DISCUSSION AND RESOURCE GUIDE

Between Civil War and Civil Rights

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Voices From Race With History: Between Civil War and Civil Rights

"We were constantly harassed by the White Citizens Council, the Ku Klux Klan. We were often picked up by the police, because we organized the first right-to-vote demonstration in Birmingham. I think one of the reasons we survived was the shock of our being there. The impact of the Youth Congress they didn't know exactly how to handle. Not only did we do all these political things, we brought great writers and artists to Birmingham for the first time, who spoke in the churches, like Langston Hughes. We had art shows, we opened up youth centers in old storefronts in Birmingham, Atlanta and New Orleans, and to all appearances this was a social club. At the same time we were educating people. We had two old Fords with puppet teams, and went into the countryside to the sharecroppers and the churches, using them to show how they could struggle with the plantation boss, how they could register to vote. We plunged ahead, did many things sort of with our fingers crossed, wondering how much we would be able to get away with."

— **Esther Jackson** community activist
American As Apple Pie: When Terror Lost in America

"For there to be reconciliation in the United States, black and white Americans need to understand the ways that their pasts have shaped one another…[Americans need to] take a frank accounting of what has taken place and commit themselves in some sense to a fresh start."

— Stephen Kantrowitz, historian
Democracy's Denial: Revolutions in Wilmington

"What occurred [in Wilmington] in 1898…was just like a wound that has never been healed. And if you are going to heal a wound properly, instead of putting band-aids on it, you are going to have to reopen it again, clean and then try to heal it and put it back together."

— Bertha Todd, educator and community organizer
Democracy's Denial: Revolutions in Wilmington

AND ANOTHER VOICE FROM OUR HISTORY:

"There can be no perfect democracy curtailed by color, race or poverty. But with all, we accomplish all, even peace."

A Note from the Producers

Alan Lipke

The *Race With History: Between Civil War and Civil Rights project* grew in the making. When as a reporter in 1994 I first looked into the Rosewood incident, I was struck by the enormous gulf between the different races' perceptions of what had happened and what it meant. It seemed as if I were listening to separate and unequal histories. The differences were like black and white, to coin a phrase. I was doubtful about the use of the "black rapist" rationale widely held by whites to explain this riot. On the other hand, based on what I knew at the time, I was also skeptical of the "economic jealousy" explanation offered by many blacks. In *Rosewood Reborn*, I set out to investigate and present these perceptual gaps in documentary form.

When a Rosewood-area booster directed my attention to the Ocoee "race riot" (see *White Protestant Nation*), I was intrigued to learn that it was held to be specifically due to *political* and *economic* causes. The more I looked into it, the more widespread, the less accidental such differences in perception became. I saw more and more evidence of a generations-long, continuing, systemic terrorism as a central part of this country's history.

In developing this series, I felt it essential that all sides be heard. I wanted to help recover a much-neglected part of this country's collective story. But more than that, the project held the promise of allowing each listener to make the journey for him or herself, to hear the evidence, and to draw his or her own conclusion about what it means to be American, and what it means to be human. We hope that you, the reader/listener, will actively use these programs and this Discussion Guide to help bridge the gaps that divide us from each other.

Jude Thilman

Oral history is the oldest way of recording our stories, and some say the truest. Telling one's own truth, from the personal vantage point of experience —"This happened to me!"—is the essence of the human saga. First-person accounts of ordinary people rarely make it into the academic record. And this fact, I believe, diminishes the human effort to increase our collective wisdom; to learn from our past in order to amplify and continue the best of it and not repeat our worst failings. The reasons why the history presented here, as told by the everyday people who made it, is excluded from the textbooks are myriad, complex, and sometimes nefarious and unfortunately exceed our scope in this guide. We can, however, acknowledge and deeply thank the many scholars who stepped out of traditional academic boundaries to work on the *Race With History: Between Civil War and Civil Rights* project, and brought their studied knowledge and interpretation of events of the times to bear on the re-telling of these stories. In doing so, they help to reverse a longstanding trend within the academy of ignoring the authentic, and very personal, voices of those who have been kept voiceless.

As for the heroic efforts re-lived in these episodes, I think you'll agree that this was true democracy in the making and the derailing. The years during and after the great experiment of Reconstruction set the stage for decades of democracy held hostage by an ideology of racial supremacy that refused to leave the stage of history without kicking and screaming its ugly way through the next century as well. The struggle for justice and equality remains the trial by fire that people of color experience to this day, both collectively and individually. The heroes of all colors

who fought to secure and elevate the heart and soul of democracy are many, and we draw strength and inspiration from every one of them. They built the Civil Rights Movement bit by bit, with neither institutions nor great resources behind them apart from their endless determination and resourcefulness, and a deep conviction of their truth and the justice of their cause.

Knowledge of our past can give us enormous strength to build the future that we envision. I hope this *Race With History* guide inspires you to record the memories and histories of the elders in your community, and to draw from their accounts a conviction that the ideals of democracy are still possible, and that we, as a society, can still achieve them.

Historical Context for the Race With History Programs

The programs you are listening to in the documentary series *Between Civil War and Civil Rights* cover a period of American history from immediately after the Civil War officially ended slavery in 1865 to the beginnings of the modern Civil Rights Movement in the 1950s.

The years following the Civil War are referred to by most historians as the Reconstruction era. Sometimes the term Reconstruction refers to the period of official federal occupation of the South from 1865-1877. Other times the term refers to a longer period beyond that, up through the later nineteenth century.

The term suggests explicitly that the United States needed to "rebuild" itself after the Civil War. This rebuilding included the repair of a devastated countryside as well as towns and cities left in physical shambles by war. But at a more basic level, reconstruction meant rebuilding American political frameworks, social patterns and an economic system that had for over two centuries been based on a slave economy and a rigid system of racial coding and control.

After the Civil War ended, four million African Americans became citizens rather than property or chattels, and millions of U.S. Americans of all racial and ethnic identities faced a new constellation of social and political relationships. In those years as now Americans often disagreed sharply over what forms these relationships should take, who needed to change and how, who should define collective goals for change, and who should do the work.

The first episode in the *Race With History* series, *How the South Won the War,* chronicles the experiences of newly freed slaves during those post-war years and the responses to their freedom on the part of many whites, including those who formed white supremacist vigilante groups like the Ku Klux Klan. While many black Americans and their allies considered the end of federal Reconstruction a catastrophe for black freedom, white Southerners sometimes referred to the end of Reconstruction and the reassertion of white control of the South as the "Redemption".

Later, as the 19th century drew to a close and the 20th century opened, the country still struggled with the conflict between "Reconstruction" and this white supremacist definition of "Redemption". Violence and terror were used to limit black freedom and roll back many gains that had been made since the war. Although African Americans made some progress toward legal and economic equality, whites used the ever-evolving strategies of Jim Crow segregation (both legal and "by custom") to solidify white supremacy and social control.

The program *Democracy's Denial: Revolutions in Wilmington* chronicles a critical moment of white backlash against black progress and black/white unity. *White Protestant Nation* chronicles the 20th century rebirth of the Ku Klux Klan in the guise of a mass patriotic traditional-values-oriented fraternal society. *Rosewood Reborn* charts the continued widespread use of violence by white communities to intimidate and control black citizens as the institutionalization of racism in American culture continued. Perhaps most importantly, these episodes also chronicle the perspectives and experiences of black Americans and their white allies as they resisted such violence and worked to build a future for the United States that included racial and economic justice for its entire people.

The final historical episode in the series, *American as Apple Pie: How Terror Lost in America*, covers the 1940s, when

African American veterans returned after fighting for the United States in the Second World War to find a domestic battle raging over racial inequality. *American as Apple Pie* shows how black Americans reclaimed a central role on the national agenda during the emergence of the modern Civil Rights Movement, marked in 1954 by the U.S. Supreme Court's decision officially ending school segregation, and with the mobilization of a mass movement for racial justice.

As part of *Race With History's Race and Reconciliation* project, the *Between Civil War and Civil Rights* series also includes a special additional "discussion starter" episode entitled *Media and Myths*, which covers the entire historical sweep of the other episodes and invites a close look at the ways that news media and journalists cover historical events, become part of the historical record, and affect our perceptions of both the past and the present.

The Unfulfilled Promises of American Democracy

Historian Eric Foner, one of the many scholars interviewed for this series, has used the term "unfinished revolution" in his writing about Reconstruction. The *Race With History* project shares this perception that the United States is still struggling with the work of racial reconstruction. It is our collective unfinished revolution: our country has yet to transcend fully the racial, economic and social inequalities established so firmly during our earliest centuries, and it remains the responsibility of all of us to grapple with this legacy. The *Race With History* project was created in the belief that a fuller exploration of the realities of American history including the triumphs but also the tragedies is a necessary step as we move our nation along the path to fulfilling the promises of democracy and the American ideals of freedom and equality for all people.

The United States was formed under the influence of two seemingly contradictory forces: First, an Enlightenment belief in the liberating and democratizing power of human reason, as opposed to old ideas of obedience to monarchy and church. Second, a period of colonial nation-building predicated on the destruction of indigenous cultures and the forced slave labor of millions of people of African origin and descent. U.S. social, economic and racial relations remain deeply conditioned by these opposing factors, and the promises of democracy consequently remain too often unfulfilled.

Across time and across cultures, human beings have been story-tellers and meaning-makers. We speak, sing, write, draw, dance, and make music. These forms of human cultural expression comprise an essential part of our collective experience and our collective historical imagination. This historical imagination not only looks back at events in the past, but also influences the way we experience the present, and create the future. In other words, our perceptions of the past play a substantial role in shaping our perceptions of the present and the future. Thus is it critical to make sure that our history is fully visible to us, our collective triumphs alongside our collective catastrophes. The *Race With History* project has created documentary art from the recorded music and oral histories of a wide range of Americans. We invite you to explore the ways that this history and these cultural expressions give shape to American life today.

Between Civil War and Civil Rights hopes to contribute to the ongoing work of "reconstruction" by offering oral histories and a range of first-person accounts by people who have come before us, and by inviting listeners to continue the dialogue in the present. Listeners can use the documentaries and this Discussion Guide to start and continue dialogues in a range of settings, including university and high school classrooms, adult study groups, and community forums. Perhaps in this process of learning about and discussing our history we can help heal the rifts that still divide our communities today.

Approaches for Discussing Between Civil War and Civil Rights

First, we suggest thinking about the content of the programs in relation to three broad focus areas. These focus areas point to specific issues and help generate good questions related to all of the episodes. They are simply starting points that we invite you to reflect upon as you work with the series. You will no doubt also identify your own themes and sub-topics during this process.

Second, we suggest looking at an important recurring theme in the series: the role (both positive and negative) of news media, film, literature and the arts in the ongoing process of American "myth-making". This is a theme that threads through all of the episodes and is the focus of the 6th program in the series, *Media and Myths*.

Three Focus Areas

These are three topics that run throughout the series and that we feel are especially productive for helping students or study groups gain a deeper understanding of the material. In some cases, you may also be using the *Race With History* project as a means of sparking a wider community dialogue. We have structured this Discussion Guide to help to explore these areas:

1. Historical amnesia and its effect on the present.
2. How testimonials, first-hand accounts and oral histories serve as a counterpoint to official historical records.
3. The benefits and drawbacks of uncovering the past.

FOCUS 1

Historical amnesia and its effect on the present

What details of U.S. racial and economic history have been "forgotten" or "suppressed" in the many versions of the national story told over the years? How do such habits of forgetting and suppressing affect our perceptions of the present and our efforts to make progress toward racial and economic justice in the future? What sorts of events in American and world history seem most often forgotten in our history books and in other media? What historical details have been forgotten in your own community? How are the worldviews and actions of individuals and communities affected by these "gaps" in collective memory? In what ways is historical amnesia institutionalized or made part of the everyday fabric of American culture via education and media? How can a fuller understanding of history, including its often forgotten moments of violence and terror, help us collectively build a more democratic future?

FOCUS 2

Testimonials and oral histories as a counterpoint to official historical records

You will notice that the *Between Civil War and Civil Rights* episodes contain many personal testimonials from citizens who experienced first-hand the events covered in the series. We have included the testimonials of many Americans who have suffered racial and economic injustice and violence, as well as testimonials from people who felt deeply threatened by the prospect of racial equality. These programs use testimonials as a way to fill the gaps in many historical accounts: too often, the experience and perspective of ordinary citizens is left out of the history books. Moreover, restoring these voices to the historical record counteracts the silencing of people that makes historical amnesia possible.

