to keep their children in the public schools. They suffered terrible harassment. Daisy Gabrielle was accosted on the street with her child. The home was burned down. One of the sons turned against the father. In the end, the family relocated in Virginia.

In your opinion, why did some white parents keep their children in the integrated schools, while other white parents did not?

The question is difficult to answer because each person has his or her own answer. Some people were motivated by religious convictions. Some wanted simply to educate their children. Some thought black children deserved a chance.

3. What did SOS stand for? What was its purpose? What did it do?

SOS stood for Save Our Schools. It was a small group of liberal white women, several of whom were Jewish, who were devoting to keeping the public schools open and, although not espoused, to having schools integrated. During the desegregation crisis, members of SOS established car pools and transported white children to and from the schools that were virtually under siege.

In what way did SOS camouflage its purpose? Do you agree with SOS's decision to camouflage its purpose? Why? Why not?

SOS did not come out publicly in favor of integration. That topic was simply too controversial. Instead, SOS emphasized keeping the schools open.

Do I agree? The student will give his or her opinion, but remember that SOS might very well have been forced to close if it had been publicly viewed as an integrationist organization. They would have been given the most opprobrious label: communists.

4. How did the white business elite prepare for the November 14, 1960, desegregation of public schools in New Orleans?

The white business elite did not react. It refused to give Mayor Chep Morrison a simple statement endorsing "law and order," a statement which might have dissuaded the cheerleaders and others from haranguing the black children on their way to school.

The attitude of the business elite changed after the desegregation crisis got underway. Why?

The business leaders were concerned that the bad image conveyed to the nation would hurt the local economy as it had the local economy in Birmingham, Alabama. In fact, the New Orleans economy did suffer, and the business men became determined to achieve a peaceful resolution to the desegregation crisis.

Specifically, what did the white businessmen do in the aftermath of November 1960?

Fifteen white businessmen formed an informal group with fifteen black businessmen. The group worked together to bring about the largely peaceful desegregation of the city.

5. What was the Freedom March? What is its significance?

The Freedom March occurred on September 30, 1963. Ten thousand black people and three hundred whites marched from Shakespeare Park to City Hall. No city official greeted them. The Freedom March informed the city leadership that changes were coming too slowly. It was the largest protest march in the history of the city, and it demonstrated that large numbers of black people were not afraid to walk the streets and demand changes.

6. Describe the events of October 31, 1963, in the cafeteria of City Hall. Specifically, what happened? Why?

Avery Alexander and some CORE activists staged a sit-in the "white only" City Hall cafeteria. City leaders had promised to desegregate the cafeteria, but the promise had not been met. There was apparently a mix-up between City Hall and the white business elite. The police arrested the protesters, but Avery Alexander refused to stand up and was hauled out by his feet. His head bumped on the flights of stairs.

How did Joseph Giarusso, the police superintendent, explain the actions of the police on October 31, 1963?

Giarusso stated flatly that the police made a mistake by hauling Reverend Avery Alexander out by his feet. He says the situation could have been handled differently. He appears to have been much concerned with the negative publicity New Orleans received nationally and internationally.

Avery Alexander said that after October 31, 1963, he encountered some kids. What did the kids ask him? How did Avery Alexander respond?

The kids asked him why he hadn't kicked the police men who were dragging him across the cafeteria and up the stairs? Alexander said that Christ had suffered terribly. In comparison, Alexander viewed the treatment he was enduring as "a small thing."

PART V: QUESTIONS STUDENT COPY NAME _____

Instructions: answer the following questions in complete sentences.

1. “It was worse than dirt. It was a kind of frightening 'witches' Sabbath.' They were not mothers, not women, but crazy actors playing to a crazy audience.”

Who wrote this?

Specifically, who is the author of this quote describing when he refers to 'crazy actors?’

How did the quote reflect the view of much of the nation?

2. What happened to the families, black and white, whose children attended one of the integrated schools? Why?

Who was the Gabrielle family? What happened to this family? What was the final result?

In your opinion, why did some white parents keep their children in the integrated schools, while other white parents did not?

3. What did SOS stand for? What was its purpose? What did it do?

In what way did SOS camouflage its purpose? Do you agree with SOS’s decision to camouflage its purpose? Why? Why not?

4. How did the white business elite prepare for the November 14, 1960, desegregation of public schools in New Orleans?

The attitude of the business elite changed after the desegregation crisis got underway. Why?

Specifically, what did the white businessmen do in the aftermath of November 1960?

5. What was the Freedom March? What is its significance?

6. Describe the events of October 31, 1963, in the cafeteria of City Hall. Specifically, what happened? Why?

How did Joseph Giarusso, the police superintendent, explain the actions of the police on October 31, 1963?

PART VI--LECTURE NOTES

“We have as much segregation today as we had in the sixties, but it’s a different kind of segregation now. It’s segregation by choice.”

-- Lloyd Rittiner, former president of Orleans Parish School Board

Part VI of *A House Divided* is the conclusion of the documentary.

OBJECTIVE: The purpose of Part VI is to reflect on the Civil Rights period and to reach some conclusions about what has happened and what has not happened. For black people in New Orleans, life has changed dramatically since 1954 (and the Brown decision), but anger, fear, and frustration are deeply felt. Anger, fear, and frustration are also felt deeply in the white community. In New Orleans, people of different ethnic background live in relative physical proximity but yet in separate, insular worlds in which each knows little about the other.

PREPARATION: Summarize for the students the information provided below before they view Part VI. This final section is a collage of view points, a summary of opinions by the major participants in *A House Divided*.

1. LOOKING BACK

Here are quotes from those interviewed in Part VI. Each quote is suitable for discussion with students.

Rosa Keller: “As far as I’m concerned I’m much more comfortable in the world I live in now than I was for a while.”

Jerome Smith: “Racism still controls the police department. Racism still controls the government...White America do not vote for the black candidates. They do not vote for us. They don’t care what qualities we possess, you know. They don’t want the nigger to be in charge.”

Lloyd Rittiner: “We have as much segregation today as we had in sixty, but it’s a different kind of segregation now. It’s segregation by choice.”

Lolis Elie, “I think there is a very substantial number of whites who have no interest in changing it.”

Joe Giarusso: “I hope to keep changing. I hope to keep learning. I hope to express to my fellow man my love for him, you know, my love for him, and for the betterment of our lives, and I think that’s what it’s all about.”

Oretha Castle: “I think this country still has a belief that black people are somehow or another

less than they are, and I don't believe that has changed, and it began to get to the root of what racism is all about, and I think it's just as prevalent in 1984 as it is in 1904.

QUESTION: Whose opinion do you most agree with? Whose do you least agree with? Why? Give examples.

2. GOALS

The narrator of *A House Divided*, James Earl Jones, draws a list of goals the Civil Rights movement set out to achieve. He then compares this list with the actual results of the Civil Rights movement.

The first goal was to achieve the end to legal segregation. This was accomplished with the 1964 Civil Rights Act.

The second goal was to give all citizens the right to register and vote. The 1965 Voting Rights Act did this. For the first time since Reconstruction black people in New Orleans were able to exert political power commensurate with their numbers in the population. The result was the election of a black mayor, Ernest "Dutch" Morial in 1977, and of two more black mayors, Sidney Bartheimy in 1986 and Marc Morial in 1994.

The third goal was improved job opportunity. This goal has been "partly achieved" in the opinion of the editors who put together *A House Divided*. Advances have been made in education, but economic disparity between black and white remains substantial.

The fourth goal was equal opportunity for quality education for black children. This has not been reached. The public school system in New Orleans is majority black. It is profoundly underfunded. The physical infrastructure is collapsing. In general, white children attend private schools. Segregation in education is nearly as sharp today as it was forty years ago.

3. ANSWERS

A House Divided ends on the same point as it began: education. The 1954 decision in *Brown v. the Board of Education* was a catalyst for launching the Civil Rights movement. It stated flatly that "separate but equal" was unconstitutional and that black and white children should have the same opportunities in education. This has not happened.

QUOTE: Dr. Norman Francis of Xavier University, in a concluding comment in *A House Divided*, argues that it is in the self-interest of New Orleanians (black and white) to make a major and sustained commitment to public education. In dire tones, he surmises it is the only way out of the morass:

Unless the public, and that means thirty year-olds, forty year-olds, black and white, invest in educating young people, they are then going to spend some of

their precious dollars on social programs, welfare programs, and unfortunately even incarceration facilities. They have to have a longer look and that is going to take a broad and sophisticated view, and I'm not so sure that this generation appreciates this.

QUESTION: Ask the students to prepare a list of the problems besetting New Orleans and then a list of possible solutions. The students need only to peruse the newspapers to find material for discussion.

4. ORAL HISTORY PROJECT

In terms of the long chronology of New Orleans' history, the Civil Rights period of the 1950's and '60's occurred only yesterday. Many people who lived during those times of dramatic change, as activists or as observers, are still alive. Most people have a good memory (however selective); everyone has an opinion. The relative proximity of the Civil Rights period offers an opportunity to involve students in an oral history project.

