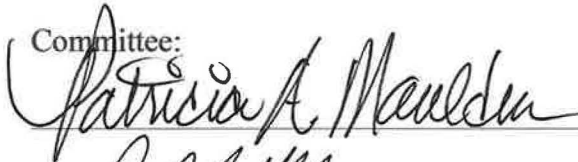LAMBS OF GOD: THE UNTOLD STORY OF AFRICAN AMERICAN CHILDREN
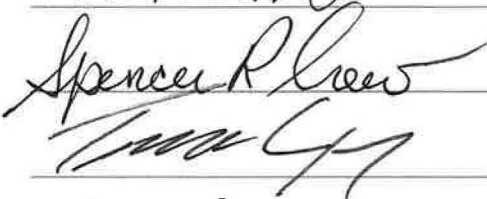WHO DESEGREGATED CATHOLIC SCHOOLS IN NEW ORLEANS

by

Terri A. Dickerson
A Dissertation
Submitted to the
Graduate Faculty
of
George Mason University
in Partial Fulfillment of
The Requirements for the Degree
of
Doctor of Philosophy
Conflict Analysis and Resolution

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Date: _13 November 2017_ Fall Semester 2017
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Lambs of God: The Untold Story of African American Children Who Desegregated Catholic Schools in New Orleans

A Dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy at George Mason University

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Dedication

For Kevin to whom I casually mentioned that I would like to conduct this research. He encouraged me to do it, and has been with me every step of the way, always willing to let me test my plans and theories against his brilliant mind. Without his love, optimism and support, this work would not have been accomplished.

Acknowledgements

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Abstract

LAMBS OF GOD: THE UNTOLD STORY OF AFRICAN AMERICAN CHILDREN WHO DESEGREGATED CATHOLIC SCHOOLS IN NEW ORLEANS

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George Mason University, 2017

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This project explores the heretofore-untold experiences of, and roles undertaken by elementary-aged African American students in desegregating Catholic schools in New Orleans. In so doing, these, the youngest students, were agents in pushing the institution in a different direction, away from separation and exclusion, and toward an undivided, universal Church, the very meaning of the word "catholic." This work explains what happened after the media and protestors left, and focuses on how the students navigated the space to inaugurate a new era of equality. Bringing these stories into view transforms the way young students are seen in the historical story of the civil rights movement generally and Catholic school desegregation specifically. This research centers the desegregation actions and experiences of young African American Catholic school students in the transformation from segregated to integrated.

Chapter One:
Introduction

Most people express shock when they learn that the American Catholic Church

actively participated not only in slavery, but also the Southern custom of racial

segregation of its institutions well into the 1960s and 1970s. Catholics operated a

segregated school system; in New Orleans, the public schools even desegregated before

the Catholic system. [1] As explored in the dissertation, Catholic policies on segregation of

its African American [2] members were rooted primarily in social custom, practicality, and

neglect, not theological doctrine or Catholicism itself.

The goal of this research was to examine Catholic school desegregation from the

point of view of Black students who experienced it. The study also probed into whether

and to what extent they collectively experienced cultural trauma because of their role in

desegregation. The dominant narrative, crafted by biographers and Catholic Church

archivers, centers the experiences of White Catholic leaders who supported or opposed

desegregation. This research finds that the narrative is one-sided with large missing

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[1] *Desegregation* is the removal of barriers that may be policies, practices, laws customs, and so forth, which isolate groups based on race. In education, the barriers are ones which separate students of different races from attending the same school. Integration is a concept involving social inclusion, thus beyond mere desegregation, it is achieved when the school climate is respectful, inclusive, and accepting of all races. An integrated school is also desegregated, but a desegregated school is not necessarily integrated. See Raffel.

[2] The dissertation uses the term African American and Black interchangeably. Furthermore, since race is the subject and emphasis of the work, the terms Black and White are capitalized. Doing so is a sign of respect for both races embodied in the stories covered by the work. Capitalization highlights their importance in this project.

components. The result is an altered account that reformed reputations of some actors, muted the voices of significant others and, as such, is similarly traumatized. This research also tested a new category of conflict party, the sacrificial lamb. This category will be useful in future analyses of disputes in which a stakeholder is unsuspectingly deployed into a conflict situation by trusted others as a strategy to achieve a greater good. This research showed the concept's utility for explaining the Black Catholic school desegregationist experience, and potentially others in which unsuspecting parties are sent to conflict zones and, by their ordinary presence and behavior, are expected to achieve an outcome. The Catholic school desegregation conflict is situated within models developed by Johan Galtung (1969) that he used to define conflict violence and peace. The study involved agency, and the will and volition of African American Catholic parents to obtain quality, accessible education for their children.

Chapter one establishes a framework by relating the researcher's first-hand experiences as an individual who desegregated a Catholic school in New Orleans. The latter part of this chapter is presented in first person voice to make manifest the researcher's position in the study as one who experienced desegregation, and to highlight the narrative method that forms the foundation of the research; the remainder of the dissertation is in third person voice. This study partly relied on the first-hand recounting of stories by individuals who lived the experience of desegregation. In doing so, it exposes their heretofore-unheard voices.

In 1962, the researcher was among African American students who were the first to enter Catholic schools that had previously barred their enrollment due to their race.

That year, the church changed its enrollment policy; however, did little to help change the hearts and minds of many of its students, teachers, parents, and surrounding community members who were fearful of what integration would bring.

Chapter two reviews literature on desegregation's antecedents. It elaborates on key relevant topics, such as historical racial separation in the Catholic Church, in New Orleans, and in society. That chapter describes the development of an African American religious worldview. It also provides an overview of the integration resistance movement to establish the context within which Catholic school desegregation occurred. Previous scholarly work has focused on experiences of children who desegregated public school spaces, which the chapter explores. With this established, the chapter describes the use of theories that the researcher used to deconstruct student experiences. The researcher argues that collective axiology, with its focus on values and morals, represents a useful theory for analyzing how segregationist ideology spread. In exploring the roots and components of segregationist philosophy, this work gives contour and dimension to the backdrop against which desegregation unfolded.

Chapter three outlines the project design and methodologies that are utilized to conduct the research, as well as describes documents, photographs, artifacts, and other sources of data employed in this study. The chapter shows the protocol that the researcher followed for conducting interviews of people who experienced Catholic school desegregation in New Orleans, and how their experiences were used in the study. It discusses grounded theory as an approach to understanding situations in which individuals find themselves party to a conflict they did not know existed, with their

comfort or safety sacrificed in the interest of achieving a greater good. As will be shown, the experiences of African American students is an under-studied theme in the Catholic Church context; hence, grounded theory is an apt choice for its examination. The chapter also describes the researcher's approach for studying the actions taken by other similar urban dioceses (i.e., Miami and the coalition embodied by Savannah, Charleston, and Atlanta) in the south for transforming spaces from segregated to integrated. The researcher describes her examination of literature as a means of identifying approaches that were more successful for welcoming previously marginalized members. The chapter explains the use of process tracing to dissect these case studies and break down actions and outcomes of these other dioceses, as well as draw comparisons between locations.

The researcher states the intention to probe three specific areas that are useful to the study of conflict resolution. Her first query was into what Black students who desegregated Catholic schools experienced as actors charged to bring about an integrated, unitary environment. Second, New Orleans Catholic leadership vacillated and delayed as tension and incidents of intimidation and violence increased. The researcher examined literature to obtain detail on approaches that were used by other dioceses for including previously marginalized Black members. Third, the study explores what bearing (if any) the integration resistance movement had on African American children attending Catholic schools. Throughout, this work asks what can be learned from the Catholic Church's use of children as desegregation instruments.

Chapter four focuses on the formation and actions of the resistance movement that garnered support and affected the landscape upon which Catholic school desegregation

transpired. Chapter five sumarizes and analyzes the results of data collected from interviews, and uses grounded theory to distill the experiences of Black children who desegregated Catholic schools into cogent concepts. Chapter six offers details on strategies undertaken within other dioceses; their approaches were more action-oriented and successful for mitigating violence compared with the laissez-faire posture that the New Orleans Catholic Church adopted. Finally, Chapter seven presents the study's conclusions and implications of the research. The chapter includes how the work relates currently and how the framework, findings, and project design can potentially open the aperture for scholars working on race, education, and multiculturalism more generally, or studying groups of people who are undergoing experiences involving sweeping social change.

O My God

Until I was 5 years old and entered first grade, I did not know that I was Black. I knew that I was a girl, a daughter, a sister, a New Orleanian, a good reader, and a Catholic. In five years, the matter of my race had not been brought to my attention. However, I was on an unstoppable trajectory toward discovering it in a public, traumatizing manner.

I was not alone in my knowledge gap. My four sisters did not know that they were members of a race, nor did any of my friends. Of course, we noticed variation between human beings in stature, body type, hair color and style, even skin attributes such as freckles, moles, and tone. I realized that the hue of my skin was lighter compared with some people's and deeper compared with others'. We were children growing up in New

Orleans' seventh ward in the 1960s who, led by our parents, constantly encountered Black and White residents out on the streets as we navigated a city that, under law, operated dual facilities for just about everything based on race. As children, no one had ever told us that we were of the Black race or that discursive assumptions prevailed in society about our fitness and capability. We were oblivious to the racial marker that society had placed on us.

I was born at segregated Flint-Goodridge Hospital on Louisiana Avenue, which since the late 1800s had served African American patients. It was affiliated with Dillard, a college established for Black students because they could not attend other colleges (The History of Flint-Goodridge, 1969). My parents met while earning degrees at Xavier, the college for Black Catholics, because they were not admissible across town at Loyola. Despite my mother's Master's degree and lifelong practice of Catholicism, she could not teach White children in the Catholic schools; instead, she became a second grade teacher at McDonough 38, a public school for Black children.

Even the Federal government was segregated. When my father served his country in World War II, he was a member of the "colored" troops, service members who pushed for freedoms even they could not enjoy at home in the United States. Later as a civilian sorting mail for the U.S. Post Office, workers in his section all were Black, not by coincidence or their own choosing but by design. My bi-racial grandfather fell ill and could not communicate as he was rushed to the "White patients only" hospital based on his light-skinned affect; his condition deteriorated as he was shuttled away after administrators examined his identification and discovered he was Black. African

Americans were gaining affluence and purchasing automobiles, but my family never drove out of town without first consulting the *The Negro Motorist Green Book,* an annual guide published specifically so that African American families who traveled by car could find restaurants, lodging, and public facilities that would serve us without humiliation or risk of danger.

In 1960s New Orleans, Blacks and Whites, by law and custom, occupied separate spaces for nearly everything. White Americans rode the roller coaster and saw concerts at privately-owned Pontchartrain Beach, as Black Americans visited amusements at the smaller, scaled-down Lincoln Beach run by the levee board. On Sundays, my family drove past St. Gabriel the Archangel, a Catholic Church in Gentilly Woods, and continued across town to worship at Corpus Cristi, a church established in downtown New Orleans for Black Catholics. We swam at pools, ate at restaurants, visited theaters, and shopped at stores based on whether Black patrons could be served. When we used public transit, we sat behind a placard that read, "Colored." When residents filled the streets to celebrate Mardi Gras, the krewes that staged parades were segregated based on race. Black people lived, attended school, worked, and enjoyed entertainment in designated spaces. Out on the streets or in retail establishments that did not post "Whites Only" signs, the races encountered each other, but even in those places, the entrances, seating, or waiting areas were segregated. I still remember feeling confused after receiving an admonishment from a White woman when I approached a water fountain inside Schwegmanns grocery store over which was posted a sign stating "For White Patrons Only."

Until 1962, my sisters and I could not attend St. Gabriel the Archangel Catholic

school, which was nestled in the White neighborhood that abutted ours. The Black

neighborhood of my youth was separated from the White one by a physical boundary, a

drainage canal. Neither St. Gabriel nor any of the other all-White Catholic schools

accepted Black students. Consequently my sister, who was 11 months older than I,

traveled downtown daily so that she could attend an all-Black Catholic school, St. Peter

Claver. I spent my Kindergarten year at a public school for Black children in my

neighborhood, Mary D. Coghill. Although small, with inferior equipment and supplies

compared with the all-White institutions, Black schools, such as Coghill, and churches,

such as Corpus Cristi, were centers of spiritual nurturing and social development for the

Black community.

Maintaining and navigating dual systems in every sector of society to

accommodate separateness was difficult, costly, inconvenient, and humiliating, but it was

what constituted "normal." Sectors of society all were separated by race, including

schools, churches, swimming pools, restrooms, waiting areas, building entrances,

restaurants, employment, and neighborhoods. I had no idea about the conflicts that had

been produced out of this system, which had been taking shape in New Orleans Catholic

circles for decades, and the one that was about to crest.

My mother informed me that I would be leaving Coghill and attending a Catholic

school when the academic year commenced in September 1962. I did not care for the

news. I liked the school that I was attending and lamented the prospect of leaving the

friends and teachers at Coghill. I was comfortable, and had even been selected as a

member of the school "court," a tradition of identifying a "king" and "queen" from each grade, typically practiced in schools across New Orleans. However, the decision was made, and there was no point arguing with my mother. A teacher herself, she knew where I would get my best education.

On September 4, 1962, five Black students and I entered the first grade at St. Gabriel the Archangel on the first day of Catholic school desegregation. In that moment, my life changed. Desegregation meant I could obtain a better education. However, many in the Catholic community were not ready for people who, to their minds, were different and inferior.

I sensed something important was going on when my father, who was normally working, drove us to school. He parked around the corner from our destination, and we walked up the block toward the school. As we turned the corner, I could see why. There was no place to park closer because a gauntlet of angry parents and White community members were gathered in front of the school. As we approached, people in the crowd taunted and disparaged the Black students, and continued while we walked up the long sidewalk to enter the school. Some shouted at us while policemen stood nearby; some were praying the rosary together. One woman cried out in a pleading voice, "Don't let them in!" Though ominous and frightening to see so many angry people, I could not imagine the reason for their hostility.

I did not know it, but throughout the city, other children in my situation were also experiencing bruising insults, as they passed through crowds to integrate Catholic schools. News reporters were embedded in the crowds, and for the next several days, they

offered updates. "Pickets Stand at Plaquemines School" was a headline in the local newspaper, illustrated by a photo of parents holding signs saying, "We Want to Keep Our Schools White." One of the parish's greatest fears was realized when 125 seats at my school were empty; White families kept their children at home rather than subject them to an integrated setting (St. Gabriel the Archangel Church, 1980). At other schools, White students similarly withdrew, some to hold out for a policy reversal, and others to attend (non-Catholic) private schools and never return (Nolan, 2010).

Under "gradualism," integration started with the lower grades, Kindergarten and first. The New Orleans diocese assumed that the upper grade White students were too acculturated to segregation to accept Black students, so grades two through eight remained all White (Manning & Rogers, 2002; St. Gabriel the Archangel Church, 1980). Inside the school, some of the students made exaggerated gestures by leaning, stepping, or running away when I passed them to indicate their fright at the prospect of possibly touching me. It began to dawn on me that the angry people outside of the school, and many of the people inside, considered me different, and unfit to be among them. When teachers directed us to pair up and walk hand-in-hand, I could not do so because none of the White students wanted to touch me. During lunch, the group of students at my table pilloried me with insults, ridiculing my hair, lips, and skin, as well as castigating me for deigning to believe that I could attend *their* school. One girl declared to the others that I must be a monkey, and the rest of the table erupted in laughter.

I was confused when the teachers witnessed such behavior, but did nothing to stop it. This was not the teacher behavior I had experienced the year before at Cohgill;

children would have been punished for treating another student derisively. Moreover, as a child, I was accustomed to relying on the adults in charge to protect me. These new experiences were letting me know that it would be difficult to sort out who was trustworthy or where I was safe. The ground on which we stood no longer felt safe because everything on which we had based our sense of security shifted.

Later in life, it occurred to me that the children were only five or six years old, and similar to myself, they were too young to understand segregationist ideologies that dictated racial separation. I realized that adults in their lives must have charged them with the duty of making the Black students so uncomfortable that we would disenroll. Those tactics were effective at Our Lady of Good Harbor about which the headlines on the second day of desegregation read, "Negro Children Fail to Appear." There, the Black students could not stand the threats and intimidation, and their parents withdrew them from the school. With the parents unwilling to integrate, Our Lady of Good Harbor closed; one year later, segregationists threatned to bomb the school rather than allow it to reopen with Black students in attendance and at midnight on the anniversary of Catholic school desegregation, the school building was bombed (Nolan, 2010).

The first year, anyone looking at the playground could not declare it an integrated setting; children played exclusively in self-segregated groups. Teachers seemed unprepared, and at times impervious to the opportunity to help the children learn about injustice and social change. I was fortunate to be assigned to Sr. Helene Marie as my teacher that first year because she at least appeared neutral. Other lay and religious teachers ignored Black students or meted out punishments disproportionately for similar

behavior. In later grades, I would experience some who were downright cruel and insinuated that the Black students should not have been allowed into the school, and made insensitive remarks about how odd it was to encounter children of our race who could perform well. Others graded the Black students more harshly. Though we were only young children, neighborhood members taunted, threatened, and harassed us using profanity and hurling objects and racial epithets as we passed their houses on our way to or from school (see chapter five).

No template existed for how to accomplish desegregation, and from the moment we entered the school, we were the first Black students to do everything. We were the first to join extra-curricular activities, cross racial lines, prepare for an interracial First Communion ceremony, learn side-by-side with White children, and so on. Without a blueprint, almost every setting presented new academic, administrative, and social tests. Would we be able to join the segregated Girl Scout troop that met in the building after school? How would we take class field trips when many New Orleans locations remained segregated? Would anyone offer security when community members harassed us for walking through all-White neighborhoods to get to school? How were we supposed to succeed with teachers who brought their prejudices to the classroom and resented having to teach us?

When the American Catholic Church participated in slavery and its progeny of racial segregation, it enaged in what Galtung's (1969) conflict model categorized as structural violence. A violent structure exists when, because of a stratified society, some groups have better access to opportunities, resources, and services compared with others.

The unequal advantage available to members is imbued in the society's economic, social, and political systems.

In the United States, enduring effects of slavery and historical discrimination led to traditions, customs, and unequal laws that fueled structural violence and privileged White members of society over Black members. U.S. laws which forbade African Americans from obtaining education, owning property, holding public office, voting, and so on, exemplified the structural violence that permeated society and had a great bearing on the Catholic school desegregation conflict.

Cultural violence refers to the widespread attitudes and beliefs of inferiority and superiority based on personal characteristics of members (e.g., race, gender, religion, class, etc.). Permeated throughout society, many members of the Catholic Church subscribed to these beliefs, which shaped their worldviews of African Americans. Assumptions of racial inferiority were the norm, especially in the South; McMillan (1994) is among others who noted that the expected deference of Black people and preference for spaces separated based on race was, and for many is still considered the "Southern way of life" (1994).

Direct violence is an outward manifestation of structural and cultural violence. In the instance of Catholic school desegregation, direct violence entailed harassment, threats, picketing, racial name-calling, physical acts, verbal abuse, a cross burning, and even a Catholic school bombing. Galtung (1969) also considered the separation of people from their basic needs of life and threats of force as forms of direct violence. As shown in

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Table 1, understanding structural, cultural, and direct violence is imperative to analyzing

this conflict, as is their interplay.

Table 1

Application to Catholic School Desegregation

How forms of violence interact	Application to Catholic School Desegregation
Structural violence legitimizes cultural violence	Discrimination policies in the United States supported and gave legitimacy to negative assumptions that Black people were inferior
Direct violence justifies structural violence	Name-calling and physical attacks against Black members (direct violence) reinforced offered justification to the Church and society that they had been correct in adopting policies that separated the races (structural violence).
Cultural violence legitimizes structural violence.	Negative beliefs about African Americans made it difficult to reverse laws/policies that segregated them. Moreover, many people assumed it was because African Americans were inferior and deserved less that they had fewer resources.
Structural and cultural violence create conditions for direct violence.	Discriminatory policies and assumptions that Black people were inferior and unfit to be educated with White children supported verbal and physical attacks against them when they entered previously segregated spaces.
Direct violence can be used as a tool to maintain structural violence.	Attacking students was a tool to induce them retreat so that segregation policies would endure.
Cultural violence supports and legitimizes structural and direct violence.	Negative beliefs about Black people supported policies that segregated them from the rest of society, and attacks on them if they tried to challenge the policies.

Note. Johann Galtung's (1969) violence model applied to Catholic school desegregation.

This dissertation is supported by Galtung's (1990; Galtung & Hoivik, 1971)

premise that direct violence cannot be eradicated without eliminating its roots of

structural and cultural violence. Galtung (1990) theorized that the source of direct

violence is structural and cultural violence. Catholic leaders futilely focused on avoiding

protests and outward violence without working to eliminate its roots of unfair laws, and discursive assumptions. Instead of reacting to picketers and visible forms of harassment as a primary strategy, the Catholic Church in New Orleans could have attended to undoing their exclusionary policies and conducting activities that helped White members to critically consider their beliefs about the subordination of Black members.

This research showed that the New Orleans church leader, Archbishop Joseph Rummel, first announced an intention to end segregation in 1956; however, when direct violence resulted, the church (led by him) did not prepare their communities for change (Baker, 1968; Fairclough, 1995). Rummel's main tool was the issuance of Pastoral[3] letters asking his congregation to accept desegregation. The letters showed a recognition of the presence of violent structures and cultures, but were unaccompanied by follow-up actions that would have transitioned New Orleans congregations to reform. Instead, acceding to direct violence by segregationists, Archbishop Rummel repeatedly reversed and delayed his decision to desegregate. His vacillation was based on his conclusion that threats, pickets, and other forms of direct violence were signals that his congregations were not ready (Fairclough, 1995; Anderson, 2005). In allowing spaces to remain segregated, Catholics missed an opportunity to lead other sectors in New Orleans and elsewhere. Church leadership used the fact that their members were conditioned to segregation (cultural violence) to justify continuing the practice (structural violence), when they could have worked to change policies and break down stereotypes. Their

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[3] The Pastoral letter is a communication penned by the bishop or leader of a Catholic geographical area, which reprobates, instructs, or advises the clergy and laity in particular circumstances (ex: a national tragedy) or in connection with Catholic observances (ex: requirements for fasting during Lent). See Nolan.

inaction fortified the idea that Black members were subordinate and deserved the treatment they were receiving, supporting the continuance of protesting and harassment. Galtung's (1969) model shows that transforming conflict and achieving peace requires the correction of unjust systems. Church leaders did not apply the interrelation between these types of violence to understanding and resolving the conflict.

African American Catholic students who desegregated Catholic schools also represent a study in agency. Galtung (1969, 2004) included a lack of human agency in the definition of structural violence. Here, lack of agency is the result of unbalanced distribution of resources. White members of the Catholic Church had access to more and better funded schools near their homes. Black Catholics' ability to exercise will and act on their own volition was greatly hampered by discriminatory policies and negative assumptions. Unconstructive stereotypes abounded in the 1960s, and supported the preservation of laws and policies that relegated African Americans to inferior education by limiting their ability to exercise agency in sending their children to better funded schools near their homes. African Americans also were disadvantaged by the amount of extra energy they were required to expend in order to navigate social, economic and political systems that were divided by race.

The dissertation also adds to the work of Ury (2000) and others who have contributed to the conflict resolution field by classifying conflict parties. This study suggests that a new metaphor can be used to analyze disputants or stakeholders to a conflict. The primary parties to this conflict included (a) Black children who desegregated Catholic schools, (b) segregationists who wanted to keep them out, and (c)

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clerics who were responsible for deciding and implementing church policy. These parties pursued incompatible goals. The Black students were attempting to obtain education at their local schools. The opposition was trying to prevent them through tactics, including stalling, agitating, intimidation, and coercion. Secondary parties included Black and White parents, White students and teachers, and community members. Themes in the African American students' experiences as parties to this conflict form the basis of grounded theory used in this study.

Typical American Catholic institutions recount desegregation of their spaces as a victory without explaining the church's extended participation in racial segregation or what the students endured. A 1980 souvenir book of my school's history offers an apt illustration. The book offers four short paragraphs on the subject of desegregation at St. Gabriel the Archangel. It begins: "For the classes beginning in September, 1962, the school accepted five Black children in Kindergarten and six in first grade. Many other Black children wanted an opportunity to receive a religious education at St. Gabriel's" (St. Gabriel the Archangel Church, 1980, p. 9). Then, despite what the students encountered when they entered the previously segregated spaces, the account focuses on the actions of White parishioners: "On Sunday, Father Marquette commended the St. Gabriel parishioners on their behavior" (St. Gabriel the Archangel Church, 1980, p. 9). Father Marquette's appraisal of the situation ignored my experience of being terrified by the angry knot of people gathered outside of the school or the ridicule from students, insults from teachers, and harassment from community members that the other Black students and I experienced. Reading this retrospective constituted one of my first

realizations that the narrative of Catholic school desegregation had been recast with significant components distorted and missing. Later, I encountered other accounts that similarly extolled the New Orleans Catholic leadership, and minimized or ignored the structural, cultural and direct violence that the Black students had experienced. What I had seen and heard had vanished from church accounts.

In 2010 the local New Orleans newspaper reprinted photos and articles from 1962, reaffirming my memories. One author noted that "The story of the conversations around integration at archdiocesan headquarters on Walmsley Avenue is still not fully told" (Nolan, 2010, para. 2). This study shows that official church archives and biographies on church leaders focused on the Pastoral letters they wrote and ordered read to their congregations. These post-mortems describe the clerics as individuals who steadfastly inaugurated change. The study confirms that African American Catholic children who desegregated schools suffered cultural trauma. For, after the schools physically desegregated, Black students came (collectively) to the realization that they were not part of the accepted school community. What other Black children and I saw, heard, and experienced as students was either glossed over, reconstructed, or absent from official Catholic accounts.

Therefore, this dissertation asks what children who desegregated Catholic schools experienced, and what (if any) strategies the church could have adopted to make the transition more peaceful. What led to this research was disturbing memories and lingering questions about the manner in which Catholic Church officials put children into this perilous situation. The shock of it distressed me at the time, and what I subsequently

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learned – about the church's vacillation when they could have been steadfast, retreat when they could have continued, and inaction when they could have acted robustly to prepare the parish and surrounding community for change – continued to interest me.

This dissertation is as much about the New Orleans Catholic Church's missed opportunity as it is about children as actors sent unsuspectingly into a situation and expected to bring change. The work shows that such actors are not so much resentful of being sent unwittingly to a conflict as they are at the thought of having done so without institutional memory or deep cultural change based on what they sacrificed. Such accounting would represent evidence of institutional advancement from a racialized past and assurance that future groups will not experience the same treatment. While more comprehensive recounting of past sins on the part of the church would have been worthy in itself, remembering the role of Black students who desegregated schools would constitute accountability, which is an important element of Catholic contrition. Including their stories in the official church narrative also would assure African American children that the sacrifices they made for the benefit of Catholicism were not in vain.

Lambs of God

Lambs are prominent in Old Testament sacrificial rituals, as well as in Messianic prophecy. The ancient Israelites received a commandment from God to make a semidiurnal sacrifice to Him of a lamb (*The Holy Bible*, Exodus 29:38-46). The lamb needed to be young and pure as a demonstration to God of the depth of their sorrow for their sins, as well as to represent their sacrifice of a possession of value in order to receive forgiveness. The Israelites were told to select the best and youngest lambs for

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sacrifice, not those that were old, weak, or sickly. Animals were valuable, and the lamb was offered as a demonstration to God of how sorry they were for their sins. In exchange for the lamb, they would receive something much more valuable – favor of God.

In Catholic theology, Jesus is considered the Lamb of God because God, by sending Jesus to dwell among men and show them how to live in peace and love, sacrificed his only son. Once, as the Apostle John saw Jesus approaching, he announced, "Look, the Lamb of God, who takes away the sin of the world" (John 1:29-30). Jesus was human and sinless, thus his blood far superior to that of animals. After he was crucified, Jesus rose from the dead and ascended into heaven proving that those who rejected sin and believed in God also would not die but would achieve everlasting life. "Therefore," the Bible said, Jesus was "the mediator of a new covenant" between man and God (*The Holy Bible*, Hebrews 9:15a).

In no way did my work aim to insinuate that the sacrifices required in Catholic school desegregation equated to Jesus Christ's life, crucifixion, death, and resurrection. This dissertation used the term *Lambs of God* to represent the students who were the youngest and best their community could offer. By the timing of their birth, it could be said that God selected these students to risk danger and rejection in order to take away the sins of the Church, mediate a more just and peaceful future, and restore the favor of God.

Untold Stories of the Civil Rights Movement

Mention of the American civil rights movement evokes images of 1960s-era activism and civil disobedience. Typically bracketed between 1955 and 1968, the movement ended legal discrimination in employment, public accommodations,

education, housing, and other spheres, and also re-enfranchised Black Americans and protected their voting rights. Since then, scholarly and entertainment sectors have offered countless depictions of the construction and attempted destruction of systemic racism in America, as well as where the pursuit of equality stands today. Interest in the scholarly study of the civil rights movement has reached new heights and shows no signs of slowing (Eagles, 2000). Eagles (2000) stated,

> Convention sessions, seminars, and conferences on the civil rights struggle occur with growing frequency. Books, articles, dissertations and theses on the Black freedom struggle proliferate at an amazing rate, and often studies of the movement win major prizes in the historical profession and in the larger publishing community. (p. 817)

Academicians have sought to evaluate how and why the civil rights movement began, as well as what ideas and strategies can be extracted to help make meaning out of present and future struggles (Eagles, 2000). Many works have highlighted lessons that one might apply to persistent racial problems, while other aspects of the movement, such as its events, actors, and outcomes, have yet to be studied.

Eagles (2000) examined civil rights movement research and concluded that historians must access creative new approaches to ensure that its many facets and complexities are understood. A large body of work exists on public school desegregation, prominent actors (e.g., judges, Freedom Riders), and collateral tactics (e.g., massive resistance; Eagles, 2000). Among other areas, Eagles (2000) suggested that private school desegregation warrants more scholarly attention.

Conclusion

The American Catholic Church operated racially segregated schools, and did not abandon its segregationist policies even when the public sector did so. Moreover, church accounts considered the first day of school desegregation as the end of the conflict, with little if any reference to the African American students who undertook the duty to eradicate the Catholic Church's sin of discrimination, and for whom the conflict continued long after the first day of school. The Black students did not expect the cultural and direct violence that they encountered when they entered previously all-White Catholic schools. Their stories substantiate many opportunities through which the institution could have led by example in the nation's march toward equality and helped its members find solutions that promoted peace and understanding. The Catholic Church could utilize such stories in the creation of more comprehensive civil rights post-mortems to better understand what occurred and offer to help other institutions that are dealing with paradigmatic change or foresee doing so in the future.

This project's focus was the stories, as told by students who lived the experience, and the roles they played in dismantling a segregated school system. There is no doubt that desegregation would not have occurred without agents operating at the national and institutional levels. However, without families willing to send children into precarious situations, or individual students who entered schools, risking personal safety, desegregation arguably would not have been successful or likely would have occurred later.

I researched what happened after the media and protestors left to understand how the students navigated the space to bring about a new level of equality. My focus was on the stories of children whose parents sent them to be the vehicles for change. Bringing their stories into view should transform the way young students are seen in the historical story of Catholic school desegregation. This work is highly generalizable to other conflicts in which marginalized people, sometimes children, unwittingly enter settings dominated by oppressors and are expected to act as agents for change and peace.

Chapter Two:
Literature Review

Introduction

      This chapter reviews the intersection of conflict theory, racial history in the United States, segregation and desegregation within the Catholic Church, and the role of the child as change agent. Part one locates the study within conflict theory. Part two offers an overview of literature on the development and practice of racial segregation in religion and education. It also raises the idea of using collective axiology to deconstruct and understand how segregationist ideology became rooted and spread. Part three describes racial segregation practices that existed within the Catholic Church. The New Orleans leadership serially announced then postponed desegregation. Part four examines literature that has uncovered and attempted to amplify the voices of African American children who experienced school desegregation. Such children had to enter institutions that had previously barred them and show by their actions that segregation was meritless. Their presence helped the Catholic Church to start recovering from a damning history of racial discrimination. The section also describes critical race, and cultural trauma as theories that assist in dissecting the research presented here and drawing conclusions. Part five discusses the civil rights movement and presents topics toward which scholars have been inattentive.

Part 1. Catholic School Desegregation and the Conflict Field

Conflict is ubiquitous in society. It arises from factors including but not limited to: economic conditions, changing demographics, violence, claims to rights and geographic boundaries, use of common resources, and despairing economic or working conditions (Deutsch in Deutsch et al, 2011). Conflict becomes evident as parties coalesce around real or perceived mutual interests and outcomes (Deutsch in Deutsch et al, 2011). Conflicts often evolve as issues, interests, rights, parties, strategies, values, and a host of other elements change over time (Deutsch in Deutsch et al, 2011). This dissertation engaged in what Deutsch (Deutsch in Deutsch et al, 2011), among others, established as the objective of the conflict field; the goal is not in settling disputes, but in identifying and implementing solutions that transform hostile and violent actions into ones that pursue peaceful change. Catholic school desegregation is situated within Galtung's (1969) model of conflict, violence, and peace. The following discussion identifies its structural, cultural, and direct violence components.

A violent structure. A structure in this sense is an observable aspect of human interaction, which has become so rooted in political, social and economic practices, policies, laws and conditions that it has become accepted as the norm. Structural violence, then, is injustice, deprivation and suffering in the form of differential wealth, power, access to resources, and so forth that result from historical bias and inequality. Structural violence is not individual actor-generated hostility; it is the framework upon which presumptions in society are built (Galtung 1969). Thus, in a violent structure, inequality is embedded into systems through the myriad ways in which marginalized

groups are disadvantaged, and elites are privileged. A violent structure privileges elites over others. The disadvantaged may be so affected that they become ill, reach a state of sustained misery, or even perish (Galtung, 1990). Structural violence is a process that advances and recedes (Galtung, 1990). Structural violence/injustice contributed to the Catholic Church desegregation crisis. Discrimination and subordination of Black members were imbued in American society and, by extension, the Catholic Church, its clerics, religious women, and institutions which not only abided, but also actively participated in slavery. Writing about the antebellum period, Craughwell (2012) noted, "Even bishops and religious communities owned slaves: the Jesuits, Capuchins, and Carmelite, Visitation, and Ursuline nuns all were slave-owners. So did Bishops John Carroll of Baltimore, Louis du Bourg of New Orleans, and Michael Portier of Mobile" (para. 2). Davis (1990) found,

> The assumption of Black inferiority was an accepted part of the social and cultural landscape, a conclusion not to be questioned. On this point, the majority of Catholics differed little from their contemporaries, whether in the south or in the North. (p. 59)

Discrimination prevented Black members from entering the seminary and holding religious and lay leadership positions (Davis, 1990). Of the hundred or so Black men who had become priests by the 1950s, many had found it necessary to enter their vocations in Europe because the American seminaries would not accept them (Davis 1990). Davis (1990) wrote that the Catholic Church, similar to other parts of American society, had been steeped in White superiority, especially in the south. Little (2007) described the climate in the American South:

> Segregation was just 'understood' in the South. It was not only a part of the culture, state laws enforced it. Under the Jim Crow 'separate but equal' laws, [separate] public facilities were maintained for black and white citizens. This included schools, ballrooms, even water fountains. On buses, blacks sat in the back. In movie theaters, they sat in the balcony. Even churches were segregated. (Little, 2007, p. 1)

In 1954, when the Supreme Court ended racial segregation in public schools, the Catholic Church in New Orleans still operated segregated parishes; when its members worshipped together, Black people either stood during service or sat in segregated pews, and Black and White Catholic children attended separate schools.

The concept of racial inferiority and commensurate practices set a climate of subordinate treatment of African Americans in the Catholic Church as elsewhere (Anderson, 2005; Baker, 1996; Bennett, 2005; Davis, 1996; Fairclough, 1995). As a result, White parishioners were advantaged in numerous ways, including more rights, privileges, access, leadership positions, power, and resources – the definition of structural violence. These advantages limited Black members from making their own choices and decisions about many things, including where to educate their children.

A violent culture. Galtung (1990) defined cultural violence as beliefs, customs, and traditions in society that derive from and also can be used to legitimize direct and structural forms of violence. Galtung (1990) stated, "Cultural violence makes direct and structural violence look, even feel, right – or at least not wrong" (p. 291). People often accept their beliefs unquestioningly, which affects how they behave and see others (Jackson & Weidman, 2004). Cultural violence provides the rationale for people to act violently, and even become revered for such actions (Galtung, 1990). The integration resistance movement in New Orleans promoted demeaning images of African Americans.

Unsurprisingly, a 1956 poll found that 76 percent of southern Catholics favored segregation (Harbutt, 1959; as cited in Poché, 2006); thus, people in the resistance movement were held in esteem for trying to preserve it (Poché, 2006). Galtung (1990) also identified as cultural violence any reconstructions which later mis-portray actions of people (for example as satisfied, aggressive, uncaring, and so forth) when they were actually reacting to a violent structure. Galtung (1990, p. 294) summarized the three types of violence as follows: "Direct violence is an event; structural violence is a process with ups and downs; cultural violence is an invariant, a 'permanence' (Galtung 1977, ch. 9 as cited in Galtung 1990)."

Later in this dissertation, chapter four describes an evocative narrative that permeated segregationist speeches and literature. As segregationists strategically associated school integration with the demise of the Caucasian race, they spawned widespread fear, anger, and hatred toward African Americans. Various scholars, such as McMillan (1994), established that segregationists resurrected a tactic that had been effective after the Reconstruction period, which was to advance images of Black people as animal-like and ravenous with the ambition of raising themselves socially through procreation with Whites.

McMillan chronicled ways in which segregationists used scientific-appearing language to convince White members that Black people were disease-prone, intellectually inferior, and people who would dull the White race through intermarriage if school integration were to be permitted. These beliefs became widespread and legitimized the discriminatory practices of the Church and also the continued segregation

of Black members, as well as the harassment and physical violence against them. Galtung (1990) stated, "The culture preaches, teaches, admonishes, eggs on, and dulls us into seeing exploitation and/or repression as normal and natural, or into not seeing them … at all" (p. 295).

In light of the social norms created by the discriminatory practices, negative beliefs and hatreds became imbued in the Catholic culture, and so accepted that these were unquestioned (Anderson, 2005; Baker, 1996; Bennett, 2005; Davis, 1996; Fairclough, 1995). As will be shown, many White teachers in Catholic schools maintained low expectations of Black students, and many White students refused to interact with them. Deeply held beliefs coupled with the structural violence offered a justification for segregationist actions, and plausibly even storied them as protecting the Catholic Church and White children from harm.

Direct violence. In addition to psychological manipulation, the integration resistance movement's strategies included direct violence. Threatening, striking, intimidating, battering, maiming, killing, and so forth, all comprise direct violence. These forms of violence are an act or "an event" (Galtung, 1990, p. 294). As Black students entered schools, they experienced direct violence in the form of harassment from picketers; parents and community members spewed racial slurs as they entered Catholic buildings for the first time. Black students experienced threats, verbal and physical assaults, bullets fired into a school window, and a school bombing. Violence can begin in any form and spread to the other forms (Galtung, 1990; see Figure 1).

Structural Peace:
Equity; Existence of
policies and practices
which support equality

Violence: myths,
hatreds, stereotypes

Direct Peace: Diversity; a
universal church to which
all are welcome for full
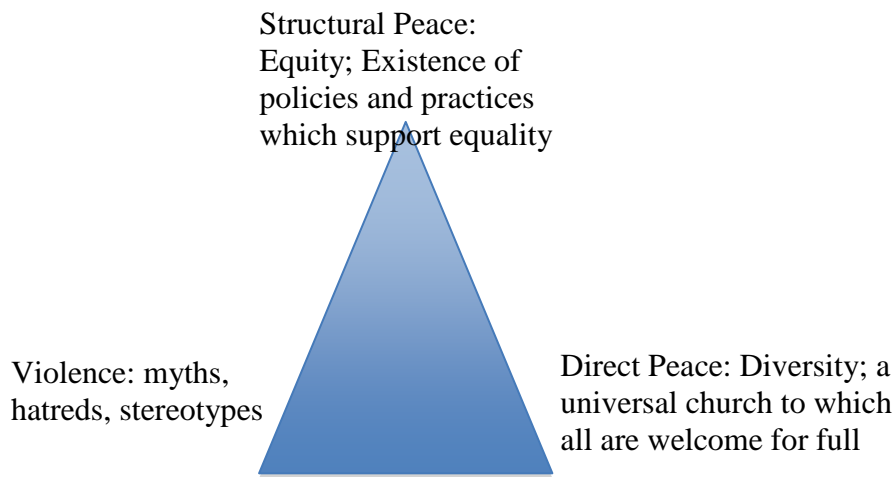
Figure 1. Galtung's (1990) violence triangle applied to Catholic school desegregation.

From violence to peace. Galtung (1990) described negative peace as the absence

of violence. What Galtung (1964) initially described as human integration, he later

termed positive peace. Thus, in the case of Catholic school desegregation, negative peace

would have entailed an end to the hostility and aggression that African American children

experienced from the community, fellow students and teachers. Positive peace would

have entailed development of an institutional culture resistant to discrimination and

accepting of African American children as an integral part of the school. To achieve

positive peace, the institution needed to attend to all forms of violence, and thereby

improve interaction through cooperation, understanding, empathy, and so forth.

Interveners end direct violence by changing behaviors of parties involved; one ends

structural violence by attending to unjust systems; one ends cultural violence by exposing

parties to experiences that induce them to re-think wrong assumptions (Galtung, 1969).

Simon (2011) noted that a recent study found that Black Catholics still reported feeling somewhat marginalized and encountered White members who did not want to interact with them. Raboteau (1989) concluded that depending on the parish, Black Catholics continue, into the present day, to feel unwelcome in the church. The reason may lie in the church's historical lack of interest in finding out what is fueling discordant behavior by its members and not merely directing interventions to its outward manifestation.

Literature reviewed for this study showed few surveys of Black Catholics by their church. A study conducted by Notre Dame University (as cited in Fraga, 2015) was perhaps the largest. In the 2011 study involving a national random sample of Catholic members, 31.5 percent reported discomfort because they were the only Black person in their parish; 25.9 percent reported that they experienced parishioners avoiding them based on race; 23 percent had experienced members hesitant to shake their hands; and 24.9 percent had encountered lack of racial awareness from their priest (as cited in Fraga, 2015). In order for the Catholic Church to achieve positive peace, vestiges and remnants of its unjust past practices and social climate would need to be examined, understood, and removed. For the Catholic Church to end structural violence, it would need to reverse effects of its deeply held injustices; to end cultural violence, it must find ways to share information and help members deepen their understandings of and empathy for each other.

Conflict parties. Conflict resolution depends on understanding dynamics of the parties involved. According to Wehr (1998), parties vary in their connection to the conflict and what they desire as an outcome:

> Primary parties are those who oppose one another, are using fighting behavior, and have a direct stake in the outcome of the conflict. Secondary parties have an indirect stake in the outcome. They are often allies or sympathizers with primary parties but are not direct adversaries. Third parties are actors such as mediators and peacekeeping forces which might intervene to facilitate resolution. (para. 2)

Ury (2000) focused on the third party, deconstructing it into 10 distinct roles. This dissertation further explored the concept of parties to a conflict and suggests characteristics that defined a previously unstudied primary party: the sacrificial lamb. The sacrificial lamb is a primary party which has an interest in the conflict's resolution. As will be seen, attributes of the sacrificial lamb are that he or she is not aware of the conflict, yet is sent by knowing and trusted others to bring about a resolution.

In addition to Galtung's (1969) model, grounded theory is appropriate for analyzing Catholic school desegregation because the experience of African American students has not been extensively studied. Cultural trauma theory, with its link to collective memory, can illuminate critical components of Black students' experiences in the desegregation of Catholic schools. This theory can aid in finding appropriate interventions by helping parties to articulate claims, establish a narrative, and appeal to the larger community for acceptance of their narrative. Critical race theory, which centers on the premise of race as ubiquitous in American society, also can help in the understanding of experiences examined here. The use of collective axiology, with its emphasis on moral systems around which groups cohere, is appropriate for analyzing the

desegregation resistance movement. The use of these theories will be described in more detail.

Part 2. Catholics in a Racialized Society

Fairclough (1995), Baker (1996), Davis (1996), Anderson (2005), and Bennett (2005) are among scholars who have traced Catholic Church policies and practices over time toward African American members and prospective converts. Blacks in America were destined to be considered as "other" among Catholic membership, their slave status setting them apart from and subordinate to other Catholics. Americans generally did not see the need to baptize slaves; after all, according to the U.S. Constitution, they were three-fifths of a human being (Bennett, 2005). However, unlike the English colonies, the French settled Louisiana. With French colonialism in southern Louisiana came Catholicism (Bennett, 2005). French slave laws, *Code Noir*, required that slaves convert to Catholicism (Bennett, 2005; Fairclough, 1995). Catholic missionaries followed and were under orders to ensure the Catholic affiliation of all inhabitants, slave and free alike (Bennett, 2005).

Unlike elsewhere in the United States, the French also brought to Louisiana practices for offspring of master-slave liaisons, which included possibilities for their manumission (eventual release from bondage), education, and financial aid (Fairclough, 1995). Under Louisiana codes, Catholic slave owners had their slaves baptized even if they did not attend to their later pastoral care (Bennett, 2005). New Orleans held more than half of the Catholics living in the south and the largest population of African American Catholics in the country (Fairclough, 1995). Catholic missionary work reached

and baptized slaves elsewhere as well (Bennett, 2005). As Catholicism grew, so did its

slave population. For example, in Maryland, slaves were one-fifth of the Catholic

population (Fairclough, 1995).

The American Catholic Church itself also enslaved, purchased, and sold its Black

members (Bennett, 2005). Thus, the Catholic Church did not only support slavery, it was

complicit in it (Hayes & Davis, 1998). Catholic clergy, nuns, and lay people owned

slaves; a segment of the Catholic Church's property included enslaved people (Copeland,

2009; Hayes & Davis, 1998). Orders of nuns and priests held slaves. When women

entered the novice community to prepare to become nuns, they often brought their slaves

with them (Hayes & Davis, 1998). In 1835, the Jesuit priests sold nearly 300 slaves to

southern traders (Eugene, 1982).