As you'll see in the series, more often than not "ordinary" citizens are quite extraordinary and sometimes the "extraordinariness" of more famous figures has only been created by scholars or media after the fact. We invite you to discuss the complicated issues that arise when we use oral histories and personal testimony as part of the historical record: How do we place personal stories within broader social patterns? How should scholars use personal accounts as they interpret events in history? How is strong emotion both an important part of knowing the truth, and also sometimes a distorting lens on our perceptions? Whose testimonials and accounts of events are most visible in our local and national life, and who remains unheard from? What impact do these missing voices have on our collective sense of history? How might such voices be recovered in your community?s :

FOCUS 3

The benefits and drawbacks of uncovering the past

When we go back and re-examine troubling and controversial times in our past, are we simply opening old wounds and thus stirring up further trouble? Or does an honest acknowledgement of difficult realities in our history, and of their impact on our present, make progress toward racial justice and equality more likely? Clearly *Race With History* assumes the latter, but your group may well include thoughtful people who are skeptical about the value of opening old wounds, and prefer to start from now and move on. A discussion of participants' attitudes toward this whole question can be very productive and useful.

In addition, it is important to ask directly: What must occur now, and in the future, in order to make collective progress toward racial and economic justice in the United States? How should people in the present deal with actions taken by their ancestors or their communities in the past, including the consequences of such actions? How do we avoid the distracting pitfall of guilt about the past, especially if it deters us from taking action in the present? When is anger a legitimate part of "clear vision" and when does it hamper perception? While analyzing the ways that history has created the world we live in now, how do we keep our attention on our actions and their consequences today? How do we handle conflicting visions of what America's future should look like?

As you discuss these questions, it may become clear that different terms mean strikingly different things to different people. Below are some important terms to analyze and define in any discussion. For each word, we ask a series of questions aimed at getting a range of perspectives on the table in your class or group. The goal here is not necessarily to come to consensus, although that may happen, but to clarify the different things these terms may mean to different people, and to ask how the issue of language itself has an impact on our attempts to talk about these complex concepts.

Race

How do people from a range of perspectives define this term these days? Is race an essential aspect of identity? Should it be? Is "race" a meaningful or legitimate biological concept? Is it a social "fact", created by history? What does it mean to say that 'we are all members of one race: the human race'? If race is a significant factor (good and bad) in the kind of life one leads in the United States, how so, and under what conditions? Does focusing on race as a theme of public discourse make it hard to get away from ingrained habits of categorizing people by race? Are all forms of race-based thinking problematic? Are there differences between race-based thinking and identities, and racist thinking and identities? How do you define the term "racist"?

Democracy

What does the term itself mean to a range of people in your group? For some it may refer simply to the power and ability to vote for representatives in government. To others, it may have a broader meaning: a capacity for individuals to have direct input and control over the conditions of their everyday lives, including work, community, the media, and all levels of participation in society and culture.

Reconciliation

What does this term actually mean, especially regarding race and racial issues in America? Who defines the terms under which we reconcile? What is the relationship between reconciliation and justice? Who defines justice? For example, to white supremacists the phrase "law and order" has meant enforced segregation and local autonomy, while to proponents of Civil Rights it has meant the enforcement of federal civil rights laws and principle-driven civil disobedience. Given such varied ways of seeing reality, who defines the nature and goal of reconciliation, and who decides whether it has been successful?

Reparations and Restitution

What do these two terms mean? When should each be applied? Who owes what, to whom? Who decides? In what ways are people in the present accountable for problematic actions or social and economic injustices in the past? How does a society or community correct continuing inequalities that have their origins in the past?

The Role of News Media, Film, Literature and the Arts in American Myth Making

The sixth program in *Between Civil War and Civil Rights* is called Media and Myths, and rather than continuing the chronological sequence of the first five episodes, it examines the phenomenon of myth-making across time and across all the programs. When we use the term "myth" in this context, we mean any story that structures our understanding of the nature of the world around us and our place within it. Myth, in this sense, does not mean false, but rather refers to any story about a people that serves to give a sense of meaning to their world. There are religious myths (and for some people these are the truest myths) and there are national myths, stories about the origin and meaning of the country, stories that we might call national creation myths. The United States is rich with differing political versions of its origins and its national creation myth. Sometimes, as this series shows, these versions of the national creation myth collide with the harsh realities of history.

The U.S. media, including newspapers, radio, television, film and the internet, have long been directly involved in portraying, if not actually creating, versions of the American myth as they cover key historical events and ideas about race relations and national identity. How do media, literature, film and the arts function as forms of story-telling, and how can we analyze the impact that these stories have on our collective life and our sense of what the United States has been, is, and could be? What mythic versions of history are told through various media and the arts in your community?

Our Hopes for Your Work with *Between Civil War and Civil Rights*

The famous American writer James Baldwin set his politically symbolic 1952 novel, Go Tell It On The Mountain, in Harlem, where the main characters in one family struggle through a sequence of visions at a storefront church during a Pentecostal worship service. Each character goes imaginatively back across history during their vision, and must face the wrenching truths of their personal history while grappling with the debilitating legacies of racial violence and authoritarian conflict within the family. One by one, each character must "drop to the threshing floor" of the church, symbolically reaching "new sight" only after struggling to confront the true stories not the false stories of their painful past. Each character stands up after the service ready to take new personal action based upon this sharply clarified historical imagination. The Harlem storefront church is a metaphor for the present, where histories collide and consciousness emerges.

Baldwin once explained to his biographer David Leeming that these internal struggles within his characters were literary metaphors for Baldwin's own struggle between the "instinct that said 'I have escaped my heritage; I can be free of it now,' and the instinct that told him he must journey to the very depths of the sorrow of his people before he could climb the mountain and be free." Similarly, the characters in the novel had to discover the historical source of their misery. This "apprehension of history" is a necessary first step toward freedom.

We hope that your work with the episodes of *Between Civil War and Civil Rights* will help on your climb.

Using the Discussion Guide with the Programs

You may be using the *Between Civil War and Civil Rights* documentary series and this Discussion Guide in a variety of ways: in the classroom, in smaller study groups, or in various settings where community members have gathered to use the programs as a way to spark further dialogue. Since the settings and contexts will vary, we recommend that you first clarify the goals and specific issues that you feel are important to your particular setting.

Some General Questions

1. What do you hope to accomplish in the discussions following each episode? Is your goal simply to compare viewpoints and interpretations (e.g. in a classroom)? Are you working with a community group or forum aiming to address specific issues or problems? If so, how will your discussion of these episodes help your group plan for action and change?
2. Who will be attending your sessions, and what expectations do they bring to the project?
3. What obstacles do you anticipate on the road to a constructive dialogue and/or constructive action, and how might you think ahead about dealing with those obstacles?
4. Do the participants know each other well (as a study group may)? Do they know each other as fellow students (e.g. in a classroom setting)? Will they generally not know one another well (e.g. in an open community forum)? Are those who know each other generally on good or "strained" terms? How will your own approach to designing your discussion vary depending on your answers to these questions? In what ways can you establish trust and communication as an essential part of the process as well as a goal of your work with this material?

For teachers

1. Are you using the audio documentaries as part of an ongoing curriculum related to American social or political history?
2. How do the programs, or segments of programs, relate to your other work in the class?
3. How much historical context, personal experience or academic background will your students bring to the discussion of these programs?
4. How might local dynamics relating to key documentary topics (e.g. race, democracy, justice, equality, opportunity) influence the discussions you will have with your students?
6. What topic areas are you most confident in handling, and what topics are less familiar to you?
7. How can you design an approach to working with this material that you will feel confident about in the classroom?
8. How might you make good use of any gaps in your own background knowledge? In other words, how can the fact that you may be learning along with your students be a creative part of your work together?

For community groups

1. Is your work with the Race With History series part of a "community building" project and/or part of working toward a specific course of action? How do discussions of the documentaries relate to your overall action plans?
2. How can you make productive links between the historical events in the episodes and local issues and events in the past or the present?
3. Is your discussion facilitator for these Race With History sessions prepared to handle group dynamics that may include the open expression of strong disagreement and/or anger? If not, have you identified the training and resources that your facilitator(s) will need?

For everyone using

Below you will find a helpful framework for working with a range of groups on topics that can be complex and controversial. Every classroom or group will be different, but these guidelines are helpful for facilitators and teachers who want to help participants tackle important and sometimes difficult issues.

Suggested Guidelines for Listening and Talking about Issues Raised in the LBL Programs

Developed by:
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University of South Florida

1. **Remember that reasonable people can and do disagree.**

   While we are searching for common ground and common understanding on issues, sometimes we can't all get there, or we can't all get there at the same time. That's okay.

2. **Each person deserves respect; each person deserves to be heard.**

   In group discussions, we all need to be able to listen to one another. We can all learn something from each other. One strategy to consider is that in the beginning each person will have the opportunity to speak at least one time before anyone speaks a second time.

3. **Argue about facts, opinions, etc., but don't argue with someone's personal story.**

   Humans are story-tellers (homo narrans). Since our brains appear to be programmed to remember stories, sharing stories may be one of the most powerful ways in which we learn. We may not like all of the stories we hear, but if someone is willing to share his or her personal story, we should respect it as such and see what we can learn from it. Also, we should note that stories may not always be 100% factual from a social scientific or historical perspective, but if someone tells a story and that is what he or she genuinely believes, then we have learned something about how one person in this country sees his or her world, and that is valuable information in itself.

4. **Move out of your comfort zone.**

   Be ready to hear things that you are not used to hearing, and to express opinions to people who do not automatically agree with you, or who may not immediately understand your way of thinking. This choice to be temporarily uncomfortable, which requires risk-taking, may result in higher levels of learning and understanding for both yourself and others.

5. **Expect to offend and be offended.**

   It's hard to avoid doing this in conversations about controversial topics even when you don't intend to. So in preparation for this happening, forgive yourself or the one who offends you in advance. Use the offending interaction as a learning moment, and move on.

6. **When we communicate with people from other cultural groups, we may need to adapt both our verbal and nonverbal communication styles to this cross-cultural situation.**

   A culture teaches us the appropriate ways to communicate in our particular environment. Consequently, the conversational rules we follow for civil discourse may differ. For example, what constitutes evidence in an argument may vary; standards for appropriate nonverbal expressiveness may vary. In one setting, waving your arms while making a strong point may be a sign of good energy and sincerity. In another setting the same arm-waving might be seen as rude. In cross-cultural settings we may need to "negotiate" new rules for effective civil discourse, or minimally be aware that sometimes we are reacting not to what someone says, but to how that person says it, and thus should adjust our responses accordingly. We may also need to recognize that men and women within the same cultural groups sometimes communicate differently.

7. **Each person can only be held responsible for what he or she has done.**

   No person can be held responsible for what her or his ancestors have done. The person living today was not there to influence the decisions of her or his ancestors. If some people choose to feel guilty, that is their choice. But we should look closely and sometimes skeptically at what "feeling guilty" actually accomplishes. For example, can it sometimes be a way of deflecting action or responsibility in the present?

8. **Each person should learn to understand the privileges that he or she has in the United States based upon gender, sexuality, skin color, social class, level of education, age, physical abilities, etc.**

   While we are not responsible for the actions of our ancestors, some of us continue to benefit from those actions in the form of special privileges that have been passed on to us. In this country, having parents with white skin, higher education and higher incomes, for example, results in a person "inheriting" a set of privileges that they did nothing to earn. They were born with these privileges and will profit from them. We should not deny that such a person has privileges that other people do not have if their parents were people of color, had only a high school (or less) education, or came from an economic background of relatively less income or of poverty.

9. **Equality between discussion participants should be the relational norm.**

   When we treat each other as equals, we are more likely to have an equal exchange of ideas, or at least not have someone holding back information or an opinion because they feel another person in the group has higher status or power. With an equal exchange of ideas, we may understand one another better and may be more open to the views of others. We may even change our minds about important issues. With equality as the norm, we are more likely to establish genuine friendships, to build bridges, to move closer to "common ground".

Exploring Broader Issues

General Questions

The *Race With History* project takes for granted that a central step in moving American communities toward racial reconciliation and racial justice is the frank and open presentation of diverse opinions and perspectives.

The questions below are designed to help discussion participants explore broader issues within the *Race With History* program series, and also to help each classroom or community group analyze local situations or events that might be similar to those portrayed in the series.