OBJECTIVE: The Civil Rights period offers insight into a range of human characteristics: courage, fear, conformity, passivity, will-power. It is instructive for students to enter the world of another person and to learn how that person thought, spoke, and acted. It is also instructive to learn about the history of New Orleans and, in this case, about its immediate history. The events of present-day New Orleans cannot be understood without a knowledge of the 1950's and '60's. At the end of the project, the class will have compiled an archive of interviews.

HOW TO BEGIN: It is up to the students to arrange the interview. The people to be interviewed can be anyone who is old enough to remember the 1950's or '60's. It can be an oral history "in the neighborhood project." The people do not have to be famous. They can be "ordinary." They can be the elderly gentleman who lives next door, or his wife, or their cousin. They can be the father, the mother, the friend. They can be anybody.

QUESTION: Before the interview, the student should prepare a list of questions. The questions should be based upon a knowledge of the Civil Rights period. Ignorance on the part of the interviewer is insulting.

The questions should proceed in a chronological manner. The first question is simple: would you please tell me your name, where you were born, and, if you don't mind, when? The student should also ask about the people who influenced the interviewee. Who were your role models? Why?

The questions can be general: what was it like back then? What was your opinion of Jim Crow

segregation? But the questions should also be specific and reflect a knowledge of the period: How did segregation touch you? Give examples.

Do you remember the race-screen? Did you ever see a black person forced to get up from his or her seat by a white person?

What was your reaction when the sit-ins began on Canal Street? Did you ever see a sit-in?

Do you remember the school desegregation crisis which began on November 14, 1960? What did you think when you saw the news that first night?

What do you think about race relations today?

FOLLOW-UP: The students should take notes during the interview or record it on a tape recorder or a video camera. If possible, the student should ask permission and then take a photograph of the interviewee. Afterwards, each student will present a summary of his or her interview to the class. What was the most interesting thing the interviewee said? What did you learn? What surprised you?

The student is questioned by classmates about the person interviewed. In sum, the student has to understand the interview in order to explain it.

CONCLUSION: The most interesting and important sections of the interviews should be neatly typed onto sheets of paper and compiled into a notebook along with the photographs of the interviewees. At the end of the oral history project, the students will have an archive of the Civil Rights period.

Instructions: answer the following questions in complete sentences.

1. In your opinion, what was the most important event in the Civil Rights period in New Orleans? What was the historical significance of the event? Explain your answer.

Chose one event from this list: the McDonogh Day Boycott; the Dryades Street Boycott; the Canal Street Boycott; the Freedom March; the October 1963 sit-in at the City Hall cafeteria.

This answer depends on the student's opinion.

2. Compare and contrast the Supreme Court decisions in Plessy v. Ferguson and in Brown v. the Board of Education. Specifically, in what year was each decision rendered? What did each decision establish?

The Supreme Court rendered its decision in Plessy v. Ferguson in May 1896; the decision in Brown v. the Board of Education was rendered in May 1954. Plessy v. Ferguson established that “separate but equal” public facilities were constitutional. Brown v. the Board established that “separate but equal” in public education was unconstitutional.

Explain the significance of each decision in terms of race relations in New Orleans. How did the decisions impact the relations?

Plessy v. Ferguson was a major legal step in the establishment of Jim Crow segregation. After this decision, segregation became more rigidly enforced in New Orleans. The railroads were segregated. In 1902, the street cars were once again segregated. If the Plessy decision was a dark moment for American blacks, Brown v. the Board of Education was the opposite. It gave great hope that black children would receive a quality education.

3. What is the NAACP? What is CORE?

The NAACP was founded in 1909 “to achieve, through peaceful and lawful means, equal citizenship rights for all American citizens by eliminating segregation and discrimination in housing, employment, voting, schools, the courts, transportation, recreation.” Moorfield Storey, a white lawyer from Boston, Massachusetts, was the first president of the NAACP. Led by Thurgood Marshall, the NAACP led the fight for desegregation in the courts and met with notable successes, including Brown v. the Board of Education in 1954. The NAACP had an active office in New Orleans. A.P. Tureaud served as local counsel, leading the legal battles against segregation. The NAACP Youth

Group, led by Raphael Cassimire, participated in the sit-ins and in the picket lines of the 1960's.

CORE was founded in 1942 (Chicago) through the efforts of James Farmer. The Congress for Racial Equality (CORE) acted to combat racial discrimination with the techniques of non-violence espoused by Mahatma Gandhi in India. A CORE chapter was organized in New Orleans in the summer of 1960. The first chairman was Rudy Lombard.

What similarities and differences in philosophy did the NAACP and CORE have?

Both organizations were integrated, and both fought for an end to racial discrimination and for equal rights for black people and others. NAACP battled for change through the legal system. CORE felt this approach was too slow. It advocated direct action on the street-level. The NAACP Youth Group also participated in direct action on the street level.

What successes did the NAACP achieve in New Orleans? Give examples.

A.P. Tureaud, local counsel for the New Orleans NAACP, began the legal battle to end segregation in the 1940's with law suits to achieve equal pay for blacks teachers and to integrate LSU. In 1951, Tureaud filed suit in Bush v. Orleans Parish School Board, arguing for the desegregation of public schools.

What successes did CORE achieve in New Orleans? Give examples.

In New Orleans, CORE activists were largely responsible for the desegregation of stores on Canal Street and of public facilities elsewhere in the city. CORE activists were the "shock troops" at most of the demonstrations in the 1960's.

4. What was the purpose of legal segregation? What was its meaning? Explain.

The purpose of legal segregation was to keep the races as separate as possible. The meaning behind segregation was blunt: the white majority was in physical control and the black minority was forced, by threat of force, to live in an inferior position.

What was the most violent incident relating to segregation presented in the documentary? Explain.

This is an answer that depends on the student's opinion.

What was the most humiliating example of segregation? Explain.

Opinion.

What example of segregation was the most offensive? Explain.

Opinion.

5. What was the role of the local police during the period of legal segregation?

The local police were ultimate guarantors of the segregated system. They were the force behind the law.

What actions did the police department in New Orleans take during the Civil Rights period? Give examples.

The police department took a neutral role, although it often harassed black demonstrators. At the desegregation of the schools, the police did not assist the black children attending the integrated schools. The police roughly handled Avery Alexander when they expelled him from the cafeteria at City Hall on October 31, 1963. During desegregation, the New Orleans police were generally not as brutal as elsewhere in the South, but brutality surely existed although not in public.

In the documentary *A House Divided*, how does New Orleans police superintendent Joseph Giarusso explain the position taken by his department during desegregation?

He explains that he was following orders. If anybody was to blame, it was the state legislature.

6. What is your definition of courage?

Opinion.

In your opinion, which black person in *A House Divided* demonstrated the most courage? Which white person? Explain, using examples.

Opinion.

Who are the people in your life who have demonstrated the most courage?

Opinion.

7. Describe the reaction of the white community in New Orleans to the Civil Rights period? Give specific examples.

The overwhelming majority of white people were either indifferent or hostile to the changes brought about by the Civil Rights movement. Some white people, like the Cheerleaders, demonstrated against the changes. The White Citizens' Council, which comprised many members of the city's white elite, fought desegregation with economic reprisals and legal road blocks. However, some whites, although very few, worked to ease the desegregation crisis. The liberal women of the SOS are a good example. White businessmen, when they understood the economic implications of the crisis, worked together with their black counterparts to negotiate a solution.

8. Oretha Castle concludes: "I think this country still has a belief that black people are somehow or another less than they are, and I don't believe that has changed, and it began to get to the root of what racism is all about, and I think it's just as prevalent in 1984 as it is in 1904."

Do you agree with this statement? If so, why? If not, why? Give examples to explain your point of view.

Opinion.

9. Lloyd Rittiner is quoted: "We have as much segregation today as we had in 1960, but it's a different kind of segregation now. It's segregation by choice."

Do you agree with his statement? If so, why? If not, why? Give examples to explain your point of view.

Opinion.

10. What are the problems besetting New Orleans today?

Opinion.

What are possible solutions?

Opinion.

Instructions: answer the following questions in complete sentences.

1. In your opinion, what was the most important event in the Civil Rights period in New Orleans? What was the historical significance of the event? Explain your answer.

Chose one event from this list: the McDonogh Day Boycott; the Dryades Street Boycott; the Canal Street Boycott; the Freedom March; the October 1963 sit-in at the City Hall cafeteria.

2. Compare and contrast the Supreme Court decisions in Plessy v. Ferguson and in Brown v. the Board of Education. Specifically, in what year was each decision rendered?

What did each decision establish?

Explain the significance of each decision in terms of race relations in New Orleans. How did the decisions impact the relations?

3. What is the NAACP? What is CORE?

What similarities and differences in philosophy did the NAACP and CORE have?

What successes did the NAACP achieve in New Orleans? Give examples.

What successes did CORE achieve in New Orleans? Give examples.

4. What was the purpose of legal segregation? What was its meaning? Explain.

What was the most violent incident relating to segregation presented in the documentary? Explain.

What was the most humiliating example of segregation? Explain.

What example of segregation was the most offensive? Explain.

5. What was the role of the local police during the period of legal segregation?

What actions did the police department in New Orleans take during the Civil Rights period? Give examples.