Pseudo-theological justifications for segregation. In partial support of their

actions, literature suggests that Catholic leadership and lay people picked from church

theology those ideas which centered on responsibility for the welfare of others (Hayes &

Davis, 1998). Segregationists, especially in the South, promoted the idea that without the

discipline of Whites, Black people were unfit (Franklin, 1969). One prelate saw slave

members of his church as un-evolved and animal-like. He wrote just before the civil war:

> The poor negroes very often have at first fear of a Catholic Priest, or imagine that
> they can never understand him; but they are not ill disposed towards religion
> Indeed, they often have a craving for its ministration. Having few comforts and no
> expectations in this world, their thoughts and desires are more easily drawn to the
> good things of the world to come. I say often because often again they are so
> entirely animal in their inclinations, so engrossed with the senses, that they have
> no regard for anything above the gratifications of the body. (Hayes & Davis,
> 1998, p. 22)

Such pseudo-theological justifications for segregation are examples of Galtung's (1990) cultural violence. Conversion of the image of a person or people to sub-human creates conditions for direct violence to be taken against them; the violence can even be blamed on them (Galtung, 1990). Forms of violence begin to perpetuate each other; Black members were mistreated because they were marginalized and marginalized because they were mistreated.

If Black members wanted to know ways in which the church reconciled its doctrine with its participation in human subjugation, literature showed they could not discern this from the leadership (Bennett, 2005). Cardinals, archbishops, bishops and other leadership commonly declined to make any pronouncements on slavery; they and their White members tended to consider it a matter for adjudication by the state, not the Church (Bennett, 2005).

The Vatican's perspective was clearer. In 1839, Pope Gregory XVI issued a strong statement condemning persons who participated in the slave trade, saying that no one was to place humans in bondage (Davis, 1990). However, after the Pope's declaration, the Bishop of Natchitoches LA wrote a Pastoral letter to his members insisting that slavery was good for Black people (as cited in Bennett, 2005). Such dissonance could exist because American churches were left to local, not Vatican, or even national control (Bennett, 2005). Most Southern bishops ignored papal pronouncements on slavery, rationalizing that in Rome, the Catholic leadership knew nothing about African Americans or their needs (Bennett, 2005). In the larger landscape, the American South was also fully occupied with promoting and defending slavery. For

example between 1840 and 1841, John England, a Catholic bishop in Georgia, wrote numerous letters to the governor offering justifications for slavery and declaring the Pope an abolitionist (as cited in Hayes & Davis, 1998). During the civil war, Auguste Martin, bishop of Natchitoches LA issued a Pastoral letter using pseudo-theological bases to defend slavery (as cited in Hayes & Davis, 1998). By 1956 when Archbishop Rummel issued *The Morality of Racial Segregation*, his first Pastoral, segregationists were challenging his authority to require desegregation (Poché, 2006). They began to form Catholic resistance groups, such as Parents and Friends of Catholic School Children, and demand a biblical reference that proved the immorality of segregation (Poché, 2006).

Rummel's Pastoral letters that were read to Catholic congregations across New Orleans in 1953, 1956 (2), 1958, and 1960 amply demonstrate his awareness of the cultural and structural forms of violence in play. *The Morality of Racial Segregation* issued in February 1956 offers a strong example. Rummel wrote:

> [T]he laws and customs built up around the mystic term "segregation" have practically relegated Negroes to an island-like existence. They emerge to work, toil and serve even in the intimacy of the white home and family, but "segregation" cuts off the free avenues to progress in the better things of life that are synonymous with Christian civilization. (Rummel, 1956, p. 4)

This passage is among others that acknowledge social stratification that results in deprivation of basic human needs, such as "identity," "well-being," "freedom," and so forth (Galtung, 1990, p. 292). In this case, Archbishop Rummel acknowledged that as a result of an unequal society, Black Americans did not have resources. Archbishop Rummel's connection to structural violence was clear, but remained in spoken form, read to a congregation during mass, unsupported by church-sponsored experiential activities,

and un-backed by follow-up actions. As such, the words were impotent for inspiring his

congregation to change their stance on integration. Similarly, his 1953 letter, *Blessed are*

the Peacemakers, showed deep awareness of a culturally violent atmosphere in the New

Orleans Catholic Church. Rummel (1953) stated the following:

> In particular, we are here concerned about our attitude towards our brethren of the
> Colored race…. [W]e can help hasten the day of complete peaceful adjustment by
> an ever increasing spirit, in word and action, of good will, respect and sympathy
> towards the Colored people. (p. 4)

Here again, references to gestures and ideology that support a violent structure revealed

that Rummel (1953) was aware of their significance to his desegregation aspirations.

However, words ubracketed by collateral activities did little to induce Catholics to put

aside their prejudiced ways. Rummel (1953) did not set a date for desegregation until

1962; segregationists used his indecision and delay to energize their movement, and

African Americans saw in the vagueness abandonment by the leader. The violent

atmosphere reached sustainment level and continued.

Perhaps as significant is the fact that Rummel's (1956) own words reveal that he

personally used structural violence to legitimize the church's practice of its cultural and

direct forms. In *The Morality of Racial Segregation*, Rummel (1956) stated the following:

> Because the emancipation during the War between the States involved certain
> physical and economic hardships, Racial segregation was regarded with toleration
> but never justifiable as a permanent racial adjustment. Even the Catholic Church
> considered it wise and necessary to give separate church and school facilities to
> Negroes to afford them the opportunity to practice their faith more freely and
> educate their children more fully than was often possible in mixed congregations,
> but this arrangement was never intended to be permanent. (p. 4)

In this text, Rummel (1956) told his people that temporal necessity was a legitimate

justification for discrimination by the church. He even held out church actions as laudable

by stating that the segregation arrangement had given Black children the possibility of education that they would not otherwise have had. His point appears coherent unless one considers the fact that Catholic schools were private and not subject to public school Jim Crow laws, thus the church possessed the power to educate Catholic children in any setting it wished. Little wonder that Rummel's flock continued to doubt that segregation was a sin. For, in *The Morality of Racial Segregation,* he told them that it was allowable under some circumstances. This gave them the opportunity to argue that they were only following his example. Challenging Rummel's (1956) assessment of what constituted a sin became a key element in the segregationist argument for why Rummel's stated desire to integrate should be ignored (Poché, 2006).

Furthermore, literature shows that Rummel (1956) focused intently on direct violence, imploring New Orleans Catholics to let calmness prevail. "This is a problem which should be worked out not in an atmosphere of wrangling or contention" (Rummel, 1956, p. 5). History shows that attention to the picketing, a cross-burning on his lawn, and other forms of direct violence convinced Rummel that his flock was not ready; his fear of more violence deterred him from taking action (Poché, 2006).

Eight years transpired between Archbishop Rummel's first Pastoral letter about segregation and the desegregation of New Orleans Catholic schools. Galtung (1990) noted that the needs deprivation that results from cultural violence may manifest itself in frustration or apathy. These can lead to eruptions or inaction; elites prefer the latter (Galtung, 1990).

An African American religious worldview forms. Catholic school segregation should be considered in context of the larger temporal frame of African American life in the United States. To say that a vast gulf separated antebellum Whites and Blacks is an understatement. Physical isolation during slavery and Jim Crow allowed aspects of African culture to thrive and become more salient. According to scholars Lincoln and Mamiya (1990), it was against this backdrop that the Black religious worldview formed. Protestant and Catholic missionaries fanned out across the south to convert people to Christianity. In some places, such as Virginia, slaves were suppressed from gathering without White supervision due to fear of a slave uprising (Lincoln & Mamiya, 1990).

Scholars note that an invisible Black church formed as African Americans worshipped in secret (Lincoln & Mamiya, 1990). As they learned scripture, themes around a Promised Land, and salvation held more appeal compared with the sermons and homilies they heard in White worship services. DuBois (1903), as well as Lincoln and Mamiya (1990), referenced the music, a relatable sermon, and euphoric worship style as the Black "sacred cosmos" (p. 20). Typically, Black clerics used emotion, drama, and interactive patterns, such as call-and-response with the presumption of audience vocalizations during worship. In such services, it was and remains not only acceptable but expected that the audience will audibly affirm the message with shouts of "hallelujah" and cries of "amen" (Raboteau, 1995). Cone (2013) wrote about the Black church he experienced as a youth in Arkansas and stated,

> I noticed how the passion and energy of the preacher increased whenever he talked about the cross and the congregation responded with outbursts of "Amen" and "Hallelujah" that equaled the intensity of the sermon oration. People shouted, clapped their hands, and stomped their feet, as if a powerful, living reality of

God's Spirit had transformed them from nobodies in White society to somebodies in the Black church. (p. xv)

Generally, African Americans' worship of and discussions about God evolved away from ideas of a remote deity, and emphasized more relatable themes around Jesus as a Savior, Comforter, Redeemer, and Liberator who had lived on earth, suffered, and triumphed; this sequence held obvious appeal to a suppressed people, showing that one day they too would experience freedom (Lincoln & Mamiya, 1990).

Lincoln and Mamiya (1990) further observed that African Americans responded to representations of an ever-present God, one with whom they could interact and converse. Worship services of Black religious communities gave them more than a respite from scrutiny, judgment, and fear of Whites; it was a place where they transcended their circumstances, and the "sacred cosmos" were a tool that created a palpable presence of God (Lincoln & Mamiya, 1990). As a result, a distinct traditional African American religious identity formed, crystallized, became durable, and is salient today (Lincoln & Mamiya, 1990). Furthermore, most Black people also were convinced by their interpretation of the scripture that they were correct about the evil of slavery (Lincoln & Mamiya, 1990). Black worship services emphasized a God who viewed them as equal with Whites, as well as prayer for a better future (Maffly-Kipp, 2007). The image of a community of people who accepted their subordinate position in society without resisting is a myth (Maffly-Kipp, 2007).

The manner in which African Americans came to the Catholic faith, first by being baptized into it as slaves based on their masters' affiliations, meant that though they were members, everyone understood them as inferior, an idea that was endorsed at least by

leadership actions if not always words (Bennett, 2005). Coming into the faith in this manner storied Black people as objects, not equal members. Second, leaders and members justified the subordination of slaves as something intended by God (Hayes & Davis, 1998). By the treatment they received and their lack of standing, African Americans did not feel welcome in the church. However, their faith taught them that Catholicism was the way to salvation (Hayes & Davis, 1998). This long legacy of being considered less than a member contributed to ways in which African Americans eventually felt about their church and their discomfort within it (Bennett, 2005).

Segregation in American education. Freedman (1999) traced the history of African American education in America and found that prior to 1865, laws prohibited slave literacy, and most slaves never received an education. Nonetheless, if Black slaves taught or learned at all, it was carried out in one of a network of clandestine schools (Freedman, 1999). The range was vast, with some merely consisting of logs for seating, situated in a circle in the woods; others were run in the homes of free persons (Freedman, 1999). Books had to be hidden, and going to school had to be carefully choreographed so that participants would not be detected (Freedman, 1999). Distance played a role, and whoever could make it to the school site without being missed could attend (Freedman, 1999). However, being discovered would bring beatings or even death (Freedman, 1999). Slaves and those who helped them made a conscious decision to break the law; some forbidden schools operated in regions where it was abided, so long as the activity did not draw attention (Freedman, 1999). Any slave discovered learning could be punished, and even more severely so if caught teaching other slaves (Freedman, 1999).

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In Louisiana, free, bi-racial people had more options, owing to colonization by the French and Spanish, who harbored more liberal views about sex, education, and slavery (Freedman, 1999). Despite these views, the vast majority of African Americans did not have the possibility of education until after the Civil War ended. The value of learning was ingrained in the African American culture long before they were free to pursue it (Freedman, 1999). Literacy was equated with freedom, and students entered potentially dangerous situations to attain it (Freedman, 1999).

After the Civil War and Emancipation, ex-slaves were interested in the establishment of public schools and the continuance of common schools that had been their legacy (Kujovich, 1992). The Freedman's Bureau was established in 1865, with a mission to educate African Americans and protect teachers and schools from terror; it established 4,000 schools (Kujovich, 1992). Jim Crow was a name that referred to state and local segregation laws passed in 1890, which resurrected effects of Black Codes of 1865 and 1866. These Black Codes had restricted Black Americans' civil rights and liberties. Jim Crow laws then continued in force until 1965. Though termed separate but equal, African American conditions under these laws were inferior to those of Whites (Kujovich, 1992, p. 217). The laws institutionalized social, educational, and economic disadvantages and structural injustice in American society. These disadvantages combined with extensive negative portrayals of African Americans in popular media, as well as deepening prejudice and separation in the country (McMillan, 1994). After Emancipation and before Jim Crow laws disenfranchised them, many African Americans had risked their lives by voting for school reform in heavily supervised elections

(Marable, 1984). By 1885, southern states had enacted segregation laws for all activities and spaces, including schools (Marable, 1984).

The separate-but-equal standard is established. A mixed-race man challenged the laws by traveling on a train and refusing to heed a conductor's command to move to a "colored" car on a Louisiana railroad line (Medley, 2003). The Supreme Court decided in the 1890 case of *Plessey v. Ferguson* that segregation was allowable so long as facilities and accommodations for both races were equal (Medley, 2003). Although the case involved railroads, the court broadened its scope to include schools. It was soon evident that "separate but equal" focused on the former and ignored the latter.

Schools for Black students were woefully inferior, poorly maintained, and overcrowded (Medley, 2003). For example, per-pupil spending on White students in South Carolina was 10 times the level spent for Black students; the ratio was five to one in other southern states (Medley, 2003). Black people, largely through organizations, prominently the NAACP Legal Defense Fund, raised many challenges to "separate but equal," as 74 years of state-sponsored segregation developed (Francis, 2014). For example, the NAACP challenged the state of Texas when it set up a law school for African Americans by using the basement of an oil company, a leased toilet, and no full-time instructors (Rossel et al., 2002). However, to challenge the laws, organizations needed Black parents willing to subject themselves and their children to intimidation and violence.

Siddle Walker (2000) and Freedman (1999) established that even with such barriers, Black parents maintained their interest in their children's educations, believing

that their actions would lead to a better life. Black parents involved themselves in establishing and financially supporting schools, asking the government to assist, creating organizations, holding conferences, bringing lawsuits, and more (Siddle Walker, 2000). When they dared to push for a desegregated state, they were striking at the heart of claims that they were intellectually inferior and only suited for low-rung lives – the reasons that were given to justify African enslavement and segregation. In the early 1900s, African Americans provided 17 percent of funds raised by the Rosenwald Fund when it established 5,000 schools for African Americans (Franklin, 1974).

When the "separate but equal" standard for education was again challenged in 1954 in the case of *Brown v. Board of Education*, a new Chief Justice, Earl Warren, realizing that other members of the Supreme Court were from Southern states, decoupled the issue of implementation (Medley, 2003). The result was a striking down of the *Plessey* ruling (Medley, 2003). The Court did not give a deadline for the undoing of dual systems and left the timetable to local school districts, stating that it should be done with "all deliberate speed" (Brown v. Board of Education, 1954). Ten years of massive resistance followed, during which states passed numerous laws and adopted delay tactics to nullify the desegregation order (Medley, 2003).

Racial "amalgamation" theory. Anyone who felt optimistic about school integration after the *Brown v. Board of Education* (1954) decision seriously underestimated the segregation resistance movement. Fairclough (1995) noted, "The term 'racist' has become devalued through overuse: it fails to prepare one for the depths of disgust, contempt, and condescension with which Whites, to varying degrees, still

regarded their Black fellow citizens in the 1950s" (p. 167). Allen Ellender, a Catholic and U.S. senator from Louisiana for 36 years, held views typical of Southern Whites (as cited in Fairclough, 1995). In a filibuster, opposing a 1938 anti-lynching bill, Ellender offered the premise that "the Negro is inferior to the White man" (as cited in Fairclough, 1995, p. 168). Then, he elaborated that this was the same in business, military, and other sectors (as cited in Fairclough, 1995, p. 168). He noted that his view that nation's progress had been slowed because of interracial procreation: "Any Negro of notability owes success to White blood … Negro blood has degraded and ultimately destroyed every White civilization where allowed to mongrelize" (as cited in Fairclough, 1995, p. 168).

The racial "amalgamation" argument had been used to curtail Black peoples' aspirations after Reconstruction (Francis, 2014; Franklin, 1969; Fairclough, 1995). "The 'amalgamation' theory viewed Black males as actual and potential rapists or, at the very least, agents of sexual corruption" (Fairclough, 1995, p. 168). As a result of its wide dissemination, many White men and women came to believe that school integration would bring interracial dating and marriage (Cone, 2013; Fairclough, 1995). The threat of mulattoes then overtaking the south became the backbone of the narrative adopted and promited by the anti-integration movement to frighten and provoke Whites to action (Fairclough, 1995). In 1954, a state senator summed up the sentiment promoted by many:

> I have reluctantly been forced to the conclusion that nothing short of the extinction of both the White and Black races into a shade of brown will satisfy those who are attempting to uproot all our traditions and ways of life. (Fairclough, 1995, p. 168)

Even segregationists who did not view intermarriage as a main threat still considered Black people as inferior: "Many simply regarded Blacks as a disease-ridden,

mentally inferior and culturally backward people with whom they did not want to associate," and believed they would retard the growth of White children (Fairclough, 1995, p. 169). These views, pervasive in Louisiana society, rendered inconceivable the idea of Black teachers instructing White children, or Black and White children attending school side-by-side (Fairclough, 1995). A 1948 opinion poll of White members of Mater Dolorosa parish in New Orleans showed that parishioners' views were incoherent with Christian ideology (as cited in Fairclough, 1995). Asked if they supported separate parishes for Black and White members, 88 percent responded affirmatively (as cited in Fairclough, 1995). Galtung's (1990) model of peace suggests that a substantial aspect of cultural violence is to blame the victim who lashes out, even though his actions are based on frustration and not anger or lack of socialization.

The climate of violence against African Americans. Much of what Black people experienced could be traced directly to an earlier era. Williams (2012) studied the period after Reconstruction, when federal troops vacated the South, inaugurating a long period of White domination over Black people, and almost complete unchecked violence against Black citizens. Life as it had been known under slavery returned. Whites needed a workforce, Blacks rented land, homes, seed, and equipment on credit (Williams, 2012). At harvest, the share that they had earned did not cover their expenses; each year, they sank further into debt (Williams, 2012). An unpaid debt to a White man, especially with the hands-off policy of the federal government, was enough to prompt lynchings and racial mob violence (Williams, 2012).

Williams (2012) used narratives of slaves to trace the history of lynching and mob violence. Before the 1877 elections, the federal government conducted numerous hearings about the harassment that Black people experienced from White neighbors (Williams, 2012). Ex-slaves came forward, some knowing that their actions would bring reprisals, and they described the horrifying ways in which White gangs terrorized them (Williams, 2012). As ex-slaves worked to exert their freedoms, secure incomes, and become self-sufficient, mobs descended on their homes demanding money that the ex-slaves had saved, as well as sex from the women. When they refused, the mob whipped, dragged, tortured, raped, and murdered. Black families often resisted, but the perpetrators had more people and weapons.

Williams (2012) shows that NAACP pamphlets and Black newspapers, by describing instances of Blacks challenging White supremacy and refusing to be stripped of their dignity, had many times paid with their lives. The organization also reported on the violence to underscore that many incidents did not result from alleged murder or rape but often merely refusal to be subjugated (Williams, 2012). If they survived, Blacks typically decided to leave their investment in their homes and crops in the field in favor of gathering their families and fleeing (Williams, 2012, p. 224).

According to Marable (2007), "[I]n caste/racial relations, both systems were dependent upon the omnipresence of violence or coercion …. [W]hite politicians, business leaders and most workers defended the necessity to discipline the Black working class via lynchings, public executions, and the like" (p. 10). So murderous was the summer of 1919 that it was dubbed "Red Summer" because of the number of Black

people killed and injured (Marable, 2007; Williams, 2012). Marable (2007), Francis (2014), and Williams (2012) demonstrated that lynchings often were advertised, which included hours of taunting, humiliating, torturing, and beating, with thousands of spectators and crowd participation. These were an acceptable activity and carried out in the open (Cone, 2013; Williams, 2012). Pictures of these acts could be purchased on the street and kept as tokens. Charges of rape on White women were normally offered as excuses for spectator murder (Williams, 2012). The purpose was to assert White supremacy, cow Black people into subordination, and strip them, especially the men, of self-esteem or any ideas of racial equality (Williams, 2012).

Any charge could galvanize people for a lynching, but rape was the most effective (Williams, 2012). An attack on a White woman was tantamount to an attack on White society itself (Williams, 2012). Cone (2013) offered some of the views articulated by Southern Whites at the time. One said, "The people of the south do not think any more of killing the Black fellows than you would think of killing a flea" (Cone, 2013, p. 6). Another said, "Back in them days, to kill a Negro wasn't nothing. It was like killing a chicken or killing a snake" (Cone, 2013, p. 6). Modern day scholars might not connect with how widespread and accepted these ideas were; however, the facts that President Wilson was a member of the White supremacist Ku Klux Klan, as was his predecessor, President Warren Harding, several of his successors, and Supreme Court Justice, Hugo Black, offer context (Francis, 2014). These examples show further evidence of the structural violence discussed earlier, as well as ways in which it was imbued in American society and legitimized direct violence. Judicial and Constitutional privileges given to

Whites, and lack of legal and legislative equality for African Americans combined with widespread beliefs in society that Blacks were inferior and should be treated as subordinates, led to the conclusion that they should be harassed and attacked by lynch mobs. Blackmon (2009) examined personal narratives and documents in establishing that after the Civil War, slavery did not disappear, but forced labor and coercion continued.

Williamson (1984) stated, "Their blackness alone was license enough to line them up against walls, to menace them with guns, to search them roughly, beat them, and rob them of every vestige of dignity" (p. 20). Between strategic messaging, prominent media, corrupt judiciaries, and the refusal of Presidents and Congress to do anything about violence against Black people, the Black man became transformed in the minds of many Whites from meek and docile to brutes who lusted after White people (Cone, 2013; Williams, 2012). The transformation of the image of Black women was from nurturing to over-sexed (Cone, 2013). Both of these narratives became powerful and hindered desegregation.

Anderson (2005) and Woods (2004) noted that the end of World War II gave way to a political and economic conflict or Cold War. The situation heightened suspicions that Americans might be working as spies, and posed threats to national security. FBI Director, J. Edgar Hoover began to link civil rights activities with communist subversion (Woods, 2004). This tactic became even more widely practiced in 1954 after the Supreme Court decision to end public school segregation as segregationists accused many people working in the civil rights movement of being involved in subversive activities (Anderson, 2005; Woods, 2004).

The desegregation resistance movement. In 1954, the U.S. Supreme Court in *Brown v. Board of Education* ruled that segregated public schools were unconstitutional (Raffel, 2002). In the strategy known as massive resistance, some states (e.g., Virginia) closed public schools rather than allow Black students to attend (McMillan, 1994). For example, Prince Edward Co. Virginia schools closed for 5 years, while public funds were directed to private schools for White students (McMillan, 1994).

As will be discussed in more detail in chapter four, White citizen councils, leaders of the school desegregation movement, began to form, stage protests and distribute literature designed to convince other White people that African Americans were, among other traits, sex-crazed, inferior, and would bring down the performance of White children. McMillan (1994) was among scholars who studied the emergence of the Citizens' Council of America (CCA) and other similar groups that emerged, their roles in hindering desegregation, the justifications that were offered to support their defense of segregation, and tactics they used to impel others to prevent integration. In 1956, a three-judge panel invalidated segregation in Louisiana public schools; a month later, the New Orleans chapter of the Citizens' Council (CCA, 1957) held a Confederate Flag waving gathering (Baker, 1996). It was among many demonstrations, meetings, and rallies designed to display the organization's size and intimidate Black people from attempting to desegregate any schools (Baker, 1996; McMillan, 1994). In 1957, as the Little Rock public school crisis erupted, the New Orleans chapter grew to become the largest council in the country (Baker, 1996).

In 1960, the New Orleans public school district devised a difficult entrance exam to try and keep Black students out. Of the 17 students who passed the test, only four dared to enter (Bridges, 1999). Although with only token participation by Black students, public schools desegregated, while the Catholic schools in New Orleans remained segregated based on race. As public schools desegregated, the Catholic Church's missed opportunity to provide leadership in bringing equality to African Americans was more evident. While individuals operating at the state level did much to dismantle segregation, it also took Black organizations, allies, and Black families, willing to send their children into potentially violent situations, to break the back of Jim Crow.

Segregationists articulate a moralistic argument. Collective axiology is a psychosocial theory that offers the scholar means for deconstructing conflicts where morals and values are part of a system that defines group membership (Rothbart & Korostelina, 2006). The resistance movement connected their group agenda (segregation) to an expression of the values that would be tolerated or rejected. Applying collective axiology as described by Korostelina (2007), the group or collective articulated a set of values-based boundaries, behaviors, and interactions that defined the movement. With collective axiology, the group coalesces around its shared values, and uses them to "validate, vindicate, rationalize, or legitimize actions, decisions, and policies" (Korostelina, 2007, p. 87).

Inasmuch as a collective axiology can be said to frame a group's agreed-upon set of values, it also can be used to discriminate. For, in defining a set of values that the group uses to decide who is accepted, it also defines who is excluded. Groups who view

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themselves in morally supreme ways and others in morally inferior ways create grounds

for conflict (Rothbart & Korostelina, 2006). For example, as will be discussed in chapter

four, segregationist legislatures passed laws on marriage and legitimacy in the 1950s,

which made it more difficult for African Americans to obtain marriage licenses; then,

these political leaders began calculating and publishing illegitimacy rates by race

(Walker, 2012). This was one tactic designed to prove that Whites were morally superior

to Blacks and cause people to join forces with segregationists to continue separation by

race.

Part 3. The Segregation and Desegregation of Catholic Spaces

Antebellum Catholics had established some small schools for free people of color,

but since slaves could not legally be educated, they had not served those in bondage

(Anderson, 2005). Then in 1884, American Catholicism had decreed that Catholic parents

must send their children to its schools, which were segregated (Anderson, 2005).

Therefore, the church did not merely accept, but also passed policies that facilitated

segregation. They quelled their conscience in part by rationalizing that everyone,

including Black Catholics, were more comfortable with the segregated arrangement

(Anderson, 2005). While that might have been true in some cases, Black Catholics

believed they would have been more comfortable in integrated parishes had their church

acted to make them feel less alienated (Anderson, 2005). Black people also asserted that

segregation in the church and elsewhere was unnecessary and humiliating (Anderson,

2005).

Regarding infrastructure, Catholic schools are of three types: (a) Parish (or parochial) schools are connected to a particular Catholic church serving a specific geographical zone, are financed through contributions and tuition payments of local parish members, and attended by their children; (b) Diocesan-financed schools are state- and regional-level, and attended by children across several parishes; and (c) private Catholic, are operated and financed by a national or international order of nuns or prelates, such as the Society of Jesus (Jesuits) or School Sisters of Notre Dame, including urban, suburban, rural, or missionary schools anywhere in the world (Bryk, Lee, & Holland, 1993). Admission policies and school climate, culture, and traditions vary as a function of these categories (Bryk et al., 1993).

The Catholic Church from its origins, and until the early 1960s, was united based on language (i.e., Latin) of its worship service or liturgy. However, within that context, the church allowed ethnic preferences (e.g., in architecture, music, and the homily [weekly sermon]; Hunt & Kunkel, 1998; Lazerson, 1977; Sanders, 1977). Individual parish churches established Catholic schools along these same lines, and these became an attractive alternative for immigrants who found public schools unwelcoming of their languages and cultures (Hunt & Kunkel, 1998; Lazerson, 1977; Sanders, 1977). Catholic schools and churches took on the culture of the dominant ethnicity within the parish; instead of embodying the universal concept of worship, these churches became ethnic enclaves, with an acute sense of who belonged and who did not. Combined with state-sanctioned discrimination and prevalent social customs, Black Catholics were not allowed to worship or attend school except in designated African American parishes. If a

White parish allowed Blacks to attend mass, they had to either stand or sit in specific

pews normally so labeled and located in the rear of the chruch (Hunt & Kunkel, 1998;

Lazerson, 1977; Sanders, 1977).

Since Louisiana held so many Black Catholics, when the American Catholic

leaders met at the Second Plenary Council in 1866, they requested that the New Orleans

archdiocese help recommend a plan for the pastoral care of newly emancipated slaves.

The New Orleans contingent answerd not with a plan, but the advice that Catholics leave

race decisions to local control (Bennett, 2005). Bennett (2005) stated, "This inability to

discuss ministry to African Americans in explicitly theological language or in reference

to biblical mandates would remain characteristic of the American Catholic hierarchy's

approach to racial concerns well into the twentieth century" (p. 146).

Catholic justifications for remaining segregated were partially the result of

grafting theology with their own practices. While Catholic teachings did not assert that

Black people were sub-human, they also did not defend against such ideas, nor did they

push for equality for Black members (Bennett, 2005). Another justification centered on

knowing and accepting one's God-assigned station in life (Bennett, 2005). Laypeople

also constantly challenged the Church hierarchy's capability to tell them what was in the

best interest of their families, since priests could not marry and had no children (Bennett,

2005). Similar to other denominations, segregationists used Bible passages to prove that

God believed in segregation, and they challenged priests to prove that it was morally wrong (Bennett, 2005).[4]

Southern ideas about an ignorant, hyper-sexual Black male also hindered the belief that they would succeed in seminary training and a celibate lifestyle necessary for the priesthood (Bennett, 2005). A southern clubwoman's perspective was shared by many: "All human beings are fashioned to certain places, and theirs [African Americans'] is utilitarian rather than artistic. It's due to their savage background and slavery" (Lewis, 1991, p. 67). According to Bennett (2005), "The passive neglect of preceding generations veered to active exclusion" (p. 146). First, seating was segregated; later, separate Black churches and schools were established, and most were inferior to White institutions. While the public justification was that Black parishes were erected for the comfort of African Americans, it more often was done to keep them away from White parishes (Fairclough, 1995).

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[4] Whites' preference for separation can be attributed to a confluence of dynamics. Southern clergy convinced church leadership to leave the matter of ministering to African Americans up to local dioceses. (This argument had strong resonance with Confederate ideology, which claimed the South was in the best position to resolve its own race problems. The national government's compromise of letting the South self-govern is the key concession that led to the end of the Civil War. See Franklin.) When the American Catholic Plenary Council held its 1866 meeting, and the conference leader asked Archbishop of New Orleans to offer advice to the attendees on the best means of ministering to former slaves, his answer was to leave it to local dioceses to decide what was best for them. In consequence, the Church did not develop an overall plan for the care of its Black members. Among other contributing factors, Catholics focused more on establishing charitable programs for Black members than justice for them within Catholic spaces. Priests also did not want to alienate powerful lay people in the Church, many who were connected to the Democratic Party, which had been the party of White supremacy. Catholics also found ways to reconcile Church doctrine with their actions. For example, the doctrine of fulfilling one's role in the Church was used to justify separation. Without leadership pushing for equality, and most lay members opposed to it, the Church was in no rush to ensure justice to its Black members and progress toward school desegregation stifled. *See Bennett.*

1960s New Orleans was home to more Black Catholics than any other U.S. city (Manning & Rogers, 2002). The public school system served 90,000 students in a dual system, almost 60,000 of whom were non-White (Baker, 1996). Catholics also ran a dual system for its 75,000 students, 12,000 of whom were African American (Crain, 2010). More than anything, social custom and the desire to maintain good relations in the south had accounted for Catholic acquiescence to slavery (Fairclough, 1995). Thus, ensuring that White people were not forced to do something they did not desire to do trumped morality, and the New Orleans Catholic Church, as other institutions in the South, maintained the racially segregated set-up. Catholics were not sectionally divided on questions of slavery or segregation; separate Catholic schools and churches operated elsewhere in the country, not just in the south (Fairclough, 1995).

Archival records showed that St. Louis (MO) was the first Catholic school system to desegregate, and it did so in 1948 under Archbishop Joseph Ritter (Newman, 2007). Between 1947 and 1963, other archdioceses desegregated with varying levels of tension. The archdiocese of Miami, as well as the coalition comprised of Atlanta, GA, Savannah, GA, and Charleston, SC offer noteworthy examples of locations that took alternative approaches to Catholic school desegregation (Newman, 2011). These locations were especially significant for their leaders' action orientation compared with Archbishop Rummel, whose tactics were more passive and centered primarily on the issuance of Pastoral letters that were read to congregations during mass. His letters, while reflective of the need for structural and cultural reform, lacked commensurate actions and thereby failed to create traction necessary for change (Poché, 2006).

The aforementioned other dioceses and their temporal leaders have been studied rather extensively. Several scholars researched Catholicism in Florida over different time periods: Gannon (1967) from 1513 to 1870 and McNally (1996) from 1868 to 1968. McNally (1996) focused on Florida's West Coast between 1860 and 1968; the latter two works chronicled actions during the civil rights movement. McDonogh (1993) produced work on Black Catholics in Savannah, GA. Shelley (1989) conducted one of the principal studies covering the period of the Catholic civil rights movement in Atlanta, GA, focusing on Archbishop Paul Hallinan who made the decision to desegregate its school system. Newman (2007, 2011) detailed accounts of all three locations, and several others in addition. While these researchers showed insight to ways in which Catholic school desegregation unfolded in the named dioceses, they focused on the actions of church, lay, external civil rights and political leaders, not the students. To some degree, McDonogh (1993) offered first-hand perspectives from Black Catholic adults, especially as they expressed their disagreement with diocese decisions to close Black parishes and schools.

Archbishop Rummel, the head of the Catholic Church in New Orleans, even as he denounced racism, let it prevail for all but the last two years of his 27-year tenure (Fairclough, 1995). He waited futilely for his flock to embrace equality on their own. In 1956, he announced in a Pastoral letter that Catholic school integration would begin gradually, one grade at a time (Crain, 2010). Protesters converged on his home, burned a cross on his lawn, and withdrew promises of contributions to capital projects. Catholic schools remained racially segregated (Crain, 2010). In 1959, Archbishop Rummel announced that Catholic schools would integrate before public schools did so, but by the

end of the year, he reversed this announcement, claiming that Catholic schools would remain segregated until after public school integration had been effected (Fairclough, 1995). At that point, it hardly mattered because his inaction and the continuation of segregationist practices told his flock everything they needed to know about social justice in the New Orleans Catholic Church – it was not going to occur anytime soon.

White public school parents wanted to close schools rather than desegregate (Crain, 2010; Fairclough, 1995). When violence and tensions were mounting as public schools in New Orleans attempted to desegregate, many looked to the Catholic Church, which had given signs of intolerance for continued racism, to provide a powerful example. However, that leadership never arrived (Crain, 2010). The head of the Catholic Church in New Orleans let temporal, political pressure and funding continue the long legacy of racial oppression in the Church. Catholics had already found a way to justify slavery. The segue to mere segregation was not very difficult and could even be justified as moving in the right direction.

Tarrow (2008) suggests that shifts in political opportunities are key to understanding when conditions exist for contentious collective action/social movements. The larger civil rights movement drove Black people to unify with similar-thinking Whites and push for their rights to equality. Many, including Dr. Martin Luther King (1963), expected to find support from religious domains and were surprised and disappointed when it was not forthcoming. The depth of King's disappointment prompted him to write a now famous letter to fellow members of the clergy in his 1963 *Letter From*

a Birmingham Jail. King (1963) wrote, "I have been so greatly disappointed with the

White church and its leadership" (para. 2). King (1963) further stated,

> I have looked at the South's beautiful churches with their lofty spires pointing heavenward. I have beheld the impressive outlines of her massive religious education buildings. Over and over I have found myself asking: "What kind of people worship here? Who is their God? Where were their voices when the lips of Governor Barnett dripped with words of interposition and nullification? Where were they when Governor Wallace gave a clarion call for defiance and hatred? Where were their voices of support when bruised and weary Negro men and women decided to rise from the dark dungeons of complacency to the bright hills of creative protest?" Yes, these questions are still in my mind. In deep disappointment I have wept over the laxity of the church. (para. 3)

Over the years of serial announcements and postponements, Catholic clerics and

lay groups organized for collective action, staged protests, wrote letters, threatened

boycotts, and even appealed to the Vatican (Fairclough, 1995). Themes in the civil rights

movement included promoting pride, unity, and empowerment rather than integration and

acquiescence; Black Catholics believed they deserved to be treated equally by their

church. It was in this tense, racially charged climate in September 1962 that the first

Black students entered previously all-White institutions in New Orleans. Even then, it

was not Rummel but his co-adjudicator Archbishop John Cody, brought in to assist the

aged and ill leader, who gave the order to desegregate (Fairclough, 1995).

An African American Catholic religious identity forms. Many, though not all

Black Catholic churches, adopted elements of the aforementioned "sacred cosmos,"

identified by scholars (Lincoln & Mamiya, 1990, p. 20). They found these more relatable

compared with the traditional, symbolic, ritualistic Catholic worship service. Leadership

focused more on appeasement of White members' protests than advancement of equality

and inclusion for Black members (Bennett, 2005). The incremental separation of the

races precipitated the crystallization of a wholly separate Black Catholic identity, which

to a significant degree is sustained to this day; furthermore, this identity formed not in

spite of, but because of the shocking and exclusionist manner in which Blacks found

themselves treated, both at the individual and institutional levels (Bennett, 2005). All

factors considered, they felt inferior and unwelcome by members and leaders in the

church to which they claimed membership. Without slavery, Catholics had adopted race

as a marker:

> Black and White Catholics … stood more divided by race than united by any
> common religious affiliation, practice, or heritage. And it was not merely
> separation, but inferiority. While White Catholics worshiped under priests of their
> same race and sent their children to financially stable schools, Black Catholics
> struggled under White teachers, priests, and prelates who were often unable to
> escape their own racial biases. (Bennett, 2005, p. 228)

Because Catholics believed that their faith would lead them to heaven, their Black

members were in the worst possible position – having to choose between their dignity

and their faith (Bennett, 2005). Jim Crow so widened the gap between Black and White

in the church that no real claim of a "common religious identity" could be put forth

(Bennett, 2005, p. 228). Phelps (1997), Hayes and Davis (1998), and Copeland (2009)

offered additional perspectives on the history, thoughts and experiences of Black

Catholics. Tardy (2006) wrote about the experience of being Catholic at a young age in

1940s segregated New Orleans, and the discrimination she endured as she navigated a

society divided by race. From her memoirs, one can gain an understanding about why

being Black, Catholic, and a New Orleanian constitutes an identity around which many

still cohere and find community. By describing unique aspects of the New Orleans

experience with literary flair, her account offered insight as to why Black Catholics might

sustain a deep connection with the faith. For example, she was inspired by St. Augustine, who she described as "a brilliant and most celebrated teacher, philosopher, theologian and doctor of the church," who was Black (Tardy, 2006 p. 86). Even though the schools and churches she attended were segregated, she developed a deep faith in God and fellowship with other Catholics based on common rituals that everyone practiced. One of Tardy's (2006) fondest memories was of the importance placed on the sacrament of one's First Communion. "As was the custom in New Orleans, [on that occasion] you visited everyone related to you, plus anyone else close to your family, to spread the wonderful news that you 'made your Big Communion'" (Tardy, 2006, p. 39).

Catholic leaders and desegregation. Scholarly works on American Catholic Church bishops and archbishops who served in southern dioceses during the 1960s are numerous and extoll their many accomplishments. Works by McDonogh (1993), McNally (1996), Shelley (1989), and Newman (2011) are notable and utilized with other sources in chapter four to construct a timeline of desegregation in New Orleans, LA; Miami, FL; Savannah, GA; Atlanta, GA; and Charleston, SC. However, none desegregated Catholic schools until the 1960s, many simultaneous with or after public schools had done so. Literature showed that many came to accept that canonical law was incoherent with segregation, but cultural violence in the form of negative assumptions about African Americans legitimized their inaction. As they delayed, they privileged the segregationist perspective that White parishioners should not be forced to do something they did not want to do and reinforced that the Catholic Church considered Black parishioners unfit to occupy the same spaces as everyone else (Anderson, 2005; Cook,

1985; Fairclough, 1995; McDonogh, 1993). Archbishop Paul J. Hallinan was the only one in literature found to have given any attention to what the Black school children integrating the schools were encountering (as cited in Shelley, 1989). He did so by writing each of the 17 African American families involved in Catholic school desegregation a letter prior to their first day in the previously all-White institutions, acknowledging their roles and thanking them for their courage (Shelley, 1989).

Literature shows that as Black families expressed frustration at the slow pace of progress toward desegregation, bishops and archbishops responded by asking them to continue to be patient (Anderson, 2005; Cook, 1985; Fairclough, 1995; McDonogh, 1993). Even when schools desegregated, they planned to do so one grade at a time, to help the White children and their parents become more comfortable and acclimated, while Blacks wondered why their experience was subordinated and custom prevailed over morality (Anderson, 2005; Fairclough, 1995; McDonogh, 1993; Newman, 2011). Of the delay, one church, St. Gabriel the Archangel (1980) stated,

> These were not popular decisions in the Black community … [F]or more parents
> wanted their children to attend. They were anxious that their children be afforded
> a Catholic education in their own area. But they had been patient and remained so.
> (para. 2)

Such actions further angered families who believed that Black people had waited long enough for fair treatment by their church.

Part 4. A Child Shall Lead Them: Children as the Desegregation Apparatus

Isaiah chapter 11 verse six of the *Holy Bible* describes a vision of peace with the image of various species occupying the same space without conflict: "The wolf also shall live with the lamb, the leopard shall lie down with the young goat, the calf and the lion

and the fatling together, and a little child shall lead them" (*The Holy Bible*, KJV). A survey of literature did not produce many examples of desegregation from the viewpoint of children who went into schools and had to inaugurate a new paradigm of equality in previously segregated schools. To the extent the literature existed, it involved children who desegregated public, not Catholic schools. Considerably more literature focused on older student roles in the desegregation of public spaces, such as lunch counters and retail establishments. Even then, substantially more literature was described from the state and institutional, not the individual student lens.

Ruby Bridges (1999) was six years old when she desegregated William Frantz public school in New Orleans in 1960. Throngs of angry people demonstrated against desegregation of her school and threatened her family, so she was escorted by federal marshals as she arrived and departed. None of the other first graders' parents wanted their children to attend school with a Black student, so she was taught alone in a classroom with her teacher. In 1999, Bridges recounted her experience in a book. Though it was directed to elementary school children, pertinent themes in the desegregation experience were identifiable. Bridges (1999) reported being frightened as she arrived to and departed from school every day. In addition, Melba Patillo Beals (1994), one of the nine students to have desegregated Central High School in Little Rock, penned a memoir. Though far apart in age when they experienced desegregation, they nonetheless reported some common experiences (Beals, 1994; Bridges, 1999).

Themes reported by Bridges (1999) from her experience as a young child desegregating a school included an unawareness that the conflict was occurring; social

isolation; and confusion at finding herself harassed without knowing the cause. Both

Bridges (1999) and Beals (1994) experienced being targets of aggression; being put in the

situation by parents and civil rights organization leaders; and animosity from community

members, most of the teachers, and most of the students. They also experienced fear for

their personal safety, nightmares, and an incapability to determine who could be trusted.

Both Bridges (1999) and Beals (1994) reported that their experiences had a bearing on

their later lives (e.g., a comfort level with and openness to diverse friendships and

associations). While each noted that they did not enjoy the experience, bitterness was

considerably erased by the realization that they underwent adversity so that students who

followed would not need to (Beals, 1994; Bridges, 1999). These authors also specified

that the element that made the most difference in their ability to endure the situation was

the understanding and support of family, friends, and community adults. Both asserted

that they doubted they would place their own children into such a situation.

Baker (1996) produced one of the more detailed histories of school desegregation

in Louisiana. Her analysis explains many of the political and social factors that rendered

the conflict complex and volatile. Baker (1996) described roles of individuals who

worked at the institutional, community, and state levels to end discrimination in public

and Catholic schools in New Orleans. Though not dedicated to the expression of young

voices, the work includes descriptions of public school children who endured pressure,

intimidation and harassment to enter previously segregated schools, and for several pages

elaborates upon their actions and those of their parents and family members as they did

so. Baker (1996) wrote regarding the first day of public school desegregation in New

Orleans:

> At approximately 9:25 A.M., the arrival of two automobiles at the all-white
> William Frantz Elementary School … started the day off. At the same time an
> important new chapter in the deep South history opened …. Out of the car popped
> a little black girl, Ruby Bridges. Her mother, Lucille Bridges, had told her only
> that she was going to a new school. – she'd gone to an all-black Kindergarten the
> year before – and that there were people who weren't going to like her being
> there, might even "hate" her. When Lucille assured her daughter they couldn't
> hurt her, not with all the marshals there to protect her, Ruby's final comment was
> an offer to pray for her antagonists. (p. 395)

Verderame (2016) interviewed three women who, as high school students,

desegregated Ursulines Academy in New Orleans. She reported in a short article that she,

as a White student, had been unaware of the adversities that her three Black classmates

had faced. She and her White cohorts had over the ensuing years congratulated

themselves on having been in the first class to include Black students, not realizing the

difficulties the three Black students had experienced. Furthermore, her interviews with

faculty members verified that none of the teachers received training on methods and

practices for transitioning the all-White school to racially integrated.

Verderame (2016) reported the many struggles that the Black students faced,

included among these, students refusing to touch or interact with them or even handle

items that had passed through their hands. She had not realized that the Black students

had given up friendships and social ties they had formed with children since grammar

school to integrate Ursulines Academy. The Black students also experienced extreme

social isolation. Though they participated in school activities, they were never invited to

homes of classmates. The author's 66 White classmates considered themselves

progressive merely because of the presence of three Black students; however, Verderame

later learned that the school did nothing to help any of the White or Black pupils to

embrace diversity and inclusion. Though the Black students experienced discrimination

and exclusion, they reported being proud of the part they had played in the New Orleans

civil rights movement. They acknowledged that the experience had prepared them for a

multicultural world more than would have a segregated school (Verderame, 2016).

Verderame's (2016) article was rare among researchers examining integration because it

concerned the Catholic school setting and was framed from the students' perspectives.