Optional Questions

1. When you use the term "race", what are you referring to?
2. Remember a time when you felt aware of your own racial identity (however you may define it) as a result of an interaction with other people. What were the circumstances? How did it make you feel? What aspects of that event strike you as most important to think about?
3. What would you identify as the central issues on the table in the United States these days, related to race?
4. How, in your view, has the history of this country shaped some of these issues? What surprises did the *Between Civil War and Civil Rights* episodes contain for you?
5. What would you say are the central issues related to race in your own community?
6. How has the history of your region contributed to racial dynamics you see in your state, your city, your community today?
7. What do you think racial justice would involve, and how might such a thing be accomplished, both locally and nationally? What sorts of concrete steps are required to make progress toward racial justice?
8. Some people use the term *reconciliation* to describe a necessary step for moving America forward toward racial justice and a better democracy. When you hear the term reconciliation, what do you imagine that would involve? Do you see any problems with using that term as a goal for American communities or society?
9. People use the term *racism* to mean different things: what meanings do you associate with the term? (It is interesting to compare definitions of the term "racism" used by different groups in the United States.)
10. What would you identify as the central economic issues facing the United States as a nation?
11. What seem to be the central economic issues in your community today?
12. Do you see any relationships between race and economics, either locally or nationally? How would you describe these relationships?
13. If you consider your own community whether geographical or racial/ethnic or both what would you say are the issues that people are most likely to agree upon, issues that might draw people in your community to work together? What issues are people most likely to disagree about, issues that might (or do) split your community?
14. In your view, what needs to happen to make progress on the issues that divide your community?
15. What do you think that democracy should look like in the United States?
16. What, in your view, are current obstacles to democracy in the United States?

Here is one last question, and it invites all of us to think about the fact that we have been born into a p+articular time in history, in a particular country, in a particular community. We are, in other words, "thinkers within history", and this has a profound impact on what we think.

17. Think about when and where you live, and ask: How do the time and the place that you live in affect the way that you think?

Specific Program Questions

These questions are designed to help you discuss the particular events in each program as they relate to the broader themes of the whole *Between Civil War and Civil Rights* series. Teachers and group facilitators will, of course, also have their own interests within each episode, and may be designing their own questions as well.

The five existing historical episodes in *Between Civil War and Civil Rights* are:

- *How the South Won the War* (1865–1876)
- *Democracy's Denial: Revolutions in Wilmington* (1898)
- *White Protestant Nation* (1915–1925)
- *Rosewood Reborn* (1923)
- *American As Apple Pie: When Terror Lost in America* (1940–1954)

In addition, a special program, *Media and Myths*, is designed to prompt discussion about the role of the news media, during these periods and since.

The following sections of the guide contain, for each program, a brief description of the episode, a few general questions based on the contents, and then a few specific questions tied to key events recounted in the program. After each specific question, there are referenced tracks, numbered so they can easily be found on the relevant CD (e.g. Track 1, etc.).

These questions are meant to spark good warm-up discussions among people who may hold very different opinions. The goal here is not to get everyone to think the same thing, but rather to clarify the different ways that people in the group may already be thinking. We take for granted that each participant will bring a pre-existing frame of reference, a set of working assumptions, to the table. The questions below can help everyone discover and analyze what their existing ways of thinking might be.

Choose from the following optional questions. In some settings it may be helpful to ask participants to jot a few notes on paper as they organize their thoughts in response to the questions. This sometimes helps the quality of the discussion.

Program | ONE
How the South Won the War (1865–1876)

"After the Civil War the Confederate congressmen came wearing their battle-gray into the U.S. Congress, indicating quite clearly they didn't think much had changed!"

— John Bracey,
historian

"My name is Caroline Smith; I expect I'm about 35 years old. We allowed that we would build ourselves a schoolhouse in every district, and the colored men started them. But the Ku-Klux came and said they would whip every man who sent a scholar there. And so we had a schoolhouse, but not scholars. They went to a colored man there, whose son had been teaching school, and they took every book they had and threw them into a fire; and said they would just dare any other nigger to have a book in his house."

— Caroline Smith,
witness testifying during 1871 Ku Klux Klan Congressional Hearings

"I am heartily tired of trying to manage free negroes."

Southern white woman,
after the Civil War

Program Overview

How the South Won the War chronicles the period immediately following the Civil War, when the Ku Klux Klan was first formed by ex-Confederate officers, with the stated purpose of "saving the South" from integration and racial equality. *How the South Won the War* offers a compelling interpretation of this important period in American history, told primarily in the words of eyewitnesses and participants or their descendents, contemporary writers and commentators, supplemented by modern scholars.

An early photograph of a White Supremacist vigilante

For many years, historical accounts of this era emphasized the perspectives of white segregationists, for whom white supremacy was a valued cultural norm, and black freedom a threat. *How the South Won the War* puts these white supremacist perspectives in a broader context, highlighting white resistance to black equality following the war, including the use of threats and violence by white citizens and vigilante groups like the KKK. Just as importantly, the episode also highlights the perspectives of black Americans during this time, as African American communities across the South struggled to make real the promise of freedom, equality and political suffrage.

General Program Questions

1. Studs Terkel's opening reference to the word terrorism includes this definition: "…the use of force, violence and threats to intimidate, demoralize, or coerce…" Each episode of *Between Civil War and Civil Rights* recounts the harsh history of white terrorism against black Americans. How is the term *terrorism* used in the United States today?
2. What impact does it have on your sense of American history to apply the term terrorism, as this series does, to such a large part of our national past? Is there any problem, in your view, with using the term in relation to violence against black Americans during the historical period covered in this program?
3. You have probably heard the slogan "One person's terrorist is another person's freedom fighter." In what situations today does this phrase invite a closer analysis? After hearing this episode, including the views of white supporters of the Ku Klux Klan, how would you analyze the KKK in light of this slogan? How would you analyze this slogan in relation to the many armed slave revolts, such as Nat Turner's Rebellion, that occurred in the years before the Civil War? How would you analyze this phrase in relation to the American Revolution?
4. Why do you think that most accounts of American history tend to downplay the extent of racial violence in our nation's past? Are there good reasons to "forget" such events? What are the social and individual costs or risks of this form of "historical amnesia"?
5. What would you identify as current legacies, or lasting effects, of American slavery, the Civil War, and years of legal Jim Crow segregation, lynching, and violence against African Americans in the United States? Do these legacies impact your community now, and if so, how? Any thoughts about how best to deal with these legacies now and/or in the future?
6. Why do you think that so many white Americans felt threatened by the possibility of black freedom and self-determination?
7. What strikes you as most interesting about the songs in this program, which are authentic folk and gospel songs from the period?

Specific Program Questions

1. What impact does it have on you to hear actual people giving these testimonials about conditions in the South immediately after the Civil War? How is *listening* to oral history like this different than *reading* an account of the same things? [Track 1]
2. Some historians and civil rights activists have argued that groups like the Ku Klux Klan were simply the most obvious and visible organized expressions of anti-black sentiments that were widely shared by whites (both South and North) after the Civil War. In other words, according to this view, groups like the KKK stand out, but deeper problems of mainstream white attitudes during the era are too often left unaddressed. Others argue that the Klan is, in fact, an example of extremism and has no connection to more mainstream attitudes. What do you think? [Tracks 2 3]
3. It's interesting to analyze the term *safety* in our time as well as how it was defined right after the Civil War [Track 4]:
   - What would safety mean for white Southern segregationists after the Civil War?
   - What would safety mean for the four million African Americans freed from slavery after the Civil War?
   - What does the term safety mean to you, especially in a social or political sense?
   - How should communities or nations deal with sharply conflicting definitions of "a safe society"?
4. Klan founder J.C. Lester states that "in the summer of 1867 [the Klan had become] virtually a band of regulators honestly trying to protect and preserve peace and order." Another word for regulators is vigilantes: private citizens acting as unofficial police to maintain law and order. Note that "law and order" for the Klan meant terror and lost freedom for black citizens. Can you imagine circumstances today where you would see legitimacy

for vigilante justice? What sorts of situations in our day, if any, would lead you to support such extra-legal tactics? [Track 4]

5. How would you feel if your community had been militarily defeated and occupied? What responses might you have if the military occupiers were trying to change basic social and economic patterns long in place in your community? Is it possible to try to understand white responses to Reconstruction in their own terms while condemning the ideologies of white supremacy? What are some strategies for genuinely understanding historical (and present day) attitudes that we strongly disagree with? [Track 4]

6. Testimonials tell of book burnings and threats against African American teachers. Why do you suppose that black literacy and education has for so long been so threatening to some whites? What deeper issues could be involved here?

7. In 1871, "a reluctant Congress" held a series of hearings to investigate the KKK. Congressional hearings can be a means of uncovering and addressing serious problems, and bringing them to light in a national forum. What issues would you want Congress to investigate now, and why do you think such hearings would be important? [Tracks 5, 6, 8 and 9]

8. If you were in Congress and sitting in on such a committee hearing, how would you evaluate the credibility of oral testimony offered by witnesses who bring a wide variety of sometimes conflicting accounts to the hearing? What factors would be important to consider when evaluating oral testimonies like those you hear in this program?

9. Congress acted to ban the Klan in the 1870s, but legal sanctions against the Klan as an "official" organization did not end violence by whites against blacks. In retrospect, how do you think the nation should have responded to the upsurge of anti-black violence in the immediate aftermath of the Civil War? Are there any lessons to be gleaned from your assessment here, related to issues in your community now, or related to issues currently facing the country as a whole? [Tracks 10 and 11]

10. The end of this episode recounts a common phenomenon in American history: a political trade-off is made at the national level that has harsh and serious consequences at the local level. As Stetson Kennedy puts it in this segment, "Rutherford Hayes was presented the White House in exchange for his promise to withdraw Federal troops from the South, and to, in effect, give the white South a free hand in dealing with the former slaves." Before the Civil War, similar compromises led to the deletion of an anti-slavery passage from the *Declaration of Independence,* and to "negotiations" that coded slavery into the *United States Constitution.* Can you think of current issues, either in your region or elsewhere in the country, where you see a conflict between national priorities and local norms, including what seem to be similar types of trade-offs being made? [Track 11]

Program | TWO
Democracy's Denial: Revolutions in Wilmington (1898 and after)

Program Overview

In 1898, Wilmington, North Carolina's population consisted of about 8,000 whites and 11,000 blacks. The elected government was a Fusionist coalition of white Populists and predominantly black Republicans. This proved threatening to local white supremacists. Encouraged by months of agitation against the black community, and provoked by a stream of propaganda and stereotypes about the "immorality" of black men, white citizens in Wilmington armed themselves and began what they called a "revolution". White mobs burned the town's black newspaper after its editor challenged the injustice of lynch law being used against so-called black "rapists". They exiled the mayor and many officials, and drove thousands of black men, women and children out of town. The number of African American residents killed during these riots remains unknown.

A white mob in front of the burned out offices of the Wilmington Daily Record. Originally published November 26, 1898 in Collier's Weekly.

"It became evident to our committee that if the nigras were nominated for office we would have an exceedingly difficult time to beat them, and it was not a great while before the businessmen of the city were deeply interested in the campaign and the supremacy of the white race…"

— **George Roundtree**, "Memorandum of My Personal Recollection of 1898"

"I came here 54 years after the 1898 incident. And I can't begin to tell you what I really felt inside. People were not talking to each other, whites were not talking to blacks except those who worked for them, and I continued to wonder 'What is wrong with Wilmington?'"

— **Bertha Todd**, educator and activist

It was a pivotal moment in the rise of states' rights advocates attempting to reinforce white supremacy and insure the triumph of Jim Crow. And at this crucial moment the United States government looked the other way, giving a green light to white southern segregationists. Laws were broken or just ignored; justice was never done. In fact, those who had led this white supremacist uprising even went on to play prominent roles in national politics for some time to come. And even though the Wilmington coup d'etat had a profound impact on the long-term racial and economic realities of the South and the country in general, it was left out of national history books for many years.

In 1971, seventy-three years after the Wilmington riots, residents of the city were again shaken by several weeks of racial violence, and then in 1998 the community finally faced its past and began to deal directly with the legacy of 1898. The 1898 Centennial Foundation was formed and went on to sponsor a series of public forums to help repair and rebuild the city's sense of community. These forums made it possible

for people to raise questions about what had happened and why in 1898, in 1971, and the present.

This episode includes the memoirs of several survivors of the 1898 coup as read by their direct descendents.

General Program Questions

1. Can you imagine an issue over which violent conflict between members of opposing groups could have (or has) broken out in your community?
2. If yes, what sorts of lines get crossed that can spark physical violence between people in the same community?
3. If you can't imagine a violent conflict in your community, what do you think makes it so unlikely? Are there qualities or conditions that seem to work against such conflicts breaking out?
4. Are there differences of opinion on this question about the same community, among people within this class or discussion group?
5. Unfortunately, we have many situations around the nation and the world where violence is a daily reality. How do you think the constant possibility of violence affects individuals and communities? How might these effects be constructively addressed?
6. This episode of *Between Civil War and Civil Rights* chronicles an event in history that has seldom been mentioned in national history books, but that had a profound impact on the long-term racial, political, and economic realities of the South, and on the rest of the country as well. For example, the argument for "states' rights" became a cover for southern ideologies of white supremacy. "Jim Crow" was further entrenched as a form of segregation. The Grandfather Clause was introduced as a mechanism to prevent African Americans from voting. What are the benefits to us, and any possible drawbacks, in looking closely at such difficult events in U.S. history?