In the documentary *A House Divided*, how does New Orleans police superintendent Joseph Giarusso explain the position taken by his department during desegregation?

6. What is your definition of courage?

In your opinion, which black person in *A House Divided* demonstrated the most courage? Which white person? Explain, using examples.

Who are the people in your life who have demonstrated the most courage?

7. Describe the reaction of the white community in New Orleans to the Civil Rights period? Give specific examples.

8. Oretha Castle concludes: “I think this country still has a belief that black people are somehow or another less than they are, and I don’t believe that has changed, and it began to get to the root of what racism is all about, and I think it’s just as prevalent in 1984 as it is in 1904.”

Do you agree with this statement? If so, why? If not, why? Give examples to explain your point of view.

9. Lloyd Rittiner is quoted: “We have as much segregation today as we had in 1960, but it’s a different kind of segregation now. It’s segregation by choice.”

Do you agree with his statement? If so, why? If not, why? Give examples to explain your point of view.

10. What are the problems besetting New Orleans today?

What are possible solutions?

CHRONOLOGY OF THE MODERN CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT IN NEW ORLEANS

1950

Twelve young black men register for LSU law school. When their applications are rejected on July 24, 1950, they file suit. A.P. Tureaud, local counsel for the New Orleans NAACP, is their lawyer.

One of the black men, Roy Wilson, enters LSU law school. He withdraws three months later, but the color barrier is broken.

A.P. Tureaud, Jr., applies for admission to undergraduate school at LSU. The Federal court decides in his favor, but, during the time consuming appeal process, he transfers to Xavier University in New Orleans.

LSU is the first state university in the Deep South to admit black students. It does so with much resistance but no violence.

New Orleans recruits two black policemen, the first in the city since 1915.

1951

A.P. Tureaud of the New Orleans NAACP files suit in Federal court to force the Orleans Parish School Board to provide equal educational opportunities for black children in New Orleans. The suit is titled "Bush vs. Orleans Parish School Board." Litigation lasts twenty years.

1952

Blacks gain admission to City Park in New Orleans.

In 1952 and 1953, about one hundred blacks enroll in LSU law and medical schools.

Loyola University admits two black graduate students.

1953

In New Orleans, the United Clubs, a confederation of Mardi Gras clubs and a musicians' union, arranges for a United Negro College Fund ball at Municipal Auditorium, the use of which had hitherto been denied to blacks. New Orleans police arrive but cannot determine who is white and who is black. Municipal Auditorium is first segregated bastion in New Orleans to fall.

In Baton Rouge, the United Defense League, led by T. J. Jemison, a Baptist minister, stage a boycott of the city's public bus system. The purpose of the boycott, which lasts one week, is to

protest segregation on the buses.

The boycott is called off after one week. The city's white leadership makes minor concessions, which are later reversed.

Archbishop Joseph E. Rummel ordains Aubrey Osborne, the first black priest in the archdiocese of New Orleans.

1954

Latter Memorial Library in New Orleans is quietly desegregated. Rosa Keller, a member of the library's board of directors, and Albert Dent, president of Dillard University, are instrumental in bringing about the largely peaceful transition. The library board requests that the media not publicize the first day of desegregation, a request which is honored.

In March 1954, Mississippi Senator James O. Eastland, an arch-segregationist, brings the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee to New Orleans to hold hearings on the civil rights organization, the Southern Conference for Human Welfare, which Eastland described as "a communist front organization."

Pontchartrain Park, a middle class housing development, is built by the lake front with the assistance of Edgar Stern, a wealthy Jewish philanthropist in New Orleans. In the 1960's, Southern University (SUNO) is founded near Ponchartrain Park as the black equivalent of the University of New Orleans.

On May 8, 1954, black school children and their teachers boycott the annual parade at Lafayette Square in honor of John McDonogh, the 19th century slaveholder who bequeathed his fortune to public schools of Baltimore and New Orleans. Observing the rules of segregation, black children marched in the rear of the procession at Lafayette Square. The 1954 boycott of the McDonogh Day is the first modern protest involving all the various groups of the New Orleans black community. The boycott is repeated in 1955

On May 17, 1954, in the case *Brown v. the Board of Education*, the Supreme Court establishes that "separate but equal" in public education is unconstitutional. The ruling calls for the desegregation of public schools. The decision is denounced by segregationists, who describe May 17, 1954, as "Black Monday."

The first White Citizens' Council meeting is held on July 11, 1954, at Indianola, Mississippi. The Citizens' Councils, established throughout the South and comprised of middle and upper class whites, seeks to prevent desegregation by inflicting economic reprisals on blacks and others who advocate racial change.

The White Citizens' Council of Greater New Orleans is founded under the leadership of virulent racist and anti-Semite, Leander Perez, a lawyer, judge, and large land-owner in Plaquemines

Parish, Louisiana.

Between 1954 and 1960, the Louisiana legislature “interposes” itself between the state’s institutions and the Federal government in an attempt to circumvent federal court rulings that voided new segregation statutes.

Two blacks are elected to the city council of Crowley, Louisiana, in Acadia Parish. They are the first blacks to hold elective office in Louisiana in over fifty years.

1955

In May, John McDonogh Day is boycotted by black students for the second consecutive year.

Dr. Martin Luther King turns down the job of chaplain at Dillard University in New Orleans. Instead, he accepts the position as pastor of the Dexter Avenue Baptist Church in Montgomery, Alabama. He is twenty-seven years old.

The Montgomery bus boycott is launched on December 5, 1955, after Rosa Parks is arrested for refusing to give up her bus seat to a white man. Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr., is elected head of the Montgomery Improvement Association, which organizes the boycott.

In late 1955, the remaining New Orleans public libraries are desegregated.

1956

Autherine Lucy, a black student, is admitted to University of Alabama, February 3, 1956

Alabama outlaws NAACP, June 1, 1956.

Supreme Court rules on bus desegregation, November 13, 1956.

Home of Martin Luther King Jr. is bombed, January 30, 1956, in Montgomery, Alabama

Between 1956 and 1959, due intimidation on the part of the White Citizens’ Councils, the percentage of eligible blacks who are registered to vote in Louisiana falls from 31.7% percent to 27.5%

— — —

At a large public meeting on May 17, 1956, the White Citizens’ Council of Greater New Orleans launches an attack on the Urban League, an integrated organization devoted to developing job opportunities for blacks. Judge Leander Perez attacks the Urban League as “a communist organization” and reads aloud a list of its board members.

On May 24, 1956, Federal Judge Skelly Wright rules that all state laws requiring segregation on public transportation in New Orleans are “unconstitutional and therefore invalid.”

The Louisiana legislature resurrects the “Ku Klux Klan control law of 1924” to drive the NAACP underground by requiring it to file membership lists. This is tantamount to a death sentence for many members. The NAACP is forced to suspend official operations in Louisiana for fear of reprisals.

Leander Perez begins an intensive mobilization against the desegregation of Catholic schools.

1957

Desegregation of Central High School in Little Rock, Arkansas, August 1957-May 1959.

The U.S. Congress passes the first Civil Rights bill since 1875, August 29, 1957.



The Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), under the leadership of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., is founded in New Orleans at 2319 Third Street. A.L. Davis, a Baptist minister in New Orleans, is first vice president.

In New Orleans, the United Clubs, a confederation of Mardi Gras clubs and a musicians’ union, organize a “blackout” of the carnival season in honor of the Montgomery Bus Boycott. The slogan: “It is immoral for Negroes to dance in New Orleans while Negroes in Montgomery walk.”

Zulu, however, parades in defiance of the boycott and under grave threat. “It was the fastest parade ever,” says one observer. Sixty thousand dollars are collected at Mardi Gras for the national NAACP. The success of the boycott demonstrates that blacks in the South, according to historian Adam Fairclough, “could mobilize money and people to protest segregation.”

1958

On May 31, 1958, street cars and buses in New Orleans are desegregated by Federal court order. A cross is burned that night on the lawn of Skelly Wright, the Federal judge who ordered the street cars and buses desegregated. The previous day, A.L. Davis and other members of the Interdenominational Ministerial Alliance, board buses and street cars and remove the despised race screens.

Federal Court order the admittance of the first black undergraduates to LSU.

Integration of City Park in New Orleans.

In September, two hundred blacks enter LSU-NO in its first year, making it the first fully integrated public university in the Deep South.

Greater New Orleans Bridge is constructed; interstate highway overpass built along tree lined Claiborne Avenue, destroying the traditional neighborhood of the New Orleans Creole population.

1959

Race-baiting gubernatorial campaign involving Chep Morrison, mayor of New Orleans, and arch-segregationists Willie Rainach (of the White Citizens' Council) and Jimmie Davis (of "You are my sunshine").

1960

Black students stage sit-ins at segregated lunch counters in Greensboro, North Carolina, February 1, 1960

Sit-ins and boycotts occur all over the South and in some northern cities.

Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), a militant civil rights organization, is founded, April 17, 1960

John Kennedy is elected president; Lyndon Johnson is vice-president.

The second Civil Rights Act is signed, May 6, 1960.



In the summer of 1960, members of the Congress for Racial Equality (CORE) open a chapter in New Orleans. CORE, founded in Chicago by James Farmer in 1942, is an integrated organization devoted to non-violent direct action to achieve civil rights for all people.