Levine (1993) interviewed 30 individuals who as children or teenagers were

involved in the civil rights movement. Her work focused on young people who marched,

boycotted, and desegregated public spaces during significant civil rights events. She

traveled to towns that were the sites of such activities, and searched for youth who had

taken part. Her chapter on school desegregation includes excerpts from interviews of

young children who attended segregated public elementary schools, but did not

experience desegregation. The older children interviewed were teenagers who

experienced public school desegregation at the high school level. Similar to the Catholic

school setting, Black students in Levine's (1993) study reported high levels of racial

hostility; many experienced disparaging comments, and the White students who did not

want to touch or interact with, or ignored them. The interview participants encountered

teachers who resented having to instruct them, and held negative assumptions about their

ability (Levine, 1993). Her work included the perspective of a Black student whose

mother lost a job because her employer discovered that her daughter was participating in

desegregation of a previously all-White school. Levine (1993) also discussed the inferior

resources directed to Black public schools, whose students noticed that all of their

textbooks were previously used. "You really felt the second-class citizenship in the

educational system," one said (p. 33). The author noted,

> [D]espite the limited resources, black children in segregated schools were at least
> in a safe environment. Their first experiences of integration were startling by
> contrast. Although none of them anticipated warm welcomes, neither did they
> expect the depth and extent of the hostility they encountered from white students
> and often teachers. They persisted, and in that persistence exhibited an
> extraordinary strength and single-mindedness of purpose. (Levine, 1993, p. 33)

Though not a scholarly work, Denise Cherry (2015) wrote autobiographically

about her experience as an African American sixth grader who desegregated a public

school in North Carolina in 1966. She and her siblings experienced being followed to

school by armed members of the White supremacist Ku Klux Klan on the first day of

desegregation. As a sixth grader living in the south, she knew who they were:

> That fall morning, the bus stopped in front of our house. As I walked to the bus,
> the pick-up truck behind the bus was crowded with men sitting in the open back
> in loose White pointed uniforms. Living in that area, everyone knew who they
> were, the Ku Klux Klan. They had rifles, but they were not pointed at me. The
> news said they were out following the buses to "protect their White Race."
> (Cherry, 2015, p. 14)

Cherry (2015) chronicled her thoughts as she experienced being humiliated by

students and ignored by teachers. She recalled the bus driver directing her to sit in the

back of the bus. Cherry (2015) said, "As I walked down the aisle of the bus, the [White]

students grabbed one another with fear and terror on some of their young faces" (p. 14).

Some of the children cried, others laughed. Chapter four will show that the experiences of

children who would not touch or interact with her was not unique to Black students who

desegregated public schools. Referring to the students on her bus, Cherry (2015) described that as she walked down the aisle, they "clung to one another leaning closely as they could away from my presence toward the windows" (p. 14).

Similar to others, Cherry (2015) identified rare experiences of kind White students and teachers who themselves became targets or risked doing so because they acted in caring ways toward the African American students. To these individuals, she assigned the term "quiet heroes" (Cherry, 2015, p. 21). Recalling the actions of two White girls in her class, she recollected knowing that they interacted with her at great peril to their own safety. Cherry recalled (2015), "They [the unprejudiced students] could be shunned by all of their classmates they had known for years and called the dreaded 'n-lover'" (p. 21). However, the two White girls extended friendly gestures toward her at a time when other White students either were hostile or fearful of becoming a target. Cherry (2015) wrote about the perceptiveness and humanity of which young children were capable, which made a difference in her own experience:

> They somehow must have known the absolute power that kind words and a friendly 'hello' make on a human soul. Sometimes it happened just in passing or when we lined up. They would at times turn their heads quickly, look directly at me and smile in secret. … This may seem very insignificant to someone reading this in this day in time. But when you are treated like you are hated everywhere you go, or banned from popular society because of something you did not bring upon yourself … and when you realize that no one in life owes you anything, you are genuinely and humbly grateful for any act of kindness and civility. (p. 21)

Cherry (2015) wrote similarly about a few teachers who came to the school later after the ones who had ignored her left. She noted their exemplary courage in forgoing social standing and risking careers and friendships by choosing to work in the newly integrated schools as opposed to others who had departed because they did not want to

teach Black students. The newly-arrived teachers were targets in a society that did not readily accept racial integration. Again, the researcher found themes similar to those experienced by other young students who desegregated school spaces, namely being sent by trusted others, and in the end sensing a strong duty to perform well to prove their fitness for the integrated setting. Cherry was in sixth grade living in a segregated society, so she had more knowledge about the situation and experience with segregation compared with younger students in the researcher's interview group. Similar to participants in the researcher's group, Cherry could articulate claims about her experiences and establish a narrative of what occurred. For example, when the White supremacist Ku Klux Klan burned a cross on a neighbor's lawn and threw a gasoline-filled bottle into their window, she had trouble sleeping or feeling safe.

Irvine and Foster (1996) offered a collection of essays on a range of topics from academic achievement of Black Catholic students to the African American Oblate Sisters of Providence. One chapter shared a first-hand account of a Black student attending a Catholic school, though not one who experienced desegregation. Similarly, Tardy (2006) penned an autobiography on being African American and Catholic in New Orleans; however, it was not associated with an experience of desegregation. Cast primarily in the 1940s and 1950s, Tardy (2006) explored the prejudice and discrimination she faced as a young child living in a segregated southern city.

The New Orleans *Times-Picayune* newspaper covered the Catholic school desegregation crisis at the time, but also published several articles more recently (Waller, 2013). One article in 2013 by Waller centered on students who desegregated Jesuit high

school. As has been established, religious orders of priests and nuns (not the archdiocese) operated some of the schools. Elsewhere in the south, religious orders desegregated their domains on their own time, but in New Orleans, all of the Catholic schools remained segregated, whether parish-run or parochial.

Waller (2013), writing 50 years after the 1963 march on Washington, noted, "For New Orleans in the year before the march, the integration of Catholic schools in 1962-63 was a major civil rights milestone, long in the making under Archbishop Joseph Francis Rummel" (para. 2). He described Jesuit's assembly of a panel of students who had integrated the high school in 1962; the purpose was to share the students' experiences with the New Orleans community as part of the school's commemoration of the 50th anniversary of civil rights leader Martin Luther King's "I Have a Dream" speech. One commenter to the story stated the importance of understanding what the students endured: "We cannot turn back the hand of time, but we can learn from the personal accounts of those who walked in those footprints of early integration" (Waller, 2013, p. 2).

Cultural trauma theory for deconstructing student experiences. One can examine the African American Catholic experiences using cultural trauma theory (Alexander, Eyerman, Giesen, Smelser, & Sztompka, 2001; Eyerman, 2001). Viewed in this manner, a population's identity arises from the collective memory of shared cultural trauma experienced by its people. Eyerman (2001) defined cultural trauma as a deep injury to the cultural framework of a previously intact community. Those who share the cultural identity need not have suffered the root experience directly (Alexander et al., 2001; Eyerman, 2001). For African American Catholics, trauma is inherent in a heritage

of bondage and subordination, as well as neglect of the injuries sustained (Eyerman, 2001). Slavery was not limited to servitude, but also included experiences of violence, rape, murder, beatings, humiliation, and acts that left deep wounds on their victims' bodies, lives, and minds (Eyerman, 2001). The culture's collective trauma was expressed in the realization by African Americans that a severing had occurred after which they were no longer considered a part of the larger community of American citizens.

Key here is that cultural or collective trauma is an injury to the links that attach a group of people to a larger community (Erikson, 1976). The injury may not be immediately felt, as is often the case in physical trauma. It results in the eventual realization by the culture that it is no longer part of the larger community (Erikson, 1976). Cultural trauma takes on permanence through collective memory and remediation (Eyerman, 2001).

African American history has naturally and strategically been remediated or re-told and carried into successive generations through a variety of means (Alexander et al., 2001; Eyerman, 2001). Collective memory plays a significant part. Middleton and Edwards (1990) suggested, "In the contest between varying accounts of shared experiences, people reinterpret and discover features of the past that become context and content for what they will jointly recall and commemorate on future occasions" (p. 7). Cultural trauma theory shows that the memory of the original injury is passed through the community through stories, letters, commemorations, and sometimes even media, literature, the arts and so forth, and survives successive generations (Alexander et al.,

2001; Eyerman, 2001). Trauma, whether it was experience directly or not, endures in the

community through such remediation (Alexander et al., 2001; Eyerman, 2001).

Critical race theory. The domain of critical race theory (CRT) can help scholars

to understand the African American Catholic experience. At the core of CRT is the

concept of race as imbued within every aspect of American society (Delgado &

Stefancic, 2012). Race is present because of the foundational structures upon which the

country is built (Delgado & Stefancic, 2012). Critical race theorists and practitioners

place race and power in a broader paradigm that includes other domains, such as history,

politics, and economics (Delgado & Stefancic, 2012). CRT attempts to identify and

transform the roots of practices, customs, and protocols that support racism and sustain

an unequal society (Delgado & Stefancic, 2012). It moves beyond mere learning about

problems and toward actions which engender durable change (Kolivoski, Weaver, &

Monique, 2014). The CRT framework includes beliefs, three of which the researcher

applied to understanding the African American Catholic identity: (a) acknowledgement

of privilege, (b) artificiality and social construction of race, and (c) strategic racialization.

1. Acknowledgement of privilege. White privilege yields psychological and material benefits to the dominant group (Delgado & Stefancic, 2012). For example, segregationists argued that slavery was necessary principally for African Americans' own good. In fact it benefitted planters who became rich through unpaid labor. Some Whites deny the existence of any lingering effects of historical discrimination and support race-neutral policies. CRT theorists would find it ironic that those who have benefitted the most from special treatment later cried the loudest for colorblind policies.

2. Race is artificial and socially-constructed. Scientifically, very little genetic information separates races (Delgado & Stefancic, 2012). When slavery was discontinued, Black people thought that they would live in an equal society, but segregationist Whites adopted race as a marker and have used it to justify continued the subordination.

3. Strategic racialization. Over time, the dominant society racializes minorities depending on market needs (Delgado & Stefancic, 2012). For example, African Americans at different points in history have been stereotyped as meek, docile, indolent, sub-human, buffoonish, angry, child-like, sex-crazed, angry, diseased, cool, needy, dangerous, or in myriad other ways, depending on the needs of the dominant society.

CRT methods also involve strategies, such as examining revisionist interpretations (Delgado & Stefancic, 2012) of civil rights progress in America. As one example, the New Orleans Catholic church now stories itself as having fought for instead of having been passive on integration; doing so, privileges it as an institution.

Part 5. Catholic School Children: A Hidden Voice of the Civil Rights Movement

A large body of work exists on the civil rights movement generally and public school desegregation particularly. Scholars have examined many themes, actors, and concepts, which have added to the overall complexity of this body of work (Eagles, 2000). While many have devoted themselves to revealing its neglected, under-studied and un-heard voices, Eagles (2000) found little literature concerning the desegregation of private schools. Lawson's (2014) more recent study, together with its extensive annotated bibliography, identified numerous works that had probed the African American struggle for freedom from 1941, through the civil rights movement, the Black empowerment era, and the election of country's first African American President. This later work did not identify studies on the desegregation of Catholic schools in New Orleans or elsewhere. Overall, the researcher found that studies devoted to desegregation of Catholic schools by young children were sparse. The few titles that this study found of either Catholic school desegregation, or desegregation experiences of young children, were discussed in Part 4

of this chapter. The dearth of literature on Catholic school desegregation by young children bolsters the need for this research.

The more extensively studied collateral themes, such as Black Catholics and civil rights in New Orleans, provide context on the chronology and landscape against which Catholic school desegregation occurred. Massingale (2010) produced a study on racial justice views of the Catholic Church throughout its history in America. His work offers insight into institutional and cultural forms of racism and white privilege in the church, and analyzes Pastoral letters issued by the organization of U.S. Catholic Bishops. Davis (1996) added to scholarly work by examining the history of Black Catholics in America. While Davis (1996) conducted a deep and provocative probe into Black religious life over 300 years, the work did not include the experiences of young children in desegregation.

Authors have explored themes in Catholic desegregation in Louisiana. Emanuel and Tureaud Jr. (2011) chronicled the actions of the latter's father, African American attorney A.P. Tureaud, who indefatigably brought civil rights cases to all-White courts in the legal struggle to end discrimination in Louisiana. A chapter on Catholics touches upon A.P. Tureaud's experiences with interracial student groups, and describes how unprepared and generally inhospitable was the New Orleans community for desegregation. The literature relates the subject's experiences of having to navigate through picket lines erected by the anti-integration Association of Catholic Laymen in order to meet with Catholic leadership. Adam Fairclough's (1995) in-depth study of the civil rights struggle in Louisiana focuses on the period between 1915 and 1972.

Fairclough's (1995) work is useful for understanding racial nuance in Louisiana, and the existence of a tri-racial society, unique in America. The work explains the political, social and economic conditions that influenced civil rights era events in the state. Bennett (2005) also centered the religious sphere in a study of Protestant and Catholic churches in New Orleans during the emergence, and slow, often raucous pre-civil rights era efforts to dismantle segregation. R. Bentley Anderson, a Jesuit priest who had uncommon access to Catholic Church archives, studied Black and White interracial efforts that occurred in New Orleans between 1947 and 1956, many led by Fr. Joseph Fichter (Anderson, 2005). Anderson (2005) chronicled the actions of key Catholic organizations and individuals beginning after World War II during the time when New Orleans and the larger American society began to induce the church to reexamine its position on segregation. Though early efforts failed to change church policies, Anderson (2005) finds that actions by the Jesuits and student organizations, such as staging interracial Catholic gatherings, were nascent steps that opened a dialogue about integration in New Orleans. Alternative views, including perspectives of young children who participated in Catholic school desegregation, or whose roles have heretofore been eclipsed by those of more dominant actors, would add texture and complexity to the Catholic school area of civil rights study.

Conclusion

The Notre Dame study (2011; as cited in Fraga, 2015) concluded that Black people could still experience exclusion from other members of the Catholic Church. The study also showed that Black Catholics considered their sense of identity and engagement in the church as strong; 78 percent reported satisfaction with their spiritual needs

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compared with 68.7 percent of Whites (Notre Dame study as cited in Fraga, 2015). Forty-eight percent of African American Catholics reported attending mass once a week compared with 30.4 percent of their White counterparts (Simon, 2011). Taken together, literature reviewed here showed a salient theme in African Americans continuing to practice their faith over a 400-year history in the American Catholic church, but many times sensing and realizing that neither their experiences nor the sacrifices they made were generally understood or appreciated.

Jesus was the Lamb of God who took away the sins of the world; young Black Catholics also acted as sacrificial lambs to take away the sins of discrimination practiced by the church. Future scholarship could build on Black members' strong and enduring faithfulness to have remained in a community that treated them so unfairly for so long. Such scholarship could result in deepening the understanding between various groups of each other, and making the experience of Catholicism more satisfying for all of its members, not just for Blacks. African Americans have also felt ignored (Notre Dame study; as cited in Fraga, 2015); researchers could examine ways in which the Church could make them an active part of reform, especially when directed to the inclusion of marginalized groups.

The researcher found that a gap in U.S. African American and civil rights history remained concerning the experiences of African Americans who attended Catholic schools before, during, and after desegregation. The researcher studied experiences of young, elementary level Black students (as well as some high school students) who entered the school system at a time of heightened tension. Their voices were missing

from the official stories; arguably, they had a front seat to desegregation that would not

have happened without them. They not only had to enter the conflict, but the pressure

was also on them to prove that they belonged so that others like them could follow and

eventually peace between the races could endure. John Siegenthaler was a White reporter

who left journalism in 1960 to become Robert Kennedy's administrative assistant at the

Department of Justice; Kennedy asked him to become a Freedom Rider, and he did (as

cited in Egerton, Lawrence, & Lawson, 2008). Asked to comment about how

desegregation occurred, he said, "It was those brave parents who decided 'I'm going to

put my child in the school closest to us. There might be resistance and danger, but I'm

going to do it" (Egerton et al., 2008, scene 1). Waller (2013) wrote that Black students

who integrated New Orleans Schools "played a role in an extraordinary movement that

helped change how people in [the] region saw and treated each other" (p. 2).

Cherry (2015) memorialized her experiences similarly, focusing away from the

institutional, legislative, and societal realm, and on the young students and their families:

> Perhaps the most remarkable heroes were the Black boys and girls who were
> among those who integrated the all-White school that first year … They were
> unimaginably brave, courageous, symbolic warriors-for-justice and equality.
> These boys and girls face[d] adversity with strength and dignity …. They paved
> the way for others, who thankfully were spared "some" of the horrors, and whose
> experiences escaped the utter shock and awe of effects of that first year ... Along
> with these brave souls were our determined and hopeful parents and guardians
> who were pillars of strength that provided the encouragement and support that
> held us up. (p. 23)

The foregoing review of literature on African American education, the formation

of a Black Catholic worldview, segregation and desegregation in Catholic spheres, the

use of children as desegregation instruments; and untold stories of the civil rights

movement led to the conclusion that the Catholic Church contributed to the cultural

trauma experienced by its Black members, but has not necessarily attended to that

trauma; thus, it has been remediated and brought into the present. Alexander et al. (2001)

asserted that responders to cultural trauma must help the injured community to state its

claims and to propose and support the acceptance of a new more inclusive narrative going

forward. If healing requires a range of media channels wherein the narrative can be

constructed and analyzed (Neal, 1998), the student perspective on school desegregation is

an important, yet understudied domain for investigation.

Chapter Three:
Research Design

Research Questions

As has been established, the Catholic Church placed its African American

members in the situation of having to wait and fight for equality for reasons described

previously. Focusing on Black students who directly experienced segregation and then

school integration, the researcher asked the following:

1. What did the Black students who desegregated Catholic schools experience as
    actors charged to bring about an integrated, unitary environment?

2. New Orleans Catholic leadership vacillated and delayed as tension and
    incidents of intimidation and violence increased. What did other archdioceses
    do to inaugurate integration that might have been helpful to the case of New
    Orleans?

3. What bearing (if any) did the integration resistance movement have on
    African American children attending Catholic schools?

Epistemology and Methodology

The researcher conducted a qualitative study using an interpretive method,

meaning responses were socially co-constructed rather than objectively determined

(Lincoln & Guba, 1985); the researcher also used a narrative approach. The study uses

the term "narrative" as defined by Czarniawska (2004): "Narrative is understood as a

spoken or written text giving an account of an event/action or series of events/actions,

chronologically connected" (p. 17). Its utility extends beyond the objective to collect

stories of individuals. Narrative inquiry seeks to understand meanings that individuals

attach to their experiences (Polkinghorne, 1995). It attends both to what is told and how it

is told.

With narrative analysis, the practitioner considers how individual stories are

constructed and the effect the stories have on the construction of the storyteller's

worldview and identity (Polkinghorne, 1995). According to Rosenweld and Ochburg

(1992), "Personal stories are not merely a way of telling someone (or oneself) about

one's life; they are the means by which identities may be fashioned" (p. 1). Creswell

(2007) discussed narrative inquiry's ability to expose meanings about the lived

experiences of the storytellers, as well as to illuminate ways in which people see

themselves and others.

For this study, words, phrases, and sentences represented units collected and

examined. The researcher was interested in this method's ability to imply causality and

offer a sequence to a conflict, as suggested by Carter (1993). Beyond sequencing, the

researcher also wanted to employ narrative techniques in gaining an understanding of

assumptions about who possessed or lacked power, whether and how students exercised

agency, what methods were being used for making judgments about the virtuousness or

viciousness of others, and what (from the student perspective) was the social order in

which they lived.

The narrative study procedures entailed examining a small number of individuals

by using effective means of eliciting and collecting their stories, synching the stories

chronologically, identifying patterns and themes in the stories, analyzing the linkages and

meanings inherent in the stories, and placing the stories into a cohesive report of what the participants experienced. The Black student narratives were the focus of this research, which was designed to illuminate their experience in this conflict. Thus, the researcher incorporated semi-structured participant interviews in an effort to center the student experience and examine desegregation from that lens (see Appendix B). Stories emerged from those related to the researcher by interviewees, and each was co-constructed between the participant and herself. Thus, the researcher relied on dialogue, which made the study strongly collaborative.

During interviews, the researcher situated each story chronologically so that comparisons could be made. She accomplished this partly before each interview commenced; she asked participants what year they started Catholic school, what grade they were in at the time, what schools they attended (if any) prior to desegregation, and whether those schools were integrated or segregated. These questions were relevant because all of the stories needed to center around 1962, the year that Catholic schools in New Orleans desegregated. Some of the participants experienced segregated schools, and then desegregation, and others started school (Kindergarten, first grade or high school) in 1962, the year of desegregation. Additionally, the researcher included several participants who attended Catholic schools several years after desegregation had been instituted.

"Turning points" are common in narrative research (Denzin, 1989). To some extent, the researcher employed Polkinghorne's (1995) approach in the final report by relating stories in a literary manner, focusing on characters (students) within a certain plot (experiencing desegregation). Narratives of segregation opponents emerged from a

review of literature and diverse artifacts ranging from speeches and letters to signs held

by agitators and segregation resisters. The researcher applied collective axiology

theory—the group's value code of thoughts and beliefs around which it unified and

defined itself—to these narratives to gain an understanding of ways in which the

integration resistance movement formed and hindered Catholic school desegregation.

The researcher viewed the African American students who desegregated Catholic

schools as unique. Researchers in this realm have tended to focus on the lives and actions

of church leaders during the time of this great social change, and the researcher could

identify no study on the experiences of African American students in this particular

context, so this work was exploratory. Black students constructed themselves as young

people who were led by their families, and who were deserving of an education at New

Orleans' better, more well-funded schools despite a society that was telling them they

were not worthy. They were ordinary children who learned about race, discrimination,

and identity through interactions within Catholic structures.

The church had not sufficiently prepared itself, and consequently the climate was

not ready for the duty its Black students were expected to carry out. As a method,

narrative focuses on the experiences communicated "in the lived and told stories of

individuals" (Creswell, 2007, p. 70). This method fit the study well, as the research

centered on the detailed stories and life experiences of participants. The researcher used a

chronological frame with the interview questions, with emphasis on sequencing events in

the order that they occurred (Cortazzi, 1993). In this way, she unfolded participants'

stories based on elements of storytelling (e.g., getting ready for desegregation, going to

school the first day, what the participants experienced from teachers and other students, what they experienced traveling to and from school, etc.). She employed Carter's (1993) technique by establishing students as the main characters, and they followed a sequence through which they achieved a goal. Only one-on-one, not group interviews were conducted. Therefore, responses to the researcher's questions were individualized. However, all participants shared that they had frequently reflected on their experiences, and during their lives, had discussed the same with friends and family members. Remediation and group remembering are important elements of cultural trauma theory; these terms refer to the retelling, memorialization and commemoration of experiences and events as a process that keeps them alive.

To make meaning, the researcher related the stories of the former students, tracing their experiences, starting with any memories of being told about race or the tumultuous external environment in New Orleans, to descriptions of the extent to which the events they witnessed and lived have been remediated in their lives. These former students shared a collective identity that existed in their shared memories, which have been remediated with people in their circle and each other over the course of more than 50 years, reinforcing what happened as they have made meaning of their parts in the experiences.

Site of Research

To encourage maximum sharing, the researcher interviewed participants in person or by phone. Only one participant was unavailable by phone, and the researcher sent her a questionnaire, to which she provided written responses. To promote in-person meetings,

she selected participants who resided either in the Washington DC metropolitan area, whereshe lived during the research phase, or in New Orleans where she frequently visited. The researcher contacted some of the participants and told them about the study. She then identified others through snowballing, word of mouth, and referrals. Some referrals were derived from friends and siblings of participants.

Former student participants were from 58 to 71 years old and had experienced desegregation as elementary and high school children, accounting for this age difference. The parents interviewed were 82 and 84 years old and had sent their children to desegregate Catholic schools in New Orleans in 1962. The researcher wanted to understand why they made such a decision when public school desegregation in New Orleans, two years prior, had been so violent, marked by protests and threats, and in light of the intimidation that was ongoing in Catholic spheres in reaction to the prospect of integrated schools. The researcher also used comments from readers of two articles written in 2010 and 2013 on Catholic school integration in New Orleans.

Data and Data Collection

These sources of data for the study were extensive and varied. Data were derived from interviews, archival material (memos, letters, pamphlets, period newspaper clippings, newsletters speeches, and photographs), journal articles, recent newspapers, comments from readers, and literature. The researcher conducted interviews and was interviewed for the study.

Grounded theory as a guideline for analyzing interview data. Subjects that have not been probed deeply are well-suited to the use of grounded theory (GT), first

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developed by Glaser and Strauss (as cited in Strauss & Juliet, 1994). In this methodology, the researcher generates theory from the data that he/she collects with the objective of identifying categories that help to explain what occurred (Bloomberg & Volpe, 2016). Based on this theory, patterns became evident and salient as the researcher collected data for this study. After conducting her interviews of students who desegregated Catholic schools in New Orleans, themes emerged.

Validity is not a factor in GT, as much as fit and adaptability (Glaser, 2017). Data collected for this study showed that an overall classification of the "lamb" or "sacrificial lamb," as party to a conflict can be created, which is described later in this chapter and operationalized in chapter five. Gounded theory enables a researcher to extend beyond description to developing classifications to support theory (Corbin & Strauss, 2015).

Interviews. While the researcher drafted a notional protocol, she remained flexible in order to to maximize participant sharing. Interviews were an ideal method for inducing participants to express personal feelings and talk about experiences. First, narrative interviews are designed to associate respondents' meaning-making with the setting in which it occured (Mishler, 1986). Additionally, narrative interviews afforded the researcher an opportunity to gain awareness of ways in which these former students ordered and interpreted the world (Creswell, 2007). The researcher aimed to learn ways in which these African American students remembered their experiences of desegregating Catholic schools.

The semi-structured format allowed the asking of follow-up questions and the incorporation of any emergent insights. Themes arose from the interviews, and the

researcher assigned codes to each. She then coded each transcript so that she could ensure

attention to the research questions. She used axial and open codes to disaggregate the

common themes (see Table 2).

Table 2

Interview Coding

Construct	Themes	Concepts	Example
Experiences of African American Students Who Desegregated Catholic Schools in New Orleans	Cultural Trauma Theory	Collective Memory	We experienced something together
		Breach	We came to realize we were not part of the larger school community
		Recovery/Redemption	The Catholic Church should atone for past actions
	Critical Race Theory	Artificiality of Race	Some Black students were admitted because they looked White
		Strategic Racialization	Black people were stereotyped as ignorant/lazy, etc. depending on needs of Whites
		White Privilege	Some White students had no idea what the Black students were experiencing
	Lamb/Sacrificial Lamb	Innocent	I did not know anything about race
		Battlefield	Someone escorted me for protection
		Knowing/Trusted Other	My parents sent me into the situation
		Greater Good	My parents wanted to desegregate another space in New Orleans
		Peacekeeping	No one was prepared to mediate
		Lack of Teacher Preparation	Teachers were not prepared for the transition
		Lack of Community Preparation	Community members threw rocks at us when we passed their houses
		Social Isolation	No one invited us to social events or interacted with us if we went

Note. Summary of how researcher categorized themes that emerged from interviews.

The researcher also used grounded theory by constructing concepts through data analysis. This construction began with the first interview. In addition to audio-taping and transcribing interviews, the researcher memoed on themes that emerged. As she collected data through interviews and her own recollections, the themes and concepts became more crystallized. Memoing helped her to remain alert to patterns and turning points in stories related to her by the participants. The themes in the interviews that became the open codes included: bias from teachers, bias from students, bias from community, bias from the church, social isolation, remediated trauma, cultural community, collective memory, breach, redemption, knowing/trusted others, greater good, God-sent, innocent, battleground, peacekeeping, artificiality of race, acknowledgement of privilege, strategic racialization, and revisionist interpretations. The occurrence, not the weighting of these themes, was significant to the study. The purpose of listing themes was to code the interviews and use them as the building blocks for the researcher's use of grounded theory.

Once categories became evident, the researcher linked them to the theories used: cultural trauma theory and critical race theory. In addition to the theories used, the researcher found that to understand the conflict, the categories formed the basis of a useful metaphor of the lamb or sacrificial lamb as a conflict party. The researcher developed a model around the lamb/sacrificial lamb metaphor, and she constantly tested it as she wrote up her findings. She also constantly theorized throughout the data collection and analysis. She refined the coding scheme and nomenclature clearly enough so that no example could fall into more than one category. This methodology met the

objective of grounded theory because it generated concepts that explained how the Black students went about desegregating Catholic schools, and why they were in the situation in the first place. Thus, the *experience of desegregation* was the unit of analysis and not necessarily the students themselves. Their encounters and interactions were analyzed and wholly embodied the concepts that the study found.

In sum, the researcher found that participant responses could be organized into categories consistent with cultural trauma theory, critical race theory, and a concept of the lamb/sacrificial lamb party to a conflict. Cultural trauma theory was useful for analyzing the archdiocese actions and lack thereof, which resulted in African American Catholic students' experiences of disassociation after desegregation. Cultural trauma theory is a severing of ties which link a group to its larger community. Additionally, critical race theory was appropriate for considering student experiences in the larger context of race in America.

Participants and participant selection. Prior to the study, the researcher had maintained a network of contacts with whom she grew up and attended school in New Orleans. Through her own contacts, she reached out by phone, email, and social media to 19 potential participants. From that list, she identified 18 people willing to share their experiences. Participant selection was based on level of interest and age, grade, and year of entry into Catholic school, so that she knew the parties were present during Catholic school desegregation.

The study design incorporated students who entered schools in New Orleans in 1962 at the elementary (K through eighth grade) and high school levels. These subjects

were appropriate because they experienced Catholic school integration first-hand, and thus were in the best place to describe what happened. The church's strategy of "gradualism" or integrating only Kindergarten and first grades, but not third through eighth, presumed that older children of both races were too acclimated to segregation to accept the transformation. New Orleans Catholic high schools were also desegregated in 1962, and the researcher interviewed students who experienced desegregation at that level. She also interviewed students who were admitted from one and three years after desegregation had occurred. The differences in their ages at the time and years of entry helped the researcher to understand ways in which their experiences varied.

Autoethnography. Autoethnography, the coming together of self and the study of a culture, is a qualitative method within the interpretivist paradigm. According to Chang (2008), it is interpretive because the researcher adds personal experiences during the course of the study; it is also constructive because it combines the autobiographical narrative with other data and analysis understood about a culture in developing new knowledge. This study contained the researcher's personal story within the larger cultural context of others who shared the experience. Generally in autoethnography, the researcher elaborates on what is understood or being learned about a culture by bringing in his or her experiences (Chang, 2008). Autoethnography allows the researcher to be a member of the culture under study (Farrell, 2015); thus, the methodology was highly compatible with the researcher's aims as one who experienced and was studying desegregation. The literature shows support for the researcher being present in the text (Farrell, 2015).

Ethnography. The researcher used ethnographic methods by carefully examining many artifacts from the period. She made numerous trips to New Orleans and the Amistad Research Center at Tulane University to examine archival material in the Catholic Council on Human Relations collection, including memos, letters, pamphlets, speeches, newspapers, newsletters, and photographs from the period leading up to and during desegregation of Catholic schools. These helped the researcher to contextualize her story and those of other participants by positioning them in the over-arching research about desegregation. These artifacts also helped the researcher to deconstruct the segregationist ideology that existed during that time period. For this analysis, the researcher used collective axiology, "a system of value commitments that offers moral guidance" (Korostelina, 2007, p. 87), to define who was considered inside of or external to a group. Throughout, she constantly compared her experiences with events described in literature.

Case studies. Examples of Catholic dioceses, such as Miami and Atlanta, have much to offer as studies of ways in which communities can prepare for peaceful change. Unlike New Orleans, the leadership used more than Pastoral letters. The researcher first used literature to describe in detail events that preceded desegregation in each location. Process tracing (PT) was an appropriate method to carry out case analysis based on the data. It offered a systematic way to examine these data in light of the research questions. PT relies foremost on meticulous description (Mahoney, 2010).

Through PT, the researcher deconstructed into components how desegregation was implemented and what occurred that was different from the New Orleans primary

strategy of Pastoral letters. These formed the building blocks for studying actions taken to inaugurate desegregation in the chosen cities. These other locations conducted racial study groups and utilized social justice curricula (among other actions) to prepare their parishioners for integration. The Catholic leader in Atlanta was uniquely reflective; he kept a journal leading up to and during desegregation. Before the first day of school, he also wrote letters to the 17 Black families who had children who were (at the time) planning to desegregate Atlanta Catholic schools. In the letter, he acknowledged the role that they were about to play, underscoring that without them, desegregation would not have been occurring. The locations studied offer rich comparisons with the New Orleans case. The other locations built capacity for reform within leadership, the Catholic community, and the external civil rights movement.

Process tracing helped the researcher to draw inferences from her blocks of data that were in a temporal sequence. PT allowed an organized way to analyze the logic undergirding each diocese's activities so that she could assess whether their actions had any effect on the unrest, tension, and violence that occurred in each location, as well as the duration of the conflict. Process tracing enabled the researcher to examine carefully the relationships of causality and link actions with overall outcomes in the chosen case studies (see Figure 2). Results of this analysis are detailed in chapter four. Appendices E and F show how the researcher deconstructed descriptions into diagnostic pieces so that she could draw conclusions.

Name of Archdiocese				
Inputs Outputs	**Outputs**		Outcomes →	Impact
	Activities	*Participation*	Short	Long
What they put in *Examples:* **Changed Policies*	**What they did** **Example: sent letters to families of Black students beforehand.*	**Who they reached** **Example: the media.*	**What were the immediate results?** *Example:* ** White students did not boycott.*	**What were the long-range results?** *Examples:* **A cohesive student body.* **Violence*
External Factors: Example, civil rights movement, Supreme Court Decision, etc. ↰				

Figure 2. Process tracing template.

Reflexivity

The researcher maintained a notebook, which she used to reflect on the work and capture ideas while they were fresh in mind. She also reflected on unanticipated topics that arose and any difficulties she experienced. Maintaining the notebook led to identifying patterns and themes in the research. In fact, it was during the course of taking notes, not actively looking for themes that the researcher began to notice them in the data. Chronicling the emergence in her notebook helped her to revisit and fine-tune the themes before she applied them to the study. This helped her to test the themes as she progressed. Scholarship on qualitative interviewing underscores the importance of also reflecting on the researcher's relationship with interviewees (Kvale & Brinkmann, 2009). Though the

researcher did not record thoughts on this, she constantly considered and was alert to any indications of asymmetrical power, which might cause the withholding of information.

Another way that the researcher incorporated reflexivity was by asking a Ph.D to interview her and afford her the opportunity to discuss, record, and transcribe her own experiences. The Ph.D also had the researcher reflect on whether and how her experiences affected her interpretation of data. Furthermore, in addition to the researcher's own coding, she had one of the participants code the transcripts; she compared the participant's coding results with her own. The participant's interpretations were substantially aligned to the researcher's, and they discussed and resolved any discrepancies. The verbatim transcripts helped with these discrepancies to a great degree, and the dissertation report relied heavily on participants' own words and interpretations. The study did not find areas of great dissonance between interviewees' interpretations and the researcher's own.

A characteristic of good research is making one's position explicit (Hammersley & Atkinson, 1995). The researcher made her position and participation in the experience known in the introduction. In addition, she made clear what data were derived from her interview versus the interviews of the others.

Validity

The researcher already knew many people in the community from whom she extracted participants for the study, so she did not have any trouble locating interviewees. The experiences occurred a long time ago, so the study counted on participants being able to remember, and they did. The fact that the setting was so contentious and fraught with

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turmoil rendered it memorable. Additionally, participants reported having discussed the experience and reflected on it during their lifetimes, which also aided in keeping memories vibrant and alive. The researcher was surprised by the vivid descriptions and detail that participants could offer, as well as consistency across interviews. The situation was traumatic for participants; at times, they found it painful to call up certain memories, but the researcher neither pushed them nor did they decline to offer their recollections. The total size of the participant pool was strong enough to yield more interviews than the three for which the study aimed originally. Some people contacted the researcher and volunteered for interviews.

To ensure that she accurately captured the perspectives of each participant, the researcher asked each individual to review the transcript from his or her interview. She asked them to not only review their responses, but to also offer feedback on the framing. This feedback was one of the study's most important methods utilized to ensure that the researcher had interpreted the meaning of what participants had conveyed, as well as checked her own biases.

Additionally, the researcher remained alert to discrepancies, but none of the participants reported experiences wildly divergent from the others. If they had, this divergence could have signaled that she did not gather data similarly, for example, or perhaps posed different questions to that participant. She mitigated this by examining transcripts carefully and asking others for feedback on the conclusions to gauge the presence of any flaws in logic or collection techniques.

The study found one mildly discrepant finding, which was reported in the results. Essentially, the study found that male participants sometimes indicated they had not significantly experienced racial incidents, yet they went on to describe interactions and incidents involving highly racial contexts. This finding could offer a basis for future study of how African American males frame, interpret, and communicate about the conflict they experience compared with females. In sum, through this method, the study expanded what was known about the experience of desegregation. The depth and range of the data sets used for the study also support its validity.

Positionality

The concept of culture implies group, not individual (Chang, 2008). Even though the study entailed going deep into her own experiences, the researcher's story was not privileged over the others' stories. She was only one of eighteen individuals who offered perspectives. The analyses and findings were based on all of the students' experiences collectively. She remained alert to her objective, which was to collect, analyze, and interpret the data.

To guard against over-dependence on her own memory, the researcher constantly validated her experiences against those of others, church records, archives, and other artifacts that she reviewed. She used interviews, literature, pamphlets, photographs, speeches, a segregationist children's module, newspaper articles, and comments. Varied and numerous data sources offer the opportunity for triangulation to support arguments and findings (Chang, 2008). The researcher also maintained awareness that her story

linked to others, so that she did not unwittingly disclose identities, share private

information, or assume that others shared her perspectives.

The researcher's personal experience with desegregating a parochial school could

have influenced her perspective. She mitigated this possibility for influence by involving

other people in reviewing her descriptions, who could alert her to instances in which she

was possibly bringing in her biases. She maintained awareness of the ways in which her

experiences influenced her life, and was careful not to let those perspectives interfere

with data gathering. For example, she remained vigilant in avoiding leading questions

that reflected her experiences, not those of participants. Bracketing her experiences was a

challenge because interpretations typically incorporate a researcher's assumptions, as

stated by Van Manen (1990). She also ensured that the study collected thick, rich data,

(e.g., the verbatim transcripts mentioned above), not simply notes on what she heard

during interviews.

Dissertation Report

In sum, through the literature, the researcher established the timeline in which

events unfolded, as well as the context. Collective axiology helped her to explain the

segregationist ideology and what interventions might have yielded more positive

outcomes. Using critical race theory, she placed events that transpired in New Orleans

into the broader realm of civil rights, racism, and inequality in the United States. The

researcher also used these events to make other assertions about systems and beliefs that

continue to support racism, as well as strategies that could help deconstruct them. She

also applied cultural trauma theory in discussing how separate narratives resulted and to

suggest ways that either the Catholic Church or larger society might help in the establishment of more inclusive future iterations and a more unified community.

From the interviews and her own recollections, the researcher extracted themes and turning points. This source was augmented with her reflexivity. She used process tracing to examine case studies systematically and analyze them in light of the experiences of the participants and the research questions. She offered analyses of the foregoing material, as well as the answers to her research questions (see Figure 3).

This dissertation presents answers to the three research questions referenced above. The researcher described desegregation as experienced by African Americans who were young students at the time that it transpired. In addition, she elaborated on what other archdioceses did, which were in the same situation, and explained ways in which the anti-integration movement affected the desegregation of Catholic schools in New Orleans.

**Provide Context
Analyze the Conflict
Identify Healing Strategies**

Literature
Review

Interviews	Autoethnography	Ethnography	Case Studies
•Identify 6 to 10 Participants •Schedule Interviews •Elicit themes and Turning Points	•Personal Stories •Reflections •Journal Entries	•Artifacts •Period brochures and pamphlets •Photographs •Speeches •Meeting minutes and documents	•Process Tracing •Miami •Charleston/ Savannah /Atlanta •Apply research questions

Data
Interpretation

Q1   Q2   Q3   Answers

Dissertation

Figure 3. Research design.

Chapter Four:
The Resistance Movement: Analysis of the Segregationist Narrative

This chapter presents analyses of key segregationist documents and speeches that were produced as the national question of racial segregation in schools crested during the early 1950s. This discussion is presented to convey an understanding of the anti-integration movement that garnered support and contributed to a hostile climate in which Catholic school desegregation unfolded in the South.

Introduction

While the Catholic Church could have gone forward with desegregation, one must understand that delays, both by the legislature and church leadership, gave segregationists the opportunity to mount a strong defense against integration. On its face, the *Brown* v. *Board of Education* (1954) decision, which struck down segregation in public schools, would seem to have little bearing on Catholic schools because as private institutions, they could desegregate at any time. However, Catholic schools faced two realities: (a) They received some federal funding for textbooks and subsidized lunches for low income students, which they did not want to place in jeopardy by igniting the ire of prejudiced legislatures; and (b) southern custom dictated boundaries between Blacks and Whites which, if disrupted, would affect tithes and contributions. In fact, the *Brown v. Board of Education* (1954) decision barely concerned segregationists, and the reason was simple: timing.

The *Brown v. Board of Education* (1954) ruling set no date for integration of

schools, leaving some to consider it not a defeat but a coup (Cook, 1995). The NAACP

had demanded implementation immediately, and no such requirement was written in the

decision that the Court handed down. Even the implementation ruling a year later stated

that integration should be done "with all deliberate speed"; however, this ruling bore no

specific date (Medley, 2003). While African Americans and their allies used the

sweeping character of this language to move out with and push for integration plans,

resisters used the vagueness of the same words as a signal that they had time to begin

finding loopholes and enacting work-arounds that would render it inert (Cook, 1985).

Some thought the courts should have undertaken other areas of segregation first,

such as voting; joint schooling was far more controversial because it meant that Blacks

and Whites would occupy the same spaces, which violated custom in the South. Martin

noted in 1957:

> To Southerners, the Court's decision seemed to do far more than break down
> segregation in the schools; it rent the seamless garment of apartness. Apartness of
> the races is a Black and White thread woven into the fabric of Southern life – its
> social, political, sexual, cultural, economic life … Does a White man arrive at the
> airport in Birmingham? He may not ride to town in a Negro taxi, but must call a
> White one … Does a Negro go into a Charleston drugstore? He may buy a
> magazine, but he may not drink a milk shake. Why not? Law? Custom … not law,
> excludes Negroes from White hotels, restaurants and theaters. The Jim Crow
> signs are down in the union halls but in many plants Negroes may hold only
> menial jobs because their White brother unionists wish it so. (p. 7)

Many White southerners recalled the era characterized by Jim Crow as an idyllic

one, during which everyone understood their appropriate social places, and barriers were

not crossed. In the external community, one could expect deference by Black people. By

ensuring social and residential separation, segregation offered order (McPherson &

Shelby, 2004).

In 1954, the New Orleans Catholic Church was a segregated institution nested

within a segregated society. For Catholics, dual systems of church buildings schools,

hospitals, and charities served members based on race. Jim Crow practices permeated

Catholic spaces. Among White churches that allowed Black people to worship, seating

was segregated, if it was provided to Black worshippers at all. The church applied and

members followed elaborate rules designed to regulate interactions, with Black people

expected to show great deference to Whites. For example, Blacks approached the

Communion rail only after every White member had received the sacrament.

By the 1950s, most Catholics did not deny that African Americans were human,

but that they were equal. In larger society, understanding order and one's true place and

calling were ideas being advanced, and these principles were easily spliced to Catholics'

segregated practices (Bennett, 2005). One White segregationist woman told of her

experience at a young age of being approached by a priest and asked to regularly

maintain the area of the church that housed the tabernacle, the container for the

Communion hosts. The priest explained that the tabernacle was too venerated a space to

be attended by the Black maid because her race rendered her too lowly for such duty

(Poché, 2006).

Many Whites assuaged their consciences by rationalizing that such practices were

merely manners and customs which had theological bases, and made everyone, including

Black people more comfortable. Generally, White people often used words, such as

tradition and acceptable social behavior, to describe their posture toward Black people.

To Black members, the Church's requirements were cumbersome, humiliating, and

potentially dangerous because they could activate hostilities, and overall were

unnecessary.

Jim Crow Gets a Makeover

Aside from a fondness for segregated spaces, Whites in the states that comprised

the American south had little in common in the early 1950s. Southern states varied

politically, economically, in urban vs. suburban or rural character, and by other indices as

well. McMillan (1994) pointed out that the variation extended to border states:

> To a lesser degree, much the same can be said of the peripheral South – those
> southern states which ring Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, and South
> Carolina. Here economic, geographic, historical and social factors combined to
> weaken sectional and strengthen national ties. (p. 7)

The variation prompted one research agency, the Southern Regional Council, to declare

the end of a "solid South of segregation" (McMillan, 1994, p. 8). Resistance to

integration was more intense where high percentages of African Americans resided.

Urban character and local customs also influenced where the anti-integration movement

formed and advanced.

After *Brown v, Board of Education* (1954), the battle against integration was

being waged largely in the legislature. Segregationists took full advantage of the period

between 1955 and 1957 to pass myriad laws designed to circumvent the *Brown* decision

(Martin, 1957). Little wonder that disaffected Whites, hungry for new strategies, were

ready recruits for numerous private organizations that formed under the umbrella White

Citizens' Council of America (CCA). The CCA became a unifying force for Whites

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across the south, attracted by its promise to preserve segregation and ensure their way of life (McMillan, 1994). Perhaps no strategy was as vigorous or effective as the new narrative that emerged, which had nascent origins in a letter written by a segregationist. The following shows ways in which the narrative fanned out across the south by a new resistance movement. What many segregationists feared was a loss of dominance by newly enfranchised and empowered Blacks.

The Supreme Court decision that ended the separate-but-equal standard for public schools precipitated an important re-framing of racial integration. The researcher chose documents from the period to demonstrate ways in which the resistance movement successfully altered the dialogue about discrimination. These documents successfully equated Black peoples' desire for school integration with a conspiracy to procreate with Whites in order to blur racial lines. Furthermore, the whole idea of racial discrimination became masked as cries for a moral society.

The Segregationist Philosophy

A deep probe into important narratives being promoted by segregationists showed way in which segregation became entrenched. The researcher focused on the segregationist narrative, as it was expressed in four primary sources:

1. A 1954 speech delivered by Thomas Brady, which historians attributed with being the lynchpin of the school integration resistance movement in the south. It was the root of many materials that galvanized 250,000 to 300,000 people to action.

2. The Citizens Council of America "Rules for Southerners," a learning module directed to third and fourth grade students, published in 1957.

3. Words written on signs of people who were protesting Catholic school integration in New Orleans, 1960-1962 (Nolan, 2010).

4. A speech delivered by arch segregationist, Jackson Ricau, executive director of the south Louisiana Citizens' Council, entitled *The Tragic Truth About the Catholic Race-Mixing Program in New Orleans*, July 25, 1962 (CCA, 1957).

In 1953, prior to the *Brown v Board of Education* (1954) decision or Brady's (1954) speech, Mississippi plantation owner Robert Patterson wrote and printed multiple copies of a letter, which he had sent to his acquaintances (as cited in Martin, 1957). In it, he called for White people to unite around preserving the south as they knew it (as cited in Martin, 1957). Patterson was motivated to write and disseminate the letter after attending a meeting at which he had learned about court cases that were challenging segregated schools (as cited in Martin, 1957). So troubled was he about what he learned that he sent the letter to sound a warning about what he viewed as communism and mongrelization.