Specific Program Questions

1. Some legal scholars now argue that the famous Brown v Board of Education school desegregation ruling of 1954 finally laid to rest the segregationist legacy of Plessy v Ferguson (1896). However, many observers still see racial segregation as a serious problem in the United States.

   What is your sense of this issue, overall? Is racial segregation still a problem, and if so, where, and how? If it is not a problem in your view, why not?

   Do you think that there are forms of "chosen" racial segregation that are OK, and some that are not? For example, is there a difference between gated communities which are largely white and/or upper middle-class, and groups of students from particular racial backgrounds who may all sit together in the high school cafeteria? Under what conditions is so-called "voluntary segregation" legitimate in your view, and when is it not? [Track 1]
2. This documentary highlights the role of economic stress and turmoil in fueling the racial conflict in Wilmington. In what ways can anxiety about economic survival and security contribute to social conflicts over other issues? Can you think of specific examples from history and as well as the present day? [Track 2]

3. "Home Protection!" was the rallying cry for a new white political movement to prevent African Americans from attaining power in the city of Wilmington in 1898. What does "home protection" mean to you? In the context of 1898, what did this phrase seem to mean to the white citizens of Wilmington? What would the phrase "home protection" mean to black citizens of Wilmington during the same period? In other words, how does political language function to shape our perceptions of social reality? Are there any current political phrases or terms that you think are especially potent in this regard, both positively and negatively? [Track 2]
4. A number of first-hand accounts of the Wilmington race riots of 1898 have been passed down through families, black and white, to the participants' descendents. Some people, including some of these descendents, argue that we should not judge people and their actions in the past according to standards of the present, because we cannot fully understand the historical stresses and pressures that people were experiencing. Others argue that it is both legitimate and important to ethically assess actions of the past, as long as we are clear about what - or whose - standards we are using to make our judgments.

   If you look at this episode's account of white citizens in the Wilmington of 1898, as they attempt to limit the political and social power of black citizens of the city through violence and intimidation, how do you assess their conduct in ethical or moral terms? What about assessing the actions and choices of members of the black community in the Wilmington of 1898? In other words, what kinds of questions might face the descendents of all the people involved in the Wilmington events of 1898, in regard to judging the past? Are there significant differences in the ways that such questions might emerge among black descendents vs. white descendents? [Tracks 6, 12, and 13]
5. By 1900 Wilmington had become a majority white town. White supremacist citizens of the city had effectively ended the multi-racial government, and hundreds of black families had fled the town, many leaving behind their personal property. It is said that "history is written by the winners". In this case, we might add that "history is written by the survivors". After an event like Wilmington, how do we evaluate the historical record when we know that so many voices and pieces of the story are missing?

   For example, say a group of historians came to your community tomorrow to write its history. These historians relied on traditional written sources (government documents, newspapers, diaries and journals) and also tapes of local television and radio news programming. Which voices would be accessible to the historians, and who in your community would essentially be invisible to them? Who currently has the opportunity to leave a public record in your community, and who does not? What impact would this have on the picture of your community's history that the historians would write? [Tracks 7 and 8]
6. It may surprise you to hear that many blacks voted after the Civil War. It took more than a generation of post-war effort by whites to disenfranchise black citizens. This program documents an important episode in that disenfranchisement, and illustrates how important the vote was to blacks and whites alike during this time. In the more recent Civil Rights Movement of the early 1950s through the 1960s, many people were murdered for trying to register black voters in the South.

Does the ability to vote remain important in American democracy, and if so, why? If you are among those who are skeptical about the importance of voting, explain why to your discussion group.

Even if you argued above that voting is important, we know that huge numbers of people do not vote in local or presidential elections. Why is this happening, in your view? Do you think this pattern would change if more people studied the long fight for suffrage by African Americans and other groups? Or do you think there are other factors currently working against the vote as a significant form of political participation?

It has become pretty standard political practice to work to bring your supporters to the polls while discouraging supporters of your opponents from turning out on election day. Can you think of recent instances of this practice, either local or nationally? What do you think about it as a "business as usual" political strategy? Should there be limits on this practice?s: [Track 9]

7. During the late 19th and early 20th centuries thousands of black Americans were lynched, often for simply refusing to obey demands that they submit to the social rules of segregation. Additionally, as this program and others in the series show, black women were beaten and/or raped for not submitting to sexual advances by white men, and black men were lynched after groundless charges that they had raped white women. The stereotype of the black rapist was used repeatedly in political contexts and in literature and film, often fueling frenzies of fear and violence among whites. Why, in your view, does sexual stereotyping seem to have such power and prove so effective in creating fear between groups of people? Do you see any current versions of destructive stereotyping in the country or in your community? How should we deal with this phenomenon? [Tracks 3 and 10]

8. Racial violence erupted in Wilmington once again in the 1970s and is captured in this episode. A century after the original events the 1898 Centennial Foundation attempted to achieve community reconciliation. As Bertha Todd put it: "What occurred in 1898, a hundred and three years ago, was just like a wound that had never been healed… And if you are going to heal a wound properly instead of putting band-aids on it, you are going to have to reopen it again, clean it, and then try to heal it and pull it back together."

   Do you agree that in order to heal a community long torn by racial conflict, the community itself must bring its racial history into the open air? If you do agree, why is this process important? If you are less convinced that this is a good idea, what concerns does it raise for you? [Tracks 12 and 13]

9. The issue of reparations and/or restitution for large-scale social injustice in the past is a very current one in many parts of the world, including the United States. Precedent has been set for compensating Jewish survivors of the Holocaust and for making economic restitution to American citizens of Japanese descent who were detained in camps during World War II, often with the loss of their homes and businesses. There are strong arguments on the table in the United States for making some sort of economic restitution or reparation to black Americans that acknowledges their centuries of unpaid labor during American slavery and the resulting economic disparity that has continued and grown over subsequent generations. The fourth episode of *Between Civil War and Civil Rights*, entitled Rosewood Reborn, will show you a situation where a black community was financially compensated for the direct losses to life and property that occurred during a white race riot.

   What other forms of reparation and restitution seem legitimate to you? If you are a strong critic of reparations or restitution, explain your sense of the arguments against such efforts. And regardless of your pro or con stance, what basic issues seem to you to be at stake when communities try to decide if racial justice should include compensation monetary or otherwise for events that happened in the past? [Track 13]

Program | THREE
White Protestant Nation [1915–1925]

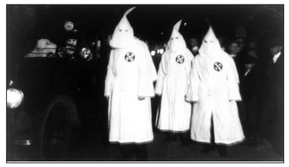
"I remember seeing the, uh, horrible movie called….Birth of a Nation! Oh, I thought it was the most thrilling and dramatic, marvelous thing in the world when the Klan rode in there and rescued the poor white girl from the black soldier and all. I mean I had been surrounded by black men all my life. Not one of them had ever been anything but kind and decent to me. I didn't know what they would do, I didn't even know what rape was! I kept hearing about rape! [laughs] But then at the same time, I would go to Birth of a Nation and believe that the Klan was a great organization, very noble and wonderful and proud that my grandfather had been a member of it!"

Virginia Foster Durr, citizen of Alabama

"Woodrow Wilson permitted Griffith to show Birth of a Nation in the White House, and the Supreme Court was there, various members of the Senate and the House were there, and they all thought it was wonderful. Woodrow Wilson is said to have said: 'This is history written as lightning!"

— John Hope Franklin, historian

Program Overview



A 1922 Ku Klux Klan parade on the Virginia outskirts of Washington, D.C.

White Protestant Nation portrays the resurgence of the Ku Klux Klan in 1915 and the new forms of racism that developed in the first two decades of the 20th century. This history is told primarily in the words of eyewitnesses and participants or their descendents, and by contemporary writers and commentators, with analysis added by modern scholars.

White Protestant Nation covers the "reincarnation" of the Klan as a mass fraternal movement that endeavored to enforce its version of public morality while actively opposing immigration by what the Klan called "alien cultures". The first segment of this episode, "A White Man's Government", includes a re-creation of the 1920 Election Day "race riot" in Ocoee, Florida, told in the words of black writer Zora Neale Hurston and in contemporary newspaper accounts. Case studies focus on the perceptual gaps between "objective" black and white reporters. The second segment of the program, "Marketing Racism", discusses the effects of the film Birth of a Nation, which glorified the Klan and invoked the Bible to support white supremacy. This segment also recounts one of the scandals that eventually undermined the Klan's "invisible empire".

The episode introduces the complex interplay of white American religion and white supremacy. The Klan's resurgence, as well as its original formation, illustrates how one strain of American Protestantism provided the ideological foundation to white supremacists. On the other hand, religion also played a central role in black resistance to both slavery and white supremacy.

General Program Questions

1. What is your sense of the influence of "moving picture" media (television, film) in our society, specifically on viewers' social perceptions? Do these media encourage people to act in certain ways? Do you think that there can be a causal link between what people watch or listen to and how they think and act? Are you skeptical about drawing such causal links? Why? Can you think of any recent movies or television shows released in the United States which in your opinion portray racial issues well? What makes these films or programs good? Can you think of recent television shows or films which you'd argue portray racial issues poorly? What is the problem with these productions, in your opinion? How would you assess the state of American television and the movie industry overall, in terms of their portrayals of race?
2. As you will hear in this program, the "reborn" Klan of the early 20th century achieved extraordinary popularity by appealing to strong "American" cultural themes including patriotism, faith, family, and community values. These are of course standard concepts in politics today, important across the political spectrum but defined quite differently by different people. What place should these themes have in public discussion? How do participants in your group define these concepts? Do a quick spot check in your group to see how people define the above terms. Do they differ, and if so, how do they differ from what you hear in the media today? What makes these concepts valid or invalid?
3. In recent years, politicians with direct ties to the Ku Klux Klan have run for political office in the United States, and have garnered significant votes. Does this surprise you? Why or why not? Do you think that an avowedly white supremacist organization could attract large numbers of people these days? If yes, what conditions do you think could spark increased membership for such a group? If not, why not?
4. Are you aware of any white supremacist organizations currently active in your region? If so, what groups are active and what seem to be their major issues or political concerns? Are there other groups in your region that you'd label "extreme", and if so, what are they and why would you apply that label to them? What sort of current issues seem to be sparking people to take what appear to be "extreme" positions? Is "extremism" always negative?

Specific Program Questions

1. Noted historian of African American history John Hope Franklin argues in this episode that racial violence was "systemic" in the early years of the 20th century. As Dr. Franklin put it, "…it was part of the very system of the country." What does it mean to say that such violence or any phenomenon is systemic? What social structures or social institutions would you include if you called a problem like racism systemic? Would you identify any forms of violence today as systemic, and if so, what are they and why would they warrant that label? [Track 1]
2. Birth of a Nation is a film that celebrates the Ku Klux Klan and ends with an image of Jesus hovering approvingly over the triumphant white characters who started the Klan. It was a wildly popular film when it was released in 1915. People lined up for blocks to see it, just as they do now for "blockbuster" films, and it was shown at the White House. What do you make of the fact that a movie with this racial ideology was so popular in the not-so-distant American past? [Track 2]