On March 8, 1960, two hundred black students from Dillard University march outside the college campus in New Orleans. The placards read: "Desegregation, human rights, freedom, and action without violence."

On March 28, 1960, seven black students from Southern University in Baton Rouge, encouraged by Reverend T.J. Jemison, are arrested after sitting at the segregated lunch counter of the Kress store. The students are arrested. More sit-ins follow.

On March 30, 1960, students from Southern University in Baton Rouge march to state capitol. Nine students are suspended.

Students stage boycott of classes at Southern University. Protest fails.

In New Orleans, the Dryades Street Boycott begins in April 1960. The Consumers' League of Greater New Orleans, a black organization, launches a boycott of white owned businesses on Dryades Street which are patronized almost exclusively by blacks. Blacks leaders protest merchant's refusal to employ blacks above menial level.

The Consumer League is led by Dr. Raymond B. Floyd, Dr. Henry Mitchell, Reverend Avery Alexander, and Reverend A.L. Davis. The protestors include Rudy Lombard, a Xavier student, Oretha Castle, a student at Southern in New Orleans, Hugh Murray, a white graduate student of history at Tulane, and Jerome Smith, who recently quit Southern University in Baton Rouge.

Lolis Elie, Nils Douglas, Ernest Morial, and other black attorneys provide the protesters with legal assistance.

On May 16, 1960, Federal Judge Skelly Wright orders that first grade students be permitted to enter either the nearest formerly all white school or the nearest formerly all black school "at their option." This is the first court ordered integration plan in the country.

On September 9, 1960, seven CORE members (five blacks and two whites) defy segregation laws by sitting at the lunch counter ("white only") of one of the Woolworth's stores on Canal Street. They are arrested and charged with "criminal mischief."

The next day, the NAACP Youth Group, led by Raphael Cassimire, pickets both Woolworth stores on Canal Street.

On September 16, 1960, seven protesters, including CORE field secretary Jim McCain, walk a picket line outside the shopping area of a predominantly black section of Claiborne Avenue.

Reverend Avery Alexander and four other members of the Consumer's League are arrested and go to jail with Jim McCain. Reverend A.L. Davis opens his church to CORE workshops.

The next day, Rudy Lombard and three other CORE members sit at the counter in McCrory's on Canal Street.

On November 14, 1960, after the presidential elections (in which John F. Kennedy was elected), Judge Skelly Wright orders the integration of two New Orleans public schools, both in the Ninth Ward, a mostly white working class neighborhood. That morning three girls arrive at McDonogh 19 and one girl (Ruby Bridges) at William J. Frantz School. At both schools the girls are met by jeering mobs of angry white parents. The next evening a large crowd of white people pack a White Citizens' Council meeting at Municipal Auditorium. State legislator Willie Rainach is the main speaker. He decries integration and accuses the NAACP of being a communist organization. The following morning, on November 16, 1960, hundreds of white high

school students and others rampage through the downtown business district, running in and out of public buildings and assaulting blacks on the street. Some of the rioters go to City Hall and pound the locked doors; they are repelled with fire hoses.

Louisiana Governor Jimmie Davis orders the closing of the New Orleans public schools. The Orleans School Board refuses.

The Louisiana Legislature compliment the white parents who kept their students out of the two public schools. No Louisiana state senator, and only two representatives, vote against the resolution commending the parents “for their courageous stand.”

A contingent of the protesting parents travel from New Orleans to Baton Rouge and parade about the legislative with an effigy of Federal Judge Skelly Wright. The legislators give the parents a thundering ovation.

Save Our Schools, an organization of white Uptown women devoted to keeping the public schools open, begin a car pool service to transport white children to McDonogh 19 and Frantz schools.

Jimmy and Daisy Gabrielle, white parents, refuse to withdraw their daughter from Frantz school. Jimmy Gabrielle is forced to quit his job as a city gas meter reader. His fellow workers, with verbal taunts and other abuse, make his life intolerable. The Gabrielle family (including six children) move to Norfolk, Virginia.

At least three other white parents lose their jobs as result of keeping their children at the integrated public schools

1961

Protest movement led by Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., is held in Albany, Georgia, November 1961-August 1962.

Federal Court orders black students to be admitted to the University of Georgia, January 6, 1961. Riot occurs at university, January 11, 1961.

ICC desegregation ruling is announced, September 22, 1961.

— — —

In the summer of 1960, the Freedom Rides begin. Integrated teams of activists from SNCC and CORE members test compliance with desegregation of inter-state transportation by riding buses through the South. New Orleans is their last stop.

The Freedom Riders are attacked by furious whites outside of Anniston, Alabama. The bus is burned on the roadside. The riders continue to Birmingham, Alabama, where they are brutally beaten by a white mob at the bus station as police stand nearby. Jerome Smith is beaten at McComb, Mississippi.

When the Freedom Riders arrive in New Orleans, they are beaten by police. In response, CORE members stage a sit-in at the office of the police superintendent and picket City Hall.

The sit-ins and pickets continue at McCrory's and Woolworth's on Canal Street in New Orleans.

In 1961, school integration in New Orleans lacks the verbal abuse and the threats of violence that characterized the first year of school integration. Anti-integration forces begin to lose momentum. However, integration in 1961 consists of only twelve black students attending six formerly all white elementary schools, including five at McDonogh 19. This school has four white pupils in the second year of integration.

In March 1961, after Woolworth's and McCrory's refuse to desegregate its lunch counters, pickets in front of the stores continue to urge a boycott. Stores on St. Claude Avenue are also picketed.

The Consumers' League threatens to boycott NOPSI because of the refusal of the company to employ black bus and street car drivers in New Orleans.

In December, 1961, 1,200 black college students march to the state capitol in Baton Rouge, Louisiana, to protest the recent arrests of black students. Two hundred and ninety two students are arrested.

1962

President Kenney federalizes Mississippi National Guard troops to force the integration of the University of Mississippi (Ole Miss), September 29, 1962.

Los Angeles Riot occur, April 27, 1962.

Ole Miss Riots occur as white students seize campus to protest integration, October 2, 1962.

— — —

Two years after the public schools, Archbishop Rummel orders the integration of New Orleans Catholic schools. Rummel excommunicates arch-segregationist Leander Perez and Mrs. B.J. (Una) Gaillot, a New Orleans housewife who attacked Rummel's orders to desegregate. Mrs. Gaillot formed an organization, Save Our Nations, to fight integration. She was also the leader of the Cheerleaders, an organization of white parents who stood outside of the integrated public

schools harassing the white and black children who entered the schools.

In 1962, token integration in New Orleans is achieved. The White Citizens' Council of Greater New Orleans starts to lose its once powerful influence.

Boycotts in New Orleans continue, protesting segregation. Voter registration drives are underway in the city.

In April, 1962, Federal Judge Skelly Wright orders the first six grades of all public schools integrated in the Fall of 1962.

Judge Wright receives a Federal appointment and leaves New Orleans. His replacement, Judge Frank B. Ellis, moderated Wright's order, requiring only the first grades of each public school to desegregate in the Fall of 1962.

In August 1962, a three judge panel rules that the state's "pupil placement law" is unconstitutional. This allows second and third graders to transfer to schools in the fall of 1962. In 1961, only sixty-six black children have been transferred to all-white schools.

1963

Brutal suppression of protests in Birmingham, Alabama, April-May 1963.

Alabama governor George Wallace, denouncing integration, makes his "school house stand" at University of Alabama, June 11, 1963.

March on Washington, the largest protest of the Civil Rights movement, takes place, June 20, 1963.

Klan bombs a black church in Birmingham, Alabama, killing several children, September 15, 1963.

Centennial of Emancipation Proclamation, January 1, 1963.

Medgar Evers, Mississippi NAACP field secretary, is murdered in Jackson, Mississippi, June 12, 1963.

— — —

In February, 1963, eleven black students enroll at Tulane University. Eight are graduate students, three undergraduate. The desegregation of Tulane University, which had been endowed 120 years before by Paul Tulane who stipulated that it be a school for "white males," was ordered by a Federal court order in response to a so-called "friendly" suit filed by Rosa Keller, Henry

Mason, and John Furey.

The local press agrees to allow the first day of integration to pass without publicity.

In March, 1963, the Consumers' League threatens to stage a boycott of Canal Street stores at the busy Easter season. Merchants on Canal Street agree to hire seventy-five blacks as sales clerks and in other jobs requiring responsibility.

The pickets continue in front of the stores which do not honor the agreements.

In July, 1963, a three judge panel orders the New Orleans Recreation Department (NORD) to desegregate parks, playgrounds, and all other facilities.

In the case U.S. v. Louisiana, Justice John Minor Wisdom challenges the applicability of the "constitutional interpretation tests," the tests which were used to deny black people the right to vote. Wisdom's challenge is an "historical treatise" on the disfranchisement of black voters in Louisiana, beginning with Reconstruction and ending with the emergence of the Whites Citizens' Councils. The interpretation test, Judge Wisdom concludes, is a device purposely conceived to deprive blacks of the right to vote. It is unconstitutional.