Though response from recipients was tepid, interest intensified the following year, when the Supreme Court handed down its decision. *Brown v. Board of Education* (1954) signaled to many segregationists that new strategies might be necessary to preserve customs and practices they found pleasing in the southern way of life. *Brown* did not kill Jim Crow; however, it landed a blow and gave segregationists room to mount a strategy to save it. While state legislators immediately began proposing and enacting myriad laws and local ordinances designed to stymie the march toward integration, the largest and most influential resistance organization started to form: the Citizens' Council of America (CCA) (McMillan, 1994).

Chong (1991) suggested that when one desires to promote certain values he/she can put those desires into action with "collective efforts" (p. 9). Two months after the *Brown* decision, 14 men met to devise a strategy against integration. If they were remarkable, it was because they represented a range from the aristocratic to the most ordinary of families in Mississippi, united together for a single cause (Martin, 1957). They decided to form an organization, and a week later, some 100 people attended a meeting where officers were elected, and the first Citizens' Council, later to become a crusade that fanned out across the south, gave full-throated support to the segregationist agenda, and came into being (McMillan, 1994).

By November, Mississippi Circuit Judge Thomas Brady (1954), a man who possessed views reflective of his upbringing in the segregated Deep South, was asked to give a speech at a meeting of the Greenwood chapter of the Sons of the American Revolution (McMillan, 1994). He entitled the speech *Black Monday* to reflect the date of the *Brown* ruling, Monday, May 17, 1954 (as cited in McMillan, 1994). With it, he played down the terms "integration" and "segregation," and instead laid out what he deemed was the real problem with the prospect of a unitary school system: the destruction of not only the southern way of life, but America itself. Reflecting Patterson's language, Brady (1954) presented a case asserting that school integration was a communist plot designed to promote intermarriage in a conspiracy to blur the lines between the races so that an egalitarian society would be achieved in the Marxist ideology (McMillan, 1994). Though a circuit judge and lawyer, Brady sprinkled pseudo-

scientific and archaeological terms throughout his speech. Table 3 below summarizes the

Brady (1954) narrative's themes.

Table 3

The Brady Speech

Brady Narrative	Theme
1 Through a series of migrations and conquests, the White man became the "ruling class" (Brady, 1954, p. 4). White people have intelligence, motivation and a concept of a higher being. They have created structures, and developed the world. Nothing is as pure as a White woman.	White supremacy.
2 Asians are also highly evolved and possess intellect, morality, and a sense of a higher being.	Other pure cultures are intelligent and moral
3 Blacks are inferior. Without involvement and guidance from Whites, they are savages and cannibals. However, Blacks want to become more advanced not, however, by hard work but they desire mixing their blood (procreating) with White people.	Blacks are inherently inferior and know they need White genes in order to advance from their substandard state.
4 Every instance in history of Black people mixing their blood with other races has disastrous results for the other race. This has happened in South America. Because of "mongrelization" with slaves, Egypt declined. White men also declined in India because of co-mingling with Africans. The same occurred in Mexico and elsewhere (Brady, 1954 p. 4, 5). The Spaniard, because of co-mingling with Black people, has been "reduced to an organ grinder, some monasteries, and some grapes and wine" (Brady, 1954 p 5).	Procreating with Black people has dulled other cultures.
5 White Americans are not responsible for starting slavery. India, as well as elsewhere, enslaved White people. Furthermore, Blacks sold each other into slavery. They are more to blame for being enslaved than the White people "who purchased him and … took care of him" (Brady, 1954 p. 7)	Black people and others are to be blamed for starting slavery; White people only acted responsibly under circumstances created by others.
6 Black people, for the "favor" of being raised out of "abject ignorance," and "primitive savagery," should be grateful to White men. "They were savages. The Congo flowed deep in their brains. They had no such thing as a code of ethics or morals. They were abysmal savages. Just a few months before [being captured and sold into slavery] they had sharpened their teeth with rocks so that they could more easily tear human flesh; they were cannibals…" (Brady, 1954, p. 6).	White Americans rescued Black people from a primitive, immoral, unethical, sub-human life in Africa. For this, Blacks should be grateful but are not.
7 White and Asian people developed concepts of God while Black people had nothing but a primitive nature, "a fear of lightning, and worship of the sun and evil spirits" (Brady, 1954, p. 6).	Whites are superior. Black people are primitive and paganistic.
8 Recent case law has supported the right of the south to self-	Validity; The law is on the

Brady Narrative		Theme
	govern.	side of Southern White people.
9	Whether on public transit or in schools, White people have come to agree that all should be accommodated. As long as accommodations are supplied to both races, there is no discrimination (Brady, 1954 p. 10). If there is not discrimination, there is not a need to integrate.	There is no discrimination in separation as long as everyone has products and services.
10	The NAACP is a front for communism because their main push is for integration. Associating with the NAACP is tantamount to helping Russia.	Communists are using Black people for self-gain and are inciting them to demand integration.
11	Russia had a goal of robbing American White people of the vote, but recognized their superiority and retreated.	Russia wants to weaken America by diluting the White vote with more Black voters.
12	Even Abraham Lincoln was opposed to racial intermarriage. Lincoln was a great friend of African Americans, but stated: "I do not believe, and never will believe, that the White and the Black races should intermarry; there are physical differences which forbid it and it is not in God's plan that they should do it." (Brady 1954, p. 12)	Legitimacy of racial superiority; even President Lincoln, a great ally of Black people, said they are inferior.
13	White people need to be united and "take a stand" (Brady 1954, p. 13). They should consider the *Brown* decision a call to arms.	School integration signals the time for White people to unite together.
14	Whites must keep their blood pure.	Pureness and superiority of the White race are in jeopardy.
15	Letting children attend school together desensitizes them to race and increases the likelihood of intermarrying.	White children sharing spaces with Black children will make them seem harmless. Whites will marry and procreate with Blacks.
16	Black people outnumber White people in many areas of the South. Whites will start appearing different physically. Blacks carry diseases like sickle cell. No one knows what occurs in the brain. "We do not know what it takes to make his mind different from our mind" (Brady, 1954 p. 16).	Black people will overtake the White race. Whites will contract Black genetic diseases and mental dullness.
17	Animals flock and herd "each after his own kind." This is the basic law of God (Brady, 1954, p. 16).	Theology supports segregation.
18	Children must be taught about integration as a communist plot to infiltrate America and divide the nation.	White children must understand that integration will weaken America.

Note. Themes in the Thomas Brady *Black Monday* speech.

To note Brady's speech as a piece of rhetoric that somehow galvanized segregationists is to miss its deeper essence. Polygeny and ideas that Black and White people had different origins, the latter superior, had served etiological purposes ever since

ancient tribes used storytelling to explain their differences (Jackson & Weidman, 2004).

Throughout the ensuing centuries, myriad theories were offered as people encountered

others who appeared physically and socially dissimilar. However, according to Jackson

and Weidman (2004),

> Dividing people into different racial groups has been a profound problem that defied any sort of scientific consensus from the earlier attempts in the seventeenth century to those scientists currently working on the human genome project. No list of physical characteristics has ever been agreed upon to be the correct one for dividing people into racial groups. (p. xiv)

The force of Brady's rhetoric came from strategic selection of pseudoscientific

hypotheses to support belief in racial inferiority and subordination. He employed

elements from anthropologic, medical, genetic, psychological, cognitive, archaeological,

political, historical, and religious sectors to support his premise that races existed and that

the Black race was inferior. However, Brady was not the first to employ so-called

scientific evidence to explain his worldview and recruit adherents.[5] This tactic was

common through the mid-20th century (Jackson & Weidman, 2004).

For example, in 1915, Americans had packed movie theaters to see *Birth of a*

Nation, which portrayed that Blacks, free from slavery and without the supervision of

slave-owners, as out of control, and emancipation as a horrible experiment that had freed

Black men to terrorize White communities and rape their women (Francis, 2014). The

movie effectively castigated the North for putting the country in a scenario of free,

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[5] Louisiana physician Samuel A. Cartwright (1793-1863) was among many who sought and professed to have applied scientific methods and theories to garner support for the racial superiority of White individuals. The theories and conclusions received significant attention and acceptance in the scientific community. Methods previously used are now considered pseudoscientific. For scientific racism, see Porter, Theodore M., and Ross, Dorothy; Kuper, Adam and Kuper, Jessica; and Ellington, Terry Jay.

undisciplined Black people, and upheld the Ku Klux Klan with their violent tactics, as the rescuers of the south (Francis, 2014).

In 1950, United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) denounced such theories and encouraged their abandonment. However, Brady was the primary architect and promoter of the version later adopted by the school integration resistance movement (McMillan, 1994). His words were carefully chosen to appear mired in valid scientific, legal, and theological bases (McMillan, 1994). This powerful narrative gave fuel to racial arguments that neither by genetics, motives, merit, intellect, history, health, nor God's will were Black and White children meant to be educated together. Furthermore, it raised "mongrelization" theories and used technical-sounding terms, such as "amalgamation" and "race mixing" to give the appearance of legitimacy, as well as to associate negative connotations with the idea of bi-racial coupling (McMillan, 1994).

Brady knew his audience well. The Civil War had freed slaves in which many White planters had previously invested, wiped out fortunes, claimed many lives, disrupted the economic system in the South, and demanded government funds for new education and health care systems for Black people (Brawley, 1929). In the 1950s, there was not an American South defined by 17 states, as it was later understood (McMillan, 1994). These states were similar in the desire to maintain segregated school systems and the large numbers of Black residents, but little else (McMillan, 1994). Brady knew he had to express the threat of school integration in terms that would call people to collective action.

In describing how social movements form, Tarrow (2008) discussed ways in which print media made possible the association of people in scattered locales, allowing them to learn of each others' grievances and actions and facilitating the joining across massive geographical spaces in organization. Cook noted that Brady's (1954) *Black Monday* publication "contained the seeds of nearly all major programs and philosophies that have been adopted by segregationist organizations since 1954" (Cook, 1962, p. 20). Brady (1954) wrote,

> If this [school desegregation] happens, then it will take an army of one hundred million men to compel it. We have, through or forefathers, died before for our sacred principles. We can, if necessary, die again. … You shall not mongrelize our children and grandchildren. (para. 2)

CCA, the national, and chapter pamphlets and newspapers informed the population of the perceived threat to their identities and way of life, connecting previously isolated White audiences. Reading the perspectives of others convinced Whites across socio-economic levels that they had a similar grievance – the impending extinction of their race. The added chill of Blacks' purported deviousness, criminality, and unhealthiness raised the possibility of victimization among those who had not experienced African Americans first-hand, instilling in them the idea of mounting a defense (Martin, 1957). The narrative effectively drew a circle around Black Americans and positioned them as "Other." Brady's logic would come to be reflected in prejudiced pamphlets, books, speeches, and popular media across the South (McMillan, 1994). Figure 4 shows its underlying logic.

| Communists are out to destroy America | Communists need to make America weak | Communists will weaken the country through race mixing | School desegregation invites race mixing | School desegregation will destroy America. |

Figure 4. Logic underlying segregationist claims against school desegregation.

In a later interview, Brady was challenged by a journalist to explain the phenomenon of apparently clean, intelligent, and accomplished Black people the likes of activist Ralph Bunche (Cook, 1962). He responded that while such African Americans existed, their numbers did not exceed 150 in the total population (Cook, 1962, p. 25). Additionally, the Brady message must be considered in the larger context of the times. The Cold War between the United States and the Soviet Union crested in the 1940s and 1950s during which time fear and paranoia over Americans' participation in subversive activities swept the nation. It was not meritless, because the Soviet Union had conducted espionage with American citizens; however, President Truman passed an Executive Order requiring ordinary Federal employees to be tested for their loyalty, and the House Un-American Activities Committee investigated well-known Hollywood actors on suspicion of aiding the Soviets (Woods, 2004). FBI director J. Edgar Hoover considered protests to be communist subversion, and he investigated civil rights movement leaders and members (Woods, 2004). According to Woods (2004),

> [Southerners] would fuse traditional fears of subversive racial reform to anxieties about Marxist revolution. Then as the cold war and civil rights struggles increasingly dominated public discourse after World War II, the charge that Communists were behind the struggle for Black equality gained critical political and emotional significance. (p. 12)

After the *Brown v Board of Education* (1954) decision, the Communist tie-in gained

momentum and became a principal strategy for harassing civil rights workers and

resisting integration (Woods, 2004).

Prior to the speech, many segregationists, especially those in the upper class, did

not seem to care much about integration because it was not going to change their lives

much. They were residentially segregated, and their children attended private schools

(Cook, 1962). However, the longer view prospect of integration wiping out the entire race

proved compelling. Property owners wanted to envision their homes and businesses being

passed to their progeny, and a family of mulattoes owning their land was not the future

they wanted to imagine. Using Galtung's (1990, 2004) terminology, a platform was

constructed raising the segregationist and debasing the Black man. The narrative

suggested that in a meritocracy the best should be on top; hence, to deprive White men of

power and privilege was to deny the system that capacitates hard work, values, and

accomplishment.

Brady lengthened his original speech into a 92-page booklet that expanded on his

ideology and called for the formation of a resistance organization in every southern state

(as cited in McMillan, 1994). He also appended the subtitle, "Segregation or

Amalgamation?" reinforcing his idea of the real choice Southerners had (as cited in

McMillan, 1994). It contained the kernels of the philosophy that would later be embraced

by segregationists and the organizations they created (as cited in McMillan, 1994). In it,

Brady re-awakened fears about African Americans, labeled integration as a communist

conspiracy, offered specious scientific evidence of White social/ moral/ intellectual/

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physical superiority and commensurate Black inferiority, warned that the demise of the

White race would occur through interracial marriage, and rallied White people to unite

against these threats. Brady's more than 600 speeches traveled across the south, and the

booklet became the basis for the establishment of the Association of Citizens' Councils,

the largest and most dominant and pervasive segregationist organization (as cited in

McMillan, 1994). He used imagery, such as descriptions of the angelic Southern White

women and girls, juxtaposed with Black men described as beasts with comparisons made

to chimpanzees (Cook, 1962).

Brady's efforts convinced many Southerners that they should fear the prospect of

integration because it was a plot designed to erase the White race. So distressed were

segregationists that they united in unprecedented numbers, with 200,000 to 300,000

people establishing some 90 new organizations under a variety of names, all having a

common goal: to deny equality to African Americans. McMillan (1994) stated,

> Some of their names, like that of the Southern Gentlemen, smacked of chivalry. Others, such as the White Brotherhood and White Men, Inc., referred to color, and still others – the Christian Civic League and the Association of Catholic Laymen – evoked religion. The names of some were patriotic, including the American States' Rights Association and the Patriots of North Carolina; …. But none was more powerful than the Citizens' Council, which in the course of a few short years would claim among its members governors, congressmen, judges, physicians, lawyers, industrialists, and bankers, as well as an assortment of lesser men who crowded membership rosters and packed municipal auditoriums to dedicate themselves to the preservation of 'states' rights' and racial integrity. (p. 11)

Many people decided to dedicate their lives to ensuring that integration did not occur,

especially given the threats of assaults on White women and supposed attempts by Blacks

to co-mingle their blood with Whites through sex. Fear spread that desegregation had a

bearing not only on their children's education, but also on their posterity and the entire civilization; and its destruction rested on their shoulders.

Rules for Southerners

Brady's effort (1954) might have been the first; however, soon, many others used speeches and printed material to offer supposed scientific language and statistics as evidence to support anti-integration claims. To ordinary people, these assertions that came from educated sources gave them a feeling of legitimacy (McMillan, 1994). This strategy now joined others, such as legislative changes, school closings, and disenfranchisement as tools used by the segregationist community. For example, out of Brady's efforts came the 1957 CCA's *Rules for Southerners*, a module of ideas and teachings designed for parents to impart to their children. Written on a third/fourth grade level, this document reduced Brady's ideology to 29 ideas accessible to a child and encouraged parents to read it to their children. Additionally, the CCA asked parents to take the module into their children's schools and request that the schools obtain copies for classroom use. The curriculum's 29 modules were designed to begin as basically as possible, and with each additional step, introduce more complex ideas until all of the concepts underlying CCA (1957) ideology were explained.

To illustrate, Table 4 shows selected portions of the CCA (1957) *Rules for Southerners*, *Children's Module*. The title strategically establishes the south as a culture bound by rules. Written at the elementary level, the children's module was intended to render the segregationist narrative accessible at an early age. The CCA members promoted and disseminated the curriculum, and urged the purchase of copies and

deployment into schools. The module showed ways in which promoters of segregation

strategically made their narrative understandable to young children so that it would be

learned early and survive successive generations.

Table 4

CCA Rules for Southerners Children's Module (Selected Portions)

Concept 13. White Men Built America	
Actual Language	Ideas Introduced to Young Reader
White men built our country, it was hard work. It is not easy to build a new country. The White men cut away big forests. … Wild animals lived everywhere. It was not safe outside.	White supremacy and a meritocracy.
Concept 14. America Was Made Strong	
Actual Language	Ideas Introduced to Young Student
The red man is the Indian. You know what an Indian is. The red man fought the White man. But the White man won. He worked and worked. He wanted you to have a strong free country.	Threat narrative of nefarious others who do not believe in merit or democracy.
Concept 15. Whites and Negroes Live Apart	
Actual Language	Ideas Introduced to Young Student
The Black man is the Negro. You have seen Negroes all of your life. The Negro came to our country after the White man did. The White man has always been kind to the Negro. But the White and Black people do not live together in the South.	Threat narrative of Black people who also want but do not deserve White entitlements. Also, sectionality, and cultural distinctions defined by North and South.
Concept 23. Whites Do Not Mix Races in the South	
Actual Language	Ideas Introduced to Young Student
Negroes and White people do not go to the same places together. We live in different parts of town. And we are kind to each other. This is called our Southern Way of Life. We do not mix our races, but we are kind to each other.	Segregation as a legitimate aspect of Southern culture.
Concept 24. We Keep Our Races Apart	
Actual Language	Ideas Introduced to Young Student
You do not go to the same schools. You do not swim in the same swimming pools. Negroes use their own bathrooms. They do not use the White people's bathroom. The two races do not sit together on the city bus. If you are White, you go to the White man's show. A Negro goes to his own show. We do not live side by side. The Negro has his own part of town to live in. This is the Southern Way of Life. This is the way Negroes and Whites can live in the same land. We do not live together.	Segregation in practice.
Concept 28. Mixing Races Makes America Weak	
Actual Language	Ideas Introduced to Young Student
"Why do some people want us to live together?" you will ask. They want to make our country weak. If we are not happy, our strong and free country will grow weak. Did you know our country will grow weak if we mix our races? It will.	Threat narrative of nefarious external others who want to undermine White people's entitlements.

Note. Language from the CCA (1957) *Rules for Southerners* and what it taught children.

Analysis of the 29 concepts in the CCA (1957) module, targeted to children, showed consistency with the segregationist narrative: (a) bad people (Communists) want to hurt America; (b) Black people are weak; (c) Southern people understand that separation is the best and safest way to co-exist; and (d) Communists want the races to combine because if White people mix with Black people, White people will be weaker, and bad people (Communists) could then hurt a weakened America. The module facilitated early indoctrination to concepts, such as "mixing." The module offered a tutorial to young minds on the southern way of life or apartness of the races, as something that preserved safety, happiness, and freedom. This module emphasized that racial separation was ubiquitous. It promoted the belief that Blacks and Whites must be separated in every domain thinkable, including school.

By teaching concepts to children, CCA members planted seeds that would grow later and ensure that an understanding of the alleged high stakes involved with integration endured, so that spaces would remain segregated into the future. The children's module shows a high resonance with the concepts, originally penned by Brady (1954). The underlying logic also was the same: Nefarious forces want to harm America by making it weak, and Black people are weak; therefore, staying away from Black people will ensure that no harm comes to America. Later editions of the children's module, published in CCA (1957) newspaper, invited parents and teachers to send for additional copies and promoted its distribution to elementary school students in their communities. Again, the curriculum and notation were doing as the Brady speech had instructed, meaning that the

concepts were being made digestible to children to ensure the philosophies endured

(Cook, 1962).

Catholics Propagate an Anti-Integration Narrative

Upon examining photographs from the period, notably signs that were held by

integration opponents, high resonance with the original Brady (1954) speech was evident.

For example, Nolan (2010) referenced a sign held by a picketer outside of the

Archbishop's residence in New Orleans on June 17, 1960, which read: "Integration is the

Same as Communism." An April 30, 1962 photograph showed picketers outside of a

New Orleans Roman Catholic Church protesting Catholic school integration, one holding

a sign which read, "Socialist Agents who infiltrated the Roman Catholic hierarchy are

using excommunication to intimidate and force negroes on our White children."

On July 25, an arch segregationist, Ricau (1962), head of the south Louisiana

Citizens' Council, delivered a speech, which again contained the hallmarks first outlined

by Brady (1954; Ricau, 1962). In it, he first challenged Archbishop Rummel's authority

to declare segregation immoral, as was set forth in his 1956 Pastoral. Similar to Brady

(1954), Ricau (1962) often substituted the more inflammatory "race-mixing" instead of

"integration." Race-mixing also reinforced the idea of a blending, and a phenomenon that

would eventually rid society of racial lines. He also used the term "forced mixing," which

added a suggestion of aggression. Ricau also referenced "forced mixing" and the "race-

mixing movement." Furthermore, he referenced iterations of the term "Communism"

more than 20 times.

These strategies were so effective because they subordinated identities associated with income, profession, or state boundaries, and united segregationists around the identity of Whiteness. Furthermore, the prospect of a future without White people was provocative and frightening. The signs, speeches, and documents presented here show how strongly and pervasively the segregationist narrative was remediated throughout the community.

Sexual Racism

If segregationists were going to use a strategy, sex proved very effective. The idea of equality was upsetting, but the results of sex between the races were unthinkable. Of all the objections southerners might have to integration, sex was the most galvanizing (Workman, 1960). Indeed, one White southerner told of preferring to kill his daughters rather than allow them to attend school with Black children because of the belief that they would be raped (Belfrage, 1965). One said,

> While these White parents do not believe there is any surge of desire to mate with colored people, they abhor any steps that might encourage intermarriage [and] believe that the lifting of racial school barriers would be such a step. (Waring 1956, pp. 39-45)

Such sentiments showed how deeply held and widespread were the objections to Black and White children being schooled together. Moreover, while intermarriage was a factor, any sex was what segregationists really feared (Stember, 1976). Excerpts from a pamphlet entitled "When You Start Race Mixing Where Are You Going To Stop?" was published and distributed by the school integration resistance movement, which contained the following:

Question 1: If you integrate … will the negro boys and girls be permitted to attend the school sponsored dances? Would the negro boys be permitted to solicit the White girls for dances? Or would discrimination be permitted here?
Question 3: Will the negro boys and girls be allowed to join the school sponsored clubs that the children belong to? When out-of-town trips are taken by these club children will the negro boys and girls be permitted to go along? Will they stay in the same motels, hotels, or private homes with the White children? Or will discrimination be permitted here? (Blossom, Virgil T, pp. 41-42)

Immorality Becomes a Proxy for Discrimination

Segregationist organizations not only manipulated statistics, but pushed for laws that would help fortify their case. One example was the strategic association of African Americans with immorality. For example, Kilpatrick (1962) published statistics comparing the behavior of White and Black Americans. Page after page offers data on out-of-wedlock pregnancy, illegitimate births, crime, and academic testing as evidence of White superiority. However, Kilpatrick applied a definition of marriage as a state-authorized institution with a license. He knew that, owing to the illegality of slave marriages, a long history of common law marriages had endured across the south. To have noted this reality would have destabilized Kilpatrick's argument that African Americans were less moral because they had many more children out of wedlock compared with Whites. Moreover, legislatures introduced regulations on marriage licenses, which made it difficult for Black people to obtain the license. In Louisiana, a 1958 law required presentation of an original birth certificate and medical documentation obtained no more than 10 days prior to application. African Americans, because they likely had no license for their common law marriages, also could not obtain a divorce. However, it was required in order to be re-married. Legislatures also voted to limit the hours that licenses could be obtained, rendering them inconvenient for Black people to

obtain because most held jobs during the day that did not permit leaving to conduct

personal business (Walker, 2012). Municipalities also placed licensing authorities in

White neighborhoods, which sometimes were hostile toward Black people or were far

from their neighborhoods (Walker, 2012). By these and other tactics, resistance forces

were redefining African Americans in the eyes of society (Walker, 2012). Evidence

shows that segregationists manipulated statistics and passed laws and ordinances to

reinforce their claims is subordinated in literature in favor of other more overt actions,

such as closing schools, picketing and protesting (Walker, 1997).

Laws on marriage and legitimacy passed during the period after *Brown* coincided

with a precipitous interest in calculating and publishing illegitimacy rates by race

(Walker, 2012). While illegitimacy was higher for African Americans before *Brown*, with

the combination of new definitions and regulations, it surged; analyses of new state laws

also show sudden attention to tracking (Walker, 2012). The more chilling effect of these

tactics was that they set forth morality, not discrimination, as the basis for segregation.

Resisters could now exclude African Americans based not on their race, but on their

questionable character:

> The increased reach of statistical measurement, evident in laws on birth
> certificates … as well as the increased regulation of marriage licenses ….
> Embodied different manifestations of the same basic strategy. By reconfiguring
> the law in a way that discredited traditional modes of Black family formation,
> these regulations enhanced the statistical perception that African-Americans were
> immoral, and that segregationists were therefore ethically justified in denying
> them equal rights. (Walker, 2012, p. 1017)

Another damaging tactic was the constant use of substitutes, such as "mixing,"

"amalgamation," "mongrelization," and more for the word "integration," just as Brady

had done. The ultimate message was that integration would change the racial mix and eventually destroy the White population, ending civilization as they knew it. Manipulations were so prevalent that the American Anthropological Association, at its annual meeting in 1961, unanimously adopted the following statement:

> The American Anthropological Association repudiates statements now appearing in the United States that Negroes are biologically and in innate mental ability inferior to Whites, and re-affirms the fact that there is no scientifically established evidence to justify the exclusion of any race from the rights guaranteed by the Constitution of the United States. The basic principles of equality of opportunity and equality before the law are incompatible with all that is known about human biology. All races possess the abilities needed to participate fully in the democratic way of life and in modern technological civilization. (as cited in Cook, 1962, pp. 351-352)

Spreading the idea that African Americans sent their children into the schools intentionally to pollute the bodies and brains of White children accomplished several important goals: (a) it transferred the wrongdoing onto Black people who actually were the victims of racial segregation; (b) it played on the worst fears of parents who are programmed to protect their children from harm; and (c) it turned an even benign sign of interaction between the races into one that was part of a larger conspiracy to eliminate the Caucasian race. The resistance movement used fearmongering, and strategic deployment of inflated and frightening reports of the prospect of integration, to arouse community anxiety.

The conspiracy rhetoric reframed the idea of integration in the minds of other Whites and shifted the blame for the resistance movement's activities onto African Americans; for segregationists could claim they were only looking out for the public good. Gleicher and Petty (1992) found that fear could influence viewers of a campaign or

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advertisement toward an outcome based on fear. Evidence of sickle cell and venereal diseases were designed not only to denigrate Black people, but also to deploy the added benefit of convincing White women that Black men would be unsuitable partners (Stember, 1976). The segregationist ideology renewed African American stereotypes, which had been advanced during slavery and Reconstruction, of the over-sexed Black male and promiscuous Black woman.

The late 1950s saw a surge in headlines of interracial marriages, each report fueling segregationists' worst fears that the plot was unfolding. Killings, perhaps most famously that of 14-year-old Emmett Till who was brutally murdered in 1957 for allegedly flirting with a White woman, plus sharp changes in the moods of many White southerners against integration, resulted from the fear and paranoia that these narratives spread (Cook, 1962; McMillan, 1994). *Black Monday* was a call to arms, encouraging White people to be alert to the plot that was underway, backed by law, science, and theology, and disguised as school integration (McMillan, 1994). It explains why segregationists dug in so hard to prevent integration from occurring.

Character Becomes a Pretext for Discrimination

Collective axiology is a group's framework of thoughts and beliefs around which it coheres and defines itself. The framework enables the group to distinguish between members and outsiders. Origins of shared values, past group experiences, and significant episodes form the framework that may eventually exist on its own or even in the absence of group members. This framework outlines the contours of the sphere within which

group members use shared values "to validate, vindicate, rationalize, or legitimize actions, decisions, and policies" (Rothbart & Korostelina, 2006, p. 4).

After *Brown*, integration resisters began to use moral character as a proxy for race (Walker, 2012). Collective axiology (CA), a system of codes and standards shared by a group, can help show how this tactic was used by segregationists. The integration resistance movement defined itself as upstanding, pure, healthy, strong, good, patriotic, and kind people who preferred the southern way of life due to high moral character, as well as in the interest of the future health and well-being of the White race. The movement portrayed African Americans as vile, venereal diseased, criminal, over-sexed, ignorant, animal, immoral, aggressive, and dishonest. They portrayed integrationists of any color as communists and un-American. Their *Rules for Southerners* children's module, discussed earlier, by its name was setting forth what values and behaviors would be practiced and tolerated.

How could this be effective? When parties lacked information about each other, superficial contact did little to eliminate prejudice; in a segregated society, parties lacked the opportunity to interact in ways that would dispel prejudice. Where stereotypes existed, superficial contact might only reinforce these stereotypes (Allport, 1954). According to Allport (1954),

> [W]e are sensitized to perceive signs that will confirm our stereotypes. From a large number of Negroes in a subway we may select the one who is misbehaving for our attention and disapproval. The dozen or more well-behaved Negroes are overlooked, simply because prejudice screens, and interprets our perceptions. (p. 264)

CA also offers a basis for determining the collective generality or means of simplifying the Other's character. Intractable concepts and ideas, "beliefs and values" held universally, connotes a high degree of collective generality (Korostelina, 2007, p. 88). Flexible, permeable, and transitioning patterns are associated with a low level of generality. Additionally, CA makes possible the examination of "axiological balance" within a group. With axiological balance, group members accede both positive and negative attributes of the Other. With a low level of balance, members are blind to their own faults but focused on negative perceptions of other, leaving members vulnerable to groupthink (see Figure 5).

Segregationists' View of Other (All African Americans)
Segregationists' View of Self (Whites Who Favor Segregation) in italics

1. Low balance/High generality	3. High Balance/High generality
View of Other: Vile, blood (sickle cell) diseased, criminal, over-sexed and consequently venereal diseased, ignorant, animal, immoral, aggressive, dishonest, Communist pawn, opportunistic, desires integration mainly as a means of intermarriage. *View of Self: upstanding, pure, healthy, strong, good, patriotic, kind, understand the southern way of life, high moral character, and interested in the future health and well-being of the White race.*	
2. Low balance/Low generality	4. High Balance/Low generality View of Other: Black people can be kind.

Figure 5. The school integration resistance movement's collective axiology.

Figure 5 shows the collective axiological framework for segregationists' perspective of self and other based on the documents analyzed in this section. The school integration resistance movement's collective axiology for members' values shows that perspectives were unbalanced and applied broadly. *Black Monday* is credited as the root of the segregationist movement, and speeches, documents, and actions that followed can be traced back to it. As can be seen by the figure provided, the segregationist CA supported rigid beliefs about both the in-group and out-group. The documents analyzed in this section showed that a well-defined, detailed, and consistent perspective on African

Americans was created and remediated widely throughout the segregationist movement.

Furthermore, Rothbart and Korostelina (2006) pointed out that a balance, such as this

one, was associated with the in-group's perception of superiority over the outgroup:

> In its extreme form, a low axiological balance is correlated to exaggeration, inflation, and fabrication of outgroup vices and ingroup glories. The 'them/Us' duality seems fixed in the timeless social order. With a fabricated sense of its collective virtues, the ingroup promotes a sense of moral supremacy over the outgroup. (p. 46)

Psychological theories offer the scholar means for illuminating the roots of a

conflict so that appropriate interventions can be identified and applied. CA is a structure

wherein value commitments form the basis of who belongs or does not (Korostelina &

Rothbart, 2006). In this conflict, segregationists established a system of values to define

which actions were supported and prohibited by the in-group, or considered necessary for

certain situations and outcomes. "Good" members were those who kept negative Black

images vibrant and alive. This is an example of the conversion of privately-held hatreds

to public degradation. Obstructionists used several elements of CA, including mythic

narrative, iconic order, and normative order to define their moral standards and behaviors

accepted for membership in their group. Mythic narrative, accounts of the menacing

"other" (e.g., stories of Black people who, without the discipline of slavery, were out of

control, frightening stories of Black men lusting after and raping little White girls) to

solidify perceptions of Blacks crossing sacred lines of decency and morality.

Obstructionists also employed iconic order, conveying emotional pictures of "other," in

this case, pamphlets depicting Black people as biologically pre-disposed to delinquency

and crime, destroying White neighborhoods and homes, and disrupting the peaceful

character of their lives. Normative order, specifically use of polar terms to describe

oneself as compared with "other" (e.g., African Americans as evil vs. Whites as good,

African Americans as dirty vs. Whites as clean, etc.). Figure 6 shows normative order as

it may apply to the segregationist (in-group) threat narrative. Storytellers ascribed blame

to Blacks and extolled White's virtues:

Unnecessary Violent "Enemy" (Blacks)	Necessary Violent "Us" (Segregationists)
"They" are depraved, unintelligent, uneducated, anti-social, indecent, bad Catholic material. They are biologically aggressive and destructive.	"We" are good, educated, decent, socialized, protecting our families, doing God's will, protecting Catholicism. Our actions, even if aggressive, are aimed at protecting children and our church from destructive people.
Peaceful "Enemy" (Blacks)	Peaceful "Us" (Segregationists)
"They" are child- and animal- like creatures and our care and feeding of them is paying off.	"We" are moral, mature, evolved, above "them," refined, good Catholic material

Figure 6. Normative order, see out-group in opposite/polarized manner.

In response, the Catholic Church published and distributed handbooks, notably

the *Handbook on Catholic School Desegregation* (Catholic Committee of the South,

1956). While these publications did much to explain how impractical a dual system was,

as well as to address moral and legal aspects, these did nothing to dispel the strong

sentiment that developed: to support integration would be to support the demise of

America. The handbook did attempt to counter arguments about criminal activity and

intelligence of African Americans, but it did not raise significant counterpoints to the

discursive narrative of segregationists, neither did Archbishop Rummel's campaign of Pastorals centering on the wrongness of racism.

Church leadership might have had more success had they focused on establishing equality and balance, perhaps by staging more opportunities for first-hand interaction between the races (since by then, they lived, socialized, and were schooled separately). Fundraisers, coat drives, potluck dinners, and children's events could have been carried out on church property to allow members to focus more on what they had in common and to help obstructionists understand that Black students did not intend to harm their children. Moreover, through such actions, the church could have shown moral leadership and been an example to the New Orleans community that integration was not a threat to society. The church could have helped segregationists to achieve more axiological balance by staging such experiences, which infused equality, fostered balanced viewpoints, and reduced tendencies to over-generalize. Such interventions likely would have generated more positive outcomes.

Conclusion

In the 1950s, the integration resistance movement adopted a potent narrative, and with it, an implementation strategy that would ensure it was effective and durable. Important themes of that narrative were evident in documents that flourished during the period, and were used to prevent African Americans from attending schools with White children. Segregationists constructed the concept of a savage and unhealthy Black population ravenous for opportunities for which it was not fit and to which it was not entitled. By describing values held by those who were entitled to be called American, this

narrative storied Black people as interlopers or "other." The images created were enough

to convince the resistance movement that neither socio-economic status, nor religion, nor

profession, nor any other factor more important compared with the urgent need to unite

around their Whiteness in defense of a future for their children and to protect America.

Hundreds of thousands across the south became convinced that segregation would bring

intermarriage, and with it, a blending of races so that everything Caucasians were

working toward would eventually fall into mulatto hands, an image that appeared to rob

them and their progeny of their future. Little wonder that such provocative images

aroused the imaginations of segregationists in many domains including those in New

Orleans' sizable Catholic community, and induced them to resist.

Chapter Five:
Lambs of God: Sending Children to be Agents of Change

This chapter shows results of the research conducted to examine the experience of Catholic school desegregation by African American students. The research applied grounded theory, cultural trauma theory, and critical race theory to examining what students who desegregated Catholic schools experienced. Part one uses grounded theory to thematically group data that were collected through interviews with individuals who were students in 1962 when Catholic schools in New Orleans and elsewhere across the south desegregated. The themes elicited support consideration of a category of conflict party, specifically the lamb or sacrificial lamb. Part two uses cultural trauma theory to show that although desegregation was aimed at supporting a unified student body, lack of preparation on the part of officials and resulting harassment of Black students precipitated a divide. Part three uses critical race theory to set Catholic school desegregation within a larger framework of race relations.

Part 1. The Sacrificial Lamb

Conflict parties were discussed in chapters one and two. This section contributes to work on conflict parties by advancing a metaphor of the "lamb" or "sacrificial lamb" as a party to a conflict. The research sets forth characteristics of the lamb. The section will offer greater detail; however, a brief description at the outset will facilitate discussion.

First, the lamb/sacrificial lamb is one who is innocent; meaning, he or she has not perpetrated any offenses against other parties. In fact, the lamb is unaware that a conflict is occurring at all. Second, despite the lack of awareness, the lamb is sent into the conflict by knowing/trusted others (KTOs). Third, the lamb typically receives no briefing on the conflict, nor any arms or strategic training for it. KTOs typically do not brief the lamb on the conflict because to do so would diminish the lamb's innocence and render him/her unwilling to enter the conflict, jeopardizing the mission. Fourth, the mission depends on the lamb entering the combat zone, and he/she does so largely because (a) the situation appears benign, and (b) he/she trusts the KTOs. The KTOs recognize the risks involved with sending the lamb into the conflict, but there appear few, if any, other options for mission success. Last, the KTOs value and care deeply about the lamb, and they do not desire him or her to be harmed; however, they send her or him into the conflict in the interest of achieving a greater good. Parties count on the lamb, in part by its innocence, to carry a message of peace, thereby helping to negotiate a new agreement between the parties or to realize a more just future.

A lamb need not be a child (age 18 or less); knowing parties select anyone who is innocent (i.e., has not taken a stand in the conflict) to enter a conflict zone and face potential harm. The sacrificial lamb is sent without training or briefing on the conflict and is expected to bring about a greater good. The KTOs are aware of the conflict and decide to send the lamb to deliver a message or, by his or her (involuntary) presence and actions, to help end the conflict. The lamb enters the conflict unaware of the battleground, without briefing or significant weapons. The lamb goes into the conflict space prompted by, and

based on a close trust relationship with the KTO. The KTOs prefer not to send the lamb, and where possible, try to remain in proximity to it in order to be able to intervene if the lamb experiences harm. However, the KTO does not have access to the entire battlefield, and the lamb is eventually alone in a vulnerable situation. The KTO holds great hope that the lamb will not be sacrificed but sends the lamb into the conflict, aware of the risks and hostilities, and in the interest of a achieving a greater good, such as a more lasting, sustained peace.

A lamb can be an adult; he/she receives no training, is not given a role, is not coerced (i.e., goes willingly because of the KTO), and does not volunteer for duty. A lamb should not be mistaken for a pawn (i.e., someone easily fooled or deceived into a situation for nefarious reasons or resource gain by others). Unlike an interaction with a fool or scapegoat, the KTO has genuine affection for the lamb and will not put it at risk capriciously. Under the metaphor this research is proposing, the lamb is sacrificed by KTOs but only to bring about a more just future.

The lamb has no prior awareness that a conflict is ongoing; it is not until he/she enters the conflict zone that any sense of tension is evident. Lambs are deployed to a conflict zone under the impression that they are serving a completely different role compared with the one espoused. Their role involves elements that may include risk, danger, hostility, and the threat of violence. Parties to the conflict are aware that the lamb will suffer, be wounded, or even perish, but KTOs sacrifice the lambs' safety and innocence in order to bring about higher order goals.

Because of these characteristics, the lamb to a conflict can also be referenced as a sacrificial lamb. The sacrificial lamb metaphor is evident in other conflicts; for example, drug trials conducted by the government on unsuspecting African Americans at Tuskegee from 1932 and 1972 (Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, 2016). The classification relies on, and therefore is limited to situations involving complete trust given to one party by another, and the belief or likelihood that a greater good in society will be achieved.

Table 5 shows that experiences of individuals who desegregated Catholic schools in New Orleans comport with the lamb metaphor, and exemplify the defining characteristics. In this case, African American students were the lambs to this conflict. This research shows that they were unaware of race and only thought they were merely going to school, similar to other children around them, or as they had the year prior. None of the elementary school individuals who were interviewed for this study reported that they had been briefed as young children on the fact that a conflict was occurring in society or in the schools they were going to attend. In the Catholic school desegregation case, the KTO was the African American parent, who sent his/her children into previously segregated spaces, aware of threats and dangers the students might potentially face. The parents themselves were not lambs because they were aware of the conflict and risks associated with their actions. The children were negotiators of a new future because the KTOs (their parents) hoped they would demonstrate that Black children were intelligent, prepared, clean, healthy, well-behaved, and had no inclination to infiltrate and extinguish the White race.

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Because of tensions in New Orleans over segregated spaces, violence that occurred when the public schools integrated, and actions (e.g., a burned cross on the lawn of the archbishop over the prospect of integrated Catholic schools), the parents knew the children would face hostilities (Tureaud, 2011). The parents' decision to apply for their children to attend the previously all-White schools that had shunned them stemmed from a variety of motivations, including the White schools were better funded and their children would receive a better education; some parents were working with the civil rights movement and thought they could not ask others to put themselves and loved ones at risk without doing the same; some merely wanted the convenience of having their children attend the Catholic school nearest their home; and many were weary of the humiliation of segregation and believed the only way to demonstrate to the Church, indeed the world, that segregation was evil and should end, was to take the risk (Interviews).

Table 5

Characteristics of the Lamb Party and the KTO Party in a Conflict

Characteristics of the Lamb party to a conflict	Characteristics of the knowing/trusted other (KTO) party to a conflict where a lamb is involved
Innocent (has not taken a stand in the conflict); unaware of battleground and issues; unaware of potential risks; sent to – by actions and behavior – carry a message, negotiate a new agreement, mitigate, resolve or end the conflict; unarmed, un-indoctrinated; sent by trusted other individuals who are aware of the conflict.	Aware of, and has taken a stand or identified with a "side" in the conflict; aware of the battleground and issues; does not brief or indoctrinate the lamb; decides to send the lamb into the conflict; believes the potential threats to the lamb are worth risking for the greater good.

As was discussed in chapter One, God sent Jesus, His only son, to dwell among men, and bring a message of peace and brotherly love. At the end of his life, after he had performed miracles and preached messages of love, Jesus pleaded with his Father, wondering if there was any possible way to redeem mankind for its sin other than his forthcoming crucifixion (John 1:29; Acts 4:12; Hebrews 10:14; Revelation 5:9). Even in raising the question, Jesus said that he would comply with his Father's will. Because of his role as being sacrificed for the greater good of humankind, Catholicism often refers to Jesus as the Lamb of God.

As previously stated, the researcher did not equate the experiences of Black Catholic school children to Jesus' life, death, and resurrection. However, she referred to the students with the same vernacular, Lambs of God (LoG), because due to the timing of their birth, they could also be said to have been sent by God to negotiate a new agreement among Catholics in New Orleans. By their actions and example, integration's proponents hoped that the children would inaugurate an understanding that promoted love and unity instead of hate and separation.

The researcher conducted interviews with 18 individuals who experienced Catholic school desegregation. The first group was composed of 13 individuals who as children were the first African Americans to enroll in and attend previously all White Catholic schools. Integration was effected in Kindergarten and first grades in year one and fourth through eighth in year two. Two participants came to the schools three years after integration. Five participants desegregated high schools. The study designated the youngest children who desegregated schools as the lambs to the conflict (i.e., LoG)

because, as will be shown, they met all of the characteristics. The five in the high school group did not meet the characteristics of the lamb because they were well aware of the conflict, and some were given the choice to participate in desegregation or not. None of the lambs were given a choice.

Two students were not identifiably Black by appearance; as will be discussed, they were enrolled before desegregation was instituted. They were in a different category as their experience varied because, for a time, the school community thought they were White. Their experiences changed after desegregation when students and the community began to realize they were African American.

Two participants remained in the African American public or Catholic schools until after desegregation had been effected, later transferring to an already desegregated school. This group did not meet the definition of the lamb because the tension was significantly experienced and dealt with by the first identifiably Black group to enter; by the third year, protesters had left, media attention had dissipated, but many hostilities and challenges remained. The group who arrived later also had access to more information that they had obtained from students (parents, neighborhood children, and parish members) who had been in the conflict for several years, so these later students had a better idea of what to expect from the situation and what those before them had done to survive.

The researcher also interviewed two parents of children who desegregated New Orleans Catholic schools. Again, these were not lambs, but were what this dissertation calls KTOs because they had knowledge of the conflict. They also met the definition

because they were trusted by their children, knew their children would do as they were told, did not brief their children on the situation, and believed that sending them into the conflict to model what could be expected from Black students would benefit the Catholic church and American society. Table 6 shows the five categories into which the participants were placed.

Table 6

Number of Participants Interviewed by Category

	Category	Number of Participants
1	D-1 Students – Light complexioned elementary school children not detectable as Black who were admitted before desegregation began.	2
2	Lambs of God – Elementary school children, Grades 1-4, who desegregated Catholic schools.	7
3	High School Students – Older children, Grades 9-12, who desegregated Catholic schools.	5
4	D+3 students – Elementary school children who attended desegregated Catholic schools 3 or more years after integration. The researcher interviewed these students to identify whether there were notable differences between the experiences of those who desegregated first compared with later years after desegregation.	2
5	KTOs- Knowing and trusted others, in this case, parents of children who desegregated Catholic schools.	2
Total participants		18

All except one of the participants experienced Catholic school desegregation in New Orleans. One participant desegregated a Catholic high school in Mobile, Alabama the same year and reported similar experiences. This analysis will refer to participants

according to the key in Table 7. The themes, derived from the data, are elaborated upon

in the following discussion.

Table 7

Participant Numbering List

Type	Number
Lambs of God	1
	2
	3
	4
	5
	6
	7
D-1	8 and 16
D+3	9
	10
High School	11
	12
	13
	14
	15
Parent	P1
	P2

After interviewing students, the researcher used codes to deconstruct and organize

the themes expressed in the data. She then assigned nomenclature to the themes that

emerged: (a) innocence, (b) battleground, (c) knowing/trusted other, (d) greater good, (e)

peacekeeping, (f) lack of teacher preparation, (g) lack of community preparation, and (h)

social isolation.