3. Some groups picketed the film and some argued that it should be censored. What's your opinion on the issue of censorship, specifically regarding movies that are unapologetically racist? Can you imagine supporting such a sanction against a movie, and if so, under what circumstances? If you cannot imagine supporting the censorship of any film, explain why.
4. What responsibilities do the makers of popular forms of entertainment (movies and television, for example) have in terms of showing historical figures and historical events accurately? What about portraying events that have just happened, or people who are still alive? How much "creative freedom" is acceptable, in your view, when entertainment is based on real events and people? Who should decide these things, and how should "fair rules of the game" be enforced? [Track 2]
5. The massacre at Ocoee, Florida, and subsequent anti-black racial violence in the 1920s by a re-energized KKK and its many "unofficial" supporters, has prompted some to suggest that a movie like Birth of a Nation can directly incite violence. Do you think that art can have that kind of direct effect on people's actions? Are there current examples of film or television or literature or music where people seem to be worried about possible causal links between "provocative art" and violence? Do you share these concerns? Why or why not? [Tracks 5, 6 and 7]
6. Sociologist Kathleen Blee has documented the extensive participation of women in the KKK during the 1920s. This enthusiastic Klan activity by women might surprise some people, as it seems to contradict a common stereotype. Does it surprise you? [Track 8]
7. The "second Klan" adopted the flaming cross as one of its emblems. Similarly, the Klan of more recent times sometimes called the "third Klan" adopted the Confederate battle flag. What do these symbols mean to you? Should there ever be limits on their use in public life? Are there symbols used in your community that are similarly "charged" in racial terms, or controversial for other reasons?
8. The second Klan, as you heard, reached millions of members in the early 20th century. Do you know any of them personally? Some people report that it gave their family "a sense of community". Has anyone in your family been in the KKK? Why might they have joined? Is their participation in the Klan a topic of discussion in your family? How do people feel about it?
9. As this episode shows, the second KKK was an explicitly "Christian" organization; more particularly, it claimed to represent a white supremacist form of American Protestantism. (The Klan was virulently anti-Catholic during this period, as well as anti-Jewish and anti-immigrant.) More recently, Christian extremists like the Oklahoma City bombers, or activists who have bombed abortion clinics, have been associated with white supremacist theology as well. Historians and Christian theologians disagree about whether this form of "Christian terrorism" has any ideological roots in mainstream American Christian thought. At the other end of the political spectrum, we remember that Civil Rights activists like Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., Ida B. Wells, Malcolm X, and many thousands of others invoked the authority of their religion as they worked for black freedom. What do you find most interesting about this fusion of religion, race and politics across the political spectrum in American history? What other issues today seem to involve a similarly complex relationship between religion and politics? [Track 9]
10. Many Americans remain unaware of how widespread the KKK was during the 1920s, when it could count several million members and had chapters all over the country. Membership cut across class lines and included many civic and business leaders. Why do you think the story of the KKK's importance in this country's social and political life is rarely mentioned in U.S. history books? [Tracks 10, 11 and 12]
11. Sociologist Kathleen Blee says in this episode: " One of the things the 1920s Klan did was normalize racism by making it part of cultural life for white Protestants in many parts of the country. That I think is the most important ideological legacy of the Klan, and was something that American society for decades afterwards had a hard time uprooting." How is the country doing these days, in your view, in "uprooting" such normalized racism as part of our collective cultural life? [Track 12]

Program | FOUR
Rosewood Reborn (1923)

Margie Hall Johnson (1909–1998)
Daughter of Mary and Charles Bacchus Hall, sister of Wilson Hall and Mary Daniel. She had just turned fourteen years old at the time of the Rosewood attack.

"Let me ask you senators, how long do we have to pay for the sins of our forefathers? There are other pressing, pressing needs in this state! I can't go back to my 18 counties and justify having spent $2 million dollars of their hard earned taxes on something that happened in this state 71 years ago!"

— Charles Williams,
Florida State Senator

"The simple truth is the whole world knew what happened in Rosewood, but we have buried it in our collective memory. We have had historical amnesia, and it has continued for more than 70 years."

— Daryl Jones,
Florida State Senator

Program Overview

Rosewood Reborn recounts the Rosewood, Florida, massacre of 1923, when an alleged attack on a white woman sparked days of racial rioting, during which white mobs destroyed the African American community, killing a still unknown number of residents. The incident began on New Years Day in 1923 when a white woman claimed that a black man had attacked her. By the end of the day, vengeful whites had lynched a man they suspected of helping the alleged attacker escape. Local lawmen did nothing to stop them. By week's end, hundreds of armed white citizens had burned black's homes to the ground, killed many black citizens, and forced survivors to flee for their lives, leaving their property and the bodies of family members behind.

Rosewood's fate was an open secret for six decades. But the terrorized survivors stayed silent, and subsequent generations of the public "forgot" what had happened, until in 1992 two survivors of the massacre filed a claim against the state of Florida. In 1994 the legislature finally awarded survivors and descendents $2 million dollars. This was the first time in U.S. history that Americans were awarded reparations for mass racial violence.

Rosewood Reborn is narrated by James Earl Jones and uses participants' and witnesses' own voices to tell the story of the community's destruction and the survivors' path-breaking struggle for justice. This episode chronicles a story of violence and horror, but also a story of heroism and hope. Rosewood Reborn connects living history with issues that remain controversial and urgent today.

General Program Questions

This episode introduces the term historical amnesia. One speaker refers to this as "burying" aspects of our past in our collective memory, where we collectively "forget" traumatic events in American history. In your observation, both in your own community and nationally, how common is this phenomenon of historical amnesia? Why does it happen, do you think? In relation to what events or issues have you seen it occur? Can it be avoided? Does historical amnesia ever serve a positive purpose, and if so, under what conditions? Do you see any problem with using a psychological category like "amnesia" to discuss social or historical patterns?

If you have the time, watch the portrayal of these events in the movie Rosewood, directed by John Singleton. What differences strike you as interesting between how this audio documentary portrays the events and how the Hollywood film portrays them? What are the relative strengths and weaknesses, in your view, between a visual medium like film and audio documentary art, like this program? How is the role of sound different in the two forms of historical story-telling?

When you hear the term reparations, what does it mean to you? If you are aware of the controversies in the United States over reparations, how would you explain the debate? What seem to be the key arguments on differing sides? Do you have a strong opinion about the issue of reparations, and if so, how would you put it? Do you think there are significant differences between the terms reparations and restitution? (If these terms and the related issues are unfamiliar to you, check back under Focus Area #3 in the opening pages of this Discussion Guide for an introduction to the terms and some of the questions generated by current debates.)

In this program you'll hear many perspectives on what happened in Rosewood and many interpretations of its significance. What differences do you notice between the perspectives of journalists, lawyers, politicians and scholars in this episode? What kinds of questions do people working in these professions seem inclined to ask about events in history? How do their professional roles seem to influence what they look at, and think about, as they analyze the Rosewood incident?

Specific Program Questions

1. In 1923, the Rosewood race riot erupted as a flurry of conflicting and hysterical rumors spread through the white community. In 2001, in the immediate aftermath of September 11th, there were incidents around the United States where people who "looked like Arabs" were physically attacked, in a backlash fueled by rumors and fear. Why do you think that rumors and fear have such power over people during times of political stress or insecurity? In your view, what can communities do to prevent the destructive violence that sometimes occurs in such times? [Track 1]
2. What effect does it have on you to hear these first-person accounts of the attacks in Rosewood? Does oral history like this allow you to understand things about history that simply reading about Rosewood does not? What sorts of questions would you ask about these first-person accounts if you were a historian who was trying to piece together a sense of "what really happened"? [Tracks 3, 4 and 5]
3. This episode portrays a situation where black citizens in the United States who were under attack could not call on the authorities for help because the authorities who were white were either involved in the attacks themselves or stood aside while their neighbors took part in the attacks. Do you know of situations and communities in the present day, either nationally or in your area, where people feel they cannot turn to civic authorities or police for help because they are afraid of them? How can a community tackle a problem like this? [Tracks 6 and 7]
4. The black community of Rosewood was virtually wiped out in 1923, with residents either murdered, or displaced from their homes and property, or forced to flee. When the media "rediscovered" the story of Rosewood in 1982, it sparked

some public discussion of the events, but no official hearings or investigations took place for another decade. In 1982, both blacks and whites had reasons to be nervous about public attention to the Rosewood massacre: some black citizens were concerned about a backlash against them; some whites were worried about being implicated in the actions of their ancestors. How could concerns like these be dealt with many years after an event like Rosewood? [Tracks 9, 10 and 13]

5. The 1994 hearings convened to investigate the Rosewood incident had to contend with reluctant and sometimes hostile witnesses, not to mention strongly conflicting versions of the events of 1923. What sorts of considerations would you use to evaluate evidence in a hearing such as the one described in this episode? [Track 15]

6. In the end, the initiative to compensate the survivors of Rosewood ended up as a bill in front of the Florida legislature. The argument before lawmakers was that the state and its officers had failed to protect the lives and property of black citizens even after being informed that the attacks were happening, and thus the state remained liable for damages. One Florida senator unsympathetic to the bill argued: "Let me ask you senators, how long do we have to pay for the sins of our forefathers? There are other pressing needs in this state! I can't go back to my 18 counties and justify having spent $2 million dollars of their hard-earned taxes on something that happened in this state 71 years ago!" You are the next senator to speak. What would you say?

7. During the debate over reparations for Rosewood, some people proposed to erect a monument commemorating what had happened. What purposes could, or should, a monument serve in commemorating an event like Rosewood? After listening to this program, what would you want to include or portray in such a monument? Are there interesting differences among the members of your class or discussion group in what you'd focus on?

Program | FIVE
American as Apple Pie: When Terror Lost in America [1940–1954]

Program Overview

Equality under the law for African Americans became viable after public opinion and federal policy had been turned against the white supremacists who used violence and threats of violence to enforce segregation and deny constitutional rights to black citizens. The program illuminates this mid-century battle for American hearts and minds with recordings of, and recollections by, such remarkable participants as, James and Esther Jackson and Stetson Kennedy, as well as the better-known Thurgood Marshall, A. Phillip Randolph, and Paul Robeson.

> "I told [Truman] that Negroes today were in no mood to shoulder a gun again to fight for democracy abroad until they got democracy at home."
>
> **— A. Philip Randolph,** labor leader

In 1941, A. Philip Randolph, leader of the all-black Pullman Porters union, boldly threatened to organize a wartime march on Washington to force recognition of the intolerable conditions faced by black Americans. His tactics effectively pressured President Roosevelt to support fair employment practices. Later, partly in response to Randolph's renewed threats of mass civil disobedience during the Korean War in the late 1940s, President Truman ordered desegregation of the American military and the federal government. In time, the Supreme Court announced the decision that would end the segregation of America's schools.

A. Philip Randolph

White resistance to black equality threatened the country with a replay of the "Red Summer" of 1919, which had been marked by outbreaks of violence both against black communities and against leftists and liberals of all racial and ethnic identities. Stetson Kennedy, a journalist, investigator and labor activist, courageously exposed the Ku Klux Klan and other such groups on their own turf. He recalls ridiculing the Klan by broadcasting Klan passwords on the Superman radio show, and wearing Klan robes into the U.S. Capitol building to embarrass the House Un-American Activities Committee, which was carrying out government investigations of people accused of being "communist sympathizers" in the 1950s.

American as Apple Pie: When Terror Lost in America, 19401954 makes it clear that despite ongoing white resistance, and thanks to a myriad of small and large

actions by both well-known and lesser-known activists, progress was inexorably being made towards equal rights. In these years a movement was forged that would place civil rights in the foreground of public and government attention. By 1954, the Supreme Court was finally ready to announce the beginning of the end of America's legally separate and unequal society in its landmark ruling on Brown v Board of Education. The Civil Rights Movement would begin a period of struggle that, thanks to modern media's ability to bring it to the world's attention, would attain unprecedented historic visibility and stature.

General Program Questions

This episode covers the political struggle for black civil rights from the early 1940s to what is considered the birth of the modern black Civil Rights Movement in the mid-1950s. During the same period, the United States began a Cold War with the Soviet Union. This gave rise to a domestic preoccupation with communism, epitomized by the hearings of the House Un-American Activities Committee, which aimed to remove from public life anyone found to sympathize with "communist" ideas. Try working with your group on the following questions before listening to American as Apple Pie. It is interesting to compare responses to these questions, since people tend to answer them in different ways.

1. If someone asked you, over a cup of coffee, to explain to them what the Cold War was about, what would you say? Do you see any link between the Cold War and the Civil Rights Movement?
2. What would you identify as enduring legacies of the modern black Civil Rights Movement?
3. The terms: socialism and communism are often used interchangeably in the United States, yet as this episode shows, a person can be an anti-communist democratic socialist, or a pro-union anti-socialist, etc. Take a moment in your group to compare your working definitions of some of these key political terms:

   socialism liberalism

   communism conservatism

   capitalism democracy
4. This episode, American as Apple Pie, is subtitled When Terror Lost in America. How does framing the Black Civil Rights Movement of the mid-20th century as a victory over terrorism affect your sense of U.S. history?