On August 12, 1963, the city of New Orleans agrees to remove racial signs from all public buildings. The city also agrees to refrain from appealing court orders which it had done to thwart desegregation. The city's civil service agrees to hire applicants on "a basis of qualifications" and promises to hire black firemen and sanitation workers. The agreements are worked out between the black leadership in New Orleans and the elite of the white business community during a special bi-racial meeting. Mayor Vic Schiro signs the agreements for the city.

On August 19, 1963, CORE members stage a march on Plaquemine, in Iberville Parish just south of Baton Rouge on the west bank of the Mississippi River. The protest is held to protest the denial of black people the right to vote in the parish. More than two hundred of the protesters are arrested. James Farmer of CORE spends ten days in the Donaldsonville jail in nearby Ascension Parish.

Later protest marches in Plaquemine are brutally dispersed. In one march, James Farmer sought refuge from police by going into a funeral home in which a service was underway. When police burst in, the funeral home director, a black woman, insisted they leave. Farmer was spared an uncomfortable fate. He escaped to New Orleans in a hearse.

On September 30, 1963, ten thousand black people and three hundred whites march from Shakespeare Park to City Hall and demand that Mayor Vic Schiro create a bi-racial committee to advance the process of desegregation. Called the Freedom March, it is the largest political demonstration of black people in the history of New Orleans. No city official is present at City Hall to meet the demonstrators. Before the crowd in front of City Hall, Oretha Castle observes, "As long as we are held in economic and political slavery, they, the whites, aren't free either."

On October 4, 1963, New Orleans police raid headquarters of the civil rights organization Southern Conference Education Fund (SCEF) and seize its records. The homes of SCEF leaders are searched. The leaders are arrested and charged with “subversion” (e.g. communists).

The First Unitarian Church in New Orleans objects to the state’s raid on SCEF. It is later bombed by anonymous persons.

On October 31, 1960, Reverend Avery Alexander and CORE members, including Jean Castle and Sondra Nixon, stage a sit-in at the segregated cafeteria in the basement of the New Orleans City Hall.

The police arrest the protesters and march them to the police wagons outside. Reverend Avery Alexander refuses to be unseated. The police seize Avery Alexander by the ankles and drag him up two flights of stairs. Harry Kelleher, one of the white businessmen who played an integral part in the desegregation of New Orleans, said of the incident at City Hall, “That was the only breach that occurred between the white leadership and the black leadership. We made profuse apologies. We were mortified.”

1964

Black protesters march in St. Augustine, Florida, March-June 1964.

The Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party (MFDP) is founded, April 26, 1964. MFDP delegates demand seating at Atlantic City Convention, August 1964.

Martin Luther King, Jr. is awarded Nobel Prize, December 10, 1964.

Lyndon Johnson is elected president; Hubert Humphrey is vice-president.

24th Amendment eliminates polling tax (designed to prevent blacks from voting) on Federal elections, January 23, 1964.

After the racial violence in Birmingham, Alabama, President Johnson signs Civil Rights Bill, July 2, 1964, known as the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

Goodman, Schwerner, Chaney are killed in Neshoba County, Mississippi, June 21, 1964.

Race Riots occur in New York, New Jersey, Chicago, and Philadelphia.

— — —

In January, the Ku Klux Klan burns crosses throughout Louisiana.

In January, fifteen black people register to vote in Tensas Parish, Louisiana. Tensas is the last parish to maintain total disfranchisement of blacks.

In November, the Deacons of Defense and Justice form in Jonesboro, Louisiana. It is a black group that advocates armed self-defense against the Klan.

In December, 1964, Ku Klux Klan members from the Natchez, Mississippi, area burn the Ferriday, Louisiana, shoe repair shop owned by fifty-one year old Frank Morris, who dies in the blaze.

1965

Black protesters, led by Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., march on Selma, Alabama, January-March 1965.

Dr. King meets with President Johnson, February 9, 1965.

Voting Rights Act is signed, August 6, 1965.

Riots in Watts neighborhood of Los Angeles, August 11-16, 1965.



Beginning in January, Black protesters picket Columbia Street stores in Bogalusa, Louisiana, a Klan stronghold. Militant desegregation continues.

In May, a large Klan rally is held in Bogalusa, Louisiana.

On June 2, O'Neal Moore, a black Washington Parish Sheriff's deputy, is murdered by a white man who drove him by in a pickup truck near Bogalusa. Ernest Ray McElveen, a forty one year old Crown Zellerbach labor technician and member of the Citizens' Council of Greater New Orleans (and the National State's Rights party), is arrested not far from the murder scene.

In July, militant protests by the Voter League and the Deacons force Justice Department to enforce Civil Rights Act through suits against city officials and the Klan.

1966

The focus of black protest moves to the North.

1967

Black protesters, protected by National Guardsmen, march from Bogalusa to the state capitol at Baton Rouge, Louisiana.

1968

Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., is assassinated in Memphis, April 4, 1968.

1977

Ernest “Dutch” Morial is elected first black mayor of New Orleans.

Susie Guilloy Phipps files suit against the state of Louisiana to have the race designation on her birth certificate changed from black to white. In 1983, the state court ruled against her. Phipps gave up after the case went to Fourth District Court of Appeals. She spent forty thousand dollars on legal fees.

1980

Armstrong Park opens on the site of the former Congo Square.

1986

Sidney Barthelmy is elected mayor.

1994

Marc Morial is elected mayor.

1995

Louisiana has the second highest poverty rate of any state in the nation. Mississippi is first. In New Orleans, fifty percent of the children live below the poverty level.

GLOSSARY

AVERY ALEXANDER - Reverend Avery Alexander was one of the leading black figures in the Civil Rights struggles in New Orleans. He helped organize and participated in the Dryades Street Boycott as a member of the Consumers’ League in 1960. He also took part in the sit-in demonstrations on Canal Street and elsewhere in the city. In virtually every civil rights confrontation, Alexander was at the forefront. On October 30, 1963, he led the sit-in at the cafeteria in City Hall. Police dragged him from the cafeteria by his ankles. Alexander is today a state legislator from New Orleans.

BLACK CODES - In the immediate aftermath of the Civil War, leaders of the white population

in many communities established Black Codes. The Black Codes were a harsh set of rules governing the lives of the recently freed slaves, known as Freedmen. The Black Codes maintained the black population in a semi-slavery state. They were outlawed in 1867 with the start of Radical Reconstruction.

BLACK MONDAY - May 17, 1954, the day the Supreme Court announced its decision in *Brown v. Board of Education*, was described by segregationists as “Black Monday.”

Mississippi Senator James O. Eastland said, "On May 17, 1954, the Constitution of the United States was destroyed because of the Supreme Court’s decision. You are not obliged to obey the decisions of any court which are plainly fraudulent [and based on] sociological considerations."

RUBY BRIDGES - Beginning on November 14, 1960, Ruby Bridges was the sole black student at William Frantz Elementary School in New Orleans. She was in a class of one with her own teacher. Her father was fired from his job as a result in reprisal. In her first year at Frantz, Bridges suffered a loss of appetite. Each day the angry crowds outside shouted, “We’re going to poison you until you choke to death.” Uneaten sandwiches were later discovered in Ruby’s locker. She is today a counselor at William Frantz and works to involve families with school life.

BROWN V. THE BOARD OF EDUCATION - On May 17, 1954, the U.S. Supreme Court issued its decision in *Brown v. the Board*. The case was based on the suit filed in Topeka, Kansas, by the father of Linda Brown, age seven. He resented that his daughter had to travel across town to attend a black school when a white school was nearby. The court ruled that separate educational facilities “are inherently unequal.” It said: “To separate them [black children] from others of similar race and qualifications solely because of their race generates a feeling of inferiority as to their status in the community that may affect their hearts and minds in a way very unlikely ever to be undone.”

On May 31, 1954, the court ruled that desegregation was to be implemented “with all deliberate speed.” This wording allowed segregationist to delay efforts at school integration.

RAPHAEL CASSIMIRE - Raphael Cassimire was a young black activist in New Orleans. He led the NAACP Youth Group in protests on Canal Street and elsewhere in the city. As a child, he remembers his first brush with segregation: he reversed the dreaded race screen on a bus. A nearby white man insisted Cassimire return the race screen to its original position. Cassimire refused. Cassimire tested compliance with desegregation in Brookhaven, Mississippi. He picketed segregated stores alone. He is an example of the activist, direct-action branch of the local NAACP.

ORETHA CASTLE - Oretha Castle, a student at Southern University in New Orleans, was one of the founders of the New Orleans chapter of CORE in the summer of 1960. They believed that the NAACP’s approach to civil rights was too slow, and they wanted to initiate peaceful direct action campaigns. In the spring of 1960, she participated in the boycott of the stores on Dryades Street. There she met other young black people interested in advancing the cause of civil rights.

Castle was fired from her job at Hotel Dieu Hospital after participating in the first sit-in strike at Woolworth's Department Store on Canal Street in New Orleans. Castle was deeply influenced by her two grandmothers by whom she was partly raised in rural Tennessee. Both grandmothers gave her a sense of self-worth and dignity. One said, "I'd rather pick with the chickens than be beholden to somebody." The Castle home at 917 North Tonti Street was the unofficial headquarters of CORE in New Orleans.