Theme 1. Innocent - Unaware That the Conflict Exists

Applying the lamb metaphor, at the time of the conflict, the students were unaware that they were a critical party. The theme of innocence was salient among the LoG group. All seven of the LoGs reported lack of awareness of a conflict, that battle lines had been drawn, that there was enemy territory, that they were considered invaders, or that they were expected to occupy spaces that were hostile to them. In every interview with the LoG group, all students reported being unaware of the conflict ongoing in the Catholic schools about their enrollment. In fact, the participants reported they were unaware that they were of the African American race or what that meant. This study identified the self-discovery that they were considered a different race as a key turning point. It was an event marking the dawning of awareness of the situation they were encountering.

None of the LoGs received any prior briefing on the desegregation conflict. Participant 2 was typical. While she remembered the excitement of shopping for school uniforms, shoes, and supplies, she did not recall receiving preparation for dealing with the hostility she would face: "I don't recall specifically my parents preparing me for what happened when we tried to enter the gates of the parochial school." Upon being interviewed, the interviewer disclosed that she was also unaware of the conflict surrounding Catholic school integration. Participant 2 explained that, prior to entering the school, her parents "never explained what was going on in the external community, how I might be received at the previously all-White school," or as an African American walking

through an all-White community to get there. Participant 8 stated, "I don't remember [my parents] saying anything to me about it … I didn't know a thing."

Asked if they were aware of the inhospitable situation into which they were going, the LoGs offered statements, such as "I was clueless," "I was oblivious," and "I had no idea." Participant 2 summed it up this way: "My parents were the ones who made the hard decision and knew the conflict was going on. I was clueless about that aspect of what I was doing." Participant 7 commented that all he knew was that he was going to attend a different school. Participants 6 and 7 of the LoG group, as well as 9 and 10 of the D+3 group reported that briefings from parents instead focused on the importance of exhibiting good behavior and showing academic competence, not the social environment that they likely would encounter. Participants 3, 4, 8, and 12 expressed the sentiment that the lack of briefing might have been a benefit. Otherwise, the LoGs might have been hesitant to participate. Specifically, Participant 4 said,

> My mom had never really sat us down and talked about it. Not really like saying, "Oh, you're integrating the schools, so this is what's happening." You know, we just kind of, and I guess it's a good thing that they didn't because maybe it would have made us even more self-conscious. But, it was just an odd experience. I just remember it being odd, and saying, "What is going on that these people are looking at us like this, and these people are angry." I just didn't get it as a kid. Not until much later could I look back and say, "Ok, well this [desegregation] is why." We were in the throes of it, of what was happening in New Orleans and around the country.

A related characteristic of the youngest participants, whether they had experienced discrimination or not, was that they did not notice race until told that it existed. The researcher asked the participants if, as they entered the situation in Kindergarten, first, second, or third grade, they knew that they were members of the

Black race. All eight of the youngest group stated that as children, they had never thought about it. One of the LoGs commented,

> I never grew up, up until that point, with even a thought of Black and White… The conversations never really came up in my house. It wasn't something we talked about when I was going to school. I just knew we were going to school.

When interviewed, Participant 3 offered, "I didn't know I was in this group called 'colored.' At least not until September 6, 1962, when I was told I was colored, and I became aware of race." Thus, awareness of race was a subset of innocence. One cannot take a side when he/she is not aware that sides exist. One of the D+3 students, Participant 9, remarked similarly that "the good thing about being a naive child who had not been exposed to racism at that age is that I didn't believe that the color of my skin was an issue."

One recalled realizing that when he was verbally accosted it was because of his race. However, he said, "I was not looking at myself as a Black human being." Participant 7 said, "Race was something I had never paid attention to at that time." Then he encountered "fight[s] with the Caucasians, or walking home and they sic'd the dogs on you or made fun of you and stuff like that … turned the water sprinklers on so you wouldn't be able to walk on the sidewalk." It then began to dawn on him that it was because of physical attributes that he had in common with other Black students.

Participant 13, a high school student, was older, and therefore aware of race issues and the civil rights movement. When asked by her parents to desegregate a school, Participant 13 patently refused. A rising senior, she already had a valued social circle, was excelling academically, had joined extracurricular activities, and reasoned that

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leaving her school would nullify those gains. Participant 13 stated, "This all happened sometime during the summer before my senior year or late in my Junior year."

Participant 13 explained further:

> I did not go to the meeting [about desegregation], but my parents went, and they came home and told me what the meeting was about and that I was one of the ones earmarked to go integrate a school. I went ballistic, and I told them that if they made me go, I would just take the tuition money and not go to school at all. And, that's how strong my stand was. They knew that I meant it. I just simply said, "I won't go. If I'm out of school as a Junior, so be it. I'll just find a job, or do something, but I just won't go."

This participant also considered it ironic that the Catholic Church was asking her to sacrifice her friendships and accomplishments, which had required struggle to achieve in an environment complicated by segregation, to help undo a situation of their own making (Interviews). In her view, she should not be expected to correct a situation that should never have been allowed to form, and pressuring her was not the answer:

> My reasoning was: There was no way I was going to give up my Senior year, and my status I had worked so hard to reach at the [Xavier] Prep to do that bullshit for a year. So, I wasn't going to do it. And for me, it [would require] going from being very successful, to getting totally knocked off of that path. And, having grown up in that [hostile] environment … I did not want that intensity during my Senior year. I wanted a great Senior year. I wanted to continue on my success path. I wanted more than that situation could give me.

One student who desegregated Jesuit high school as a freshman told a newspaper reporter in 2013 that he could not bear the social deprivation; he kept thinking about the many friends he had at the all-Black St. Augustine, and after his first year, transferred (Waller, 2013). Participants 11, 12, 13, 14, and 15 all said that they had to sacrifice their social lives in order to desegregate Catholic high schools. Participants 12, 14, and 15,

who were the only three Black students in their school, said that their circle of friends was limited to each other.

Theme 2. Evidence of a Battlefield

Other statements showed that the LoGs thought they were entering the situation for one purpose, only to discover, usually abruptly and harshly, that their rights to be there were contested. In each case, they were surprised and caught off guard by the experience of finding themselves embattled. Thus, the recognition of a battlefield was another key turning point. Participant 2 of the LoG group stated that she entered Kindergarten, and her only reference for school were her older siblings already attending, so "it was something that I could not wait to do." Upon encountering an angry crowd standing outside of her school on the first day of desegregation and experiencing unkind terms being shouted at her and her siblings, she stated,

> It took me a minute to realize they were talking about me and my sisters and my dad …. In my eyes, and in my family's eyes, I was just as special as any other child. Until I got to school. And that was surprising.

Another Lamb, Participant 4, expressed the same sentiment: "It wasn't until you just started feeling that pushback … it was like, 'What is this? … Why do you guys not want us here?'"

Participants 1 through 7 and 11 through 15 could reference the moment they realized they were entering a conflict zone. For Participant 6, the idea came from an adult neighbor, who attempted to arm him with weapons for success. However, the child was unclear about how and when the weapons were to be used. The neighbor advised him that if White community and school members showed aggression toward him, he should "call

them 'poor White trash' or 'peckerwood.'" The student reflected, "I just thought that was kind of strange to be hearing that because up until that point, [in my mind] it was just another school." He had not anticipated that he would need insults in his arsenal with which to defend himself.

Several students indicated that many of the White students went out of their way not to touch the Black children. Participant 12 said, "They moved away from us in the halls and refused to touch us." Waller (2013) reported that Black students encountered tension from the White students, and they were antagonized in the cafeteria. One remembered having food thrown on him (Waller, 2013). In addition, White students would block the paths of Black students who tried to integrate tables in the cafeteria (Waller, 2013). Two participants reported similar experiences of being mocked, one while eating a banana, and both were asked if they were a monkey. Participant 4 described her experience:

> I had a snack that my mom brought … it was a banana. I remember eating the banana, and these guys were just jeering at us around the playground … And, I remember this one guy saying, "Oh, look at the little monkey eating the banana." And I thought, "What … me? Do I look like a monkey? Why would they say that I look like a monkey?" And, I kept trying to think, "How do I look like a monkey?"

This characterization and the fact that it was said to two students on separate occasions showed high salience with the Brady (1954) segregationist narrative of Blacks as un-evolved, which was being promulgated consistent with the Catholic school desegregation period.

Participant 13, a high school student who declined to participate in desegregation used war analogies to describe the situation:

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I was aware that there was a big climate change coming. And that there would be a lot of casualties in the process. You know, it felt like being on the precipice of war and that I was one of the soldiers being sent to fight on the front lines. And I felt I would be alone with no back-up. I would have been collateral damage, and I knew it, and I knew I didn't want that for my life.

Participant 13 also disclosed that the Catholic schools waged recruitment efforts attempting to find one or two students per grade, based on who they thought could withstand the aggression they would encounter:

[T]hey wanted the best students, who not only had the best grade point averages, but who [also] had the personality that could withstand the tension, the fighting, the egg-throwing, the tomato-throwing, the pushing and shoving, police, at an integrated school, because that is what they [the Catholic school administration] thought it was going to be. They wanted people who not only could succeed academically because they [segregationists] would say, "See, they [Black students] don't belong here, they're not equipped to make it." So, they wanted people with the grade point average, who could succeed academically and emotionally. They were looking for that combination.

One Jesuit high school student similarly stated, "They were looking for not just Black kids, but Black kids who had some smarts and had the sort of thick skin to tolerate harassment and still hang in there" (Waller, 2013, p. 2). The researcher found that one school, Jesuit, offered one of the Black students a scholarship to help make the decision to desegregate more attractive, but this did not seem a pervasive practice among the schools attended by Participants interviewed for this study. As has been stated, the Jesuits deployed a different strategy for integration compared with what was followed by parish and other parochial schools in New Orleans.

Theme 3. The Knowing and Trusted Steward

A lamb does not climb onto the sacrificial altar by itself. It goes to the altar led by the shepherd, parent, or trusted other entity (i.e., KTOs). In the case of students who

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desegregated Catholic schools, their parents were KTOs; the students were sacrificed to help end discrimination and restore God's favor. Parents were well aware of the fight to end segregation and the violence that had accompanied it, thus they were "knowing." The lambs trusted their parents, and they went into the situation because of that relationship. Participant interviews offered much that substantiates the role of the KTO. Foremost, their children trusted them, and they would go into the situation without an overview.

As was said, the youngest participants, 1 through 8, believed their parents did not tell them about the conflict for a variety of reasons; for example, the parents thought the children would be afraid or reluctant to carry out the mission. Participant 7 expressed a perspective shared by all of the elementary school-aged students: "Looking back … I'm glad my parents didn't tell me anything about desegregation because it would have made me more fearful." Participant 8, who was a LoG, agreed: "I honestly think that they thought that if they said anything, it might frighten me, and it would make it worse."

Participant 12 was a high school student. She observed that her parents' declining to discuss the situation in advance was their way of protecting their children. She conjectured that:

> They didn't talk about the bad stuff that could have happened. So, even though I was escorted by the police every day, I wasn't physically afraid. So, there's something to be said about how they did it because I could have been scared to death to go to school, thinking something may happen or whatever … But, my parents didn't say, "Well, you know they may do this or they may do that … they may not want to touch you; they may move away from you…" I don't remember them saying anything like that. I think everybody just let things kind of happen … But, my parents protected me by not talking about negative things.

One of the LoGs, Participant 8, also concluded that her parents, in not disclosing the true nature of the situation, were being protective; in retrospect, she expressed they were correct in declining to share with them their true mission. Participant 8 stated,

> I think my parents handled it the way they should have handled it. Because, maybe they didn't want us to focus on the fact that we were different and that we were doing something different. Maybe they were sparing us having to process that. Maybe they didn't want us to think on it and become aware of what other people were feeling about us. So, maybe they did exactly right.

Some participants surmised that the point at which the knowing/trusted other - KTO became aware that a sacrifice was going to be made represented a potential turning point. They could have changed their minds or decided to brief the lamb about the situation. This sentiment was most evident in statements of those students who were first to desegregate that without going into it too deeply, their parents could have offered a general overview of the situation so that students could have prepared themselves and developed a game plan. Participant 5 summarized well what others reported:

> Our parents didn't [brief us] of course, but it probably would have been helpful if our parents had sat us down and had given us an inkling about what was going on. Because … when the name-calling, all of the rock-throwing, all of that stuff happened, then I realized, whoa, this is a pretty deep thing to be thrown into.

With 50 years of hindsight, 13 participants concluded that at least condensed explanations to Lambs would have been more beneficial compared with silence, yet they supported their parents in the decision not to give one. They reasoned that their parents had done the best they could with the information they had at the time. Said Participant 5, one of the Lambs of God:

> [Information] would have helped, but trust me, I totally understand, because what they did was probably what they thought was the best way to handle it. So, no

hard feelings toward my parents, but with hindsight, I can say that knowing more about the situation would have helped.

It was unsurprising that, given the religious aspect of the situation, six of the Lambs of God reported believing retrospectively that their role came from a higher source. For them, God was deeply involved with putting them in the situation. Participant 5 said, "I always thought that I was given this duty and responsibility." She acknowledged that, as a fourth grader, she could not fully articulate what she later came to see as the motivating force. At the time, "I think I just considered myself a brave soul with a duty that I had to accomplish." Another student, Participant 4, reflected on having endured the situation: "Thank God, right? He was looking out for us." In addition, Participant 3 suggested, "God was looking out for us, and He sent all of His angels … we needed them."

Theme 4. Greater Good

Interviews with parents underscored the KTO role, especially the theme of allowing their children to enter situations that had been volatile in the public school sphere, in order to achieve something greater in society, equality. Parent 2 said, "We wanted to make life better for you [their children]." He explained that by 1962, some of the other segregation barriers were coming down, but that their children were not being afforded a quality education. Parent 1 agreed that Catholic schools in New Orleans were better preparing students to succeed in high school, so he did not want his child to attend the public school that served his community. Black Catholic schools were also not well funded to obtain the best teachers and equipment for their children, he said. Participant 6 of the Lambs of God verified that he struggled after leaving an under-financed Black

Catholic school; by fourth grade, he had not learned his multiplication tables, something that was taught in second grade in the White Catholic school to which he transferred the year it desegregated.

The idea that the children would experience some conflict, but that in the long run, a redress of injustice would occur, was borne out not only by parents' statements, but children's as well. Even three years after desegregation, D+3 students seemed to receive some of the same messages from their parents about ensuring they exhibited stellar behavior. Participant 9 said that her parents did not give her any special instructions except "not to embarrass them because White folks [would] be expecting us to fail."

The strategy appeared to have been practiced by the LoG, four of whom said they were told that they must excel. Participant 2 said that academic focus reduced teacher harshness toward her: "I think my grades saved me to a large extent," she said. Participant 2 continued,

> Believe it or not … we used to sit in class in order of smartness, performance, and grades. So, there was "Girl of the Month," and "Boy of the Month," and you were given a button to wear designating you as the smartest in the class, and I got that designation quite often.

Participant 10, a D+3 student, stated that he was a naturally good student and athlete, attributes which similarly drew negative focus away from him.

One LoG, Participant 7, stated that his parents gave no hint of the greater civil rights aims they held. He related a memory of his parent's instruction: "They said go to school and don't get in trouble. Not just don't get in trouble with the Caucasians, they meant don't get in trouble with anybody." Another LoG, Participant 5, believed that the focus on competence and good behavior, instead of the battlefield, was a good one:

I have to give my parents all of the credit for pushing us forward and giving us, like I said, inner strength, and that fortitude to press on and to not shrink in the face of a lot of adversity.

African American Catholic parents were motivated by the opportunity to bring about a more just future for their children; by desegregating another space in society, they contributed to the uplift of Black people generally. This contribution was evident not only in their statements during interviews, but also in what older high school students remember that parents shared. When one set of parents had trouble convincing their high school-aged daughter to desegregate a school, they tried to motivate her with a vision of a more equal future: "[M]y parents played the race card," Participant 13 said. "They said, 'You need to do it for your race.' They said, 'It's not about you. If everybody took that attitude, we'll be right back where we started [as a race].'" Her parents added that if Black people did not ensure that the best students desegregated the schools, segregationists would use the opportunity to justify their narrative that Black people were not ready, and they were correct all along in advising that everything be kept segregated. Participant 13 stated,

So, I felt really guilty, and I told them I would think about it … [The decision] was heavy for a 15- or 16-year-old. It was a lot of pressure. Ultimately, I told them that I wasn't willing to [do it].

During the course of the study, the researcher came across a broadcast featuring American actress Sasheer Zamata, interviewing her mother, who desegregated an all-White public high school in Forrest City, Arkansas in the 1960s (Glass, 2016, Episode 583). "She was part of history, and I thought that was something she would be proud of," said Zamata (Glass, 2016, Episode 583). Reflecting what many people misunderstood

about desegregation, Zamata continued, "I didn't know it was an option for families that they got to choose whether they desegregated schools. I just thought that some law was passed and everyone agreed to go for it" (Glass, 2016, Episode 583).

Parents and high school students who the researcher interviewed in the Catholic domain validated that they came to a crossroads and were faced with a considerable dilemma. Being familiar with the sting and humiliation, and having witnessed the brutality of Jim Crow, they now had to ask if they really wanted to expose themselves to more pain and humiliation when they had the option to remain in Black Catholic schools even if for a greater good. Zamata explained what happened to her mother: "[M]y grandmother basically forced my mom and several of her siblings to join the civil rights movement as pre-teens, and go to a school where they weren't wanted" (Glass, 2016, Episode 583). In the interview conducted in 2016, Zamata asked her mother, Ivory Seward, who was an eighth grader at the time, why her parents had chosen the experience for her (Glass, 2016, Episode 583). Speaking of her mother (Zamata's grandmother), Seward said,

> [S]he had said that the reason she wanted her kids to go to the White school was that she did not want her children to be afraid of White people. But, I'm thinking, "That's your problem. You're afraid of White people." We didn't get the opportunity to develop how we thought about it. (Glass, 2016, Episode 583)

Years ago, the researcher asked her mother why she would send her to desegregate a school knowing the threats and violence that had accompanied public school desegregation and the hostile attitudes toward it in New Orleans. Her answer was simply:

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You were entitled to it … It was your right … You were Catholic, you were a good student, we lived in the parish, so there was no reason why you should have to go to public school or travel so far across town to a Black Catholic school.

Parent 2 gave the same answer:

You asked me why did I want to send my children to White St. Gabriel the Archangel school? My question to you is "Why not?" It was there, it was a Catholic school, I was Catholic, [therefore] why can't my children go there?

Parent 1 whose son desegregated a Catholic elementary school said, "I had a great childhood … and I wanted my children to experience a great childhood too. And if it meant going through some trouble [so be it]."

Many others referenced larger contributions of parents who participated in the civil rights movement and desegregated other spheres in New Orleans. Parent 1 stated, "[A]t the time, I was heavily involved in the integration process. In fact, I was the treasurer of the NAACP in New Orleans, and so here was an opportunity to help integrate the schools." Similarly, Participant 2 stated, "My father was a civil rights activist, very active and involved in the civil rights movement. My mother was very vocal about the civil rights movement. And I remember doing sit-ins with her at the local Walgreens." Participant 13, who was in high school, but declined to desegregate a school when approached by her parents, said,

I have to admire the people that did it [desegregated schools]. I did have the sense that history was going on at the time, and these events were part of it, but I wasn't aware of how the story was going to end. I was aware not that I would make or not make history.

A high school student reported that she did not want to desegregate a school but was not given a choice by her parents because of her father's involvement in Louisiana civil rights. She said,

My dad was the first African American Justice on the Supreme Court of Louisiana, and he was a mediator in a lot of court cases and involved in the civil rights movement. He couldn't see asking other people to send their children when he had a child who wouldn't be going. So, I didn't have a choice. I had to go.

During the course of this study, he researcher found a newspaper article that mentioned Llewelyn Soniat, who was a civil rights activist (Nolan, 2010). Nolan (2010) wrote that Soniat sent his two children to enter all-White Mater Dolorosa Catholic Elementary school in September 1962 because he "wanted his Black children to help breach the racial barriers he had spent his life assaulting" (para. 2). Waller (2013) wrote about a student who, as a13-year-old, did not connect his actions to the larger frame of civil rights in America. However, he did connect with a sense of duty to secure a rightful place in the school so that others younger than he could also benefit.

High school student, Participant 13, who ultimately refused to desegregate, said, "I think my parents were surprised by my stance … From their reaction, I could tell that they expected me to go and to be glad to go." Participants 11, 12, 14, and 15 similarly reported feeling constant pressure to succeed so that others could follow. The knowledge that they were being scrutinized by teachers and White students was omnipresent. Black students who desegregated Catholic schools felt the need to succeed not only for themselves, but also for their race (Verderame, 2016).

Theme 5. Peacekeeping

While knowing/trusted others – KTOs - place the lamb at risk, it is not out of lack of concern. On the contrary, KTOs took the opportunity, where possible, to escort the lamb onto the sacrificial alter. While the KTO cannot substitute himself or herself for the

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lamb in the conflict, he or she shows a great deal of concern and protects the lamb as much as possible.

It became immediately obvious to the Lambs of God - LoGs that peacekeeping was necessary, as they observed picketers and sullen knots of protestors the morning that Catholic schools desegregated. The *Times Picayune* estimated crowd sizes from a few to hundreds at the various schools in the city (The Associated Press, 1962a). Participant 3 described the scene at her school: "That morning, in that crowd of people were some adults praying the rosary and shouting out for the police to block us, calling us racial names." She stated she was accustomed to the sometimes celebratory atmosphere of New Orleans. Seemingly spontaneous celebrations were not uncommon, and these were almost always loud and fun, but police usually sprang into action if crowds became rude and rowdy. Whether the peacekeeping provided at her school was sincere was debatable because, though the crowd stood behind temporary barriers, the police took no action to stop the name-calling and harassment as the students approached the school. The Associated Press (1962b) reported,

> [F]ive women picketed opposite [St. Rose de Lima], and a crowd of about 75 persons watched as police officers stood by…. The pickets/ signs read, "White Parents Refuse to Follow the Commy Line of Irresponsible Archbishop Cody," "Big John [Cody] Doesn't Understand the South's Problems," "Go North Cody," "Why Pay and Destroy Our Children?" and "One Negro Child Is Too Many." (para. 2)

These signs resonated with themes in the segregationist narrative discussed in Part 1 of chapter four. Waller (2013) reported on a Jesuit high schooler's memory: "His father drove him to Jesuit, which was surrounded by segregationist protestors carrying signs and

shouting rants: 'We do not want you here … Go back to where you belong'" (p. 4).

Police escorted him down the walkway so that he could enter the school.

All seven Lambs of God - LoGs reported that their parents escorted them to the school gates on the first days of Catholic school desegregation. Parent 1 said that he also wanted to protect his child from harm; however, he could not be there at all times, and he knew that when he was not there, his son encountered adversity. Children also reported that their parents could not always accompany them to school, nor could any parent remain with them after they entered the building, and these times without protection were the most unpredictable and tumultuous.

All of the students reported that their parents did the best they could, with the information they had, for the circumstances they were in. Parents showed strong evidence of believing in their children's ability, and the objective of showing others that they had something to offer was more important compared with sheltering them. Both parents interviewed expressed that they hoped that once the students, teachers, and community realized the caliber of students the Black children were – smart, able, and well-behaved Catholic children – resisters would call off the attack or at least reconsider their strategy. In other words, once the Lamb climbed up on the sacrificial altar, and God saw how great it was, He would let it live.

Theme 6. Lack of Teacher Preparation

None of the participants saw evidence of the New Orleans Catholic schools preparing teachers for a desegregated environment. Some African American students experienced slights and insults from teachers. Participant 3 cited an example of having

prevailed over White students in a series of academic challenges only to have the teacher assume one of the White children had won. When the teacher began to award the prize, students suggested a mistake had been made, causing the teacher to re-tally the score and award a Black student for the first time. Participant 11 similarly related a story about a student who won a statewide competition only to have the sponsors refuse to award her the prize when they learned she was Black.

Participant 9, one of the D+3 students, noted that nuns and lay teachers were dismissive and unkind to Black students, especially those who were "dark-skinned." She observed that Black students received reprimands for behavior that White students exhibited without punishment:

> [E]ven though I did not know what racism meant, I quickly discovered that the Black students were being treated more harshly than any of the other students. My brother was a dark-skinned student, and he was mistreated by the nuns and the lay teachers.

Another LoG, Participant 2, agreed: "I know that the Black boys in my class got corporal punishment administered to them far, far, far more often than the little White boys … And, I remember realizing that was not equal." Twelve of the 15 participants stated that they did not remember any teachers being kind to them.

Waller (2013) reported that condescension was communicated by insensitive teachers; for example, one offered motivation to a Black student by suggesting that his ability rendered him "a credit" to his race (p. 4). Participant 1, a LoG, observed teachers having more patience and finding alternative methods for explaining lessons to White children but showing no such tolerance for the Black students. In fact, his fourth grade teacher refused to promote him, causing him to repeat the grade. "I know I was a little

active," he said, "but if I wasn't picking up what she was teaching, she would never find other ways to help me learn like she did with the White students." He stated that he never desired to return to the school for any reunions and preferred just to forget about the experience; he went on in life to be academically successful, finishing medical school and becoming a dentist. Giles (2010) found, "Culturally biased and racial incidents sometimes happen in educational settings, and many educators fail to recognize the events or its implications as damaging" (p. 362). He highlighted the necessity of training for teachers so that they recognized their own biases, beliefs, and thought patterns that might interfere with socially just teaching (Giles, 2010).

Other LoGs similarly recalled a stoic, impervious, and uncaring posture from teachers. Participant 3 related an incident of a White student subjecting her to verbal and physical abuse. The commotion caught the teacher's attention, who took in the scene for a moment, and rather than discipline the offending student, as was normally done in such circumstances, punished both. Participant 3 stated that incidents, such as these, made adverse experiences even more confusing and anxiety-prone because she and other Black students did not always know who they could trust to protect them. Seward shared the experience of teachers' and administrators' lack of involvement:

> [M]ama had told us to sit in the front of the bus so in case something happens, the bus driver is a witness. Well, he was just a witness to us getting cussed out every day. He did nothing. When we got off the bus, we stood outside of the window of the office so that if anything happened, [the office staff] could witness something happening to us. The person I remember standing in the window was [a man] who later became principal. So, he witnessed the kids throwing rocks at us. (Glass, 2016, Episode 583)

All of the students interviewed said they saw no evidence of the Catholic schools having prepared the teachers, either for teaching in an interracial setting, or helping the schools transition socially from segregated to integrated. The researcher recalled an awkward attempt when, three years after desegregation, only monoracial groups could be observed on the playground. Her teacher had observed the children playing in segregated groups for years and apparently decided to do something about it. She walked around to the various playgroups and told them to "integrate." When both Black and White students responded with confusion, she took students, one-by-one, led them from their normal playgroups, and exchanged them for students in other groups so that every group was rendered interracial. While it was a contrived and short-lived experiment (the next day the students returned to their normal groupings at recess), it was the only instance the researcher recalled of a religious or lay teacher attempting to help students bridge the racial divide. Giles (2010) pointed out the importance of teacher awareness of their own discursive assumptions:

> It is vital that individuals preparing for socially engaged careers as teachers or clergy should critically examine their mental models for oppressive images and ways of understanding their thinking as integrated complex systems that operate within the context of a diverse society. (p. 359)

Waller (2013) reported on a second grader who desegregated St. Leo the Great School, arriving from an all-Black institution, Corpus Cristi. He endured name-calling and insensitive language; at his new school, when he heard the word "nigger," it was casually-used as part of a playground game. He too reported teachers who, when he was beaten by bullies after school, assumed he had been the perpetrator (Waller, 2013). Teachers assumed his ability was low and challenged his veracity when he reported

having completed challenging reading assignments; he, similar to the LoG discussed above, grew up to later complete medical school and become a surgeon. Another commenter to a Nolan (2010) article who attended St. Gabriel the Archangel shortly after it desegregated, a school discussed in more depth below, became an attorney. The commenter said of desegregation:

> Those were the worst experiences a child could have suffered. Not because of any violent or explicit racist behavior, but generally speaking, the faculty and administration just did not care for the few of us that integrated those institutions. Children should never have to suffer the indignity of such an experience. My successes have been in spite of the integrated parochial system. (Nolan, 2010, para. 2)

In the comments section of the article, a White student attending an un-named elementary school in New Orleans said that the faculty had warned the receiving White students that the parish would not tolerate mistreatment of the two incoming Black students, and the children had abided by this notification (Nolan, 2010). Even though expectations had been stated, the White former student realized that the change was not easy: "Even at 10 years old, I thought those two [Black] students had nothing but courage to be the first to cross the color line. All these years later, I still think about them" (Nolan, 2010, para. 3).

The high schooler from Jesuit reported a different experience. Again, Jesuit was not a diocese school, but religious order of priests operated it. Unlike other students in this research, he found a welcoming faculty, prepared to receive the new Black students (Waller, 2013). However, the sense of preparation did not extend to the student body, from whom the Black student experienced hostility. He reported the experience of a student who overheard a faculty member admonishing White students who had not been

hospitable to their Black classmates. The student also reported a faculty member who waived their punishment when the students violated policy by leaving the school grounds to get a break from the stress. In all the data that the researcher collected, she did not encounter students in other schools who stated they had been similarly defended by faculty members. The researcher believed that this divergent experience was because the Jesuits, not the archdiocese, operated that school. The Jesuit priests could exercise control in what actions would be tolerated in the schools they operated; faculty support affected the student experience positively.

Theme 7. Lack of Community Preparation

As noted, students who had to travel through all-White neighborhoods to attend desegregated schools also encountered harassment from members of those communities, especially those who walked to school. They reported feeling unsafe as they coursed through unwelcoming communities, especially when they had no one to protect them. Their main strategy for exercising agency and feeling safer was to travel in groups. Participant 4 said that some White families were more tolerant than others; however,

> There were some who you would definitely feel had this disdain for us as little girls. We always had to walk in a group. I don't know if that was something our parents told us to do, but we always got our group together, then we would walk home together. So, it was a lot to experience as a child, but it was really my normalcy.

However, students found ways to exercise agency and keep themselves safe. Most reported walking in groups so that they were not easy targets in hostile communities through which they had to travel. One parent, whose children walked through a White neighborhood, daily rode alongside them in a car until they reached their destination, to

protect them from community harassment. "That's why I rode shotgun [drove my car aside my children as they walked to school]," Parent 2 said. "It was the adults in Gentilly [the White community] who were doing that [harassing children]. If anything had broken out, I would have been the first person on the scene." This parent also stated that he carried a weapon, a gun, in his car to protect his children and other Lambs as he drove alongside them.

When the researcher was interviewed, she recalled an incident that occurred in fourth grade, three years after the school had desegregated. Though the picketers had disappeared, the students continued to experience harassment, especially by members of the White community through which they had to walk to get to and from school. As established, the students walked in groups. The researcher's sisters, cousins, some friends, and she found a pathway that shortened their walk by about a half-block, but more importantly, just gave them a different street to experience after years of the same scene. After taking the new route for about a half-week, a community member approached the group in her car. The researcher noticed her classmate sitting in the passenger seat. As the researcher approached, she greeted the classmate by name, but the young student looked straight ahead and did not return her greeting or acknowledge her school cohort in any way. The driver of the car was the young girl's mother, who then told the group to stay off of the walkway that passed her house. She said, "I'm going to tell you niggers this one time. If I ever catch you on that path again," she then placed her hand on a gun that was on the seat between her and the classmate, "I will shoot you dead, and no one will ask any questions." The researcher reported that she did not relate the

incident to her parents until she was in college. It was such a confusing time that she was

not sure if she, one of the oldest of the group, would suffer repercussions for putting the

younger children in peril.

Other students also reported being traumatized while walking through a White

neighborhood to get to school. Participant 5, a LoG, stated, "Typically, they would harass

us by asking, 'What are you doing here, nigger? You do not belong in this

neighborhood.'"

Theme 8. Social Isolation and a Divided Social Climate

Other students noted the pain of excruciating social isolation, the lack of

recognition of the ties that had to be severed, and potential friendships given up in order

to be among the first to desegregate schools. One high school student, Participant 11,

said,

> It was very lonely. The problem is, once you leave your [former all Black] high school, you lose all of the connections. I mean, we still had friends there, but you don't have the same experiences. You're not going to the class meetings. You're not interacting on a daily basis, so you sort of lose that connection. And then you find yourself in a place where you're really not wanted, even if you're not being abused. There's not a warmth there. There is no one you can actually connect with socially. There's not calling each other up on the phone and talking about who's got a crush on who. You're not doing those things that high school kids do, and so I just found it crushingly lonely.

A high school student who desegregated an all-girls school related the traumatic

experience of attending a dance. An all-boys school had been invited to the event to

provide dance partners and social interaction for the girls. However, she and her cousin

were two of only three Black students in the school. She and her cousin went to the dance

"and we basically just stood there," she said. "We did not dance with anyone. We

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certainly couldn't dance with any of the White guys. They just were not going to ask us."

The student was not identifiably African American by her appearance. Nonetheless, she

stated that her school's students told the visiting boys that the girls were Black, and

"[t]hey certainly never asked my cousin or I to dance." Asked why she even attended, she

answered, "We went because we were in high school, and it was a high school dance, so

that's what you did." However, neither she nor her cousin ever went to another dance.

The social isolation was unbearable for that high school student, who reported feeling

alone, with no interaction from students and teacher: "Most of the girls simply ignored

us."

Two students reported attempting to visit White students at their homes and being

turned away. Participant 11 said, "I was never invited to anyone's house. As I became an

officer of [a club], and I remember going to … a meeting … and one of the meetings took

place in one of the students' homes. I couldn't go in because her father wouldn't let me

in." Another elementary student recalled going to a student's house after school, but after

knocking on the door and asking for his classmate, was told to go away. Waller (2013)

similarly reported the experience of a Lamb of God - LoG, who had a White friend with

whom he walked home after school, until the boy's father directed him to discontinue.

Participant 16 reported that her brother visited the home of a White family that was not

prejudiced, however their relatives were; he was allowed in, but after prejudiced family

members arrived, was asked to leave the house.

As noted, students also reported that schools desegregated but did not achieve

integration. Participant 6 offered an observation that was shared by all: "Our play groups

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were Black kids with the Black kids, and White kids with the White kids." All of the students reported that in class, where they were required to sit with classmates, students were integrated. However the playground and after-school settings all remained segregated. Even one of the three years after desegregation - D+3 students, Participant 10, who acknowledged that some of the animosity had subsided by the time he enrolled, agreed that non-curricular socialization remained segregated.

In addition, while some of the national organizations for students that hosted chapters, branches, or units at the schools, were integrated, some were not. Two former students, Participants 2 and 3, recalled hearing an announcement that the Girl Scouts would be meeting after school. They decided to stay after school to join, but when they went to the designated room, were told that the troop did not accept colored members. Parent 2 explained that his parish still wanted to conduct insensitive festivals; Waller (2013) interviewed students some 50 years later, and a commenter also mentioned that parishes continued to conduct insulting minstrel shows into the 1960s.

Two students, Participants 3 and 6, noted the discomfort of certain discussions when students were one of few or the only Black members of the class. For example, their school offered no Black history modules or study on the contributions of the African American community. Both referenced strong feelings of unease when their classes were presented units on slavery. Without another context for the study of African American life and history, both students reported experiences of extreme self-consciousness when curricula on slavery were taught. One shared that a source of his shame was that he was not only new to the school, but also one of few Black students. He stated,

They were talking about slavery, and I felt bad, and I felt like all the kids were looking at me. But, I remember it was a bad feeling. I think it was more so that – to your question – did I know I was Black? That was one of the times that I realized, "Yes, I'm Black," and at this point everything came together. I think that might have been in fourth grade that it happened.

In addition, both students reported having experienced shame because the units on slavery lacked key discussions about the injustice of slavery or the victimization of African Americans. During an interview, the researcher recalled that because there were no other references to Black people, the images of slaves in the textbook made her highly self-conscious: "I remember when I was looking at a picture of a runaway slave. He had bare feet and tattered clothes, and he was running, and he was Black. And I felt so self-conscious when we got to that lesson." The researcher wondered if the White students in her class associated her with that image because the slavery unit was the class' only reference to African Americans. She expressed that the opportunity of having more Black students in the class or others who were allies would have rendered the situation more tolerable. The other student similarly recalled the following:

We didn't have a full context of what slavery was, and why they were doing it. So maybe it made me feel like we [Black people] must have been doing something [wrong] for this to have happened. It's like what the police do today. If you get arrested by the police, you must have done something wrong. No!

One student reported feeling ashamed when racist graffiti appeared on school grounds at Jesuit (Waller, 2013).

One high school student, Participant 15, recalled that she and the other two Black students were each other's only friends; she thought that the schools should have taken more of a role in helping to bridge the divide by finding activities that promoted interracial sharing and interaction. Participant 5, a Lamb of God - LoG, coped with the

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separateness she felt by getting involved in extra-curricular activities and suggested that team sports or learning dance together were effective ways of crossing racial divides: "We took ballet lessons; we took a lot of things that had not been done before as Black kids and White kids together in the same activity," and these things helped bridge the divide.

To summarize, the young children who desegregated schools fit all of the criteria of the lamb or sacrificial lamb role in a conflict (see Table 8). They all were innocent (had not taken a stand in the conflict); unaware of battleground and issues; unaware of potential risks; sent to carry a message, negotiate a new agreement, mitigate, resolve, or end the conflict; unarmed, un-indoctrinated; and sent by trusted other individuals who were aware of the conflict.

Table 8

The Youngest and Identifiably Black Students Meet the Characteristics

Characteristics	D -1 Students	Lambs of God (K-4th grade students who desegregated Catholic Schools)	D+3 students Students who attended desegregated Catholic schools 3+ years after desegregation	High School Students
Innocent/Have not taken a side in the conflict	Yes	Yes	Maybe	No
Unaware of Battleground and issues	Yes	Yes	No	No
Unaware of potential risks	Yes	Yes	No	No
Sent to resolve or end a conflict	Maybe	Yes	No	Yes
Unarmed, un-indoctrinated	Yes	Yes	Maybe	No
Sent by a knowing/ trusted other	Yes	Yes	Maybe	Yes

Interventions in conflicts involving sacrificial lambs must include enlisting and preparing allies, such as teachers, other students, and community members, for socially-just interaction. In addition, while sacrificial lambs, with hindsight, understood why they were not given information on the conflict they entered, they expressed that post-mortems on the situation and ways to later make sense of the experience would have been helpful. While they did not express the need for praise or reparations, they expressed that some indication of the results of their efforts would make their sacrifices worthwhile and would offer relief beyond anything else for the adversity they suffered.

Navigating a Dual System: A Story of One School

An examination of LoGs who lived near St. Gabriel the Archangel school in New Orleans exemplified another cultural breach, the inconvenience to which the church subjected Black students, as they navigated a divided system and were expected to transition to unified (see Table 9). For example, Participant 1 attended a segregated African American school for Kindergarten, a segregated African American public school for first grade, a segregated African American Catholic school across town from her home for second and third grades, and was finally admitted to a previously all-White school for fourth grade. Her experience showed the frustration and illogical work-arounds that many Black families faced. She reported that her parents continually attempted to enroll her in St. Gabriel, the Catholic school nearest her home.

At first, the schools were not integrated, but after they were, under "gradualism," the school was not accepting Black children except in Kindergarten and first grades; she was in second grade. Gradualism assumed that older children of both races were too acclimated to segregation to transition to integrated spaces successfully. In 1962 and 1963, New Orleans Catholic Schools officially desegregated the all-White elementary schools. Segregated schools required time and maneuvering on the part of Black parents, to find education for their children and safe passage to school in mostly unwelcoming schools and surrounding communities. A dual (Black and White) system was costly and inconvenient. St. Gabriel published a book that offered the following on the policy to limit enrollment of African Americans to Kindergarten and first grades:

> For the classes beginning in September, 1962, the school accepted five Black children in Kindergarten and six in first grade. Many other Black children wanted

an opportunity to receive a religious education at St. Gabriel's. A decision was made to initiate the integrated experience at the primary level. (St. Gabriel the Archangel Church, 1980, p. 9)

Table 9

School Attendance of Six LoGs in the Desegregation of St. Gabriel the Archangel

Year ▶ Grade ▼	Segregated Catholic Schools			Desegregated Catholic Schools	
	1959	1960	1961	1962 Grades K-1 Elementary Grades 10-12 High Schools *Desegregate*	1963 Grades 3-8 Elementary *Desegregate*
	-3	-2	-1	0	+1
K	**LoG1 – *Martinez* LoG2 – *St. Raymond*	LoG3 – *St. Peter Claver* *LoG4 – *Martinez*	LoG5 – *Coghill* LoG6 - *Martinez*	LoG7 – St. Gabriel LoG8 – St. Gabriel	
1		**LoG1 – Coghill LoG2 – *St. Raymond*	LoG3 – *St. Peter Claver* *LoG4 – St. Gabriel	LoG5 – St. Gabriel LoG6 – St. Gabriel	LoG7 – St. Gabriel LoG8 – St. Gabriel
2			**LoG1 – *Epiphany* LoG2 – *St. Raymond*	LoG3 – *St. Peter Claver* *LoG4 - St. Gabriel	LoG5 – St. Gabriel LoG6 – St. Gabriel
3				**LoG1 – *Epiphany* LoG2 – *St. Raymond*	LoG3 – St. Gabriel *LoG4 – St. Gabriel
4					**LoG1 – St. Gabriel LoG2 – St. Gabriel

Note. *Denotes a child not identifiably Black. **Denotes a child who changed schools four times. Italics denotes an all-Black school. No italics denotes an all-White school.

Because of segregated Catholic schools, Participant 1 attended three different schools before the fourth grade, coursing across town on public transportation for the latter two years to one of the few Black Catholic schools. She stated,

> [W]e spent the majority of the year catching the [mass transit] bus. And we caught the Pontchartrain Park bus in the morning, then we transferred to the Broad bus on Chef Menteur, which took us close to Epiphany, and of course, we

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walked the rest of the distance. But, I was a second- and third-grader, catching the bus every morning.

Because she was so young, she watched for either of two friends, who boarded the bus at an earlier point, to extend a hand from the window as a signal that they were on board to ride with her so that they could travel in group:

> [M]y signal of which bus to get onto was when either W----, P---'s big sister who was in eighth grade, or P---, would stick their head or their hand out of the window, and that was my signal to get on that particular bus, because they were on it and could ride with me.

This method ensured she would not have to ride or walk the last blocks alone. St. Gabriels' LoGs started out at all-Black public or Catholic schools (or were too young to have started school); by 1963, they gradually entered the previously all-White school.

The energy that Black people expended in navigating a segregated society is notable. Black families experienced frustration from being asked by their church to endure an untenable situation. As established, Black people were constantly asked to be patient, while White people acclimated to something [integration] they deemed they were being forced to do. African American frustration stemmed from the fact that they, in being segregated, were being forced to do something they did not wish to do. They viewed the church's subordination of their preferences to those of Whites' as just another form of discrimination they were forced to abide. Segregation was perilous, humiliating, inconvenient, and wrong. African Americans believed they had been patient enough, having waited centuries to be treated justly by their church.

Certainly not all of the children were hostile toward the Black students; LoGs conceded that a few unprejudiced families were open to diversity at the school, but it took

time to sort them out. LoGs reported that such students were often afraid to befriend the Black students for fear of reprisals from the majority.

All of the students stated that they felt the duty to continuously ensure that they were successful so that they would not be judged and desegregation would be successful. All reported having to focus intently on joining activities even if they were not welcome, and being as academically prepared as possible. These behaviors, they said, were the only ways to prove that they belonged and were as good as other students.

Participant 8 stated that although she and some others might have survived the experience fairly well, all students were not so fortunate. She noted that students survived the experience with varying degrees of success: "Other people were in the same situation we were in, but …[t]hey did not come out of it feeling positive … because I'm thinking about [Black male student - name withheld], who had a very rough path in life." Another LoG, Participant 4, summed it up this way: "It's not really until you look back on it and think about it that you realize that we went through a hard time. We went through something that was pretty profound for that time in the country."

The Front Lines: Students Who Were the First to Desegregate

In the foregoing case study, most of the students were the first to be enrolled in previously all-White schools. Ostrom (1990) suggested that when a common resource exists with the potential for collective benefit, some people might choose not to participate in negotiations over its use, but rather to "free ride" on the efforts of others (p. 6). Specifically, some potential beneficiaries may allow others to perform the fighting or negotiating, because when the resource is ready to consume, they will still receive the

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benefit of it. Similarly, African American families were interdependent on each other for desegregating Catholic schools. Some submitted applications the first year, and some were accepted and others not. Still others did not apply the first few years, opting to observe what happened with the LoGs and to let the tension subside.

Their concerns were valid. The Lambs of God - LoGs confirmed that eruptions and hostilities were heightened in the early years of desegregation, and while these did not disappear, they sometimes took more subtle forms later. All of the LoGs, while they valued the education they received, understood the decision of the families who declined the opportunity to desegregate the first year. All reported that they would similarly act more opportunistically if presented the situation for their own children. Thus, none of the LoGs, given their experiences, stated that they would choose the experience of desegregation for their own children, especially the first year when students, teachers, and community members seemed most motivated to resist strongly enough to induce them to retreat.

Part 2. Catholic School Desegregation: A Cultural Trauma

Cultural trauma theory (CTT) offers a means of helping researchers to understand what African American students who desegregated Catholic schools experienced. To review concepts expressed in chapter two, slavery and Jim Crow represented a breach in the American social landscape, which affected African Americans into the future. It continued to affect African Americans as a cultural identity group because the meaning, implications, and memories of slavery and discrimination were transferred through generations by way of literature, songs, art, photographs, storytelling, commemorations,

and various other channels, as well as institutionalized by organizations and Black

colleges and universities (Eyerman, 2001). An individual need not have experienced the

cultural trauma personally to have been affected by it (Middleton & Edwards, 1990).

A breach is represented by a tear, shock, or injury experienced by the collective

with the effect of separating them from the larger community (Alexander et al., 2001;

Eyerman, 2001). Therefore, slavery and discrimination were cultural traumas not only for

those who experienced it, but also for successive generations who were separated from

the larger society practically, politically and socially. African Americans could cohere

around a past that involved the establishment of a collective identity or culture that had

roots in being taken from Africa, transported to what became the United States to live in

bondage to other human beings, emancipation, segregation, and lingering effects of

historical discrimination. After Emancipation, African Americans believed they would be

accepted equally as Americans; they eventually came to the realization that they were not

considered part of the American community.