Specific Program Questions

1. The opening segment of American as Apple Pie recounts the ways that many citizens, black and white, "played the game" of racial segregation by going along with "the rules" of life under Jim Crow. The cost of refusing to play the game was high, especially for African Americans. What options are there for people in situations like this, where the risk of going against the grain of a societal norm like racial segregation can be so great?
2. The lyrics of one song of the time, sung by Nelson Short, contain the refrain "Watch your close friend, watch your close friend! Your enemy cannot harm you, watch your close friend!" This lyric can be interpreted as a warning that sometimes our allies can cause us more harm than our obvious enemies. We know to keep our guard up when dealing with political opponents, but most of us tend to be more trusting with people who are close to us, either personally or politically. In the twists and turns of community conflict or social stress, sometimes people close to us on the social or political spectrum can become sharp opponents at moments that surprise us. During the civil rights struggle, for example, many black activists felt that white liberals who considered themselves allies in the cause, at times let black communities down by trying to work out political compromises with other whites "behind the scenes". Or in the case of congressional witch-hunts against communists in the 1950s, there were times when people turned against each other under pressure to "name names" of political associates and friends. Can you apply this "watch your close friends" lyric to situations in your own experience, locally or nationally? Have you seen trust broken or conflict emerge between people or groups who had assumed they were allies? What about on an international scale, between entire nations or peoples?
3. Some people who do not live in the South tend to think of it as the home of slavery and racism. Yet historians have shown that the entire U.S. economy benefited from slavery, and that racial injustice exists all over the country. Many African Americans moved away from the South during the 1940s, hoping to find better work and less racism in the urban areas of the North. However, as American as Apple Pie shows, in many ways civil rights also remained "a dream deferred" for black Americans in the North.

   In fact, some now say that racism is stronger in the North than in the South. Do you think there are important regional variations in the United States related to racial dynamics and issues of racial justice? If so, how would you describe those variations?

> "They locked up DuBois, he was arrested! They took Robeson's passport. McCarthyism attempted to shut down even just discussion, and had a major effect on how the Civil Rights movement later came into being…"
>
> **— John Bracey**, historian

4. As the segment on union leader A. Philip Randolph and his negotiations with President Roosevelt illustrates, mass action or the threat of mass action like marches, demonstrations, strikes, boycotts, Freedom Rides, etc., can be a very effective influence on public policy and law. What in your view are the relative merits and drawbacks of mass actions? Are there issues today in your community or nationally where you would support or participate in such actions? Why do the issues you picked seem appropriate for collective action? Are there important issues that you think would be hurt by the same tactics?
5. In the 1950s, activists' decades-long efforts to use the courts to address racial justice issues paid off in the Brown v Board of Education decision that declared school segregation unconstitutional. What are the relative advantages and drawbacks of trying to secure civil rights through the U.S. legal system?
6. As this episode demonstrates, many civil rights and labor activists were labeled communists during this period, regardless of whether they had any actual relationship to the Communist Party. This phenomenon, where political

name-calling is used to discredit and hurt people working for social justice on the liberal or left ends of the political spectrum, is called "red-baiting". Do you see any current forms of political "baiting" like this, and if so, who is doing it, to whom, and why do you think it is being done? Are these the same reasons as those doing the baiting give? Does this tactic work? In other words, do you think that some Americans stay away from political involvement because they are nervous about being labeled or attacked for their views? Do you have any ideas about how to remedy a problem like this?

> "The NAACP understands the media power of the image of the state abuse of servicemen. Orson Welles reenacts the Isaac Woodard eye-gouging on his CBS radio show; the show is subsequently cancelled, because Southern businesses protest, and the network caves…"
>
> **— Martha Biondi**, historian

7. After both World War I and World War II there were "Red Scares" in the United States. The term "Red Scare" refers to campaigns of anti-socialist, anti-labor, anti-left/anti-progressive persecution that in some cases generated a form of social hysteria. At the same time, after each of the world wars the country saw outbreaks of violence against black Americans, especially African American soldiers returning from the war. Veterans were attacked for wearing their uniforms in public, for refusing to step aside for whites, etc. Any thoughts about why Red Scares and anti-black violence might occur at the same times? Any thoughts about why such explosions of violence on the home front might be more likely to occur after a war? Is it productive to analyze the KKK as a post-war phenomenon, and if so, what insight do we gain by looking at the Klan in the wake of the Civil War? Do you think more recent wars leave the country vulnerable to similar outbreaks of violence or political repression, and if so, what specific forms might such outbreaks take?

8. Had you heard of Paul Robeson before listening to this episode? What about the young activists James and Esther Jackson? Why might such people, including a world-famous entertainer like Robeson, be left out of many 20th century history books? Are there important figures from our time who you suspect may be left out of the standard history books of tomorrow, and why?

9. Passing national civil rights legislation has always been difficult in the United States. How should a nation as large and diverse as the United States go about dealing with regional variations and local prejudices when trying to enact civil rights laws for all its citizens? How should conflicting values of this kind among Americans be resolved, and by whom?

10. Most Americans now sympathize with the Civil Rights Movement in the 20th century and watch with approval the film footage of federal troops protecting black school children in Little Rock, or Freedom Riders on interstate buses during the ferocious white resistance to desegregation. In the battle for desegregation, federal authority won out over the authority of local white supremacist governments and communities. Can you imagine any current issues where a federal mandate might overrule the desires of people in a particular community? Try to imagine an issue where you would support such a federal override, and another issue where you would object. Is the difference mostly a matter of your personal political sympathies, or are there important differences in the two cases that would make a triumph of federal law over local law legitimate in one case but not in another? What in your view is the best way to deal with such conflict in a country as large as the United States?

11. Do you see current situations in the United States where violence or the threat of violence is being used to "intimidate, demoralize or coerce," as stated in the definition of terror given by Studs Terkel? If so, where and why is it being so used and what should be done about it?

12. In our time, what do you think the goals should be as people work to achieve racial justice? How do you think it's best to work for these goals, either in your community or nationally? Who are your allies or potential allies in this work?

Program | SIX
Media and Myths

Program Overview

This program is an inquiry into press standards and practices on the subject of race.

When the U.S. first faced the question of what role millions of free African-Americans should play in society, the news press was itself in transition. The popular "penny-press" was beginning to replace newspapers that were connected to political parties. The change would bring new standards to the news media. In brief, as journalism became a distinct profession, it began to aspire to a new model that increasingly valued accuracy and objectivity as more important to the public good than journalistic allegiance to political parties or causes. Interestingly, this draw toward objectivity corresponded to the evolution of photography as a way to document events. Similarly, the newly "independent" news media claimed to be more "fair" and "balanced" than its "biased" partisan rivals.

A distorted and misleading image, from Collier's Weekly magazine of November 26 1898, typical of the press at the time.

"The newspapers, who were quick to pick up on sensationalism, took the term Ku Klux and used it as a blanket label to represent all resistance to the Reconstruction. Where in reality there were a multitude of organizations, totally independent from the Klan, such as the Redshirts, the Palefaces, the White Brotherhood…"

— Richard Bondira,
Klan archivist

Yet, over the next 90 years, journalists would champion both white supremacy and racial equality. What can this history of media racism and racial advocacy teach us about the press today?

This special discussion-starter program covers the entire time sweep of the episodes in *Between Civil War and Civil Rights*. Discussion questions for this program are all listed below as General Program Questions.

General Program Questions

1. From what sources do you get your news and information? Do you think that the public affairs shows, papers and magazines that you see keep a clear separation between "fact" and editorial "opinion"? Are some of your sources more partisan than others? Are there advantages to opinionated or partisan news sources, and if so, what are they?
2. In the contemporary debate over media bias, conservatives argue that news organizations newspapers in particular have a liberal bent toward issues like affirmative action and immigration, issues related to race and ethnicity. Liberals, on the other hand, argue that the same media exhibit a conservative bent on the same issues, due to their control by corporate and business interests who have an interest in keeping things the way they are. Do you see patterns of political bias in U.S. news media, and if so, how would you describe the bias you see? What specific news outlets do you read, watch or listen to?
3. Under what current circumstances do we see a possible media conflict between the public's right to know and the need to protect the security of a community? Who should define "security" and based upon what considerations? What are some local issues that you feel place the local media in a difficult situation regarding "telling the full story"? Who, in your community, exerts the strongest influence on what gets covered by local media, and on how it gets covered?
4. What should be the press's role and responsibility in reporting on threats to public well-being? Should the press follow government directives or analysis of risk and if so, what are limits or dangers that members of the press need to keep in mind if relying on "official" definitions of what is a threat and what isn't?
5. News media in democratic countries grapple with all kinds of difficult issues during wartime. Who should decide when a "free and open press" needs to limit its coverage of wartime events in the interest of national security? How should these decisions be made, and based upon what sorts of considerations? How do we define "wartime" these days?
6. One challenge facing commercial media in the United States is that most depend on money from advertisers in order to survive. Media critics are concerned that this means that few newspapers will cover stories that might anger major advertisers. Some say, for example, that media seldom report the views or activities of organized labor, dismissing unions as "special interests", while at the same time reporting business news and management perspectives as newsworthy. How should reporters and editors deal with the real economic pressures they face in order to keep their publications going? Do you think this happens in your community, and if so, what issues are left unreported? Do you see this as a national problem, and if so, related to what issues?

"Time and again the story of changing public opinion in the United States is understood as the story of when the New York Times goes down to Birmingham, or when the New York Times sends a stringer down to Little Rock or something like this. African American publications were very engaged in on-the-spot reporting, in serial dispatches, in the use of photographs and images strategically in order to convey a particular impression of a moment or an event. All of this was very important in inspiring public outrage and ultimately public resolve."

— Adam Green,
historian

"Rosewood: you won't find an accurate account of it in any history book, yet about 40 people were killed here one terrifying week 60 years ago."

— Ed Bradley,
60 Minutes correspondent,
December, 1983

7. How far should editors and reporters go in challenging the "norms" of their community when they feel a norm is wrong, for example when the community is under the influence of a dominant opinion such as segregationist white supremacy? Can you think of issues where you would welcome a more "activist" press taking a strong stand, and issues where you would object to the same tactic? Are there important basic differences in these issues, or is your acceptance of an activist press based mostly on whether you agree or disagree with the issue in question? What are legitimate grounds for "opinionated journalism," especially in the news department?

8. Some observers feel that white-dominated U.S. media still portray racial and ethnic minorities with a negative bias that perpetuates stereotypes and contributes to racial tension and discrimination. Others feel that the American media are much more balanced in regard to race than they used to be and that this balance is having a positive impact on communities. What is your sense of this, both in your local media and in national media coverage?

9. In your view, does the increased employment of black and other racial or ethnic minorities in "mainstream" American media have an impact on the way the media cover racial issues in the United States? Is it enough that news organizations are more inclusive of minorities and their perspectives, or are there other things that need to change? If you currently read or listen to media sources controlled by African American, Hispanic, American Indian, Asian or other racial/ethnic communities, do you see patterns in the coverage of important issues that seem to you based upon who is writing and presenting the news? Do you view these patterns as positive or negative with respect to the quality of news reporting?

10. Television news is especially drawn to the power of dramatic images, and all reporters want to write powerful, evocative stories. Many political groups across the political spectrum, as well as businesses, special interest groups and others, are aware that public events often draw media attention from television cameras (and increasingly, from on-the-scene video, shot by bystanders). Many groups work actively to draw such coverage to their events, ranging from civil rights march organizers, groups like the KKK, the national conventions of major political parties, to Mothers Against Drunk Driving. Media outlets have to decide how and when to cover such events, and how to use the footage they may end up with. Do you think there are "staged" events that should, and should not, be covered by television news; and what factors figure into your choice of what should get covered? Do you see any current problems with media coverage of such events?

11. A major racial hate group shows up in your town to stage a demonstration, complete with inflammatory signs and leaflets. You are the editor of the only local paper, and just coincidentally you are also the news director for the only TV station in town. Some of your reporters say it is important to cover the demonstration, and make it the front page and lead story for TV. Others argue that giving media attention to hate groups just gives them the publicity they want. What sorts of considerations will influence your choices about whether, and how, to cover this event?

12. Many observers are concerned that the range of opinions and perspectives available in American media is getting smaller and smaller as a few corporations own more and more of the existing media outlets. Others argue that the internet and independent radio projects allow increasingly wider access to the media. What is your sense of the actual state of democratic access to media in the United States? Who has the opportunity to get their perspective into the media, and who is left out?

13. By their nature, all news and documentary programs reflect the editorial choices of writers and producers. Some topics are covered, some are not. Some sources are used, some are not. Some perspectives get airtime, some do not. If we define "bias" in this sense as "the direct or indirect result of editorial choices," how would you analyze the editorial bias of the programs you have heard in the Race With History series?

In other words, even this episode on the issue of media and bias will have its own bias toward raising certain issues and focusing on particular events, to the exclusion of other issues and events. And if you have heard other programs in the series, you will notice that they are focused on particular communities, events and issues. Discuss the value of a series like Race With History for the purpose of learning about and discussing little-known history, given the editorial choices you see reflected in the program content.