A.J. CHAPITAL - A.J. Chapital was director of the New Orleans branch of the NAACP in the 1950's. He helped organize the McDonogh Day Boycott in 1954 and was a leader of many of the desegregation efforts in the city.

CHEERLEADERS - Led by a Una Galliot, the Cheerleaders were a group of between forty and a hundred white working class women who harassed children at William Frantz and McDonogh 19. The women evinced extreme racial hatred. The author John Steinbeck, present on the street in front of the schools, said, "No newspaper had printed the words these women shouted. It was indicated that they were indelicate, some even said obscene. On television the sound track was made to blur or had crowd noises cut in to cover. But now I heard the words: bestial, and filthy and degenerate."

Bill Monroe of WDSU TV said, "I got an emotional understanding, a kind of understanding that goes deeper than the intellectual, of the depth and intensity of the feelings involved in this problem. Even though you've lived side by side with it, you cannot realize how fully these emotions can possess people until you've seen them come to the surface right before your eyes, raw and trembling."

The historian Adam Fairclough has noted, "These [the Cheerleaders] were merely symptoms of a problem, not the problem itself. Opposition to integration permeated every social class."

CITIZENS' COMMITTEE - The Citizens' Committee was an organization of black leaders which helped negotiate the desegregation of the city with their white counterparts including Harry Kelleher. The Citizen's Committee included several generations of black leaders, including black lawyers Lolis Elie, Revius Ortique, and Dutch Morial. Their colleagues were the Reverends A.L. Davis and Avery Alexander. Dr. Leonard Burns represented the United Clubs and the Urban League. Oretha Castle, the only woman on the Citizens' Committee, represented CORE.

ROBERT COLLINS - Robert Collins attended Gilbert High School in New Orleans. In 1951, he became one of the first black students to attend LSU law school. He formed a law practice with Lolis Elie and Nils Douglas on Dryades Street in New Orleans. The law firm represented CORE activists during the sit-in strikes. Collins remembers being particularly angered at segregation as it existed in the Federal courthouse: "Everyone went along with the segregated system. They were blinded to what they were doing, and these were supposed to be good, God fearing people, you know, the pillars of society. It was a lot to take."

CORE (CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY) - CORE, founded on the principle of non-violent direct action, opened a chapter in New Orleans during the summer of 1960.

A group of young activists had met on the picket line during the Dryades Street Boycott in the spring of 1960. They were: Rudy Lombard, Jerome Smith, Oretha Castle, and others. The group was racially mixed. Most of the black participants came from Southern University in New Orleans and LSU at New Orleans (UNO). Others came from Dillard and Xavier. A few white students from Tulane University also participated in CORE. On September 9, 1960, the CORE activists (five blacks, two whites) staged a sit-in at Woolworth's on Canal Street. They were arrested. The next day the NAACP Youth Group continued the sit-ins. Richard Haley, a CORE member, said, "What we're trying to do is to sting (the whites') consciences a little. They don't want to think about it. Well, we must make them think about it."

CORE activists, including Jerome Smith, David Dennis, Julia Aaron, and Doris Jean Castle from New Orleans, participated in the Freedom Rides in the summer of 1961. The Freedom Rides were designed to test discrimination in inter-state travel. Jerome Smith was beaten in McComb, Mississippi. The CORE activists were arrested and spent time in Parchman Prison in Mississippi.

The CORE headquarters in New Orleans was 917 North Tonti Street. The organization was supported by Oretha Castle's parents. Racial tensions gripped CORE, and white members were expelled from the organization in the summer of 1962.

JIM CROW - In the 1830's, the white minstrel actor Thomas "Daddy" Rice performed comic representations of black people, including a lame black man named Jim Crow. Rice sang the first international hit: "Wheel about and turn about and do just so. Every time I wheel about I jump Jim Crow." By early 19th century, Jim Crow described the far-reaching, institutional segregation that affected every aspect of American life.

REVEREND A.L. DAVIS - Abraham Lincoln Davis, a founding member of SCLC, was born in Bayou Goula, Louisiana. His father was a preacher for black people living on nearby plantations. His mother organized a school for black children in the church building. A.L. Davis became a minister at the New Zion Baptist Church in New Orleans at age 20. He studied at the Moody Bible Institute in Chicago. He emerged as a civil rights champion during the desegregation of public transportation in 1958: "I am issuing the call to one hundred thousand Negroes in this vicinity to rise up and let Perez and his followers realize that the time is out for segregation and a for all that this evil monster stands for." Davis organized the Interdenominational Ministerial Alliance (IMA) which was capable of mobilizing thousand of black activists. As Lolis Elie remarked in *Righteous Lives*, "If there was to be a mass meeting, there was only one way to get it, through the IMA. I think he (A.L. Davis) was the best leader we had."

Reverend Davis helped organize the Dryades Street Boycott and sheltered CORE activists who arrived in New Orleans on the Freedom Rides.

ALBERT DENT - Albert Dent was the president of Dillard University for twenty eight years,

beginning in 1941. Dent directed the purchase of Flint Goodridge Hospital by Dillard. Dent grew up in segregated Atlanta, Georgia, and refused to ride segregated public transportation: "As a boy I walked all over Atlanta. Where ever I wanted to go, I walked." In reference to *Brown v. the Board* decision, Dent said, "Abraham Lincoln freed the Negro slaves, but the Supreme Court freed the white man." Albert Dent influenced many black students who later became leaders of the local civil rights movement.

DRYADES STREET SHOPPING DISTRICT - The Dryades Street shopping district, located in a black neighborhood, was the second largest shopping area in the city. Ninety-five percent of the shoppers were black, although no blacks were employed above the menial level in the Dryades Street stores. The Consumers' League, organized by the Reverends A.L. Davis and Avery Alexander, and by Dr. Raymond Floyd, and Dr. Henry Mitchell. Lolis Elie, Ernest "Dutch" Morial, Nils Douglas, black attorneys, provided the Consumers' League activists with legal representation. In April 1960, after fruitless negotiations with the Dryades Street merchants, the Consumers' League organized a boycott. It was the first march for civil rights in 20th century New Orleans. The merchants suffered during the Easter business week before deciding to hire some blacks for jobs as clerks.

LOLIS ELIE - Lolis Elie was born in New Orleans. He attended Gilbert Academy. Each day he had to cross segregated Audubon Park; he later recalled the mean spirited policeman who would not let black children pause as they walked through the park. As a young man, Lolis Elie joined the Merchant Marines and visited New York City where he saw a highly integrated situation: "I knew I was never gonna live in the south again." Elie was drafted into the U.S. Army. It was during this time that he had white friends and that he "really read." Afterwards, he entered Howard University in Washington, D.C. He then studied law at Loyola University in New Orleans. There he became friends with Jack Nelson, a white lawyer who later devoted himself to civil rights. Elie formed a partnership with Robert Collins and Nils Douglas and opened an office at Jackson Avenue and Dryades Street, across from the Negro YMCA of that time. They were the principal defenders of the CORE activists. Elie was with CORE activists in Plaquemine, Louisiana, when the protest march was broken up by tear gas and by police charging on horse back. Elie became disillusioned with what he described as the conservatism of the New Orleans black community. He turned to black nationalism.

INTERPOSITION - Interposition was a patently unconstitutional legal argument by which white segregationist attempted to "interpose" themselves between the Federal government and the state thereby preventing desegregation laws from being enforced.

T.J. JEMISON - A black minister, T.J. Jemison led a boycott of segregated public transportation in Baton Rouge, Louisiana, in the summer of 1953. The white leadership in Baton Rouge refused to accede to T.J. Jemison's demands, but ultimately the boycott ended in compromise: seating on the buses thereafter would be on a first-come, first-served basis with two side seats up front reserved for whites and one long seat in back set aside for blacks. One of the important aspects of the Baton Rouge boycott (which lasted eight days) was the way black

leaders established a car-pool system . Black people owning cars drove other black people to and from work each day, thereby overcoming the dependence of public transportation. This car-pool system was adopted by black leaders in Montgomery, Alabama, in December 1955, when the black community of that city launched a bus boycott. The Baton Rouge Boycott was one of the first times in the 20th century when a community of blacks had organized a sustained, direct action against segregation and won. However, white leaders refused to honor many of the promises that had been made.

HARRY B. KELLEHER - Harry Kelleher was a well-connected corporation lawyer in New Orleans who became appalled at the ugly spectacle that erupted during the school desegregation crisis in November 1960. Like other businessmen, he feared that the social upheaval would adversely impact the business climate in the city, as it had done in Birmingham, Alabama.

On January 30, 1961, Kelleher spoke at a testimonial dinner for the embattled Orleans Parish School Board. In favor of peaceful integration, he said, "This country and the south cannot go backward."

He was a pragmatic community leader who preferred racial change to the social and economic costs of Massive Resistance, the policy advocated by the White Citizens' Council. Kelleher and two other leading representatives of white Uptown New Orleans, Darwin Fenner and Harry McCall, joined forces with some of their black counterparts in the city, including Revius Ortique and Lolis Elie, who formed a black group called Citizens' Committee to negotiate with the white business elite. Kelleher and McCall persuaded the Canal Street merchants that it was in their best interest to desegregate: "McCall and I could talk to them like 'Dutch uncles,' cause nobody was paying us a sou, you see."