The collective could not rely on the larger body for support (Erickson, 1976). Just

as physical trauma is an injury, so too is cultural trauma. Eyerman (2001) defined a

cultural trauma or injury as:

> A tear in the social fabric, affecting a group of people that has achieved some
> degree of cohesion. In this sense, the trauma need not necessarily be felt by
> everyone in a community or experienced directly by any or all. While it may be
> necessary to establish some event as the significant "cause," its traumatic meaning
> must be established and accepted, a process which requires time, as well as
> mediation and representation. (p. 2)

An important element of cultural trauma is collective memory. Here, memory is a

social, collaborative activity (Middleton & Edwards, 1990). Shared memory downplays

what resides in each member's individual recollection and is constructed based on the collective (Alexander et al., 2001).

Church inaction severs Black students from the school community. This section will show evidence that Black students who desegregated Catholic schools experienced cultural trauma. Two elements are present: collective memory and remediation. Interviews showed that the students held a shared collective memory as being young children who endured a common experience. Many of the participants in the study cited the same experiences as Black Catholics integrating White institutions. Their experiences involved insults, violence, slights, harassment, and isolation. Black students shared memories of these events, even as they attended different schools at different grade levels. Furthermore, recollection was a social activity. Students have remained in touch with each other and have referenced and remediated the experiences often. For example, statements, such as "My sisters and I talk about this all the time"; "We really went through a tough time"; and "My children can't believe me when I tell them what I went through" showed evidence of a remediated experience. A collective memory becomes an entity unto itself and represents shared recollections that, in aggregate, exist irrespective of the members' knowledge of, or reference to it (Neal, 1998). Remembering is often a social activity (Middleton & Edwards, 1990). It gains permanence through remediation (Eyerman, 2001).

The next sections will use cultural trauma theory to explain the student experiences in the desegregation of Catholic schools. Students went into the situation believing they would be considered full members of their respective school communities;

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however, they came to the realization that they were not. Here, the breach was not the Church's decision to change its policy from segregation to integration. The injury arose from two strongly linked factors: (a) The Catholic schools did not prepare its students and teachers for desegregation, and (b) the students experienced harassment and a hostile school environment. These two elements constituted a breach or injury after which Black students realized that collectively they were not part of one universal school community. Being Black, Catholic, and a student constituted a shared identity. Figure 7 shows that after church policies changed, Black students in 1962 believed they were entering Catholic schools as members of the community. Though African American parents hoped for acceptance of their children by the school community, foreknowledge about the acrimony that had accompanied desegregation of other spaces in society gave them an awareness that an integrated, unified school body was not likely to result, at least not in the foreseeable future. The lack of support that the Black students received and harassment were shocking and led the students to the realization that they were not part of the community.
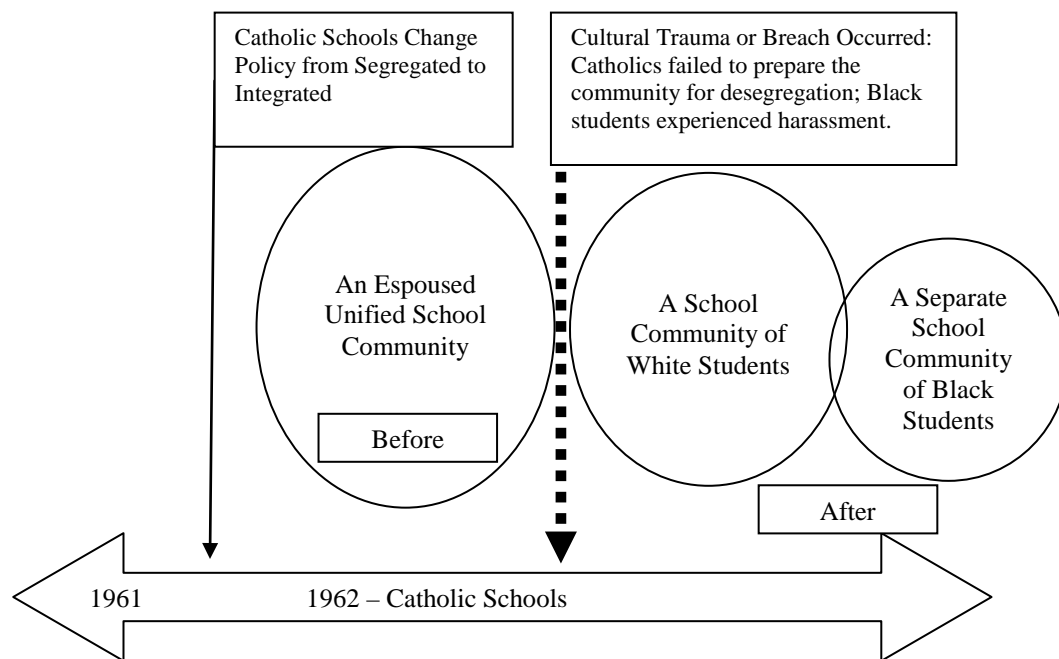
Figure 7. Black Catholic school students experienced cultural trauma.

At the collective rather than individual level, "social crises" affected the group's perception of its own identity (Alexander, 2004, p. 10). This influence was evident throughout participant interviews as former students said that their initial questions about what they were experiencing transitioned to who they were as people. Participant 5 summarized what the others also expressed:

> At first, I just felt like I blended in with them [the White students], so even when I went to Saint Gabriel [the church], I did not feel this division, like I'm Black and you're White, so therefore we're different. … So, when I started feeling that division, it was just like, "Why is this? What's happening that this is going on, that I'm now feeling this division and anger towards these people? What is happening here?"

Intervening after cultural trauma. Now having established that CT occurred, intervention strategy can be explored. Alexander (2004) asserted that associations between the injury and the outcome (a severed community) could be approached with a

"trauma process" (p. 20). It entails (a) the collective making a claim about trauma they experienced, (b) development of a narrative on their severing from the larger community, and (c) articulating a request to the larger community for engagement in repair of the trauma.

The previous section showed ample evidence to establish Steps 1 and 2. Specifically, participant responses showed a collective claim that cultural trauma occurred when Catholic schools failed to prepare their community for desegregation and as a result, Black students encountered a high level of adversity. Student interviews also substantiated that they were not accepted as part of the larger school community. The following section contains the last step in Alexander's (2004) approach, the church's engagement in repair of the trauma. First, it involved isolating who the students believed was responsible for the trauma that they collectively experienced.

Identifying responsible parties. African American students interviewed considered the entity primarily responsible for their cultural trauma to be the Catholic Church, which they believed should have prepared teachers, students, and community members. One high school student, Participant 12 stated,

> I think that they could have met with the faculty members and perhaps the parents ahead of time, and talked to them about what was about to happen, about race relations, and about how to help their children understand what might happen.

> Another LoG, Participant 5, referenced the vulnerability of children, saying the

Church should have gone further to anticipate what they would experience and protect

them. She said,

> I do believe that the Church should have embraced and protected us more because we were so young. It would have made things a lot easier for the Black students if

the Church had come out more strongly against prejudice and against segregation from the pulpit … As a kid in the 60s, I never really did get a sense of that. I think that was a failing on the part of the church. You want to talk about a missed opportunity? That was a missed opportunity.

Repentance: Deliver us from evil. Having identified the lack of preparation and harassment as the injury and church leadership as responsible, the discussion turns to work that could repair the disassociation that the students and other Black Catholics sensed. Former students already stated that they did not desire credit or reparation. They desired an accounting of what changed in the church because of their efforts so that they could realize that their struggle was not pointless. For healing to occur, interveners must identify those actions that would constitute accountability and atonement for its past actions. This section contains a discussion of accountability and atonement by the Catholic Church for the situation in which it placed its Black members, and where a breach or tear occurred (separation and discrimination) representing a cultural trauma.

The researcher found it useful to consider the former students' request in the context of the Catholic requirement for atonement. A deep examination of *The Holy Bible* showed that distinct conditions exist for repentance of one's sin, reconciliation with God, and redemption or salvation (i.e., saving one's soul from damnation). First, repentance is a God-focused activity. Repentance that focuses only on sorrow because of reprobation or loss of a privilege falls short of the true biblical concept. David's plea to God in Psalm 51 expresses this well. He said to God: "Wash away all my iniquity and cleanse me from my sin…. Against you, you only have I sinned and done what is evil in your sight." Thus, true repentance involves deep sorrow, not just regret that one has been caught and is being punished, but that he/she also regrets having offended God.

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Another theme in repentance is accountability for one's sin. David's plea included the statement: "For I know my transgressions, and my sin is always before me" (NIV Psalms 51:3). In this passage, he admitted and accepted blame for his actions. Last, repentance requires the offender to perform acts of restitution. These are not to be merely observable gestures, but ones that counteract the effects of the original sin. In the book of Ephesians 4:28, St. Paul instructed, "Let him that stole steal no more: but rather let him labour, working with his hands the thing which is good, that he may have to give to him that needeth" (KJV). Repentance is not connected to a person's act of giving, but the godly outcome of it in the birth of new goodness in the world that countervails the evil that he/she produced.

One high school student, Participant 11, reflected on her experience before desegregation, of Black nuns and lay teachers who were deeply dedicated to the education and pastoral care of Black students: "They were accessible; they were available; and they were making sure that, under the circumstances, we were getting the best education possible." Expanding on that idea, she said that opportunities now abound across the United States for the Catholic Church to dedicate itself to providing quality education to Black students in low-income areas where many do not have access. She observed a vacuum that could be filled by the church to find and employ teachers who are committed both to the education and social well-being of Black students in who do have access to quality schools. She referenced this idea in creating a vision for atonement:

> The Catholic Church … has a great opportunity to committing resources to young Black students, and to do it. That – if you really want to do something about the consequences of past sins – is a way to repair the damage. That's my thought about what they could do. Put your money where your mouth is. Put your time

and your resources, your real spirit into bettering those communities. There is something there that they can actually do. Praying is great, and acknowledging the sin is great, and saying, "We're sorry," but that's just the tip of the iceberg.

Thus, repentance could consist of efforts that link to restoring peace and healing in the world following the commission of the original sin.

The LoGs only stated that they experienced no outreach from the Catholic Church, nor did they hear any articulation of godly remorse, nor the desire to be redeemed specifically for its sin of racial segregation. None could recall admissions of accountability or actions designed to reverse the effects of its institutional discrimination and generate new virtuousness. One of the high school student's trust of the institution was reflected in her decision not to remain deeply involved in its activities. Participant 13's sentiments echoed the biblical framework of carrying out one's actions cognizant of their effect on God. She said,

> I have gone back to Church, only because I don't want them to close, and I have watched a lot of churches in New Orleans close. But, as far as to get involved in "the club," as I call it, the Baptist club, the Catholic club, the Episcopalian club? No. I just go [to church] to praise and glorify my God … And everything now is between me and God. No middle-men. But it took me a long time to go there, I'm 71, and … at some point I realized, it's not about the club, it's about God himself.

The evil that was produced by the sin of segregation permeated the Catholic Church as an institution. The memory of discrimination by the church endures in the minds of students who experienced it, but little discernable was done to right the ecosystem of values that was disrupted. Therefore, the idea of a church, where it is possible to experience injustice, lingers.

Other students offered ideas about what would regenerate wholeness from the cultural trauma or rupture caused by segregation. Participants' responses ranged from

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instituting practices that would help future new groups to feel welcome, to activities that would breach lingering ruptures between African Americans and the Catholic Church. Some suggested practical ideas about ways in which the Church might induce people to feel welcome and get along with each other.

A recurring theme was of the Catholic Church being more forthcoming about the segregationist aspect of its history. Ten of the 15 participants expressed that in this way, the church could help students who participated in the experience and their progeny. One of the LoGs, Participant 8, said,

> I just think that anything that the church can be open and honest about would be beneficial. I also think that it would be affirming for folks. Because I'm going to be introspective anyway, that's just how I am … But, other people, they maybe don't realize why they are the way they are, and they maybe get on the wrong path. So, without knowing what actually happened, they can't understand how it affected them. So, I'm saying, affirmation from anywhere – gives somebody the chance to find out why they do the things that they do and why they are the way that they are – it just helps you in your road to finding out what is your greatest good in your life.

A strong theme in participant responses, expressed by 13 of the 15 participants, was putting systems in place that would ensure that segregation would never be experienced by new groups in the future. To them, slavery, keeping people against their will, and segregation based on race represented reprehensible acts that should not be glossed over, sanitized, or forgotten. To them, the Church was hypocritical by promoting a doctrine of love and unity but acting to malign and segregate. They believed that the Catholic Church must commit to a future wherein its leaders and members refuse to participate in marginalization, even where allowed under law or expected by social custom. In fact, participants shared the belief that, based on the Catholic Church's own

lived experience, it is in a position to show leadership under such circumstances.

Participant 13 expressed a sentiment reflected by many:

> They never truly, to me, lived the words of Jesus. They just spoke them. Because you're sitting in the back [segregated] seats hearing them talk about all of God's children, and it just doesn't go with what you are experiencing. So, I think what they could have done is truly, truly, been a disciple of Jesus, and believed and practiced everything He taught, and then I would have trusted them with my life … Nothing in me believed that they would protect me nor care what happened to me.

Another Lamb of God, Participant 7, similarly stated that the Church should have taken a stand against segregation. According to him, Church leaders should have announced that integration was the way the Catholic Church operated, and it would "treat everyone as one in the name of God." He pointed to the confusion that resulted from the church espousing one set of values, but exhibiting another. If "[y]ou preach love, then love," he said; and if "[y]ou detest hate, then don't hate." The church should actively glean what it harvested from the experience and apply it to being a source of unity, not divisions and separations, he stated.

Dissonance between the church's teaching and actions became evident to one of the LoGs, Participant 3, later during her high school experience. With each successive year, more Black students enrolled in the formerly White schools. Seven years after desegregation, her high school (St. Joseph's Academy) had become more diverse. Most of the children in attendance had experienced desegregation and an interracial make-up. "The girls were open-minded and the [White] parents had to also be open-minded to send their kids there," she said. Participant 3 continued,

> But, by the time my younger sisters got there, it began to have more concentrated numbers of Black students. So, in my sister's freshman year, [the archdiocese]

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announced that they were going to close the school because in essence there were too many Black girls there.

The church already operated an all-Black girl's high school, St. Mary's Academy, and in their view, "there was no need to have another predominately Black all-girl high school," this former student explained. Expanding on the meaning of this action, she said,

It was interesting to just think that they were closing because there were too many Blacks. This is just not what you're taught in school; this is not what the church teaches – that you close a school because it has become too Black.

Another LoG reported being confused by the duplicitous actions of adults she observed. She said of her experience: "It showed me that adults can be wrong. And, that adults can mold their children with wrong ideas, with injustice." She reported experiencing an awakening when she observed the word-deed mismatch of adults:

I thought that once you reached the magic age, you knew all of the answers, and when I encountered the mob in front of the school, I was pretty surprised to see adults doing something that I knew was wrong and I knew was bad.

A commenter to the Nolan (2010) article was more direct: "For the Church to use the teachings of Christ as their platform, and then go against His teachings to deny people access was blasphemy" (para. 2). The commenter to Nolan's (2010) article also pointed out evidence of a thriving segregationist narrative: "[I]t is always frightening to think that that generation of hate mongerers are still part of our society … you know, those who thought that integration was 'a threat to racial superiority'" (para. 2).

Those who ask for something with rage are likely to alienate further rather than entreat those they hold responsible for their severing. Overall, students reported that they did not seek apologies for the Catholic Church's actions involving them. However, they expressed they would prefer acknowledgement that something occurred in which they

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had a part and that something worthwhile came of it because they were deeply affected by the experience. Those who were students in the conflict could now consider the situation with many years of hindsight. In that sense, they could conceivably be helpful to the church if it desired to take steps that would account for their part in the damage that grew from segregation.

In addition, to wholly meet the Catholic definition of contrition, the church must respond in a better way than it has in the past by their re-casting of what occurred and ignoring the student contributions. They still have the opportunity to respond differently. Those efforts ring false if the church objective is to continue the narrative that the young student role was collateral (if significant at all), occurring after (not during) desegregation had taken place. The church has the opportunity to move forward with the understanding that the Black student role was critical and not easily fulfilled. Future post-mortems can now acknowledge the role undertaken by Black children in Catholic school desegregation, and the reality that they were valid contributors to sweeping social change in New Orleans.

In the discussion of CTT, Black students who desegregated Catholic schools shared a collective memory which had been remediated over time and brought into the present. Collectively, they experienced cultural trauma, and they now believe that the Catholic Church, if it acts to understand and account for the breach it caused, can promote peace, understanding, and healing not merely for them, but also in creating a more institutionally and structurally inclusive church climate.

The Racialized Catholic Leadership: A Study in Critical Race Theory

Critical race theory (CRT) also offers scholars a means of understanding the larger context in which Catholic school desegregation occurred. Hence, this section contains the conflict in context of the artificiality of race, and White privilege. CRT shows that race is pervasive in American society, such that many actions become racialized.

As previously established, the desire of Black students to achieve educational equality was rendered racial by White Catholics and community members. Participants additionally reported that Black students crossing into White neighborhoods for their education also was viewed racially by other Black people. All of the LoGs related multiple stories of being harassed in their own communities as they were returning from having spent the day in a previously White school situated in a White neighborhood. One parent stated that other Black parents criticized him for wanting to educate his child in a Catholic school. They declared him foolish for sending his child into an environment where White people did not want him. Four of the students pointed out that their education was seen as a racial affront by both Whites and Blacks: "This is what would happen to us." Participant 8 said:

> We would have the White kids either throwing rocks at us or calling us "nigger," but the thing that was even worse was … walking through the Black neighborhood, Pontchartrain Park, we used to have the [Black] kids wanting to fight with us and calling us [names] … So, we definitely had it from both sides.

Students reported that simple acts were regarded through racial lenses. Participant 2 offered the example that after several years, she developed a close friendship with a White student. Over the course of their friendship, the White student told her about fruit

trees that grew in her parents' back yard and offered to give her a small one to cultivate. The innocent gesture turned ugly when the White student crossed into the Black neighborhood to deliver the sapling. Individuals in the Black neighborhood only saw her as a different race, not a person with a gift for a friend. They pelted her with projectiles and chased her out of the neighborhood based only on her race.

Artificiality of race. CRT proponents established that race is socially constructed, meaning it lacks a biological or genetic foundation. Race and skin color are thus markers, which can be conjured to manipulate at opportune times (Delgado & Stefancic, 2012). This was amply demonstrated in these data. For example, a Black student with a light complexion recalled an experience in Kindergarten where playmates questioned her best friend who was White about why she would befriend a "colored" person. Her White friend turned to the LoG and inquired, "What color are you?" The two best friends compared complexions and decided they were both the same color. However, in the eyes of the inquiring student, they were not. This was also borne out by a commenter in to a Nolan (2010) article: "As a graduate of Jesuit [high school in New Orleans], I recall those young men who attended in the early days of integration …. The ironic thing is that they both looked White to me" (para. 2).

This action also played out with another student, who was invited by a Catholic school to enroll before desegregation was even ordered, a D-1 student for purposes of this study. Again, the student was African American, but not identifiably so by her appearance. She stated that nuns came to her home to interview her about entering the school. Later in life, she would realize that they were not just meeting her, they were

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evaluating her appearance to determine whether her race would be detectable by other students or the teachers. The families were not *passé blanc*, a term used in New Orleans to mean "passing" as White. However, the Participant said that all of the students who were admitted before desegregation shared a light skin tone and straight hair texture. The fact that the school was willing to accept Black students who looked White into the institution when the schools were officially racially segregated, and allow the students, teachers, and surrounding community to believe they were White, showed the artificiality of race.

Speaking about 1961, the year before the Archdiocese announced it was desegregating, one of the secretly enrolled Black students said of herself and others in the light-skinned cohort group: "Everybody they accepted were very fair complexioned with a certain [straight] texture of hair." As to the interviews that the school had conducted prior to accepting them for admission, she said, "In retrospect I realize that not only were they interviewing the parents, but they were also checking to see how we [the children] looked." The school's complicity in such a ruse showed evidence that they did not truly see a reason why African American children should be educated in separate institutions. In doing so, they were following man's law, which made distinctions based on skin color.

A parent confirmed that the deception of using D-1 students had occurred: "The truth of the matter," he said "is, that … no one knew who was [Black]. These kids looked like them [the White students]. St. Gabriel's allowed five very light complexed kids" to enroll covertly. No announcements were made, and neither media nor protestors showed up, of course, when the undercover integration took place. It should be noted that the

following year, as these students became associated with siblings with whom they traveled to and from school, and a Black neighborhood, their race was detected, and they also began to experience discrimination and harassment.

Passing light-skinned Black children as White showed "strategic racialization," another theme of critical race theory (Delgado & Stefancic, 2012, p. 8). Specifically, strategic racialization refers to situations in which White people can include or exclude Black people depending on self-benefit. Potential benefits to Whites of passing of light-skinned Black students as White were numerous and included that (a) tuition payments could be collected from these Black families without announcing desegregation; (b) the school could admit Black students without having to deal with the media, or the ire of segregationists; and (c) knowing they admitted a few Blacks, even if they looked White, school officials could quiet any pangs of their conscience telling them that they might be racist. According to Feagin, Vera, and Batur (2001), "Anti-Black feelings … are passed along from generation to generation … for more than three centuries, Whites can avail themselves of the thinking as needed" (p. 3).

The following year, 1962, when the Archbishop of New Orleans announced that Black students would be desegregating the schools, showed a contrast. He had made announcements before, and the media had responded. In fact, when he announced the intent to integrate in 1960, but no real plan, a group of parents protested at the chancery. Their signs stated, "Keep our schools segregated," "Unfair to White people," "Integration is a mortal sin," and "Spare our children, keep segregation." Still, the school did not admit to already enrolling some light-complexioned [White-appearing] Black students,

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preferring to let other students, teachers, and the community believe that their institutions remained segregated.

Here, data showed a notable difference between experiences of the D-1 students who entered the schools without detection of being Black and the LoGs who were more African American in appearance and whose arrival was highly anticipated by segregationists. In 1962, after years of announcements and reversals, Catholics sensed that desegregation was imminent because Archbishop Rummel's statement about it now specified a date. In a March 1962 announcement, he stated that all of the Catholic schools in New Orleans would integrate that September.

After his announcement in March, media coverage was extensive throughout the summer, mostly aimed at protestors gathered at Catholic schools and the archdiocese buildings. Photos of numerous angry community meetings and stories of clashes at Catholic churches prevailed. Newspapers constantly covered the activities and statements of segregation proponents. National print and broadcast outlets covered the actions of outspoken New Orleans Catholic segregationists, notably Leander Perez, Una Gaillot, and Emile Wagner. These and other headlines showed a nexus between church announcements, media activity, and community responses.

It is impossible to know whether the Archbishop knew that at least one White parish had already covertly admitted White-appearing Black students, but there was no announcement; these students transitioned from segregation to integration without widespread protests and community unrest. However, his announcement the next year that Black students would be admitted, while transparent, was made with no community

preparation, guaranteeing backlash. Any doubt that race was artificial was buoyed by the realization that Blacks were already in at least one school. Taking this argument to its conclusion, Black children who enrolled the year that desegregation was officially announced were subjected to community and in-school hostility and intimidation, not only because they were visibly Black and not only because the community had not been prepared, but also because their arrival was broadcasted in the media for months.

All eight of the elementary school participants reported that the first day of school caught them off guard. They had been surprised at the knots of angry people they had to walk past to enter their schools, and they were not prepared for inhospitable treatment by some fellow students and teachers. "We did not look all that different," Participant 4 said, as she thought all of the students were the same, and asked herself: "Why were they treating us like we were so different? Why are we treating them so different? We're all the same. So, it was a time of a lot of confusion for me."

Reporters were stationed outside each school as integration took place in September 1962, and they attempted to count each Black student who entered. The newspaper reported that five Black children entered the school that the researcher attended, when church records (and her own experience) showed there were 11 (The Associated Press, 1962b; St. Gabriel the Archangel, 1980; see Table 10). Of course, some of the Black students might have been absent on the first day, but it was more likely the case that reporters could not sort out all of the Black students from White ones based on physical appearances alone. As established, five of the children did not appear to be

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African American; in fact, they had attended the school the previous year without their

race being made manifest to others.

Table 10

Number of Black Students Who Desegregated the N.O. Catholic System by School

School	Number of Black Students
Orleans Parish	
Little Flower of Jesus	8
St. Francis de Sales	9
St Gabriel the Archangel	5
Mater Dolorosa	4
Our Lady of the Sacred Heart	30
St. Ann	6
St. Augustine	13
St. Frances Xavier	8
St. Louis Cathedral	2
St. Michael	2
St. Rose de Lima	1
St. Stephen	3
Our Lady of Lourdes	5
St. Joseph	1
St. Leo the Great	22
Holy Name of Mary	2
Incarnate Word	6
St. Joseph	1
St. Mary of the Angels	4
St. Rita	2
St. Vincent de Paul	1
Jesuit High school	8
St. Joseph Academy	6
St. Mary's Dominican High school	1
Ursuline Academy	3
Jefferson Parish	
St. Anthony	20
St. Joseph the Worker	3
Our Lady of Perpetual Help	6
St. Rosalie	1
St. Matthew the Apostle	1
Our Lady of Prompt Succor	2
St. Tammany	
St. Scholastica Academy	2
St. Charles Parish	
Sacred Heart	1
St. Mary Parish	
Sacred Heart	1

Note. Adapted from Times-Picayune (1962).

White privilege. Of course, many advantages accompany membership in the dominant race. Some researchers have even begun to tally the number of courtesies and benefits associated with Whiteness in America. In context of Catholic school desegregation, the existence of segregated Catholic schools was itself an example of White privilege. During the Jim Crow era, African Americans had no choice except to exist in a racialized context, White people could divorce themselves from having to think about and deal with race.

Although this research did not extend to desegregation, as experienced by White students, one of the high school interviewees offered to connect the researcher with a White classmate who had recently written an article about the experience. The White student stated that over her lifetime, she had felt satisfaction and congratulated herself over being in the first class to desegregate. Not until she was reunited 50 years later with the three Black girls who desegregated the school did she connect with their reality: "I learned how naïve I was then; how difficult the experience had been for them; how unprepared the administration, faculty, parents, and students were for the changes about to take place" (Verderame, 2016, p. 16). This White student interviewed teachers about the desegregation of her school, Ursuline Academy. She elaborated,

> I have verified that there was no instruction, no training, no brainstorming, and no discussion of how to undertake such a major social change. Yet a group of thirteen and fourteen-year-old girls just entering high school was expected to navigate this new racial reality … I have learned that the conscious goal of our teachers and the administration was to treat [the Black] students just like any other students. In accomplishing that goal, however, many opportunities to help them adjust to [the school] were missed, as were opportunities to help their classmates to understand and include them. (Verderame, 2016, p. 16)

The White student did not know that graduation ceremonies had to be relocated because the normal auditorium the school rented would not host an integrated event. Data from this former student showed further evidence of the type of privilege, which allowed the majority group to choose when it wanted to be conscious of race or to ignore it. For the Black students, race was a constant context from which they could not escape; for they were always seen as bringing race into or taking it out of every situation. Another White student who attended an elementary school as it desegregated, while she declined to be interviewed offered, "We lived through a tumultuous time together." This student stated that she was glad that her parents taught her not to focus on color.

Desegregation's impacts. While all of the LoGs stated that they would not choose the experience for themselves, they said that it prepared them better for a more interracial life compared with other children who remained in segregated situations. A high school student, Participant 14 commented,

> Well, actually, we were glad to say that were part of history now. It made it easier, I think, than some of my friends who didn't integrate, for example, when I went on the job scene, it made relationships there easier, I think. I was used to being around persons who didn't look like me, and it made it OK, so I think I transitioned earlier. The experience made me transition earlier into the integrated situation.

Another high school student commented that Martin Luther King and the civil rights movement opened a portal through which he entered. "And I paid the price for that," he said, "and that made me a better person" (as cited in Waller, 2013, p. 2). One of the LoGs, Participant 9, said something similar. Looking back on the experience, she saw that it established a critical part of her identity. She also stated that it taught her that people really were not all that different: "[W]ith 50 years of hindsight, I think it all came

together. Was everything about it [the experience of desegregation] good? No." Again, supporting the existence of a collective memory and identity, she added, "I know it all worked together for good. I look at myself now. Every piece of it worked together for good for me. I'm thankful for every piece of it. It makes me exactly who I am today."

Hymel (1963) wrote a 1-year retrospective on Catholic school integration in New Orleans, finding enrollment up to 97 percent of its former level: 75,000 before and 73,399 after desegregation. Furthermore, the opposition appeared weakening. He reported one church leader as stating,

> In light of the opposition, the real threats, the mass meetings, the diatribes by the Citizens' Council, picket lines in front of the archdiocesan school superintendent's residence …, the series of telephone calls, the newspaper ads urging parents to break away, … the Catholics of New Orleans have shown tremendous loyalty to their Church and its leaders. (Hymel, 1963, para. 2)

Still, all was not perfect. The same article reported that the Catholic community was, one year later, receiving signals of opposition.

> The bulk of the three percent enrollment drop was [concentrated] in [a few] parishes, many volunteer workers in school in school cafeterias left, several teachers at one school quit, segregationists on street corners taunted some church workers going door-to-door attempting to gain pledges …, some men parish workers dropped their church activity, some parishioners called to say they were halting contributions, and two shotgun blasts were fired into Buras' empty school of Our Lady of Good Harbor. (Hymel, 1963, para. 3)

Integration, Hymel (1963) concluded, had come to New Orleans Catholic schools because of resignation, not merely to the edict of the archdiocese, but also to the teachings of its church.

Conclusion

Fifty-five years ago, students who were subject to segregation, and then desegregation by Catholic schools in New Orleans, shared an experience that unified them under a collective identity. Images and recollections of their experiences were strong and have been remediated over the years by relating them to friends, family members, their children, and other LoGs. Theories help to not only illuminate what occurred during Catholic school segregation and desegregation, but these also help one to assign nomenclature to the experience, enumerate the injuries, and assess what could be done by interveners to bring about healing and guard against similar conflicts in the future. The LoGs suffered cultural trauma, a breach in the fabric of their experience as African American Catholics. They were traumatized as a consequence of their experiences being segregated, and later as agents who desegregated Catholic schools.

The Catholic Church, as an institution, has worldwide prominence for education, charitable work, and health care provided in its hospitals. However, the discrimination that it practiced and allowed at the expense of its African American members was horrific. Whether legal or local custom, under any circumstances, slavery and racial segregation can only be classified as abominable. The church can take action now to help lessen lingering adverse effects of its past actions.

The researcher found evidence of one school, operated by the Jesuits, which appeared to have subjected its teachers (but not students) to preparation for integration. Other than that one school, the students in New Orleans did not experience a church that prepared its teachers, students, or extracurricular organizations running activities in the

school, for desegregation. It should be noted that Jesuit High School also revisited the issue with a panel of Black students who desegregated their ranks more than 50 years ago. One commenter to the Waller (2013) article commended the school: "[K]udos to Jesuit for taking the time and effort to commemorate the 50th anniversary of integration at Jesuit, a subject that some would rather forget" (p. 4).

The LoGs believe they would have benefitted from preparation of teachers, students, and the surrounding communities through which they had to travel to get to previously all-White schools. LoGs interviewed for this study suggested that team and collaborative community activities helped with the introduction of new groups, and allowed them to work side-by-side as one step toward experiencing behaviors that make desegregation successful. LoGs – children who were used as desegregation instruments – also reported feeling unprotected, vulnerable, and forgotten by the Church as it took administrative and transactional steps toward desegregation, but not ones that saw to their educational, safety and social needs nor undid any of the cultural trauma that resulted from the Church's misdeeds.

Chapter Six:
Preparing the Flock: Desegregation Actions in Other Archdioceses

Introduction

This chapter contains results of examinations of other Archdioceses in the south, which also desegregated in the early 1960s. Dioceses in Miami, Atlanta, Charleston, and Savannah did not rely only on Pastoral letters but implemented other strategies, which are examined. A series of announcements and postponements between 1956 and 1962 characterized the New Orleans Archdiocese's actions, during which time segregationists became more organized and hindered forward action, deepening the conflict. Other southern centers took different actions, the study of which offers alternative approaches to introducing social justice to change-averse communities. This chapter will show that they undertook more actions directed to dismantling the underlying violent structures and cultures that supported segregation.

During this period, the external civil rights movement was cresting. Internally, between 1919 and 1958, U.S. Catholic Bishops issued four Pastoral letters on racial discrimination. Catholic bishops held their first national meeting in 1919, and thereafter held an annual meeting of the National Catholic Welfare Conference (NCWC) (Davis, 1990). The first letter, called for attention to material and social needs of African Americans (Pastoral Letter, 1919). The second titled *Victory and Peace* denounced discriminatory racial laws in Europe, and drew connections to the conditions of African

Americans (*Victory and Peace*, 1942). Significantly, this letter does not mention the institutional segregation practiced by the Catholic Church in the United States. A third, *Essentials of a Good Peace*, issued in 1943 calls not only for peace but for the recognition of African Americans' Constitutional rights. This letter calls for specific social reforms for Black citizens. Last, in 1958, the bishops issued *Discrimination and Christian Conscience,* which called for the preservation of basic human rights for African Americans and the immorality of denying peoples' humanity. In this letter, the bishops discussed oppression of segregated systems and called for its end. As shown in Figure 8, Catholic schools in major southern cities desegregated between 1955 and 1962. Scholars have exhorted the literary power of these letters, however conceding that their contents have remained espoused, reflected upon, yet unimplemented (Massingale, 1997; Paris, 1993).

Though St. Louis MO is not considered a southern city, it is shown as a reference point because it represents the first racially segregated Catholic school system to desegregate. The years represent the first that the respective Catholic school systems admitted Black students; in most cases, desegregation was for only 1 or 2 students. Catholic schools are shown in italics. Some Catholic schools led desegregation, while others acquiesced to southern custom and delayed.
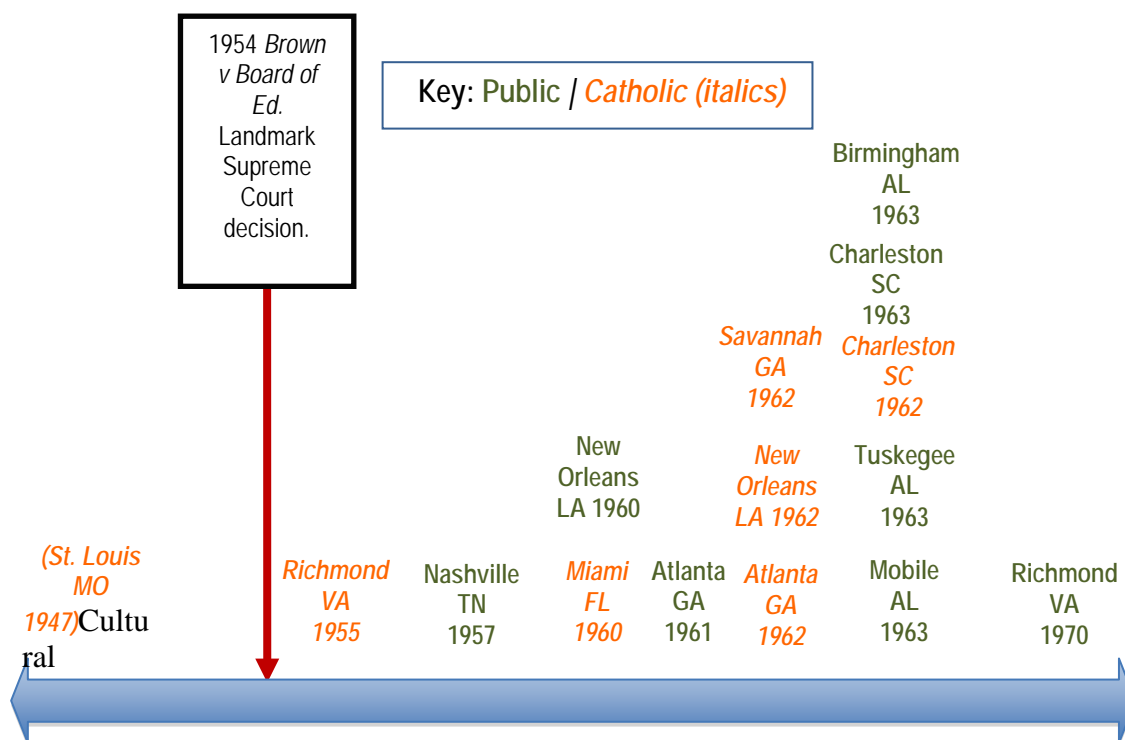
Figure 8. Timeline of elementary school desegregation in selected southern urban locations.

This section will focus on leadership actions in the cases of Miami, Florida, and a coalition comprised of the dioceses in Atlanta, GA; Charleston, SC; and Savannah, GA. Similar to the counterparts, these systems desegregated beginning in 1960. As will be shown, the Catholic leader in Miami helped organize and led an interfaith, interracial community effort to end racial segregation. His counterpart in St. Augustine, FL, similar to many other clergy and laypeople in the south, regarded civil rights as a communist-driven plot, designed to end capitalism and ignite a race war in America (Newman, 2011). However, Carroll supported the movement and peoples' right to participate in protests (as cited in Newman, 2011). He sought and obtained cooperation from the media

so that desegregation would not be sensationalized and stoke fears before it could even be experienced. Conversely, he believed that the only way to desegregate the church was to shut down Black churches, a move that alienated many Black members whose only choice was to join churches that had previously rejected them or to find another faith (as cited in Newman, 2011).

The Atlanta/Charleston/Savannah example showed evidence that leaders could find strength and effectiveness if they worked in coalition when facing a sweeping change about which parties lacked understanding of each other, and were therefore fearful and unwelcoming. Working in partnership with other similarly situated leaders provided a platform through which they proposed and formulated ideas, as well as exchanged data on outcomes. Significantly, the coalition decided that their actions would be designed to allay their congregations' fears. They also built in educational programs directed at deepening Catholic members' understanding of race relations.

Part 1. Miami

As in Louisiana, most inhabitants of Florida were steadfast in their opposition to school desegregation (Newman, 2011). The Diocese of Miami, established in 1958, served 16 counties and 185,000 Catholics, 3,000 of whom were African American. As elsewhere in the south, Florida, and within it, the Catholic Church maintained school segregation after the 1954 Supreme Court ruling. By 1958, Miami had eight Black Catholic churches, and 624 African American students were enrolled in five Black schools. Black members could attend some White masses but not as equals. For example, Black members either stood or sat in one of the pews at the rear reserved for "colored"

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parishioners, and they could receive Holy Communion only after all White members had been served.

All of the parish priests were White, as were those in religious orders in Miami, specifically the Society of St. Joseph of the Sacred Heart (Josephites). However, a Black order of nuns taught in some of the Black Catholic schools (Newman, 2011). Bishop Carroll, perhaps owing to his non-southern upbringing in Pittsburg or buoyed by a 1958 statement of U.S. Catholic bishops condemning segregation, began to take action to end racial separation in Catholic schools. In 1959, he implemented throughout the diocese, a curriculum on racial justice to begin preparing the community (as cited in Newman, 2011). He then announced that schools would start desegregating the following year.

In September 1960, two Miami high schools admitted their first Black students. Recalling an incident in 1951 in which dynamite had been placed at a church, Carroll did not want to flame anti-Catholic or anti-Black elements in the community (as cited in Newman, 2011). Therefore, he integrated the schools without a public announcement. He also met with the business community Miami, gaining their cooperation in part by noting the damage that the specter of picket lines would have on tourism (Newman, 2011).

When word began to circulate that Catholic schools had integrated, newspapers contacted his public affairs spokespeople, who asked reporters to only convey the facts instead of playing up racial angles on stories, which would increase community tensions. Newspapers co-signed that plan, and did not sensationalize the event (Newman, 2011). Enrollment numbers of Black students were very low, owing to the fact they had attended the lesser-funded Black schools, which had not been able to prepare them well to

compete with their White counterparts for admissions to better high schools (Newman, 2011).

While Carroll, unlike Archbishop Rummel in New Orleans, was action-oriented, and he did not delay, he also influenced desegregation in part by closing Black churches and schools, many of which had been havens for African Americans during a time when they had experienced racial exclusion (as cited in Newman, 2011). Black Catholics had joined and nurtured these institutions, and melded traditional rituals with their own culture. What emerged in Miami and elsewhere was a Black Catholic identity, embodied in praise themes and practices mentioned in chapter two (Lincoln & Mamiya, 1990). Additionally, Carroll's leadership style was not participative, and he did not seek input from Black members in decisions about closing the churches that had sustained their community during segregation (as cited in Newman, 2011).

> Authoritarian and sure of the rightness of his approach, Carroll did not consult African American Catholics about their views. While some Black Catholics were prepared, however reluctantly, to sacrifice their schools and churches as the price for achieving integration, others, while opposed to forced segregation, wanted to retain them as part of their identity and sense of community and belonging. (Newman, 2011, p. 68)

Furthermore, those who had been members of Black churches now had little recourse except to join the former White churches where they had felt, and to a great extent were, unwelcome. By the 1970s, attention turned to education of the influx of Haitian and later (1980) Cuban Catholics, and African American education was retreating.

> After 1968, ministry to Blacks changed rapidly. Ironically, at the time the archdiocese was addressing the social and cultural causes of discrimination through community action, when several diocesan priests had been assigned to Black parishes, when Miami was integrating and civil rights becoming a legal

reality, a traditional component of Catholic ministry to Blacks, Black Catholic education, was being deemphasized. (McNally, 1996, p. 221)

Carroll also involved himself in the greater Miami community's press to extend civil rights to African Americans (as cited in Newman, 2011). Upon once hearing that a protest was being planned, he instead called a downtown department store and stated that he would be having lunch in their restaurant joined by African Americans who were his guests and expected to be served, as well as to use the restrooms. Of course, because of his standing in the community, no one harassed him or his guests. The color barrier was broken and protests abandoned (Newman, 2011).

The Second Vatican Council met between 1962 and 1965, out of which came statements urging Catholics to become active in solving world problems and encouraging oppressed people to push for their rights. Though many other Catholic leaders distanced themselves from civil rights organizations, Carroll continued to stay involved in the external civil rights movement (as cited in Newman, 2011). He established a diocesan Council on Human Rights, which held seminars to help break down stereotypes and racism through education about other groups (McNally, 1996). Bishop Carroll did not wait futilely for desegregation to happen on its own. He built capital in the community by engaging significantly with the larger civil rights community. He also recognized the media as an important factor affecting the ways in which desegregation would be perceived by Miami Catholics, and he enlisted their support in avoiding the prospect of fueling racial tension. Through these means, he inaugurated peaceful change. However, Black members who felt betrayed when the churches they had nurtured were closed down, left the church and joined other denominations (McNally, 1996):

By the late 1960s and early 1970s, Blacks were becoming conscious of their Afro-American heritage, yet after 1968, only 2 Black Catholic schools remained in the archdiocese. Although Black Catholic schools were a product of segregation and racial prejudice, they also served as ethnic schools, similar in many ways to Polish or German schools in the North. Black Catholics lost their ethnic schools and the Church lost an important presence in the Black community. (p. 221)

Part 2. The Coalition of Atlanta, GA; Charleston, SC; and Savannah, GA Dioceses

With the 1954 Supreme Court decision in *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka* and the nascent civil rights movement in the background, three bishops thought it was time to desegregate the Catholic school systems they operated. Separately, they had contemplated the move for years after the *Brown* decision. Together, the three bishops were responsible for most of the Catholics in Georgia and South Carolina. One, Hyland, then Bishop of Atlanta, had even consulted a circle of advisors in 1957, but they had cautioned against the action. Finally, in 1961, Bishop Thomas McDonough of Savannah initiated a three-way dialogue between Bishop Hyland, Bishop Paul Hallinan (then of Charleston), and himself (Keiser, 2014). In a letter to bishop Hallinan, Hyland said:

I agree that it is time for us to speak up, and, acting in concert, gives us a strength which none of us possesses alone. Following your own prayerful example, I resolved to offer Holy Mass every other day for the spiritual success of our venture. Personally, I do not think the reaction will be an unfavorable one on the part of some as we may fear. I am inclined to think that a substantial number of people in the south want this issue settled justly as well as peacefully.(as cited in Keiser, 2014)

In crafting the letter, Bishop Hyland recommended a focus on "fear," as he believed that fear of the unknown was causing parishioners to favor segregation. The letter centered on morality and away from the idea of social change. The three men jointly crafted a Pastoral letter, which ultimately was read at every mass in every church under their leadership on February 7, 1961. The letter said in part:

This affirmation for our diocese is not just a minimum approach to full Christian justice. In a region where our Catholic population is less than 2 percent, it is an honest effort to influence a way of life that has prevailed for many decades. Millions of people have accepted this way of life in good faith. Now, both Whites and Negroes face a tremendous challenge – to live in a community with full Christian justice for both.

The bishops also set up collateral activities designed to prepare their communities for racial justice. The plans included not only Pastoral letters, but also accompanying sermons, and the formation of student clubs, and curricula that fully explained Catholic doctrine on race (Keiser, 2014). The bishops set up their own dates for desegregation but planned and followed a common path.

Atlanta

Bishop Hyland served as head of the Atlanta Catholic Church from 1956 to 1962. At only four percent representation, Black children were a small proportion of Atlanta Catholic school students. A total of 270 Black children attended Atlanta's two Black elementary schools compared with 6,452 White children in 17 elementary schools and two high schools (Keiser, 2014).

In 1957, 87 Black elementary school students had finished their primary education, and were ready to enter high school, but the Atlanta Catholic Church did not operate a high school for Black students. Furthermore, Hyland's inner circle of priests dissuaded him from letting the Black students enter the all-White Catholic schools, fearing political and legislative repercussions, such as a loss of their tax status or teaching license (Keiser, 2014). By 1961, a federal court ordered Atlanta public schools to desegregate. Nine Black students entered four previously all-White public schools, but all other schools in Georgia, including those in the Catholic system, remained segregated.

When the idea of working in coalition with the Charleston and Savannah dioceses was first raised, bishop Hallinan was in Charleston, and in 1962, he was transferred to Atlanta (Keiser, 2014). The joint Pastoral letter had been issued the prior year under his predecessor, and Bishop Hallinan kept the momentum going. He met with key community entities, such as the Atlanta mayor, police chiefs, and all priests of the diocese about desegregating the Catholic schools (Keiser, 2014). He then issued a second Pastoral letter on June 10, 1962, setting the date for desegregation as September 1 of that year.