Further Study Questions

In this section of the Discussion Guide you will find a series of study questions organized according to episodes from *Between Civil War and Civil Rights*. These are questions designed to spark further reading and research, and unlike the earlier Discussion Questions will in fact require further research to lay the groundwork for an answer or analysis. These questions invite you to explore the particular events or issues from the programs, and also to open up other broader avenues of research.

Although the Study Questions are clustered according to individual episodes of *Between Civil War and Civil Rights*, you will see that many of them could be used in relation to most of the programs. Regardless of which episodes you are working with, you might want to read through all of these questions: many of them could be applied to the series as a whole. Questions not directly included for the program you are currently working on might still help students or group participants design their own research projects.

Program 1
How the South Won the War

1. Who were the initial founders of the Ku Klux Klan? What socio-economic and religious backgrounds did they come from? Founders of the original Klan described the organization as a prank, a club looking for "diversions and amusements". Based on your research into the Klan's initial formation, what do you make of that claim?
2. Take a look at how a few American historians have portrayed the Klan over the years since it first formed. Try to find historians writing at different times in American history and in different regions of the country. What strikes you as most significant about each portrayal, and what differences do you see?
3. What has been the range of responses to the KKK by various African American communities, writers and organizers across time and in particular regions? You can research this question by looking at a variety of sources: first-hand accounts, the black press, African American historians, as well as works of fiction, drama, poetry, autobiography. You will also find "data" in music, film, radio documentaries, and television. Are there people in your family or community who might be willing to sit down for an interview? What questions would you want to ask?
4. Research a range of white Southern responses to "Radical Reconstruction", including the responses of journalists, politicians, and historians. Do you come to any conclusions about why white interpreters often labeled Reconstruction "the partisan revenge of radical Republicans and corrupt opportunists"?
5. Some might argue that the Confederate generals were traitors and thus should have faced charges after the war, and perhaps even faced execution for treason. What do you think? First, research the legal and political aspects of this issue in the context of the 1860s and 1870s. Would you place the Confederate rebellion in the category of treason? Upon what criteria and information are you basing your analysis?
6. As this episode reminds us, the legal and social precedents set by the U.S. Constitution and subsequent amendments have a profound impact on future generations. Research the ongoing impacts and issues that have emerged in the wake of the 13th, 14th and 15th Amendments to the Constitution.
7. In this episode, you hear Elias Hill talk about "preaching and teaching". Hill was also the leader of the local Union League. Research the Union League. In what ways have religious, educational and political leadership often merged in the same individuals or groups in African American history? You may want to choose to study a particular community or time period, to help narrow your research focus. Do you see similar patterns of "wearing many hats" among African American leaders today?
8. Study the history of the Freedmen's Bureau more fully. What did it accomplish and what were its limitations or problems? How did perceptions of the Freedmen's Bureau vary among whites and blacks in the South; between Southerners and Northerners? What does the history of the Freedmen's Bureau suggest about the broader issue of social engineering and programs at the federal level?
9. Some Klan members testified during the 1871 Congressional hearings about the KKK that they were "forced to join". Who forced them? What sorts of pressures were at work in Southern communities during the years immediately following the Civil War?
10. How did "armed Democratic clubs" differ from the Ku Klux Klan? How would you compare these groups to private militias in the United States today, or to private military groups operating in other countries today?
11. Try a comparative study and analysis of the Presidential election of 1876 and the Presidential election of 2000. In both cases, charges have been made that these were "stolen elections". Does that charge hold up in either case, based on your research?

Program 2
Democracy's Denial: Revolutions in Wilmington

1. Investigate the phenomenon of "race riots" in the United States. How is this label used, under what circumstances, and by whom? Based on your research, what factors need to be presenting order to label an incident a "race riot"?
2. In addition to Wilmington, there have been many other race riots in U.S. history where mob violence was used by whites expressly to terrorize black communities or other racial or ethnic groups. As a first step, find other examples

of this sort of race riot. Once you have assembled a list of possible incidents, closely investigate one, and analyze its apparent causes and impacts.

3. This is a long question that can easily be applied to any of the episodes in *Between Civil War and Civil Rights*. It runs as an undercurrent to almost all the events covered in the series:

   First, some terminology: Gender.

   One way to define gender is: the various ways that femaleness and maleness are created and coded within particular cultures. The term sex refers to whether one is biologically male or female. Gender refers to the many ways that differing cultures attach meaning and patterns of behavior to being male or female. In other words, femaleness and maleness can mean very different things and appear very differently in different cultural contexts.

   Next, the question:

   Do you think that gender plays a significant role in the ways that people experienced the events recounted in *Between Civil War and Civil Rights* and in the ways that they perceived these events? In general do you think that gender plays a role in how people experience and perceive reality? What further research would you have to do in order to evaluate this question in relation to this documentary series? How would you analyze the impact of gender

   (a) on the actual participants in these events;

   (b) on the ways that first-hand accounts are expressed; or

   (c) as a factor influencing later historians, scholars or commentators?

4. Investigate the numerous strategies employed to disenfranchise African Americans during the late 19th century. Why was the black vote so threatening to whites?

5. Try a comparative analysis of various attempts to suppress the black vote during the more recent Civil Rights era. For example, what tactics were employed to keep African American citizens from voting in the 1960s? What was the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party and who was Fannie Lou Hamer? How is the murder of NAACP activist Medgar Evers related to the issue of the black vote?

6. This episode and Rosewood Reborn explore the issues of reparations and restitution. Investigate the legal and social aspects of these two terms, and analyze how they differ from one another. Study the current debates over reparations and restitution: In what particular situations are these terms used today? In reference to what groups and what sorts of events? How is the issue of reparations portrayed in the media? How do you analyze the possible impact of this media coverage on actual communities and on the debates themselves? As you research these questions, make your own notes regarding any underlying issues that seem to emerge as important. Based on your own research into debates over reparations or restitution, what would you say is at stake in U.S. society now?

Program 3
White Protestant Nation

1. Mob violence, lynching and vigilante justice have a long history in the United States. Investigate this history, with an eye toward analyzing how such actions have been explained or rationalized by participants.

2. Ida B. Wells Barnett was a famous journalist and anti-lynching activist. Study her writings, the writings of others about her, and the legacy of her work. What strikes you as most important about Barnett's work and legacy?

3. Research the history of anti-lynching laws and the process of trying to pass them at local and federal level. How and when did these laws, or attempts to pass these laws, appear? Who opposed them, and why? Are they still in effect, and in what recent cases have they been applied?

4. Have there been race-related lynchings in your community? If so, research the details of such incidents. How easy or hard is it to find information? What sorts of sources are available to you, and what sorts of biases do you find in those sources? If lynchings have occurred in your community, is this fact widely known? Why or why not, in your view? What is your analysis of the impact of any such incidents on the ways that your community deals with race?

5. Study the various ways that white Christian theology dealt with racial issues in the early 20th century. For example, what sorts of sermons or writings are available from openly segregationist churches? What religious statements can you find from white supremacist groups like the KKK or specific churches connected to those groups? At the other end of the political spectrum, what kinds of theology emerged during the same period in white churches or denominations who opposed white supremacy? How did white Christians who worked for racial, social and economic justice use religious ideas and principles in their own work? Did any white Christian organizations join with black Christian churches during this time?

6. Research the various black Christian churches in the early 20th century and the ways that black Christian theology dealt with racial issues and racial justice. What sorts of sermons, writings and music are available from African American churches? What kinds of shared theologies and conflicts do you find within those communities, given regional and religious differences among African Americans? Who were key theologians, pastors and activists in the historically black churches of this era? Which of these people were known at the national level? Did any black Christian organizations join with white Christian groups at this time?

7. What were the particularities of racial violence in the North? Choose different cities or regions in the North and study their unique histories related to race, economic patterns, racial violence, racial cooperation, etc.

8. How has the inflammatory myth of the "Negro rapist" been used over time to justify white violence against black men specifically, and to spark race riots against entire black communities? How and when did this myth emerge among white Americans? Can you identify and analyze present-day versions of this myth and any ways it is used against African Americans?

9. Do "otherwise good people" participate in race riots and lynch mobs? How would you design

a research project aiming to analyze and answer this question? What aspects of human psychology and social history would you have to look at? How would you define "good" in relation to human behavior, and what moral or ethical standards would you work with in order to craft this definition?

10. One of the songs you hear in this episode, "Dixie is Dixie Once More," was written and performed by African American musicians in the 369th U.S. Infantry "Hell Fighters" Band the first black big-band ever recorded. Is this surprising to you, given the lyrics of the song? Set up a research project that will allow you to study this band, its music, and the historical context in which it played.

11. Mainstream newspaper accounts of the Ocoee massacre are very different from the accounts by Zora Neale Hurston. Study these accounts and analyze the nature of the differences. Does your research help you draw any conclusions about what factors contribute to these differences?

12. In what specific ways was the KKK of the early 20th century, say from 1915 to 1930, different from the Klan of the 1870s? How were these two eras of the Klan different from the forms the KKK takes today?

Program 4
Rosewood Reborn

The first three questions below can be linked together and would be especially interesting for a collaborative study project, done either by a smaller group of students or by people meeting over several sessions in an independent study group. Each study question can be pursued on its own terms, but the sequence of #1, #2 and #3 could also work well as a longer project.

1. Research the Rosewood events on your own, using as wide a variety of sources as you can: historical accounts and records, newspaper or other media coverage, websites, documentaries, etc. Does your sense of the Rosewood incident from these sources differ in any interesting ways from the way that this Rosewood Reborn episode presents it? Do you find that your research leads you to particular issues or sub-topics related to Rosewood that are not covered in Rosewood Reborn, but that you find interesting? On what topics might you set up further research projects based on your study of Rosewood?

2. Compare the Race With History documentary Rosewood Reborn with John Singleton's movie Rosewood. Analyze any interesting similarities and differences in these two productions. Whose point of view takes center stage in each? What impressions of American society emerge in each? Which events are emphasized in each, and how do the production choices made in each impact your sense of the actual historical events that took place in Rosewood?

3. Based upon your own research and ideas you have gleaned from the comparative analysis in the two questions above, how might you or your group want to present the events if you had the chance to make a documentary or creative production, either in radio or film? What people, events, ideas, themes and issues would you focus on, and why?

4. As this episode demonstrates, whites who attacked African American communities like Rosewood often specifically targeted black businesses and merchants. In many cases, racial and economic animosity seemed very closely linked. Not only were black property owners and business people often targeted for terrorizing or murder, but rioters often appropriated what was left of their property after forcing the entire African American community to flee. Research this apparent link between race riots and economic gain for whites in the Rosewood incident or other race riots in U.S. history. To what degree do some of these incidents seem partly to involve white desires to impede black economic success or even directly "loot" that community for its assets? What factors appear to be at work in white perceptions of their own economic status, as these are related to their conduct toward blacks?

5. Amnesia is a psychological term that the Race With History project uses as part of the concept historical amnesia: i.e. the broader phenomenon of "collective forgetting". Construct a research project in which you investigate the term amnesia as it is used in psychology. What does the term mean when used by psychologists or physicians? When the word becomes part of the phrase historical amnesia, what sorts of meanings from the psychological definition transfer to this more sociological term? Based on your research, what seem to be the benefits and drawbacks of using a psychological term like this to talk about history?

6. Rosewood Reborn chronicles the way a false rape allegation against a black man sparked a full-scale race riot. As the entire *Between Civil War and Civil Rights* series shows, white fears about black male sexuality have been repeatedly used to justify horrific violence against African American men, women and children. In 1955, Chicago teenager Emmett Till was murdered by white supremacists while visiting his family in Mississippi, allegedly for the "crime" of flirting verbally with a white woman in a local grocery store. Research the Emmett Till murder, the subsequent trial of the murderers, and the ways that a range of commentators and activists responded to this incident.

7. There are several national projects currently underway that aim to document the history of lynching in America. Go find some of these projects, their websites, and if possible get access to their archives of photos and documents. How is the topic of lynching currently portrayed on these websites, in photography exhibits, or in multi-media productions? Can you identify any underlying points that these projects seem to be trying to make to viewers and audiences today?

Program 5
American as Apple Pie: When Terror Lost in America

1. During the 1940s and early 1950s there were significant alliances between labor unions and racial minorities. Why did such alliances emerge during this period? Why did the alliance seem important to various participants? What sources can you find to help you explore a range of perspectives on this?

   At other times in U.S. history, racial conflict or we might say racial non-alliance was the norm within the American labor movement. Try researching another time in this country's history where racial cooperation was rare or nonexistent in labor organizing. What historical factors have been most influential on racial dynamics in U.S. labor history?

2. At the same time that the United States was so hostile to the "foreign ideology" of communism, American civil rights activists were able to effectively sue international forums to press the U.S. government for change at home. Investigate some of the ways that activists put U.S. race relations onto an international stage. What were the results of these efforts? Do you see any similar efforts today to internationalize U.S. human rights issues?