Kelleher was the grandson of Civil War veterans. His family taught him that "civilized people don't abuse servants." He believed that New Orleans had long encouraged an "ethic of tolerance" and was a "civilized community." He said, "Reality needed to be faced up to and recognized and dealt with intelligently and responsibly. It's just that simple."

ROSA KELLER - Rosa Keller was one of the few white people born in New Orleans who openly fought for desegregation. She was the daughter of the local Coca-Cola magnate, A.B. Freeman. Her brother, Richard R. Freeman, sat on numerous boards in the city. Keller was a close friend of Judge J. Skelly Wright. She had traveled with her Jewish husband in the U.S. Army and seen prejudice through his eyes: "It was World War II that woke a lot of us up...I'd married a Jewish fellow, and learned a lot about prejudice then..I thought I could see the seeds of what got Germany in such terrible trouble right here."

In 1953, Keller was appointed to the Library Board by Mayor Chep Morrison. She was the first woman to serve in that capacity. She used her position to press for the desegregation of the public libraries, beginning with Latter Memorial Library in Uptown New Orleans. The Library Board opposed her vehemently. In 1954, the public libraries began desegregating after what Keller describes as a "very difficult and ugly battle."In the 1950's, she became chairman of the

board of Flint-Goodridge Hospital, a black institution owned by Dillard University, and she tried to persuade Orleans Parish Medical Society to admit black doctors to its membership. Keller also served with the Urban League, a multi-racial organization devoted to expanding economic opportunities for blacks. There she met middle class, educated black women for the first time. Along with Edgar Stern, Keller helped finance the building of Ponchartrain Park. In 1963, Keller helped finance the suit that led to the desegregation of Tulane University.

MAURICE “MOON” LANDRIEU - Born in New Orleans, “Moon” Landrieu grew up in a racially mixed neighborhood in New Orleans. His parents operated a small grocery store out of the front room of the family’s shotgun house. He attended Loyola University Law School where he met Loyola’s first black law students, Ben Johnson and Norman Francis. They became friends.

Landrieu told historian Kim Lacy Rogers, “I could never equate segregation with Christianity. It didn’t follow. It was all contradictory.” Landrieu opened his first practice in a poor neighborhood; half his clients were black. He was elected to the state legislature. In 1959, virtually alone in the legislature, Landrieu voted against the segregation statutes in that session. In 1970, Landrieu was elected mayor of New Orleans and brought blacks into the political system in large numbers for the first time since Radical Reconstruction.

RUDY LOMBARD - Rudy Lombard was raised in Algiers. His mother was a domestic servant who worked in an Uptown residence. His father was a hospital orderly and a defiant man. He had a fist fight with a notorious Jefferson Parish sheriff, and he congratulated his son with a case of Barq’s Rootbeer after the son defiantly chose to play at the “whites only” playground. Lombard was elected president of the student body at Xavier University. He also worked as a longshoreman. In the summer of 1960, he and other activists organized the New Orleans chapter of CORE. Lombard served as chairman. He left the organization in 1966, angered at what he considered the conservative attitudes of the black community in New Orleans.

JOHN P. NELSON, JR. - As a young man during the depression, John Nelson spent time on his family’s sugar plantation and remembers the “strange affection” between the races. Nelson served with distinction in the Pacific Theater during World War II. He attended Loyola University as an undergraduate and then as a law student. At Loyola Nelson was influenced by Father Louis Twomey, the president of Loyola and a Jesuit priest active in race relations and labor education. Nelson became a civil rights lawyer almost by accident. His friend Lolis Elie asked him to help with the CORE activists arrested on Canal Street in September 1960. Nelson agreed, knowing it was “a kiss of death” from the political point of view. In 1958, Nelson ran for the School Board but lost to arch-segregationist Emile Wagner. Nelson handled many important civil rights cases, including the desegregation of Tulane University in 1963. This was not a “friendly” law suit, he attests.

MCDONOGH DAY BOYCOTT - Each year in New Orleans, black and white students from the public schools honored 19th century philanthropist John McDonogh who had left much of his fortune to the public schools in Baltimore and New Orleans. The event was organized along segregated lines, and the black children often waited under the May sun while the white schools

paraded before them. In 1954, the black teachers' associations protested this discrimination. NAACP leader in New Orleans, A.J. Chapital, joined with Revius Ortique to organize a boycott of the McDonogh Day ceremony. In May 1954, only thirty four of city's 32,000 black public school children attended McDonogh Day. Only one black principal appeared. McDonogh Day in 1954 indicated that the various groups within the black community could organize as a single body to demand their rights. The boycott was repeated in 1955.

ERNEST "DUTCH" MORIAL - Ernest Morial was born to a Catholic Creole family in New Orleans in 1929. Morial was educated in Catholic institutions and later recalled fond memories of running errands for the nuns. Encouraged by local NAACP counsel A.P. Tureaud, Morial and Robert Collins were the first black students to graduate from LSU law school. Tureaud was determined to get more black lawyers to fight the coming civil rights battles. Morial spent two years in the U.S. Army intelligence before returning to New Orleans where he opened a practice with Tureaud, his mentor. Morial became active in the NAACP and worked on major civil rights cases. He was elected president of the New Orleans NAACP in 1962. Three years later, he became the first Louisiana black U.S. attorney, working in the civil rights division. In 1977, Morial was elected first black mayor of New Orleans.

NAACP - The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) was founded in 1909 "to achieve, through peaceful and lawful means, equal citizenship rights for all American citizens by eliminating segregation and discrimination in housing, employment, voting, schools, the courts, transportation, recreation." The group was racially mixed. A white Boston lawyer, Moorfield Storey, was the first president. Under the NAACP's legal counsel Thurgood Marshall, the organization adopted a legalistic approach to overturning the system of segregation. One of the notable victories by the NAACP was the 1954 Supreme Court decision in *Brown v. the Board of Education*, which declared that segregation in public education was "inherently unequal." For much of the 20th century, the NAACP in Louisiana was led by A.P. Tureaud, who filed law suits to reverse legal segregation. The NAACP Youth Group, a militant arm of the NAACP, was led by Raphael Cassimire. The NAACP was bitterly resented by segregationists in the South, who depicted the organization as a communist inspired "Trojan horse" by which to weaken the white race and overthrow the "pure southern way of life."

REVIUS O. ORTIQUE, JR. - Revius Ortique attended Xavier and Dillard Universities. He was deeply influenced by the president of Dillard, Albert Dent, and by A.P. Tureaud, local counsel for the NAACP. As a young black attorney, Ortique became involved in black protest in the 1950's. He helped organize the McDonogh Day Boycott in 1954 and other demonstrations demanding civil rights. He was head of the Urban League in the 1950's and fought job discrimination. Ortique was elected to a judgeship in 1979.

LEANDER PEREZ - Leander Perez was a lawyer, judge, and land owner in Plaquemines Parish, Louisiana. He was one of the leading forces behind the White Citizens' Council of Greater New Orleans, an ultra segregationist organization. He equated integration with communism, and blamed the Jews for both. Due to his stance against integration of Catholic schools, Perez was excommunicated by the Pope.

PLESSY V. FERGUSON - In 1892, Homer Plessy, a light skinned black man from New Orleans, tested the state's segregation law by purposely sitting in an "all white" coach on the train from New Orleans to Covington, Louisiana. Plessy was arrested. He promptly sued the railroad. The U.S. Supreme Court heard the case and rendered its decision: the separation of the races is within the bounds of the constitution so long as equal accommodations are made for black people. The decision gave legal validity to the idea of "separate but equal" and to the system of Jim Crow segregation.

WILLIAM M. "WILLIE" RAINACH - "Willie" Rainach, a state legislator from Claiborne Parish in north Louisiana, led the state's Massive Resistance to desegregation. Rainach formed the first White Citizens' Council in Louisiana. He led the drive to pass the "pupil placement law" which made parish school superintendents responsible for assigning individual students to schools. It was a way of maintaining all white schools. Like his associate Leander Perez, "Willie" Rainach equated integration with communism. His racist speech to the state legislature in 1959, the year in which he ran for governor, is a dark classic in the history of Louisiana politics. Rainach later committed suicide.

RADICAL RECONSTRUCTION - Radical Reconstruction refers to the period of history between 1867 to 1877. This was the brief interlude when black people in the South enjoyed civil and political rights. Whites maintained that Radical Reconstruction was a time of unparalleled corruption. Blacks gradually lost their civil and political rights after the white Southern leadership, the so-called Redeemers, came to power following the departure of Federal troops from the state in 1877, the year representing the end of Radical Reconstruction.

ARCHBISHOP FRANCIS RUMMEL - In 1953, Archbishop Francis Rummel gave full support to mostly black sugar cane workers on strike in south Louisiana. In a 1956 pastoral letter, Rummel said that racial segregation was "morally wrong and sinful" and insisted that "the alleged mental defects, moral and criminal propensities, economic shortcomings and social disabilities," far from being an indictment of black people and an argument against integration, was "an indictment against continuing segregation." Rummel promised to integrate the Catholic schools "no earlier than September 1956." He then ran into a storm of protest. The Catholic schools were finally integrated in 1962, two years after the first public schools. Historian Adam Fairclough has written, "Instead of setting a moral and practical example to the public schools, the church set an example of procrastination and delay."