Throughout the process, Hallinan kept a journal to record his thoughts about desegregation (as cited in Keiser, 2014). It seemed to serve not only to chronicle his actions, but also to provide a method for reflection and gathering strength to push past uncertainty. He wrote on January 15, 1961: "Dear God, thanks for your steady help. Please keep it up" (as cited in Keiser. 2014, p. 5). The day before he issued his Pastoral letter, he confessed in the diary that he was tempted to postpone his decision, but the feelings had subsided by morning. He wrote, "Pray for strength and courage and … guidance" (as cited in Keiser, 2014, p. 5).

Catholic schools began interviewing African American students, and ultimately 17 were accepted into eight formerly White elementary and high schools, about two per school on average (Keiser, 2014). Bishop Hallinan appeared to also use other forms of written communication to identify turning points, prepare parties, and reflect on actions. For example, he was the only bishop to have recognized the roles of Black families who were about to send their children to desegregate schools, and for the students who went

into the schools, knowing that across the south, such actions had been accompanied by intimidation and violence. He was unique among Catholic leaders in that he wrote letters to each of the families who were sending their children into inhospitable environments. The letter referred to the children as "pioneers," and stated that they would:

> [M]erit a great share of the credit and good will that will come to our beloved Church as this new program goes into action in September … Your family will be constantly in my prayers and Mass during these days. (Keiser, 2014, p. 7)

The 17 students entered Catholic schools without picketers or violent actions from the community. Bishop Hallinan reported the peaceful transition to the police department, and he thanked the police chief for his involvement in patrolling the schools. To protect the families against harassment, he also released no names of students, only the names of schools that were desegregated (Keiser, 2014).

Charleston

In Charleston, Bishop John J. Russell, head of the Charleston diocese from 1950 to 1958, though he left clues to the source of his belief system, was nonetheless opposed to segregation (Newman, 2011). His perspective against segregation proved fortunate for what was to occur later in Charleston. Russell took over a highly segregated institution nested in a segregated society.

Only two of the five Catholic hospitals would accept Black patients, and then only in designated sections. Across the state, public and Catholic education was segregated. Black members went to mass at churches designated for them; if they were allowed to attend services at a White church, they had to do so in segregated seating and defer receiving Holy Communion until after all Whites had been served (Newman, 2011). Of

the 31,000 Catholics in South Carolina, 3,848 were African American in 1960 (Newman, 2011).

Russell's entire background had been spent in segregated Washington, DC and Maryland, yet his actions revealed a sense that he supported equality among the races (Newman, 2011). While he left a dual school system in place; he also appointed a Black member to a high lay position and integrated some church clubs and activities, even though it required creative logistics and conducting activities on church property because external facilities were segregated (Newman, 2011). He invested in improvements for Black parishes, offering the justification that he could convert more to Catholicism by doing so (Newman, 2011).

When the *Brown* case was decided in 1954, some of the priests in the diocese had by then become involved in civil rights activities, and they made public statements of support. However, Russell made no such comments, and Catholic schools under his authority remained segregated (Newman, 2011). However, the religious order of the Oratorians operated a parochial school, St. Anne's, and did not need Bishop Russell's authorization to desegregate. They accepted 10 African American students into the school in 1954 peacefully, with only one White family withdrawing in dissent. Thus, St. Anne became the only desegregated school, public or private, in the state (Newman, 2011). Eventually, parishioners showed their objection by reducing their financial support of the school. Catholic-sponsored interracial activities re-fueled anti-Catholic sentiments, and tensions began to rise in the community; gunshots were reported at one such meeting in 1956 (Newman, 2011). The diocese even held a meeting at which it passed a declaration

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barring racial exclusion, but it was ignored (Our Negro and Indian Missions, 1958; as cited in Newman, 2011).

A few additional Catholic schools across the state desegregated quietly, but there had been no official change in policy by the church. In 1958, Hallinan wrote a letter to all priests under his authority reminding them of a U.S. Bishop's statement that had condemned segregation and asking them to gradually desegregate Catholic schools (as cited in Newman, 2011). He shared his predecessor's view of Black schools as key tools for conversion and gave these his wholehearted support. In fact, separate schools and the way Black people were treated at mass was recognized as one of the biggest barriers to conversions to Catholicism. Hallinan said: "Where there is a Negro church or school, it should be the best that can be provided," and Catholic schools should be open to all who wished to attend (Newman, 2011, p. 33). Customs about who approached who or initiated conversation made Black people feel unwelcome in non-Black Catholic Churches. Hallinan and a group of priests met to discuss the issues in 1960, and released a statement together, acknowledging that discrimination and segregation were impairing their evangelical mission.

Bishop Hallinan initiated a program of education on racial discrimination starting with his priests, stating the objective that they would in turn prepare the community. He implemented activities including study groups, seminars, and distribution of educational material. He obtained and disseminated educational material first to his priests to help them understand race relations so that they could export their knowledge to the Catholic

community. He encouraged them to avoid using explosive terms like "integration" when discussing racial justice.

In January 1961, Bishop McDonough of Savannah approached bishops Hallinan and Hyland of Atlanta to propose developing a common approach for desegregation across their respective domains (Newman, 2011). They initially thought that issuing a joint statement would be effective, but after meeting, decided on a Pastoral letter instead because it would be read in every church for which they were responsible (as cited in Newman, 2011). They worked on drafts and jointly penned a letter for the purpose. The men decided on a course, including a common Pastoral letter, sermons, study groups, and educational material that would foremost educate their congregations about racial justice (as cited in Newman, 2011).

Bishop Hallinan, along with his counterparts, had the Pastoral letter read across Charleston on February 19, 1961. He also had it published in the diocese newspaper, the *Catholic Banner* (as cited in Newman, 2011). He further used the *Banner* to communicate in his own words about desegregation and racial injustice. He also used it for transparency, to build trust by keeping the Charleston Catholic community aware of his actions, and to publish community responses.

Some Catholics began to express disapproval indirectly (Newman, 2011). For example, some canceled their pledges to the Bishop's capital campaigns. A parent group organized to start an alternative Catholic segregated school, and the bishop threatened them with excommunication. Few openly criticized his actions and most seemed resigned to the reality that desegregation was unavoidable (Newman, 2011). African American

members grew impatient with the small and gradual steps toward ending discrimination in Catholic schools, hospitals, churches, and charities. One wrote:

> I can't understand the prejudice that now exists in our Catholic hospitals, when all it would take is an order from the Bishop. It is always the Negro who has to wait until the White man is educated to enjoy a human right. The only way to solve this problem is directly from you. (as cited in Shelley, 1989, p. 126)

In addition to distributing study material published by others, the diocese developed its own syllabus on racial justice designed for middle and high school age students (Newman, 2011). The syllabus explained the meaning of the word catholic as universal, where everyone is welcome. It also set a moral framework for segregation and offered retorts to popular segregationist biblical and scientific justifications. Teachers reported that the curriculum had a positive effect and seemed to allay fears of the students. One student reported that her cohorts were accepting of integration, but that parents needed the syllabus (Newman, 2011).

By 1962, the schools still were not desegregated, and Bishop Hallinan was transferred to Atlanta, coincidentally one of the dioceses with which he was already in partnership. His replacement, Bishop Francis F. Reh arrived in March, and soon after set the date for desegregation with the 1964 school year. However, those plans moved back when public schools were ordered to admit Black students with the September 1963 school year (Newman, 2011). Unwilling to appear to lag the public schools, Reh moved the date for desegregation back to September 1963. He ordered his priests to pray for the community, to read a Pastoral letter that focused on the responsibility to engender racial harmony, and to desegregate the schools. Except for a bomb threat at one school,

Catholic school desegregation went forward peacefully when 15 African American students entered four previously all-White schools (Newman, 2011).

Savannah

In 1870, Augustin Verot, already vicar of Florida, was given the additional responsibility over the Catholic Church in Savannah. Upon conclusion of the Civil War, he had given a speech, which became widely disseminated and referenced in the south for the fact that it defended the legality of slavery, denounced abolition, and justified states' rights. Most segregationists conveniently ignored the sermon's other messages, which decried the slave trade; called for fair treatment of slaves; and urged free Black people to claim their rights (as cited Davis, 1990).

As head of the Savannah Catholic Church, Verot issued a Pastoral letter urging his charges to put aside their prejudices and assigned a coordinator for outreach to African Americans (as cited in Davis, 1990). Along with the national order of Sisters of Saint Joseph, who he invited to Savannah from France, he established a school for Black students in 1867 (Davis, 1990). Despite that many other immigrant groups – from Ireland, Germany, Italy, and Poland – were already Catholic and could draw from within their communities for priests, nuns, and financial support, the Catholic community resented the idea of directing funds to Black schools (McDonogh, 1993).

Similarly, while the Savannah municipality readily supplied facilities and staff for White Catholic schools, it only provided substandard facilities for African American Catholic education (McDonogh, 1993). Protestant groups were establishing schools at the same time, yet Verot chose to apply funds foremost to the White congregations

(McDonogh, 1993). During this period, White prelates ministered to Black Catholics, not as an integral part of the diocese, but collaterally, in the manner they would an overseas mission (McDonogh, 1993). As in Atlanta, Charleston, and across the south it was at times difficult to determine whether the motivation was more to advance the rights of a maligned Black population or to simply to expand Catholicism (McDonogh, 1993).

In the late 1800s, the Franciscan Missionary Sisters of the Immaculate Conception and the Society of African Missions, SMA Fathers, went to Savannah for the purpose of establishing schools dedicated to the education of Black students. Still, by 1913, among school-aged children, 75 percent of White children and only 38 percent of Black children attended school (McDonogh, 1993). Moreover, the missionary model was one of foreign White teachers and priests ministering to a flock with which they had little in common. Black education and religion were established with a void of Black teachers and clergy, or connection to the community's culture and spiritual needs (McDonogh, 1993). This fact represents another area of dissonance between church pronouncements and actions.

The focus had been on elementary education, and during the 1940s, Savannah Blacks pushed for a high school (McDonogh, 1993). Money was raised from the government, fundraisers in the Black community, and solicitations by priests from White Catholics. It opened in 1952, with Franciscan nuns and SMA Fathers serving as teachers. The school, St. Pius X, stood as a welcome response of a community that had been constrained by structural systems that had made education nearly impossible and deprived them of the opportunity to succeed (McDonogh, 1993).

In 1950s Savannah, as elsewhere in the country, contributions by Black Catholics were severely stifled by discrimination and racial segregation. In 1957, Thomas J. McDonough was named Auxiliary Bishop of Savannah and bishop the following year. That year, he reached out to Bishops Hallihan and Hyland, and proposed that they work together to desegregate Catholic schools in Georgia and South Carolina, and bolster each others' efforts (Newman, 2011). He wrote to the other two that he had considered the matter deeply. With the others on board, he told his priests to prepare to read a letter on February 19, 1961, setting a moral framework for an end to racial discrimination in Catholic schools. Similar to the others, he asked them not to publicize the letter until it was read (DeLorme, 2015).

Bishop McDonough developed a plan for Catholic school integration, and he released it in a letter to his priests on June 21, 1963. The plan stated that Catholic children of any race would be admitted to diocese schools, that all requirements for qualifications would be applied equally, that only Black children who were practicing Catholics would be accepted, that applications from Black Catholic children would require recommendation from their pastors, and that in locations having more than one parish, boundaries would determine where each student could enroll (as cited in DeLorme, 2015).

In September 1963, Catholic and public schools in Savannah, GA integrated peacefully. However, protests erupted in 1969 when the diocese commissioned the University of Notre Dame to review the Savannah Catholic school system, which recommended closure of schools, primarily ones in Black parishes. The report centered

on socio-economic distribution of populations in Savannah, and the fact that except for a

token few, Whites did not transfer to the Black schools (as cited in McDonogh, 1993).

The study missed other critical factors, such as the Black Catholic identity and

experience, which had formed during centuries of discrimination, residential patterns that

hindered transportation out of Black communities to previously White schools, and the

pride that the community took in the institutions they had built. The decision took them

away from a situation in which they had used their own agency and back to a scenario of

dependence on Whites for their education. Moreover, the study neglected to obtain

significant input from Black community members, engendering not only resentment over

the decision, but also the manner in which it was reached. The decision was made

without consulting parents, students, administrators, teachers, and the school board

(McDonogh, 1993). The announcement on closures took them by surprise. Recalling the

events, one observer said:

> When the Notre Dame society began its work, it had several of the representatives
> from the White Catholic community but there were basically no representatives
> from the Black community. Some of those representatives today still agonize over
> having served on that committee and recall it as one of the most difficult periods
> in the history of Catholicism in the diocese of Savannah …. When the
> communicants and the parents of Saint Anthony's heard the news, it was a
> community that was deeply distraught and deeply embittered. A community that
> felt a sense of betrayal. (as cited in McDonogh, 1993, p. 124)

The Bishop closed three African American parishes, as well as Pius X high

school, and two Black elementary schools without advance notice to parents, faculty,

students, or the school board (DeLorme, 2015; McDonogh, 1993). Black community

members resented the abandonment of the educational infrastructure they had been

forced to enter because of segregation, but which had become great education and social

centers in their communities, and perhaps more importantly, symbols of cultural

legitimacy and advancement. Events of desegregation affected both Blacks and Whites

and accompanied a slow decline in baptisms and school enrollments for Catholics in

Savannah (see Figure 9).

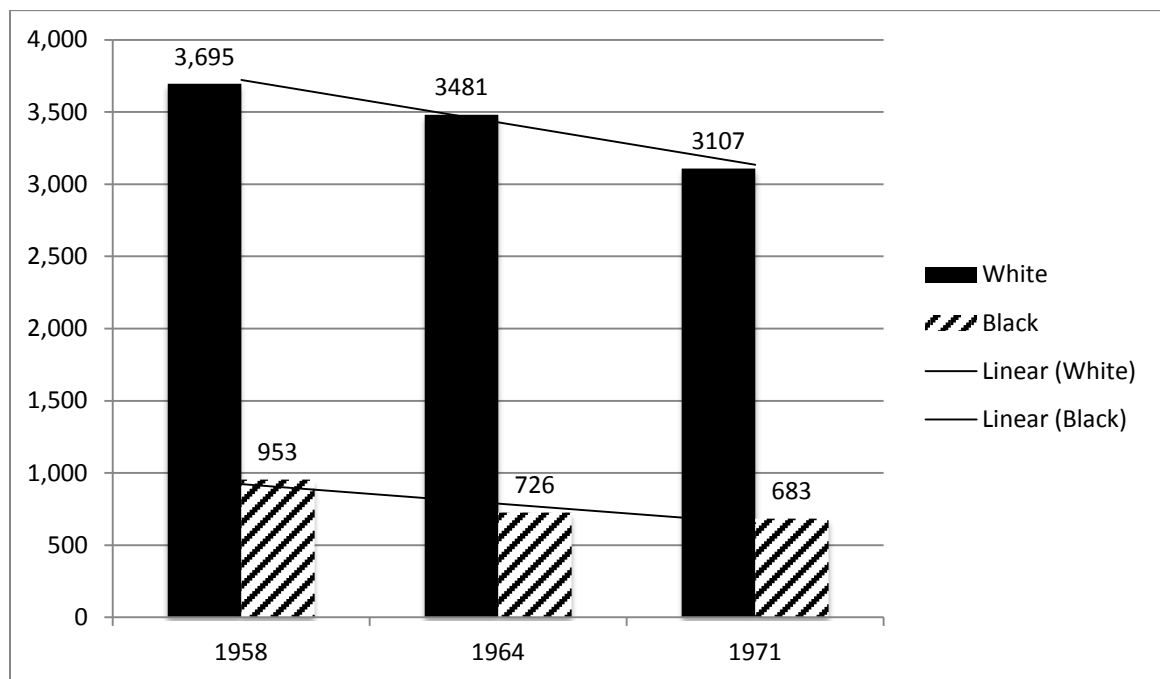
Figure 9. Catholic school enrollment in Savannah, GA.

Process Tracing

Absent a template for how to undo a system of racial separation, Catholic Church

leaders in southern urban locations navigated their own routes. One could see from the

examples discussed that the prelates' actions stemmed more from changes occurring in society and the external civil rights movement, rather than in their own church.

Overall, the Catholic Church did not lead desegregation of its institutions. For example, as late as the conclusion of the second World War, Black soldiers returned home only to find they still could not enjoy the freedoms in America that they fought for overseas. Black people and their alies staged protests against racial segregation and for an end to discrimination. In one instance, Barbara Johns a 16-year-old Virginia student, led a walkout at a high school in Farmville, Prince Edward County. Activism such as this led to the 1954 *Brown v. Board of Education* decision that struck down segregation in public schools. By December 1955, African Americans in Montgomery, Alabama began to boycott segregated seating on buses, and a young Black Baptist minister, Rev. Martin Luther King, was becoming known for preaching a message of judging others based on character, not skin color.

Slavery and Reconstruction had provided Catholic leaders openings through which they could have led their congregations toward inclusion. The 1954 Supreme Court decision, even though it only applied to public schools, did not stimulate Catholic action, even on moral grounds. The most obvious external factor in prompting Catholic school institutional change was the larger civil rights movement; a noticeable nexus existed between the cresting of the movement in the early 1960s, and Catholic action on racial justice in its schools. The same could not be said about the series of U.S. Bishop's statements. The words reveal that they understood the need for cultural and structural reform. However, though they verbally decried racism and discrimination, they neither

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accepted accountability for their institutional participation nor implemented programs for their eradication. Even the U.S. Bishop's statement condemning segregation in 1958 as school desegregation was being vigorously contested was inert without follow-up actions. By then, the church could hardly be said to be leading because other spaces were desegregating, and the decision to change appeared inevitable. Only then did the dioceses in this study, under the leadership of their bishops, take discernible actions toward dismantling racist policies and practices in the Catholic schools.

Table 11 shows discrete components of Catholic school desegregation. Appendix F shows all of the coding and building blocks, and Table 11 summarizes key actions taken in each case. Southern Archdioceses started to segregate in the early 1960s, consistent with the external civil rights movement's galvanizing momentum. Archdioceses in Miami and the coalition of Atlanta, Charleston, and Savannah used methods beyond Pastoral letters to inaugurate change. They implemented strategies designed to prepare their communities. Key inputs entailed dialogues with community, business members, and the media. Outputs included Pastoral letters, race study groups, curricula, and church leadership's active involvement with the external civil rights movement. Though integration was token, it was not protracted and was achieved without widespread protests and violence. However, in some cases the Black community was embittered by closures of its institutions.

Process tracing reveals that external factors such as the landmark Supreme Court decision in *Brown v. Board of Education* (1954), as well as the civil rights movement precipitated action within Catholic spheres. Key inputs, such as Bishop McDonough of

Savannah approaching the bishops of Atlanta and Charleston about working jointly, seemed to have catalyzed critical momentum in the men responsible for most of the Catholics in Georgia and South Carolina. Pastoral letters opened the discussion but were not the only tactic implemented. These were used in conjunction with other mechanisms such as educational programs that prepared priests and communities for change. The coalition encouraged their parishioners and facilitated their development of study clubs, curriculum, and other practices designed to help members to tie Catholic doctrine to racial justice.

In Charleston, the bishop used the church newspaper to allow a two-way dialogue, inviting parishioners to express their views, even opposing ones, in letters to the editor. These seemed to have produced significant outputs, such as a more informed Catholic community that was more accepting of racial integration compared with what was experienced in New Orleans. Significantly, integration was carried out without eruptions, threats, and violence.

Table 11

Codes Show the Discrete Actions Used to Effect Desegregation

Construct	Axial Code	Code	Examples
	Inputs	C	Created and implemented a racial justice curriculum
		IM	Used internal church media (ex: archdiocese newspaper) to strategically message about desegregation
What did other Archdioceses do to transition schools from segregated to integrated that might have been helpful in the case of New Orleans?		L	Church encouraged or provided lectures on racial justice
		M	Church used a strategy to deal with media.
	Outputs	CM	Church held or attended community meetings (police, businesses, etc.)
		ECR	Church engaged with external civil rights movement
		IC	Church worked with interfaith community (other non-Catholic denominations)
		IL	Church reached out to and interacted with the Lambs/Black students who were going to desegregate the Catholic schools. Acknowledgement.
		JC	Church formed or worked within a joint coalition of other dioceses
		JPL	Issued jointly crafted Pastoral letter synchronized with other dioceses.
		PL	Issued independent Pastoral letter.
		PR	The bishop instituted racial just curricula and training aimed at priests.
		M	Church obtained cooperation of external media to de-sensationalize desegregation
		RR	Church supported or offered priests and/or members race relations training
		RSG	Church conducted and/or encouraged racial study groups
		S	Church leader gave speech(es) or issued statement(s) condemning segregation
	Outcomes	AX	Church closed down many or all its African American schools
		AAX	African American membership declined
		T	Token integration was achieved
		LP	Light or limited picketing
		VP	Vitriolic picketing
		PP	Protracted protests
	Impacts	BC	Church became involved in broader community concerns
		NV	Desegregation was not attended by violence
		V	Violence

New Orleans	Miami	Atlanta	Charleston	Savannah

•Inputs	•Inputs
	  •C
	  •CM
		•Inputs
		  •CM
			•Inputs	•Inputs
				  •C
				  •L
				  •M

•Outputs
•PL
	•Outputs
	  •ECR
	  •IC
	  •L
	  •RSG
	  •M
		•Outputs
		  •IL
		  •IM
		  •JPL
		  •M
		  •PL
		  •R
			•Outputs
			  •JC
			  •JPL
			  •PR
			  •S
			  •TA
				•Outputs
				  •JC
				  •JPL

•Outcomes
•T
•PP
•VP
	•Outcomes
	  •AX
	  •T
		•Outcomes
		•T
			•Outcomes
			•T
				•Outcomes
				  •AX
				  •T

•Impacts
•V
	•Impacts
	  •AAX
	  •BC
	  •NV
		•Impacts
		  •NV
			•Impacts
			  •NV
				•Impacts
				  •AAX
				  •PP

Key External Factor: The Civil Rights Movement

Figure 10. Inputs, outputs, outcomes, and impacts for Catholic school desegregation in selected locations.

Both in Miami and in the Atlanta/Charleston/Savannah coalition, the bishops recognized the power of the media. In 1957, the nation's attention had focused intently on Little Rock when segregationist, Governor Orval Faubus, dramatically announced, the night before nine Black students were to desegregate Central High School, that he was sending the National Guard to the scene (Newman, 2007). This announcement ensured that segregationists would turn out in violent protest, and they did, intimidating the students into retreat (Beals, 1994).

Later, in 1960, New Orleans was the focus, as White parents boycotted the public schools prompting a long period of tension and violence. Segregationist leader and parish Commission Council President, Leander Perez of New Orleans also "became nationally

famous as he paraded before television cameras denouncing Blacks, Communists, Zionist Jews … and the mayor" (Shelley, 1989, p. 121). With these experiences in mind, the archbishops approached the local media and obtained their involvement in engendering non-violent outcomes.

Acting together likely resulted in a better product because the bishops each brought a different perspective to the mission. Bishop Hallinan, in particular, recognized the use of explosive words in fueling tensions, and asked the media and his priests to avoid them. He suggested using a framework around justice, morality and God's will, not man's preference. Their Pastoral message centered not on the gaining of power by Black members but the rights of all (Shelley, 1989). The Atlanta/Charleston/Savannah coalition also, rather than describing in their Pastoral letter desegregation in terms of forcing parishioners to do something they feared, used the communiqué to offer a moral framework for racial justice and God's will. They also recognized that congregants' foremost feared change (a cultural violence indicator), so they crafted communications and created educational experiences that would help allay concerns (Shelley, 1989).

In the Atlanta/Charleston/Savannah coalition, two of the bishops had served in each other's dioceses, facilitating collaboration. This overlapping of tenures enabled them to exchange ideas and obtain advice from an informed perspective, which was based on first-hand experiences with each other's communities (see Figure 11). Two of the four bishops who worked in coalition to integrate Catholic schools in Atlanta, Charleston, and Savannah were familiar with each other's dioceses, facilitating collaboration. Bishop

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Hallinan served for four years in Charleston, followed by four years in Atlanta. Bishop

Hyland served for seven years in Savannah, followed by six years in Atlanta.
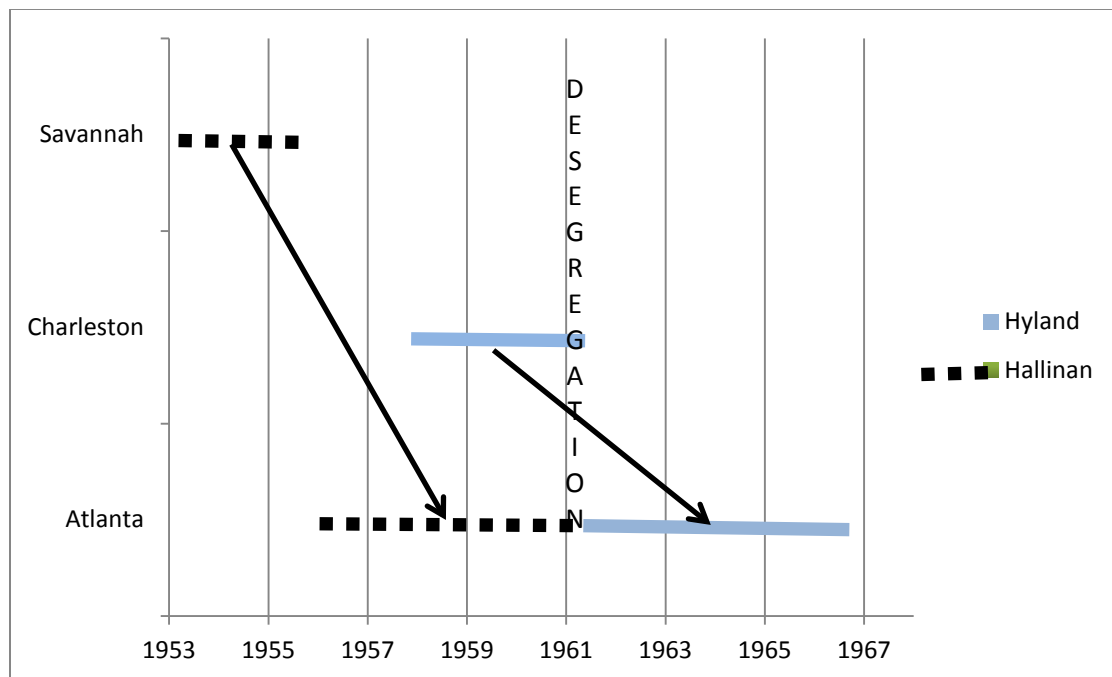
Figure 11. Bishops Hyland's and Hallinan's tenures in the dioceses examined supported collaboration.

Process tracing also shows that Catholic dioceses struggled and stumbled, as they

attempted to inaugurate change. They did not have the backing, and in fact encountered

resistance from their parishioners or the communities in which they were situated,

complicating their efforts. The races had lived separately and many White congregants

had been miseducated about Black people. Segregationists had ignited their worst fears

about integration, and this backdrop proved difficult for a transition to interracialism and inclusion.

Those who participated in more race relations training and involvement with the external civil rights movement appeared to have more positive results. Savannah, which acted in coalition, but with a considerably narrower range of activities, still experienced pickets and protests when the Catholic schools desegregated, but these activities were neither as vitriolic nor protracted as was experienced in New Orleans. None of the other archdioceses experienced the turmoil that included gun shots fired into a school, a cross burned on the archbishop's lawn, or the bombing of a school to ensure it would close down, as was experienced in New Orleans where Pastoral letters were the main strategy.

Perhaps the most significant source of enduring conflict in Miami, Charleston, and Savannah was the decision to expedite segregation by closing Black Catholic schools without input or notice to communities. Black people favored desegregation, but to expedite it, rather than come up with cohesive plans requiring sacrifices across the board, often the decision was made to eliminate Black parishes. African American members had struggled to establish and support these institutions, which had come to symbolize spaces of normalcy and ones that represented advancement. Closures disrupted these communities and overlooked the existence of a Black Catholic identity, which had formed not in spite of, but because of years of exclusion. Black communities felt betrayed, and in many cases, they retreated from the church. The Black parishes tended to be smaller and located within Black communities.

> Their criteria and their imposed process appeared to override concerns of holistic and community education in which Blacks had taken initiative. The clash of two

distinct if well-meaning paradigms produced a tragic process that scars the Black and Catholic community to this day …. Closure also had an impact on Black enrollment and even more salience in the long-term decrease of Black Catholic baptisms. (McDonogh, 1993 p. 127)

Dioceses did not re-draw parish boundaries or consider other effective strategies that might have preserved these institutions.

Uniquely among his cohorts, Bishop Hallinan utilized a reflective practice. The journal that he kept during school desegregation seemed to help him center his thoughts and quell any anxieties and doubts about his actions. Additionally, as most of the focus appeared to be on preparing White communities for understanding and interacting with African Americans, Hallinan was the only bishop to have focused on the Black students entering what was usually a tense and risky situation in the 1960s. His letter to the parents of students entering the schools supports the theory of the lamb in a conflict. For, he realized that the students were (a) innocent parties, (b) unwittingly being led into a conflict situation, (c) unarmed and without a briefing about the battlefield, and (d) believing they were involved for a different purpose. Though their enrollments were small compared with the White institutions, he did not close, but left the African American schools intact.

Part 3. Leadership

Kouzes and Posner (2012) cited among model leadership characteristics the abilities to see a vision, inspire others to see it, challenge existing paradigms, remove barriers, and offer encouragement. All of the Catholic leaders discussed here led segregated schools that were nested within a segregated institution (the Catholic Church), which was nested within a segregated society in the United States. They did not

demonstrate these attributes when they desegregated Catholic schools. Archbishop Rummel of New Orleans, in particular, neither articulated a strong vision of an integrated church, nor led by example. Instead, he relied on announcements and later retractions, leaving parishioners without a strong and consistent visualization of a future that supported their various pastoral needs.

After all, segregationists took the lack of a deadline in the *Brown* decision as a signal that they had time to begin organizing resistance, and, Catholic Church delays communicated the same. Serial postponements and reversals between 1953 and 1962 signaled that the Archbishop was not committed to his words (see Figure 12). The Catholic dioceses in this study used Pastoral letters to announce the end of segregated Catholic schools in their locations; they issued such letters in 1960 (Miami), 1961 (Atlanta), 1961 (Charleston), and 1961 (Savannah). They then desegregated in 1960 (Miami), 1962 (Atlanta), 1963 (Charleston), 1963 (Savannah). Archbishop Rummel of New Orleans was first to make such an announcement; however, he serially reversed himself. Postponements and reversals gave segregationists time to organize their resistance. Atlanta, Charleston, and Savannah integrated within a year of announcing their plans. Miami announced and integrated the same year.
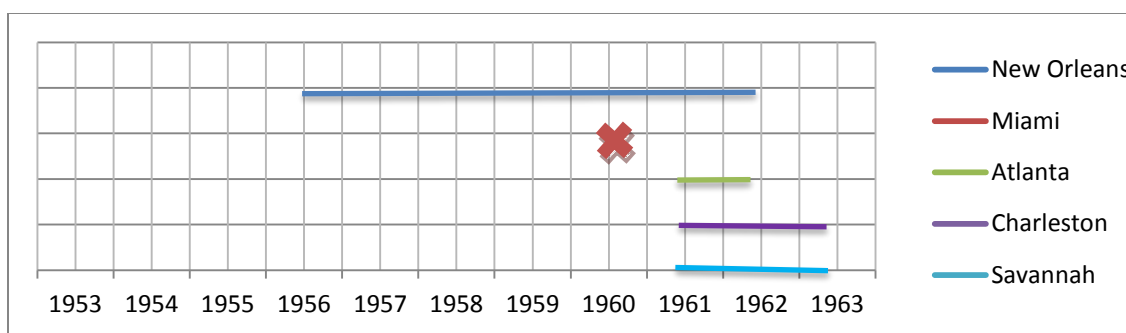
Figure 12. Length of time between first announcement and desegregation.

The bishops in the cases of Miami and the Atlanta/Charleston/Savannah coalition,

once they created the vision and announced that desegregation would occur, went

forward with it. The dioceses, which institutionalized approaches together with Pastoral

letters, desegregated with less community and internal tension. Archbishop Rummel also

missed the opportunity to lead by example. Delays were contradictory and signaled to

White parishioners that their comfort was paramount over justice and morality, so they

were not going to be impelled to do anything, even if it was the right thing. His flock

found it impossible to understand or pursue a vision about which he seemed so equivocal.

In failing to lead by example, the church missed other opportunities to lead on the New

Orleans and the larger world stage. On the whole, all of the dioceses in this study

followed external and secular leads by desegregating after the civil rights movement

gained steam. In that sense, they all followed instead of led.

A Divergent Narrative

An African proverb of unknown origin conjectured that "[u]ntil lions have their

own historians, the history of the hunt will always glorify the hunter," meaning that

people tend to relate stories that privilege their own worldview. However, outward

actions can be misleading, and no one can know what transpired until all sides are heard. Newspapers in Atlanta and Miami conducted 50-year retrospectives on the desegregation of their schools. As has been shown, these dioceses conducted more activities to help engage students, teachers and Catholics. Though the availability in literature was limited, statements made by students in Atlanta and Miami revealed a notable contrast from those made by the by the New Orleans students discussed in chapter five. Students in Atlanta and Miami experienced hostility, however noted that (1) teachers and administrators appeared more prepared to respond to it, and (2) the source of harassment was external parties, such as students from other schools, and other community residents. For example, Paul Wyche was a student who integrated Archbishop Curley-Notre Dame (ACND) High School in Miami (Quaroni, 2011). Wyche recalled that when reporters and cameras appeared on his first day of school, the principal took charge by directing them to leave the property so that he could feel more "normal" and less different (Quaroni, 2011). Wyche was a member of the debate team which, when traveling back from a competition, was refused service at a restaurant because of his race (Quaroni, 2011). "They said I couldn't eat there, because I was a Negro," Wyche stated (Quaroni, 2011). His debate teammates, instead of further adding to his humiliation, stood up for him; the team coach later "wrote a scathing letter to the restaurant" (Quaroni, 2011). This experience of a Miami Lamb of God contrasts with the New Orleans student experience discussed in chapter five, and suggests that although the Black students faced discrimination and adversity, they also felt they had allies on whom they could lean for support. These allies were their fellow students, as well as the adults who had charge over them. "The bad

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memories were outside of [the school] building, Wyche concluded (Quaroni, 2011). Similarly, Constance Thornton, who desegregated Notre Dame High School, reported that although other spaces in Miami, such as public transportation and drinking fountains remained segregated, she sensed no division while at school (Quaroni, 2011). As a gesture to the Black and White students who helped bring about an interracial learning environment, and to commemorate that something significant had transpired, ACND held a ceremony and hung a plaque in 2011 on the 50th anniversary of its desegregation (Quaroni, 2011).

Like many post-mortems on Catholic school integration, a 50-year retrospective in the *Georgia Bulletin* in 2014 focused on the actions of Bishop (later Archbishop) Hallinan, not the students. However, the article was inspired by a photo from the January 17, 1963 edition of the same newspaper showing student Ronald Thornton in an otherwise all-White starting line-up of an Atlanta Catholic high school basketball game, the first of its kind after desegregation (Keiser, 2014). The article highlighted Hallinan's letter to the 17 Black families who had sent their children into a potentially volatile situation.

The transformation of Catholic schools from segregated to integrated is informed by the root causes/ justice theory of change. Specifically, this theory shows that change is available through addressing issues that undergird injustice, exploitation, and individual senses of victimization (Church & Rogers 2006). Church and Rogers (2006) recommended that optimal methods for addressing this type of change included long-term campaigns aimed at structural change and changes to institutions and systems.

These supported actions taken by bishops in the Atlanta/Charleston/Savannah coalition, who joined forces to inaugurate change over a larger swath of the south than would have been possible had any of them acted alone.

Peace and transformation agents in such circumstances must consider the long history of conflict between the parties, and stage realistic discussions and visions of a different future. While study groups proved successful, the locations did not undertake collaborative interracial practices to any significant degree; such activities might have increased axiological balance, and induced the White and Black parishioners to gain more extensive knowledge of each other while pursuing a common goal. Dioceses could have staged efforts that prompted them to expand their interactions and deepened their understanding of and empathy for each other. In context of the Catholic Church, their actions should have reflected remorse for the sin because it offended God. Moreover, atonement should have centered on how to infuse more goodness into the world.

Actions could have included church-sponsored interracial study circles and highly organized collaborative community dialogues led by skilled and impartial facilitators, which could have helped parties to better understand each other as a means of beginning to dismantle a longstanding and deeply imbued culture of separation and hate. Many White Catholics assumed that racial separation was the natural order because both secular and spiritual worlds sanctioned it. Without the opportunity to explore other views, most concluded that segregation was God's will.

Catholic churches could have constructed a series of study sessions and assigned subjects for parishioners to contemplate or objects for them to bring to subsequent

discussions that exemplified their respective worldviews, as well as induced them to consider those of others. Initially, parishioners could have been grouped by affinity, that is, race (White, Black) and roles (priests, nuns). Starting study circles in affinity groups would allow participants to interact in a more comfortable environment, where they could build relationships and trust in the process. The churches could have later, over time, conducted interracial study circles with the goal of raising awareness, and inducing consideration of a wider range of worldviews. These interventions might have offered opportunity for exploring equality, culminating with action planning.

Facilitators could have aggregated and thematically organized solutions from which recommendations could have been generated. This collaborative process could have led to a compendium of shared community beliefs and formed the foundation for ending segregation in Catholic activities, especially schools. Learning by all parishioners, whether Black or White, could foment repentance; repentance could lead to redemption and deeply impactful multi-racial conversations and ultimately reconciliation. Again, redemption is not in actions, but outcomes achieved that contrast with and counteract the effects of the original sin. Church narratives still lack accountability for the sin of segregation and blame others, such as legislatures that passed segregation laws and social customs practiced in the south.

Collaborative methods entrust the group with finding solutions, and respects their intellect to do so. These or similar actions would have ultimately given congregants a say in their destiny, eliminated fears, and readied them for integration. It also would have responded to all of leadership's hallmarks for a successful transition to racial equality:

organic/voluntary acceptance, and likely would have supported a non-violent overall outcome. Such actions could have been utilized to begin to deconstruct a violent culture. Coming out of this could have been norms and networks that would have enhanced the Church's capacity to resolve future conflicts. The Catholic Church would then have offered an example to the rest of the community that was wrestling with integration of various other domains.

Overall, taking a gradual approach to desegregation did not seem to be more effective. This approach created resentment on the part of Blacks and provided legitimacy to Whites' concerns that interracialism was dangerous and needed to be introduced slowly, or worse, not at all. Instead, approaches that first deepened understanding of one community with another and worked to counter the effects of discrimination could have generated more durable, less violent, and more meaningful results.

Conclusion

The foregoing shows that, though they could have done even more, other archdioceses implemented programs, such as interracial study groups, which helped parishioners to interact with and learn about each other. They introduced curricula designed to help students separate myths and stereotypes from facts about other groups. Other archdioceses also did not confuse parishioners by making pronouncements about ending segregation only to reverse themselves later.

Dioceses in Miami and Savannah decided to close Black schools and parishes, institutions where the African American community had found acceptance during a time

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of subordination and separation. The Black community was disaffected by these decisions, especially as they were made without their input. Furthermore, Black people who had waited so long and sacrificed so much for equal treatment were now being asked once again to be patient. They wondered why their rights remained subordinate to the wishes of others.

In 1963, Dr. Martin Luther King wrote of the tepid involvement of churches in the civil rights movement, saying, "For years now I have heard the word 'Wait!' It rings in the ear of every Negro with piercing familiarity. This 'Wait' has almost always meant 'Never'" (para. 2). King (1963) continued,

> We have waited for more than 340 years for our constitutional and God given rights. … Perhaps it is easy for those who have never felt the stinging darts of segregation to say, 'Wait.' But when you have seen vicious mobs lynch your mothers and fathers at will and drown your sisters and brothers at whim; when you have seen hate filled policemen curse, kick and even kill your Black brothers and sisters; when you see the vast majority of your twenty million Negro brothers smothering in an airtight cage of poverty in the midst of an affluent society; …. when your first name becomes 'nigger,' your middle name becomes 'boy' (however old you are) and your last name becomes 'John,' and your wife and mother are never given the respected title 'Mrs.'; when you are harried by day and haunted by night by the fact that you are a Negro, living constantly at tiptoe stance, never quite knowing what to expect next, and are plagued with inner fears and outer resentments; when you are forever fighting a degenerating sense of 'nobodiness'—then you will understand why we find it difficult to wait. There comes a time when the cup of endurance runs over, and men are no longer willing to be plunged into the abyss of despair. (para. 3)

He ultimately concluded that the great tragedy of the civil rights movement stemmed not from the indignities of its enemies but the silence of its purported friends.

Only one archbishop, Hallinan of Atlanta, wrote letters to the LoGs and their families, expressing empathy for the risks they were taking, and acknowledging the role they were fulfilling in helping the church undo a wrong situation. In so doing, he was

striking at the core of the violent culture that pervaded the institution and signaling to the families that they had agency and were a key part of eradicating discrimination. He also was reflective and kept a journal of his thoughts and actions, providing the future members working on inclusion, access to his experiences.

Maintaining separate school systems for White and Black Catholic school children required a lot of resources, energy, planning, and was humiliating for Black people about whom it was tacitly, and in some cases directly saying were not good enough to be educated with Whites. The Catholic Church, and indeed America, was rife with conflict, as they tried the difficult task of keeping things separate and equal.

While closing out her parents' estate, the researcher came across a Catholic elementary-level religious education worksheet. Pictured successively were (a) a plant, (b) a puppy and kitten, (c) a baby that was not Christened, and (d) a baby being christened by a priest. The text instructed, "Draw a circle around the one that God loves the most." The correct answer was the baby being baptized in the Catholic faith. Catholics, similar to other groups, harbor the strong belief that their values, behavior, and brand of worship are the key to heaven. The researcher could not help but associate her experiences with the lesson presented in the book and ponder anew about what occurred in 1962 among the people who God loved the most.

Catholics leaders could only blame themselves for the situation they were in. A church that puts itself out as "universal," meaning everyone was welcome, should not contradict itself by conceding to a dual system around race. They eventually were in the position of asking Black Catholics to make sacrifices to help them dismantle a system

that should never have been constructed in the first place. The result was a profound

Catholic story that unfolded in American cities across the south.

Chapter Seven:
Findings and Conclusion

Introduction

So important was the integration of religious spheres to the larger civil rights movement and so unanticipated was its wide-ranging support of segregation that both were subjects of civil rights leader Dr. Martin Luther King's most famous written composition, his 1963 *Letter from a Birmingham Jail*. By the letter, King (1963) seemed astonished and aggrieved by clergy participation in or tacit approval of the nation's racist policies. King (1963) wrote that when he was placed on the national stage to lead the civil rights movement, he fully believed that staunch support would come from White congregations equally repulsed by racial injustice. Writing his letter in the margins of a newspaper because he lacked writing paper in his jail cell, King (1963) wrote,

> I felt that the white ministers, priests and rabbis of the South would be among our strongest allies. Instead, some have been outright opponents, refusing to understand the freedom movement and misrepresenting its leaders. [A]ll too many others have been more cautious than courageous and have remained silent behind the anesthetizing security of stained glass windows. (para. 2)

This study explored the experiences of students in the American Catholic domain during that period, after its leaders bowed to internal and external segregationist ideas and tactics, and postponed desegregation of its schools. It examined ways in which, without prior preparation of the Catholic or external community to support their safety and success, Black students desegregated the schools. It reveals the agency of Black Catholic

families who were strongly committed to the Catholic faith, yet were also committed to overcoming the practice of racism that they experienced from it. The study traced the actions and inaction of New Orleans Catholic leadership and strategies undertaken by other dioceses in this institutional conflict that crested during the civil rights movement when African Americans and their allies were mounting a new push for equality and justice. It also probed the influence of the counter movement's tactics on Catholic school desegregation.

Participants in the study included students who were elementary and high school-aged in 1962; they were placed, unaware of the divided racial setting, into Catholic schools. Without allies, safeguards, or advanced briefing, they were expected to transform the environment from segregated to integrated. These circumstances offered the opportunity for this study to probe more deeply into the prospect of using children as desegregation agents. The data collected showed much about the need for institutions to understand appropriately and attend to violent structures, cultures, and acts. Institutional strategies designed to avoid and eliminate violence's outward expression without due attention to its structural and cultural forms only supported, legitimized, and ensured its continuance. The following will summarize the study's main findings.

Finding 1. Black Students Who Desegregated Catholic Schools Experienced Cultural Trauma

The Catholic identity is one involving rituals, teachings, values commitments, and beliefs around ways in which God wants people to live their lives. To some extent, cultural variations, some in predominately African American congregations, exist in ways in which rites and rituals are expressed. This is not to say that African Americans or other

cultural groups are people grafted onto or an annex of the larger body. Though some African American congregations have adopted culturally appealing forms of worship, in some cases formed because of historical segregation; they remain a valid and integral part of the Catholic community. Black Catholics who, as students, desegregated its schools collectively experienced (a) a breach, and (b) a realization that they were severed from the larger school community. As such, they meet the definition of a group that experienced cultural trauma. Conflict interveners can respond to this cultural trauma using approaches that help gather the students' collective story and present it in ways that support its understanding and acceptance by the larger Catholic community. Evidence of progress toward conflict resolution would be future studies, literature, and archives created by the church, which embrace and embody the African American student experience, not only those of church, legal, and civil rights community leadership.

Inasmuch as the story of Catholic school integration is one of a culturally traumatized people, it also is one that involved what the researcher considers a "culturally traumatized narrative." This traumatization of the narrative occurred as official Church archives centered desegregation's post-mortems, official biographies, and archival material on church leadership actions, while subordinating or ignoring the student perspective. This dissertation proved that because of neglect, components of the full narrative are missing; the duration is presumed shorter; key actors, issues, and experiences are absent; clergy (not students) are centered; perceptions of conflict resolution are skewed; and events and the timing are in dispute. Notably, Galtung (1990) classifies the mischaracterization of victims' actions, arguably the re-writing of their

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history, as cultural violence. Achieving peace would entail actions which rehabilitate the narrative so that it is more comprehensive and representative of the perspectives of all who were involved.

Most of the biographies and artifacts examined in this study not only centered other actors, but also ignored the student voice. Moreover, as the student voice was amplified during this study, it showed sharp contrast to leadership's story of desegregation. Table 12 shows that themes in the church leadership narrative differ markedly from those of students who participated in desegregation.