3. Research international human rights laws that emerged out of the United Nations following World War II. Would there have been any legal grounds for United Nations human rights intervention in the United States to assist African American citizens during the "American apartheid" of the 1940s and 1950s?

4. The racial violence of this time was serious but less lethal in terms of numbers of victims than the large-scale massacres of 18651925. What can you find through further study that might allow you to explain why this was so?

5. Near the end of this program, Thurgood Marshall argues that civil rights activists "should have sat down and planned: the other side planned all the delaying tactics they could think of and so they took the initiative and we ended up blocking their blocking tactics." Do some further research into the strategies and activities of civil rights organizers during this period. Do you agree with Marshall's assessment?

6. Research the life, thought and social activism of any of the following people, some of whom are mentioned in this episode:

   Paul Robeson

   Thurgood Marshall

   Esther Jackson

   James Jackson

   W.E.B. DuBois

   A. Philip Randolph

   Mary McCloud Bethune

   Stetson Kennedy

   Albert Einstein

   Jack Greenberg

Program 6
Media and Myths

As the narrator states in the opening of this episode: "One of the oldest clichés in the news business is: The first casualty when war comes is truth. Such was the case after the War Between the States in the defeated South." Do your own research into the U.S. press after the Civil War. What journalistic issues emerge as most important in that time? Do you see evidence of truth becoming a casualty in the post-war period?

2. Do you think that "truth" has been a casualty in media coverage of more recent wars? How can you determine the relative accuracy of media during wartime? In what ways do you attempt to get news and information when the United States is at war? How do you assess whether you are getting a full enough picture to make judgments about the war and the way it is being conducted?

3. Take a look at textbooks or "how-to" books that are being used to teach reporting to aspiring journalists. How is the issue of objectivity dealt with in these current professional books? Do you think there is continuity between the principles you see outlined in the textbooks and the practices of journalism that you observe in today's media? For additional comparative study, find textbooks from earlier years, such as from the 1920s through the 1940s, and analyze any similarities or differences in how topics like objectivity are handled.

4. In a media environment where business concerns often trump journalistic principles, corporate concern about lawsuits can derail projects involving rigorous investigative reporting on economic and political topics. How important is an active and investigative press, do you think? Can you think of recent investigative stories that revealed important facts that challenged the statements or actions of politicians, corporations, organizations or private citizens? Could these stories have been told without investigative reporting? Review the coverage and reporting done for a specific investigative story: what information did reporters uncover that required more assertive investigation? Are there stories in your area that seem ideally suited for more rigorous investigative reporting than they are getting? If so, construct a set of research tasks and questions that you think should be pursued to investigate the story.

5. If you have access to newspaper collections, either as copies in the library or in a microfiche or electronic archive, choose a particular newspaper to work with. Analyze the ways that this paper covered race-related topics during whichever of these time periods are available to you:

   1865–1877

   1876–1890

   1890–1918

   1915–1930

   1930–1939

   1940–1954

6. The African American press has a long and interesting history in the United States, starting in 1827 with the first black newspaper, Freedom's Journal, and continuing today with many publications. Construct a research project that allows you to study and analyze the black press from any historical period of interest to you. What are the key black-owned and operated publications and/or media outlets of the period? Who are the key journalists and publishers?

Based on your research, how would you analyze the African American press within the U.S. context?

7. Take a closer look at the media coverage of the Wilmington events of 1898. Does it appear that race was a factor in the ways these events were covered by different journalists or newspapers? What data or content are you using to draw your conclusions? Journalism has been called the "first draft of history". Does press coverage of the Wilmington events support the validity of that idea? What kinds of critical questions is it important to ask about journalism as a historical source for information?
8. Research the history of the partisan press in the United States. What are some current examples of unapologetically partisan media, particularly media that covers news and current events? Based on your research, what is your assessment of the relative benefits and risks of a partisan press? Be sure to clarify who benefits, and who takes risks.

Resources

Timeline

We've included this timeline to offer historical context and a sense of the chronology for events and years covered by *Between Civil War and Civil Rights*. Timelines are themselves a form of story-telling, and, as you'll see, this one reflects a certain aspect of events covered in our documentary series and also events related to the overall Race With History project themes. One collaborative project that may interest you, either in the classroom or in other contexts in which you may be using this Discussion Guide, is to work as a group to propose additions and deletions to our timeline. In other words, if people in your group get to pick and choose which events and dates to highlight, what would you choose? Are there any interesting patterns of agreement and disagreement among you, and if so, what do these patterns tell you about how people in your group think about the past, and maybe more important, what do these agreements and disagreements tell you about how you are thinking about the present, and the future?

Between Civil War and Civil Rights (1865–1955) Timeline

1861–1865	Civil War
1863	Emancipation Proclamation
1863	Draft riots in New York City
1865	Civil War ends
	13th Amendment ends slavery
	"40 acres and a mule" promised to newly freed former slaves
	Freedmen's Bureau founded
	Union Leagues organize blacks in the South; northern teachers and missionaries head South
1866	First meeting of Ku Klux Klan
	Whites riot against free blacks in New Orleans
	Reconstruction Era begins: in response to the legal end of slavery, many southern states pass "black codes" to restrict African American rights; some states revise their constitutions to protect white supremacy.
	First Civil Rights Bill passed by Congress
	Whites riot against free blacks in Memphis
1867	"Radical Reconstruction" begins: Congress passes first Reconstruction Act.
1868	14th Amendment ratified (equal citizenship, and equal rights for all born in the United States, except American Indian peoples)
	Attempt to impeach southerner Andrew Johnson fails; General Ulysses S. Grant elected president
1869	Under scrutiny and political pressure, KKK declares itself "disbanded"
1870	15th Amendment: suffrage for all male U.S. citizens
1869–1872	Freedmen's Bureau defunded, disbanded
1871	Congress holds hearings about KKK in response to its continued activity
	Grant's administration suspends habeas corpus in South Carolina; suppresses Ku Klux Klan with dragnets by U.S. 7th Cavalry and trials

1873	"Slaughterhouse" Supreme Court case redefines the 14th Amendment, restricts protections for black citizens at state level
1873–1876	Upsurge in organized white violence against free blacks
	–1873 Colfax, Louisiana killing of black militiamen
	–1876 Presidential election leads to widespread white violence and intimidation aimed at southern black communities
1877	"Compromise of 1877" puts an end to Federal Reconstruction
	Federal troops in the South withdraw to their camps; 7th Cavalry sent west to fight American Indian peoples defeated at the battle of Little Big Horn
	As federal troops withdraw, South sees emergence of Jim Crow segregation practices, eventually encoded as Jim Crow laws
1877–1915	KKK-type practices increasingly carried out by wide range of "ordinary citizens" and police, in "community actions"
1870s–1890s	First major black migration from the South to cities in the North
	Increasing immigration to U.S.
	West Coast anti-Asian riots and anti-immigration legislation
	Rise of populist alliance of blacks and whites
	The "lynch law era": massive increases in lynching nationwide, increasingly aimed at blacks, often carried out by whole communities as public events with large-scale publicity, refreshments and "souvenirs"
	Increase in black disenfranchisement and formalization of Jim Crow laws
	Industrialization, labor wars, and "lily-white" unionism
	Community-building among blacks
	Rise of sharecropping, peonage and forced chain-gang labor
1892	People's Grocery lynching in Memphis
	Ida B. Wells' Free Speech newspaper is closed
	Wells embarks on international crusade against lynching
1895	Booker T. Washington's controversial "Atlanta Compromise" speech at the Atlanta Exposition
1896	Plessy v Ferguson: Supreme Court decision affirms constitutionality of "separate but equal"

1898	Wilmington, North Carolina black community attacked by white mobs, resulting in injuries, deaths, loss of property and expulsion of black residents; Wilmington becomes a majority white city
	'Grandfather clause' and other black disenfranchisement legislation takes effect in North Carolina and the upper South
	–1971 Racial violence erupts in Wilmington
	"Wilmington 10" case
	–1998 1898 Centennial Foundation created
1901	Booker T. Washington's Up From Slavery published
1903	W.E.B. DuBois' *The Souls of Black Folk* published (includes a sharp challenge to Booker T. Washington)
1902 –1905	Thomas Dixon's best-selling racist novels published:
	—*The Leopard's Spots* and *The Clansman*
	—Stage adaptations of *The Clansman* enjoy successful tours nationwide
1905	Initial meetings of Niagara movement, including W.E.B. DuBois and other black activists
1906	Atlanta race riot
	Brownsville riot dozens of black soldiers are court-martialed in Texas for retaliating against racist police brutality.
1909	Race riot in Springfield, Illinois
1909–1910	Founding of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), an interracial organization inspired by the Niagara movement
1910	W.E.B. DuBois becomes editor of NAACP's publications; launches *The Crisis* magazine
1912	Woodrow Wilson becomes the first southerner since the Civil War to be elected president
	Wilson segregates federal government offices and patronage
1914–1919	Black nationalist Marcus Garvey starts united Negro Improvement Association (UNIA) in Jamaica, then expands to United States
1915	Ku Klux Klan "reborn" (anti-black, anti-Jewish, anti-Catholic, anti-immigrant, anti-union)
	D.W. Griffith's Birth of a Nation, a pro-Klan film based on Thomas Dixon's The Clansman, released to wide distribution and popular acclaim
1917	United States joins World War I

	Black soldiers allowed to fight only with the French army
	Race riot in East Saint Louis and other locations, building to an "era of race riots"
	A. Philip Randolph publishes The Messenger magazine
1918	World War I ends
1919	The "Red Summer" of 1919: hundreds of radicals are seized in sweeping raids and deported without trial
	White riots against black community in Chicago
	White riots in Elaine, Arkansas
	Southern "Council on Interracial Cooperation" founded to reduce violence against blacks
1920s–1930s	Black cultural expression visible to increasingly wider audiences: the Harlem Renaissance and the Chicago Renaissance
	Harvard and other northern educational institutions segregate
1920	Suffrage extended to female U.S. citizens
	Presidential election: widespread intimidation of black voters
	Ocoee, Florida massacre
1921	Tulsa, Oklahoma massacre
	Congressional Census Committee ignores complaints about racist violence in recent election
1922	NAACP-sponsored federal anti-lynching law fails
1923	Rosewood, Florida massacre
	–1983 TV show "60 Minutes" airs documentary on Rosewood
	–1992 First legal case for survivors initiated
	–1994 Restitution bill for Rosewood survivors passed
1929	Claude Bowers publishes The Tragic Era, a popular history sympathetic to southern white supremacist perspectives on Reconstruction
	Stock-market crashes and Great Depression begins
1931	Conflict between the Communist Party and NAACP over who will represent the defendants in the Scottsboro case, in which nine black teenagers were wrongly convicted of rape
1932	Franklin D. Roosevelt elected president, promises a "New Deal". Many black voters shift support to Democratic Party, but while

	some black citizens benefit from New Deal programs, discrimination against blacks also continues in New Deal policy
	National Negro Congress
1937	A. Philip Randolph successfully organizes Pullman porters as first black national labor union; gains contract with railroads
	Southern Negro Youth Congress
1939	Film Gone With the Wind opens
1941–1945	United States fights in World War II; the military remains segregated
1940s	Great Migration: millions of African Americans move from Southern states to the North
	Civil Rights movement focuses on labor issues
1941	A. Philip Randolph and others plan first "March on Washington". In order to stop the march, FDR offers to form a "Fair Practices Committee" to ensure equality of employment in defense industries and government
1943	242 incidents involving racial clashes, in 47 American cities
	Detroit race riot
1944	Internal Revenue Service action against the KKK leads to Klan officially "disbanding"
1945	US Congress votes to make "House Committee on Un-American Activities" (HUAC) a permanent committee
1946	Revival of KKK begins
	White attacks on returning black servicemen accelerate
	General upsurge in anti-black violence
	"Crusade Against Lynching" launched by Paul Robeson, W.E.B. DuBois and many other activists
	President Truman appoints Presidential Commission on Civil Rights
1948	Truman signs order to desegregate the military
1949	Groveland, Florida incident
	Peekskill, New York incident
1951	"Florida terror" (Miami, Orlando)
1954	Supreme Court ruling on Brown v Board of Education
1955	Murder of Emmett Till
1955–1956	Montgomery bus boycott

Bibliography

Below you will find a good range of historical works, social studies, literature and other sources that will help you continue to study the issues and events that are covered in *Between Civil War and Civil Rights*. We have also included books written by many of the scholars and journalists interviewed in the programs, as well as other materials used for the production of these documentaries.

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