SAVE OUR SCHOOLS (SOS) - SOS was a small group of liberal white women who were dedicated to keeping the public schools open. In 1956, Gladys Cahn and Ann Dlugos arranged the first meeting. Mary Sand was a leading participant. This group believed that segregation was morally wrong, but they did not publicly advocate integration; the topic was too controversial. Members of the SOS transported children to the integrated schools and braved the angry crowd of white people who stood outside. They encouraged the parents of these children to stay in the integrated schools.

SCLC - The Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) was one of the important

results of the Montgomery Bus Boycott which began in December 1955. In January 1957, ministers from eleven southern states met at Martin Luther King, Sr.'s Ebenezer Baptist Church in Atlanta, Georgia. The ministers decided to establish a formal organization to continue the Civil Rights struggle. In February 1957, this decision was re-confirmed in a vote taken at the New Zion Baptist Church in New Orleans (and for this reason New Orleans claims it is the birthplace of SCLC). Reverend Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., was elected the president of the new organization. One of the leaders of the New Orleans branch of the SCLC was Reverend A.L. Davis.

The purpose of SCLC was to fight racial discrimination and establish equal opportunity and to do both in a non-violent manner based on Gandhian principles. In much of the nation, SCLC, closely associated with Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., led the civil rights struggle. SCLC played a relatively minor role in New Orleans.

JEROME SMITH - Jerome Smith was born in New Orleans, the son of a merchant seaman who taught Jerome "to protect the house" in his absences and to demand that whites who came to the door show courtesy to his mother. His mother read poetry to the children each night and told Jerome about Paul Robeson and Mary McLeod Bethune. As a child, Smith was impressed by the Mardi Gras Indians and their proud heritage. At age 11, imitating his father, Smith "pitched" the despised race screen onto the floor of a bus. Smith studied at Southern University in Baton Rouge where he joined the black protest marches in 1960. He left to devote himself to the "movement." In New Orleans, he worked as a longshoreman (as his grandfather had done) and then joined the Dryades Street Boycott in the spring of 1960. There he met Rudy Lombard, Oretha Castle, and others. This group formed a New Orleans chapter of CORE in the summer of 1960. In September 1960, the CORE activists began the sit-ins at segregated Canal Street stores. In 1961, Smith participated in the Freedom Rides. He was beaten in McComb, Mississippi.

SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE (SCLC) - SCLC was launched at a meeting in Atlanta, Georgia, in January 1957. The purpose was to offer a response to the banning of the NAACP in Alabama and acts of violence against black people. In February 1957, about one hundred people at the New Zion Baptist Church in New Orleans voted to establish SCLC as a permanent organization. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., was the leader of SCLC. The movement was devoted to direct action non-violence based on Gandhian principles.

A.P. TUREAUD - A.P. Tureaud might be described as the father of the modern civil rights movement in New Orleans. His name was Alexander Pierre Tureaud, but he used his initials so that white people would not address him on a first-name basis, one of the patronizing characteristics of Jim Crow segregation. Tureaud joined the NAACP in 1922. He served as local counsel for the NAACP in New Orleans. In 1947, he was the only black lawyer in Louisiana. For almost fifty years, Tureaud litigated virtually every school and university suit filed by the NAACP in Louisiana, in addition to suits integrating buses, parks, and public buildings. In the 1950's, he was forced to leave the NAACP due to threats by the White Citizens' Council. Tureaud was mentor to Revius Ortique, Ernest "Dutch" Morial, and other

black lawyers who fought in the civil rights struggles.

LOUIS TWOMEY - Louis Twomey was president of Loyola University. He taught there for more than twenty years. His classes on jurisprudence had a strong emphasis on social justice and natural rights. His students included “Moon” Landriu, John Nelson, and other prominent civil rights attorneys and Catholic layman.

UNITED CLUBS - In 1953, Dr. Leonard Burns and several colleagues organized the United Clubs, a group of four social and pleasure clubs and the local musicians’ union. The first goal of the United Clubs was to desegregate Municipal Auditorium. This was accomplished in 1953. The United Clubs also helped lead the 1957 and 1960 boycotts of Mardi Gras. These boycotts protested the “hate bills” the Louisiana legislature had passed and also honored the boycotters in Montgomery, Alabama.

WHITE CITIZENS’ COUNCIL - After the Brown v. the Board decision of May 1954, a new kind of white hate group emerged. It comprised urban, middle-class whites determined to fight desegregation. The White Citizens’ Councils, which began in Mississippi but spread to all Southern states, aimed to intimidate blacks by inflicting economic reprisals. The tactics of the White Citizens’ Council were different from the violent tactics of the Ku Klux Klan, but both groups shared the same goal of preventing desegregation.

In Louisiana, the first White Citizens’ Council was organized in Homer, Claiborne Parish, by state legislator Willie Rainach. Membership was not secret. The White Citizens’ Council of Greater New Orleans was started by Emile Wagner, Leander Perez, Robert G. Robinson, and other representatives of the Uptown elite. The New Orleans branch became the largest of the ultra-segregationist groups in Louisiana and perhaps the largest in the entire South. It attacked the NAACP, tried to reduce black voter registration (through intimidation and economic reprisals), and united whites behind the defense of segregated schools.

In 1956, the FBI reported that the White Citizens’ Councils comprised “the most prominent and influential people...Practically all of the established sources who are normally contacted in these cases are in sympathy with the aims and purposes of the Citizens’ Councils.”

BETTY WISDOM - The daughter of a prominent businessman and niece of Judge John Minor Wisdom, Betty Wisdom was a member of Save Our Schools (SOS), a small group of liberal white women devoted to keeping the public schools open during the desegregation crisis. Like virtually all SOS members, Wisdom received threatening phone calls.

JUDGE JOHN MINOR WISDOM - Judge John Minor Wisdom, whose grandfather had fought on the side of the White League in the Battle of Liberty Place in 1874, was nominated to the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals in 1957. He emerged as the most influential liberal on the southern bench and served as a key ally of civil rights. Wisdom had been involved in civil rights before his appointment; he had been a key member of the Urban League.

JUDGE SKELLY WRIGHT - Federal Judge Skelly Wright ordered the admission of blacks to LSU's law school in 1951. He described it as a turning point in his life: "Ordering LSU Law School integrated was my first integration order. Until that time, I was just another 'Southern boy.' After it, there was no turning back." In an interview with historian Kim Lacy Rogers, Wright described the world he grew up in: "When I shake hands with a Negro, I have a different feeling than when I shake hands with a white. You ...you don't erase a whole life in a few years...."

He said, "I once observed a Christmas party, and I saw that the party was held in separate groups, blacks and whites, and I realized they were all blind." Wright sensed the irrationality of segregation. When he told this story to journalist W.J. Weatherby, Wright "was so moved that he could not complete the story for several minutes."

Judge Wright decided many of the early desegregation cases in New Orleans, including the integration of City Park in 1957, the desegregation of the street cars and buses in 1958, the desegregation of the public schools in 1960 (he was the first district judge to hand down a school integration decree, in February 1956), and the desegregation of Tulane University in 1963. He and his wife were ostracized by many of their former friends. The feelings against integration were very hard. Wright was appointed by President John Kennedy to Federal Appeals Court in Washington, D.C. This appointment enabled Wright and his family to leave New Orleans. To Albert Dent, president of Dillard University, Wright said, "I'll never set foot in that town again to do anything public unless those sons of bitches that ran me out of New Orleans invite me back."

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Fairclough, Adam. Race and Democracy: The Civil Rights Struggle in Louisiana, 1915-1972. The University of Georgia Press, Athens, Georgia, 1995.

To Redeem the Soul of America: The Southern Christian Leadership Conference and Martin Luther King, Jr. University of Georgia Press, Athens, Georgia, 1987.

Foner, Eric. A Short History of Reconstruction: 1863-1877. Harper and Row, New York, 1990.

Hair, William Ivy. Bourbonism and Agrarian Protest : Bourbonism and Agrarian Protest 1877-1900. Louisiana State University Press, Baton Rouge, 1969.

Lacy, Kim Rogers. Righteous Lives : Narratives of the New Orleans Civil Rights Movement. New York University Press, 1993.

Lincoln, Abraham. The Gettysburg Address and Other Speeches. Penguin Books, 1995.

Melloch, James (ed.). Bullwhip Days: The Slaves Remember (An Oral History) . Avon Books, New York, 1990.

Northup, Solomon. Twelve Years A Slave . Louisiana State University Press, Baton Rouge, 1968.

Tunnell, Ted (ed.). Carpenter from Vermont: The Autobiography of Marshall Harvey Twitchell. Louisiana State University Press, Baton Rouge, 1989.

Westwood, Howard C. Black Troops, White Commanders, and Freedmen during the Civil War. Southern Illinois University Press, Carbondale and Edwardsville, 1992.