Table 12

The Church Narrative Differs From the African American Student Narrative on Desegregation of Catholic Schools

Subject	Church Narrative	Lambs of God Narrative
Appropriate time to desegregate	Blacks must be patient.	We had waited long enough.
Compliance should be voluntary	White people do not want to be forced to do something (desegregate) that they do not want to do.	Black people were forced to endure the humiliation and inconvenience of segregation, which we did not want to do.
Conflict resolved	The church integrated the schools and the conflict was over.	The church integrated its schools and the conflict for us started.
The main actors	Archbishops integrated the spaces.	Our families integrated the spaces.
The core issue	The church worked hard to finally give its Black members equality.	The church should never have acquiesced to slavery or discrimination in the first place.
Acceptance	White students and the community should congratulate themselves for desegregating schools so peacefully.	White students had no idea of the difficulties we experienced.
Helping the transition	The church wrote Pastoral letters to Catholics.	The church could have done more to prepare the students, teachers, and surrounding community members for change.
Responsibilities	White people had to do a lot of adjusting and accepting.	We had to do a lot of adjusting and accepting. The responsibility fell to us to prove we had the ability to succeed. We had to do it in a hostile environment.
What integration accomplished	Black students were grateful to finally be able to attend school with White students.	We appreciate the education we received, and the end to an abhorrent practice, but the animosity and lack of support we experienced exacted a great toll.
Memory	Nobody thinks about this anymore.	Black students who experienced desegregation by the Catholic Church have not forgotten.
Repentance	The church does not need to say/do anything different because of this conflict.	The church could take actions now that help reverse effects of past actions and increase its capacity to handle future conflicts.

Future scholars may find it worthwhile to employ the concept of a "culturally traumatized narrative," as a means of understanding how bifurcated accounts come about.

Here, the narrative itself could be personified as a shared experience that was later overlooked, forgotten, and distorted because it was not part of the Catholic community's retelling of the desegregation of its schools. For example, this work went far to demonstrate that the narrative of Catholic school integration was perverted and injured by the manner in which desegregation unfolded. After the injury, two narratives emerged: one of the Catholic Church, and the other of Black students. The Catholic Church's narrative is polytomous in that the Black student narrative is not part of the larger Catholic community's remembrance of desegregation. See Figure 13, African American Catholic student narrative is culturally traumatized. According to Galtung (1990), when false narratives have been created, mediators must identify the structures that support them; identifying violent structures will expose cultural violence. Mediators can then attend to converting discrimination to equitable relations, and a racist climate to one in which all feel valued and included regardless of their physical attributes or customs by which the external society abides.
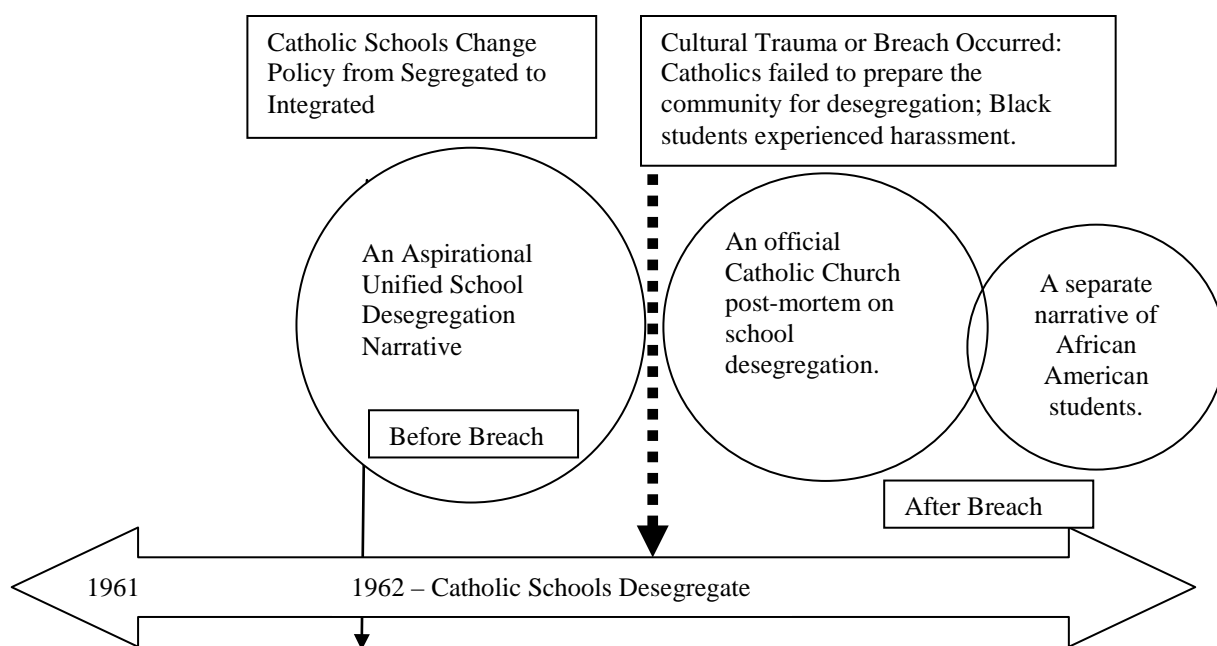
Figure 13. African American Catholic student narrative is culturally traumatized.

Finding 2. New Orleans Catholic Leadership's Focus on Direct Violence Delayed Desegregation

Beginning with the issuance of a Pastoral letter in 1956, the New Orleans Catholic leadership vacillated and delayed desegregation for the ensuing eight years, during which time tension built and violence increased. Church attention to direct violence deflected resources away from its structural and cultural forms. Church inattention and silence gave legitimacy to segregation policies and belief systems and worked to support the continuance of pickets, protests threats, and acts of physical violence.

The researcher examined anticipatory actions taken by other dioceses and found that announcements by leadership unaccompanied by near-term action were not only inert but dampened progress by giving segregationists opportunity to organize a counter movement. She also traced desegregation as a process and found that among the common

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factors driving the Catholic Church's decision to act was the external civil rights movement. The New Orleans archbishop crafted and ordered the reading of Pastoral letters; U.S. bishops similarly issued letters. While statements often showed deep understanding of structural and cultural forms of violence, when not accompanied by action they went unheeded for a long period during which segregationists organized and became more entrenched. The Catholic Church did not rise to a significant opportunity to lead by example in America's move toward equality of its African American citizens. Catholic schools should have modeled a vision and reality of a new inclusive community, and one that did not operate on the basis of race and color.

Galtung (1990) cautioned that over time, direct violence can become overlooked, forgotten, and sanitized; softer language can come to replace wording associated with harsh concepts, skewing reality. Church archivists have not been attentive to post-mortems on school desegregation that deceive by omission. These omissions are part of continuing direct violence as much as were the throwing of stones. Both official church and Black student accountings are part of history; one has been publicly remediated, acknowledged, and accepted as true, while the other has been ignored or intentionally omitted. The intent of centering the Black student experience was not to take away from the actions of others. These narratives could exist together and be elaborated upon. Mediators working to resolve the conflict involving the forgotten and distorted African American student narrative can help by conducting activities that aid primary parties in reconstructing their stories.

A useful starting point for such intervention could be a return to Galtung's model for violence, which warrants consideration of a commensurate model for peace. Chapter two established that the model for violence entailed discrimination (structural violence), prejudice (cultural violence), and harassment/aggression (direct violence). Conflict mediators would need to develop approaches with the goal of conversions, from discrimination to equity, racism to mutually healthy relations, and adversity to diversity (see Figure 14, Galtung's peace triangle).

Structural Peace: Equity; Existence of policies and practices which support equality and oneness.

Direct Peace: Diversity; a universal church to which all are welcome for full participation.

Cultural Peace: Symbiosis (mutually beneficial relations between members.)

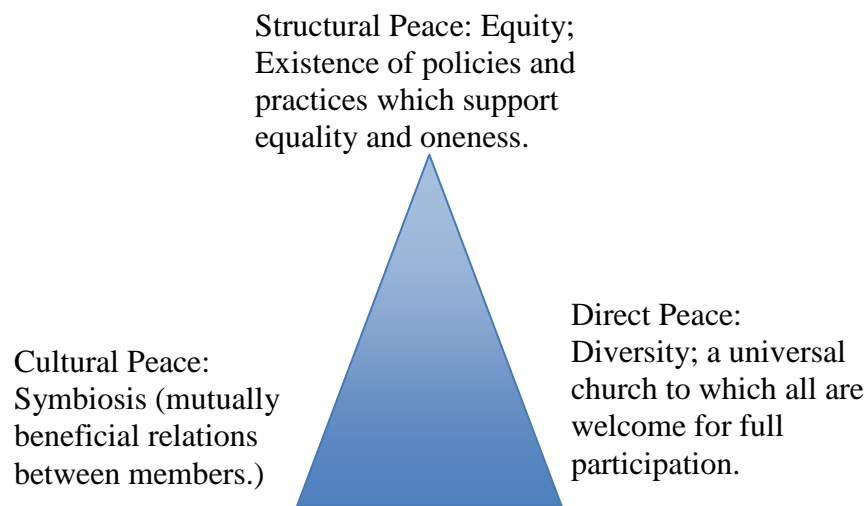*Figure 14*. Galtung's peace triangle applied to Catholic school desegregation.

Other activities that could be useful include ones that support the sharing of stories in ways that deepen community understanding of the various facets of each others' experiences. Interveners must also ensure a focus on lingering effects of historical actions on group members, and the more inclusive ways in which the institution will

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story itself in the future. Retroactively repairing existing displays, archives, and databases to correct any distortions or omissions would be imperative to such work.

Given the context of this conflict, approaches could be designed that embrace the Catholic Church's own standard for remorse, repentance, and reconciliation. The Catholic *Act of Contrition* is a prayer that a penitent is required to offer to God after confessing his/her sins to a priest. Through it, the sinner communicates that he/she is remorseful not only because of the adversity brought onto him/herself, but also because his/her act was *offensive to God*. The sinner is required to recite in part: "O my God, I am heartily sorry for having offended Thee. And I detest all my sins because of thy just punishments. But most of all because *they offend Thee my God*." Furthermore, the offender affirms the desire to be forgiven for his/her sin and to be reconciled and re-affiliated with God by stating, "I firmly resolve with the help of Thy grace to sin no more, and to avoid the near occasion of sin." The prayer is not considered a mere utterance. With an *Act of Contrition*, the sinner affirms what he/she already has done: experienced godly sorrow, accepted accountability for the sin(s) committed, and reversed the arc of his/her life and deeds.

The Church offers further guidance:

Among the penitent's acts, contrition occupies first place. Contrition is "sorrow of the soul and detestation for the sin committed together with the resolution not to sin again." When it arises from a love by which God is loved above all else, contrition is called "perfect." (Catechism of the Catholic Church, 1451-1452)

Similar elements of biblical repentance and reconciliation were discussed in chapter four.

Applying Catholic practices on contrition, this research concludes that merely undoing the infrastructure of segregated schools was not enough to atone for the sin that

the institution had committed. Atonement should have included expressions of remorse for the sin not only because people were hurt and the church appeared hypocritical, but also because the sin of racism offended God. Moreover, penance should have centered on acts that infused more goodness into the world to, in a sense, counter the evil that had been created because of their actions. In "perfect" contrition, actions arise not from public pressure or desires to improve one's reputation, but from a place of empathy.

Father Aidan McAleenan, pastor of St. Columbia Parish in Oakland, advanced a request, variations of which have been promoted by interracial and Black Catholic groups previously. Fr. McAleenan was among prelates who, in 2015 asked Pope Francis to admit and apologize for the church's participation in the enslavement of African Americans, and the structural injustice by ordained and lay members that it accepted, condoned, and advanced (Clark, 2015). Father Aidan's letter noted that Catholic leaders "have seldom, if ever, acknowledged or apologized for this tragic history and continuing complicity in racial injustice" (as cited in Clark, 2015, p. 20). *The Bible* and the Catholic Church's own governing doctrine amply set forth that expressions of remorse are meaningless if they are not deeply held and are unaccompanied by acts that counter the effects of the original sin. McAleenan's and other such requests serve as reminders that the church has not acted to eradicate its sins, therefore they linger.

The Catholic Church has neither admitted its transgression nor expressed a deep, Godly sorrow linked expressly to the sin of school segregation. It has not put in place works designed specifically to counter the evil of its original sin. This research finds that

the church's own standards for repentance and reconciliation for the sin of racial segregation in Catholic schools have not been met.

Finding 3. Integration Resisters' Direct and Culturally Violent Acts Prolonged Catholic School Segregation

The false narratives maintained and promoted by the segregationist movement fueled and legitimized direct violence. Further extrapolating on Galtung's (1990) point that cultural violence is a conduit to direct violence via a violent structure, it is clear that deep prejudice supported exploitation, and an overall discriminatory New Orleans climate. Furthermore, prejudice (cultural violence), supported by discriminatory laws, policies, and practices (structural violence), lulled members into viewing exploitation and segregation (direct violence) as normal. As political activist and theorist Thomas Paine (1776) noted in his widely read pamphlet *Common Sense*: "A long habit of not thinking a thing wrong, gives it a superficial appearance of being right" (p. 20).

As was shown in chapter three, the segregationist narrative was widespread and created a logic framework against racial integration. This framework perpetuated the idea that integration jeopardized a way of life enjoyed by and vital to the very survival of the Caucasian race. Similar to a grim thread running through a tapestry, the study found that the themes of this logic paradigm were widespread and consistent across segregationist literature. This study inspected examples and found that the logic pattern permeated communications aimed at Catholic anti-integrationists, and even children. Thematic salience and ubiquity in the artifacts examined bolster the conclusion that segregationists honed and deployed their racist message during the eight years that the Archbishop of New Orleans delayed action on desegregating Catholic schools.

The manner in which segregaionists recruited ordinary White people is worth noting. Racial segregation already appealed to White supremacists, who saw no reason to forgo the Southern way of life and with it, the idea that they were part of a superior race. Themes predicting the decline or elimination of White people's health, safety, indeed their very survival, were terrifying and far more than ordinary people were willing to risk for school integration. Voting and other rights were transactional and did not involve their personal space or that of their children. Integrated schooling would place children together with the likelihood of human contact. The fact that White children already had good schools to attend rendered their parents even less motivated to embrace change. Ordinary White people signed on with White supremacists, and the anti-school-integration movement quickly grew.

After *Brown v. Board of Education* (1954), owing to the surge of racist campaigns being waged on the character and morality of African Americans, many people came to see them not as ones desiring educational fairness for their children, but as ones involved in a nefarious plot to procreate with White people so that a new, blurred, biracial order would emerge. As was shown in chapter three, segregationists strategically exported the main points of Judge Thomas Brady's *Black Monday* speech, and it became the playbook for hindering desegregation (McMillan (1994). The CCA became so committed to it that they created a module so that children could learn it at a young age. The strategy worked in New Orleans, where between the 1954 *Brown* decision and Catholic school desegregation in 1962, membership in White citizens' councils grew as archbishop Rummel serially announced, then deferred integrating the school system over which he

had full charge. When he met in private with anti-integration Catholics, he attempted to counter their segregationist arguments (Cook, 1962). However, his private conversations were ineffective and only caused them to become more resolute in their intention to prevent integration (Cook, 1962).

Importantly, Archbishop Rummel's inaction allowed anti-integration lawmakers and politicians time to fortify a discriminatory structure. They developed, disseminated, and enacted laws, regulations, and ordinances on marriage and health that rendered morality a proxy for discrimination and appeared to give credence to segregationist arguments. Pastoral letters and private appeals were not enough to prepare the New Orleans Catholic community for desegregation. Segregationists became emboldened by the delays. To African Americans, reversals and delays gave the appearance of support of the segregationist cause. Indeed, in the eight years following *Brown v. Board of Education* (1954), the climate grew even less conducive, thwarting hopes of a smooth transition to integration.

According to Judge Brady's (1954) anti-school-integration narrative, which became transmitted by other vehicles through CCA activities, Whites would suffer if Blacks were allowed to integrate previously all-White schools. In the Brady paradigm, the only people who would benefit were African Americans, whose station would be raised. These ideas became a potent and galvanizing force for more prevalent resistance to school desegregation.

The segregationist framework has been brought into the present. One need only consider coded words used in political speeches, on websites, and in mass and social

media, designed to appeal to conservative White southerners. In the 1960s, President Richard Nixon's "Southern Strategy" was an approach under-girded by the segregationist framework and designed to corral White southern racists around opposition to civil rights for African Americans (as cited in Aistrup, 1996). President Ronald Reagan's reference to "states rights" during his 1980 run for the presidency, and President Donald Trump's 2016 "Make America Great Again" slogan, represent other examples of wording widely considered as messages designed to affirm the belief that the solution to America's problems lies in allowing Southern Whites to return to a bygone era of African American subordination. Poor and White working-class members have been deluded into believing that they have more to gain from association with rich elites rather than other working class and poor (Lang, 2015). White nationalists still express the fear that *their* country is being taken away from them (Lang, 2015). As with the Reconstruction period and the anti-integration movement, slogans and narratives by White elites that ignite the worst fears of the White working class continue to convince them that Black people remain the common enemy and race an important marker. In this narrative, the fact that working class African Americans have problems in common with working class and poor Whites that can be jointly worked upon for mutual benefit is sidelined. Coded words from politicians and powerful elites, which communicate one race's supremacy over another, support a violent structure and give ordinary people approval to speak and act in divisive ways. With this backdrop, and enduring false narratives, it should surprise no one when people act as though they are at war with African Americans.

These and other examples lead to a finding that the segregationist narrative survives and remains effective and enduring. Some connect its re-emergence with the development of a society even more fractured and less tolerant compared with the one that Americans experienced 30 years ago, as it transitioned out of the civil rights movement. Those who interpreted and resisted hate messages in bygone eras eventually pass from the scene, and the messages reappear, packaged for new audiences, espoused by new actors; thus they endure. The segregationist concepts fan the flames of racial fear and discord, as well as prevent visions of a more unified future.

Conflict is evident in racially divided perspectives on community police practices and the emergence of the Black Lives Matter movement. The advance of worldwide video platforms, such as YouTube, the growing requirement for law enforcers to use dashboard and body cameras, and the ability of the public, not just journalists, to post content and offer comment have brought important aspects of modern-day racial conflict into focus. In these interactions, some see police who are more fearful of Black people compared with Whites and quick to use deadly force and in so doing have a legitimizing effect on the most vicious narratives. Others conclude that if Blacks are being the victims of harassment and violence by police, they must be doing something to deserve it. Many Whites still have a deep skepticism about the nature of the trauma experienced by African Americans, including segregation and with it, lack of economic opportunity and ability to build or accumulate generational wealth (Dyson, 2017).

For generations, parents of African American children have found that they must talk to them starting at an early age to help them deal with discursive assumptions society

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will hold about them (Oster, 2017). The conflict intervention community can be key to helping White Americans develop a deeper understanding of ways in which Black people must contend with race. A key focus in this work must be deliberate attention, not merely to the structural and direct forms of violence, but also in its cultural form, especially underlying narratives, which fuel White anxiety about disappearing if Black people advance. Literature and modules for children which help young minds to think more critically as they encounter negative assumptions presented here must continue to be developed. Prejudice reduction specialist Cherie Brown, when asked where prejudice begins stated the following:

> [W]e're certainly not born with it. Children pick up attitudes from then parents and adults adopt the views of their peers. Every piece of misinformation that you've been taught about another group is hurtful and requires healing (as cited in Smith, 1989).

Finding 4. Child Agents of Change Desire Accounting for Their Sacrifices

This study suggests a lens through which to analyze certain conflict parties. The project informs conflict theory by assigning nomenclature and offering mediators means of detecting the presence of the "sacrificial lamb," and thereby enhancing the ability to identify appropriate interventions. Sacrificial lambs are ones who have not taken a stand in the conflict, are unaware of battleground and issues, are unaware of the situation's potential risks, are sent to resolve a conflict, are unarmed, un-indoctrinated, and are sent by trusted other individuals who are aware of the conflict. The research shows that sacrificial lambs to a conflict do not necessarily resent being deployed unwittingly, nor the deception involving their espoused versus actual roles.

Interveners working with sacrificial lambs must be aware that with hindsight, they do not desire acclaim for their actions, only validation that the events transpired, lest they re-occur. Sacrificial lambs believe that the institution that called on them should provide a post-mortem or accounting of what was gained from their participation. In the case of Catholic school desegregation, students believe the institution could offer them data on the racial climate within the church and schools following the initial foray into integration, and even data on where it stands today. After-action reports can help assure sacrificial lambs that the adversity they faced was not useless. Furthermore, the Catholic Church could identify ways in which desegregation of its American schools was an institutional turning point connected to subsequent acts deliberately performed to represent true contrition. Catholic doctrine requires the expression of Godly sorrow for transgression and infusion of new goodness into the world to reset the trajectory of the sinner's life. The institution would go far to connect its past transgressions to its follow-up actions; in so doing, it would provide the Catholic and larger communities a true example of repentance and resolution.

Interveners and third party mediators in such situations should also be aware that if sacrificial lambs are not provided a briefing during deployment, they should at least be given key allies. In Catholic school desegregation, partners could have been provided in the form of primed and equipped fellow students or teachers assigned to provide support when Black students experienced isolation and a harsh environment. Most of the students encountered Catholic and external community members who were not prepared for integration, and in fact many who were determined to defeat it. Without allies, the

students entered the situation and sometimes experienced hostility and extreme loneliness because they had no means of identifying friendly parties. They did not know the teachers or students who they could trust, often until after an adverse interaction had occurred. Prior preparation also could have supported those few White students who believed they could not befriend Black students, even though they desired to, because they feared becoming a target themselves. One White former student went so far as to have spent a half century congratulating herself on having been a member of the first class to have overcome discrimination; she later wondered how she could have been so disconnected from what the Black students were experiencing. Advance preparation would have given allied White students the necessary support for their activism. The schools also could have enrolled the African American students as cohort groups with the staging of advance meetings and activities, so that they would have at least know each other as they entered schools. Similarly, school leadership could have planned follow-up interventions to assess the students' safety and well-being as they adjusted to their new environment.

Deployment of sacrificial lambs into a conflict also should include deployment of security. Police escorted some of the Catholic school students, and parents accompanied others as they walked through hostile territory of surrounding communities. However, such patrols were ad hoc and temporary, and parents could not always be present; thus, students experienced harassment and intimidation because of the lack of security. They had to form their own security system of traveling to and from school in groups for safety.

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Means by which officials engaged with the media also proved critical to outcomes. Archbishop Hallinan of Atlanta met in advance with media to strike an agreement that they would report on desegregation in ways that would not fuel discord. The students also experienced faculty and administrators who were indifferent to their circumstances, again underscoring the need for deliberately planned security. Some did not intervene as Black students were harassed. Schools could have offered training, clarified epectations, and called upon teachers and allied community members to volunteer to offer a protective presence before and after school when the potential for neighborhood harassment was highest. Adopting strategies in advance that support safety and reduce the potential for violence is an important aspect of security.

Limitations and Future Scholarship

This study had some limitations. The events occurred more than 50 years ago, thus many of the participants and parties to the conflict were unreachable or deceased. This research included 18 participants, about nine percent of the overall population of African American students who desegregated Catholic schools in New Orleans. The researcher had access to views of another 10 students and others who were interviewed or commented on either of two latter day articles on Catholic school desegregation in New Orleans. Other participants might have other recollections and experiences not reported here. This study was generalizable to other work on the civil rights movement, integrating previously marginalized groups into a community, diversity/inclusion, and multicultural education.

Future scholarship is imperative so that theories about the continuing effects of school segregation, and African American isolation can be further developed and explored. In addition to aforementioned topics, future scholarship could also attend to the Catholic Church's need to respond to its own trauma. This type of study could lead to the church being an agent in helping other institutions to prepare for inclusion of groups marginalized by society, whether because of income, sexual orientation, disability, or any other personal factor. Catholic officials could begin to show the leadership they did not when their Black members were being oppressed.

Examples of Catholic dioceses, such as Miami and Atlanta, have much to offer as studies in how to prepare communities for peaceful change. Unlike New Orleans, the leadership used more than Pastoral letters. The Catholic leader in Atlanta even wrote letters to the Black families acknowledging the role they played, underscoring that without them, desegregation would not have been occurring. The other dioceses did more to build capacity within their leadership, the Catholic community, and the external civil rights movement for reform. Had the New Orleans archdiocese done the same, the outcome might have been less violent and earlier. Other institutions could benefit from these examples by adopting successful practices that use strategic approaches, involve the entire community, name allies, and increase the ability of members to successfully include previously marginalized groups.

A violent structure contributed to the muting of Black student experiences in Catholic school desegregation. It is a profound experience to come to the realization that one's history has been suppressed, distorted, muted or erased. Important elements in the

story of Catholic school desegregation could not be identified without the Black student perspective. To achieve peace, stories that do not privilege elites but center alternative actors and reveal a range of worldviews must continue to be told.

Conclusion: The Stone that the Builders Rejected

The Bible in Psalms 118:22 offers a strong image about acceptance, stating, "The stone which the builders rejected has become the cornerstone" (NIV). The verse recurs at Matthew 21:42, Mark 12:10, Luke 20:17, Acts 4:11, and 1 Peter 2:7. In the biblical era, no stone in a structure was more important than the cornerstone, which had to possess enough strength, integrity, and the contour necessary to guide and support the construction and layout of the entire building. If the cornerstone was not of the correct size, angle, and placement, the entire structure risked collapse. For that reason, many stones were typically examined and rejected until the cornerstone was identified. Furthermore, builders sometimes rejected stones early on only to come back to one later and realize that it was perfect for the job.

Data in this study showed a powerful story of young children whose lives were forever changed by their experiences. Their stories should help scholars, policymakers, and institutions understand the human effects of desegregation. These stories matter because the contributions of African American students deserve to be remembered in their wholeness, not just as people who went in to previously segregated spaces, but also for what they endured. Though the church did not acknowledge it directly, they depended on the Black students to take away the sins they had committed.

As of 2017, the students are in their 50s (elementary) through 70s (high school). Unless the Catholic Church takes deliberate action to create a more inclusive narrative, their stories will be lost along with the opportunity to repair the breach it caused and the wrong turn it made. The U.S. Catholic community includes many African Americans whose contributions deserve to be remembered, and the stories recollected here represent a subset of the discrimination that occurred against them.

Referencing unknown actors, including young people, Dr. King (1963) predicted, "One day the South will recognize its real heroes" (para. 2), such as those who went into spaces to help desegregate them. In the letter, he even credited the Catholic Church for steps it was taking toward ending racial segregation. Thus, perhaps he also had the LoGs in mind when he forecast that the world would one day understand steps taken by unseen individuals who were, in King's (1963) words,

> [S]tanding up for what is best in the American dream and for the most sacred values in our Judaeo Christian heritage, thereby bringing our nation back to those great wells of democracy which were dug deep by the founding fathers in the formulation of the Constitution and the Declaration of Independence.

This work was intended to offer a positive step in that direction.

In 2011, Catholic Church membership was reported at more than 1.2 billion and rising with the most accelerated growth in Africa (Catholic World News, 2013). Thus, much of the Catholic faith's future rests on people in whom those who were marginalized were rooted. Abiding southern custom and man's law, Catholics created an immoral system of schools segregated based on race. The Catholic institution was later reproached for its breach, and depended on a small group of African American children, who they (for years) had rejected as unfit to be educated with White children, to undo the wrong.

Those African American children went into schools and faced much adversity for integration to occur. After centuries of slavery, separation, and subordination by the Catholic Church, and following the issuance of Pastoral letters, announcements, and reversals over an eight-year period, the Black students' actions advanced the church finally beyond its sin of discrimination. They rendered it more universal and inclusive of all – the very meaning of the word catholic. The stone that the builders rejected indeed became the cornerstone.

Appendix A

Interview Coding

Table A1

Interview Coding

Construct	Themes	Concepts	Example
		Collective Memory	We experienced something together
	Cultural Trauma Theory	Collective Injury	Teachers were unprepared and we were harassed
		Recovery/Redemption	The Catholic Church should atone for past actions
Experiences of African American Students Who Desegregated Catholic Schools in New Orleans		Artificiality of Race	Some Black students were admitted because they looked White
	Critical Race Theory	Strategic Racialization	Black people were stereotyped as ignorant/lazy, etc. depending on needs of whites
		White Privilege	Some White students had no idea what the Black students were experiencing
		Innocent	I did not know anything about race
		Battlefield	Someone escorted me for protection
		Knowing/Trusted Other	My parents sent me into the situation
	Lamb/Sacrificial Lamb	Greater Good	My parents wanted to desegregate another space in New Orleans
		Peacekeeping	No one was prepared to mediate
		Lack of Teacher Preparation	Teachers were not prepared for the transition
		Lack of Community Preparation	Community members threw rocks at us when we passed their houses
		Social Isolation	No one invited us to social events or interacted with us if we went

Summary of how researcher categorized themes that emerged from interviews.

Appendix B

Interview Questions

1. Please describe what schools you attended before and during the year 1962.

2. Please describe to the best of your memory, entering school on the first day of the school year in September 1962.

3. Please describe the general behavior of students and teachers in the school setting toward you.

4. Please talk about the presence or absence of other Black students and how it affected you.

5. Please describe how it felt to be one of the first and few Black students in a previously all-White student body.

6. To what extent were you aware of what was going on in the Catholic community regarding its decision to desegregate its schools?

7. Describe any preparation you remember for the first day of school.

8. Please describe what, if any, discrimination you experienced based on your race.

9. Please give me a sense of what awareness you had about race and your role.

10. What, if anything, would have been helpful in addition to any preparation you received?

11. Please describe lasting effects, if any the experience you describe had on your later life.

12. What, if anything, would represent or lead to peace and healing from what occurred and what you experienced?

Appendix C

Case Study Coding

Table C1

Case Study Coding for Analysis of Archdiocese Actions in Miami and the Coalition of Atlanta, Charleston, and Savannah

Construct	Axial Code	Code	Examples
	Inputs	C	Implemented a racial justice curriculum
		IM	Used internal church media (ex: archdiocese newspaper) to strategically message about desegregation
		L	Church encouraged or provided lectures on racial justice
		M	Church used a strategy to deal with media.
	Outputs	CM	Church held or attended community meetings (police, businesses, etc.)
		ECR	Church engaged with external civil rights movement
What did other Archdioceses do to transition schools from segregated to integrated that might have been helpful in the case of New Orleans?		IC	Church worked with interfaith community (other non-Catholic denominations)
		IL	Church reached out to and interacted with the Lambs/Black students who were going to desegregate the Catholic schools. Acknowledgement.
		JC	Church formed or worked within a joint coalition of other dioceses
		JPL	Issued jointly crafted Pastoral letter synchronized with other dioceses.
		PL	Issued independent Pastoral letter.
		PR	The bishop instituted racial just curricula and training aimed at priests.
		M	Church obtained cooperation of external media to de-sensationalize desegregation
		R	Church leader adopted reflexive practice (ex: kept a journal)
		RR	Church supported or offered priests and/or members race relations training
		RSG	Church conducted and/or encouraged racial study groups
		S	Church leader gave speech(es) or issued statement(s) condemning segregation
	Outcomes	AX	Church closed down many or all its African American schools
		AAX	African American membership declined
		T	Token integration was achieved
		T+	Urged the preservation of Black schools and parishes

Impacts	BC	Church became involved in broader community concerns
	NV	Desegregation was not attended by violence

Appendix D

Sample Photographs Examined for Narrative of Segregationists, as Expressed on Signs

Appendix E

Coding Scheme

Table E1

Coding Scheme for Analysis of Archdiocese Actions in Miami and the Coalition of Atlanta, Charleston, and Savannah

Construct	Axial Code	Code	Examples
	Inputs	C	Implemented a racial justice curriculum
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What did other Archdioceses do to transition schools from segregated to integrated that might have been helpful in the case of New Orleans?		M	Church used a strategy to deal with media.
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Impacts	BC	Church became involved in broader community concerns
	NV	Desegregation was not attended by violence

Process Tracing of the Desegregation of Miami Catholic Schools

Table F1

Process Tracing of the Desegregation of Miami Catholic Schools

		Outcomes		
Inputs	Outputs	Short term	Long term	Impacts
1958 Bishop Hurley of St. Augustine, FL ordered 1 Catholic school, Curley High school, desegregated. It was the first integrated school of any kind in Florida (McNally, 1982).	1961: Bishop Carroll ordered Catholic schools desegregated with the school year beginning in September.	*1961: In September, Miami Catholic schools desegregated without protestors, picketers or violence.*	1961: Catholic school desegregation, while effected, was token:	1961: While protests and picketing accompanied desegregation of business establishments in Miami, Catholic school desegregation was effected (in 1961) without picketers, protesters and violence.
1958: Diocese of Miami was created and Coleman F. Carroll installed as Bishop – head of Miami Catholic Church. He adopted a gradual desegregation approach.	1961: RR Bishop Carroll began to have race relations training conducted for Catholic clergy.	*Boycotting was limited: Only one White family withdrew their child from Catholic school.*	1. Substandard conditions of previously Black Catholic schools in part contributed to the low number of students (3) deemed prepared to be admitted to previously all-White schools.	NV 1968: Desegregation was achieved without violence. AX However the decision to close historically African American Catholic churches and schools was made without significant input from Black members who these institutions had served during segregation. The Black members believed that
1959: Token desegregation is accomplished with admission of a few Black students to Orchard Villa School. Bishop Carroll announced that Catholic schools in Miami would be desegregated; C Bishop Carroll initiates a diocesan course on racial justice to prepare priests for the change; held	1961: CM Bishop Carroll began to hold meetings with community and business members. In 1963, he enlisted their support by raising the potential effect of social unrest on tourism, to persuade them to get on board	1961: When schools desegregated, media stories did not to sensationalize the event.	2. Residential segregation, and poor transportation options combined to make Black parents unwilling to let their children travel long distances to school, and thus	

clergy conferences to discuss desegregation; use the diocesan newspaper to set forth doctrine that should guide the church's actions; L Bishop Carroll gave talks and lectures within the Diocese to present his perspective; asked M media members not to sensationalize desegregation stories in order to avoid unduly igniting racial tension; Bishop Carroll closed formerly Black Catholic institutions requiring African Americans to join formerly White churches.

1960: Demographic/climate: 185,000 Catholics; 3,000 Black Catholics; 8 Black Catholic churches/5 Black Catholic schools with 624 students; some blacks attended White churches but practices/ customs were discriminatory (ex: racially separate seating; blacks received Holy Communion after whites; 0 Black priests in the diocese; a Black order of nuns (Oblate Sisters of Providence) taught in the Black schools; most of the priests assigned to care for Black churches were members of national/ international religious orders (Josephites or Society of St. Joseph of the Sacred Heart), not diocesan. Archbishop Curley High School desegregated by 3 Black students. (Newman, 2011; James J.

with a quiet and peaceful desegregation plan.

1963: ECR Bishop Carroll participated in the external (secular) civil rights movement (ex: took an interracial group to a segregated restaurant and because of his presence, they were not declined service.)

1963: RSG To fortify desegregation, Bishop Carroll convened an interfaith racial study group comprised of lay and religious leaders in Miami. IC The leaders co-signed a statement denouncing racial discrimination and supporting equality in education, housing and other sectors. Carroll asked the 25 religions assembled to reflect the message embodied by the statement in their sermons to their congregations.

limited the number of Black students who desegregated Miami Catholic schools.

1963: Bishop Carroll encouraged other Catholics to get involved with the external civil rights movement, in part by setting up a diocesan commission on human relations to support the larger concerns in Miami.

desegregation was being carried out by catering to White members' comforts while ignoring theirs. The number of Black Catholic parishes declined from 5 to 3. The action compelled Black members to join previously all-White churches, which had an alienating effect. Many Black Catholics in Miami left the Catholic church altogether and joined other denominations.

1963:BC Due to the work of the study group (and accompanying sermons and interfaith communications), community concerns in Miami broadened away from integration specifically and toward human dignity and social justice.

1961-1968: AAX Black membership in Miami Catholic churches declined.

Walsh to Henry Cabirac,
8 February 1962, folder 8
box 1, CCHR Papers.)
External Factors: 1951: Explosives were placed in the doorway of a Peter and Paul Catholic Church; Legal landscape change - 1954 *Brown v. Board of Education* Supreme Court decision ended segregation in public schools, however Florida continued a segregated system; the Supreme Court decision prompted riots in Little Rock AK; schools closed for 5 years in Virginia in a tactic known as "massive resistance"; 1955, beginning of the civil rights movement with Black people increasingly challenging discrimination; civil rights protests, pickets and other activities ensued in Miami and across the south; residential (de facto) segregation; Diocesan leader (Carroll) was not from the South; Black Catholics felt unwelcome in White Catholic churches; most whites accepted, but did not agree with desegregation; 1957 pro-segregation Governor (LeRoy Collins) admitted the inevitability of integration, but promised to delay its onset as long as possible; White Catholic schools were better funded and equipped than the African American counterparts, therefore during segregation, Black students were not as prepared educationally; 1958 - U.S. Catholic Bishops issued statement denouncing racial segregation; supporting equality. 1962-1965, the Pope and the Second Vatican Council denounced racism, said that all Catholics should work on resolving world problems, and that oppressed people should claim their rights (Newman, 2011a, b; McNally1982).

Table x. Miami Catholic schools desegregated in 1960. Though the event was peaceful, and the Bishop formed strategic external, interdenominational community coalitions, his unilateral decision to close Black Catholic churches alienated Black members, prompting many to leave Catholicism and affiliate with other denominations.

Process tracing reveals a nexus between the external civil rights movement and Catholic church actions on civil rights. Key inputs were dialogues with community and business members and the media. Outputs were Pastoral letters and church leadership active involvement with the civil rights community in Miami and the media. Though integration was token, it was achieved without violence. However, the Black community was embittered by closures of its institutions.

Table F2

Desegregation of Atlanta, GA; Charleston, SC; and Savannah, GA Catholic Schools (Coalition)

| | | Outcomes | | |
Inputs	Outputs	Short term	Long term	Impacts
1954: Legal landscape: *Brown v. Board of Education* Supreme Court decision ended segregation in public schools. 1955 Black people increasingly challenge discrimination; beginning of the civil rights movement.	1961: JC The 3 Bishops jointly developed and issued a Pastoral letter, which was read in every church in each of their dioceses (throughout Atlanta, Charleston and Savannah) on February 19; the letter set a moral framework for desegregation. 1961: PL In February, the 3 Bishops together delivered the same Pastoral letter to their respective congregations. The letter was read aloud at each mass, accompanied by similar sermons. The message encouraged the congregations to form and join student study clubs, and engage in other community practices designed to help them understand Catholic doctrine on racial justice.			
Atlanta, GA:	1961: **JPL**	1961: After		1962-1972: NV

1956-1961: Bishop Francis Hyland was head of Atlanta Catholic Church.

1957: Bishop Hyland's advisors dissuaded him from letting the diocese's 87 Black Catholic students enter an all-White high school because of the political climate. They feared a loss of tax exempt status.

1961: Demographic/culture: 270 Black students attended 2 Black Catholic elementary; 6,452 White children attended 17 elementary schools and 2 high schools. There were no Black Catholic high schools.

1962: Bishop Paul J. Hallinan installed (coming out of Charleston), and continued the momentum started by Bishop Hyland.

Bishop Hyland began to act in concert with Bishops over Charleston and Savannah dioceses; the three began to work with each other to desegregate Catholic schools. The three agreed to send separate but identical and simultaneous Pastoral letters to their congregations. Hyland suggested they adopt wording that responded to the concept of "fear," since he believed fear was a barrier to parishioners' changing.

1961: JPL In February, Bishop Hyland, acting collaboratively with church leaders in Miami and Savannah, issued a Pastoral letter (Pastoral letter 1). Bishop Hyland said a Mass every other day for the success of the effort.

1962: CM Bishop Hallinan (took over after Bishop Hyland departed). He met with the Atlanta mayor,

Pastoral letter 2, media coverage of desegregation in Atlanta was not explosive.

1962: In June, Catholic high schools for the first time began to take applications from 8th graders; previously all-White elementary schools took applications from Black children.

1962: With the beginning of the school year in September, 17 children integrated 8 Catholic schools without protests, pickets, or violence.

Atlanta Catholic schools integrated peacefully. Black children were only a small percentage of the Catholic school population in Atlanta, and registration of blacks into previously all-White schools was light. Ten years later, Black children remained only a small percentage of Catholic students.

police chief, priests of the diocese, and lay Catholics about the policy change. He kept a journal to help him reflect and push through feelings of hesitation.

1962: PL After taking over the diocese, Bishop Hallinan sent a second Pastoral letter (Pastoral letter 2) on June 10 announcing the official date for desegregation as September 1, 1962.

1962: IM Bishop Hallinan did not give the media the names of the schools that the Black children would be desegregating.

1962: IL Bishop Hallinan wrote letters to families of the 17 children who were going to desegregate schools, thanking them for their roles, stating he was constantly praying for them.

1962: CM Bishop Hallinan met with police to request escorts for the safety of students who would be

Charleston, SC
1951: Bishop Russell started the diocesan newspaper, the *Catholic Banner*.
1953: Bishop Russell kept segregation going to appease segregationists. However, held an interracial service for all adults converting to Catholicism. Bishop Russell saw Black churches and schools as tools for conversion, so he improved the parishes. Russell made no public comment after the *Brown v. Board of Education* Supreme Court Decision, leaving dual Catholic school system intact.
1954: The Shean and Oratorians (not run by the diocese but by national religious orders) desegregated St. Anne's parochial school by admitting 10 Black children into a class of 46 total. This was the first school in the state (public or private) to admit desegregate. Diocesan schools remained segregated because Bishop Russell was concerned about reprisal against Catholics.
1956: White congregants levied threats and four gun shots were fired at an outdoor meeting attended by 200 African American Catholics.
1958: The church passed a new law barring racial

entering the schools and to ensure their presence to respond to any threats of violence.
1958: Bishop Hallinan wrote a letter to all diocesan priests reminding them of the U.S. Bishops' statement against racial segregation and asked them to move forward gradually with integration and without publicity while being transparent, and avoiding explosive terms like "integration." T+ Urged the maintaining of Black churches because of their significant role in conversions.

1960: S Bishop Hallinan made a speech denouncing segregation.

1960: PR Bishop Hallinan began educating his priests on racism and stated the expectation that they prepare their parishioners.

1960: JC Bishop Hallinan distributed to all priests *An*

1954: One White family withdrew their child from St. Anne's parochial school when it desegregated. All parish schools remained segregated.

1959: Small, isolated instances of Catholic school desegregation occurred.

1960: Black members expressed disillusionment over why desegregation was so protracted when the Bishop could solve it by pronouncement.

1961: Bishop Hallinan reported receiving 10 letters in opposition to the Pastoral letter read at all churches.

1962: Pledges to capital fundraising drives were reduced. Church members remained divided on desegregation.

1971: T+ Residential segregation and resistance combined with financial decisions to close some schools resulted in some Black students attending previously all-White schools, but enrollments at others were unchanged. Many Black Catholics continued to attend schools where they felt more welcome and could express themselves more comfortably and occupy leadership positions.

1963: NV In August, a federal district court judge ordered public schools desegregated. So as not to trail the public school action, 15 Black students enter 4 formerly White Catholic schools in Charleston without indent. Public schools follow the same year. (Newman, 2011).

1962: T Catholic school desegregation was effected, but 10 years later was still only token.

exclusion, however segregation continued to be practiced by churches. 1958-1962: Bishop Paul Hallinan served as head of Charleston Catholic Church.

Elementary Catholic Catechism on the Morality of Segregation and Racial Discrimination. He distributed *Let's Talk Sense about the Negro* (Clement, 1958) to delegates of a Women's convention and asked that it be the subject of study group discussions.

1960: S 18 priests, recognizing the effect of segregation on converting African Americans, endorsed a statement on the harmful effects of racial separation, and calling for an end to the practice.

1961: JPL In February, Bishop Hallinan issued a Pastoral letter simultaneously with the bishops of Atlanta and Savannah, which set a moral framework for admitting Black students to previously all-White Catholic schools.

1961: M After the Pastoral letter

	was read in Church, Bishop Hallinan used the *Catholic Banner* to communicate about desegregation, reinforce Catholic principles about racial justice, and keep the community apprised of his actions.			
	1961: JC Bishop Hallinan distributed *A Syllabus for Racial Justice* (McManus, Croghan, Bernard, 1961) to Catholic school teachers ("Department of Education Prepares New Syllabus," *Catholic Banner*, October 22, 1961).			
Savannah, GA 1960: Bishop Thomas J. McDonough installed as head of Savannah Catholic Church.	1961: JC Bishop McDonough invited Bishops Hallinan (then of Charleston) and Hyland (then of Atlanta) to jointly develop a position on race. 1961: JPL Bishop McDonough issues a Pastoral letter simultaneously with the Bishops of Atlanta and Charleston. The letter sets a moral	*1962: Savannah GA, Catholic schools desegregated. Desegregation was token with 7 Black students entering 3 previously all-White elementary schools and 4 students entering 2 previously all-White high schools. Two schools only admitted 1 Black student each, and two elementary schools remained*	1969: AX A study by the University of Notre Dame recommended closure of Black churches in Savannah, predominately those located in Black parishes. 1969: Black Catholics protested church closures, nonetheless, the 100-year old St. Benedict was closed. Other	1961: PP Schools desegregated attended by picketing and protests. 1971: AAX With the closure of Black churches and schools to effect integration, the number of Black Catholic students declined from 953 in 1959 to 683 10 years later.

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framework for desegregation and wass read at all Catholic masses in the Savannah Diocese.	*all White.*	Black Catholic schools closed with their students transferred to previously White Catholic schools. Closures were effected without notice to or input from parishioners.	(McDonogh, 1993.)
		1971: Attention to the endurance of White Catholic at the sacrifice of Black schools spawned resentment; Black parishioners distrusted the church hierarchy to act in their best interest (McDonogh, 1993).	

External Factors: Legal landscape change - 1954 *Brown v. Board of Education* Supreme Court decision ended segregation in public schools, precipitating riots in Little Rock AK; schools closed for 5 years in Virginia in a strategy known as "massive resistance"; Southern customs dictated rules for mingling, such as Black people should wait to be approached by whites; 1955, beginning of the civil rights movement with Black people increasingly challenging discrimination; residential (de facto) segregation; maturing external civil rights movement1958 U.S. Catholic Bishops issued statement denouncing racial segregation; supporting equality. Vatican denouncements of racism; Black Catholics felt unwelcome in White Catholic churches; most whites accepted, but did not agree with desegregation. (Newman, 2011; Fairclough, 1995; Bennett 2005.)

The Dioceses of Atlanta GA, Charleston SC and Savannah GA inaugurated desegregation collaboratively, believing that they would find strength in numbers, and could give each other support.

Note that similar activities may be classified differently depending on the archbishop's role; they were primary actors for some efforts but subordinate for others.

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Biography

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