

45. Adai Indian Nation Cultural Center Brochure, n.d., copy on file with author. Some tribes with federal recognition, like the Tunica-Biloxi and the Coushatta, have a much larger economic base than ever before as a result of land-based casinos built on tribal lands.

46. *Sunseri v. Cassagne* (191 La. 209, 185 So.7). For more, see discussion in Domínguez, *White By Definition*, 36. Creole leader Terrel Delphin observed of this "One Drop Rule": "Creoles never accepted this rule, even to this day. They will never accept it. . . . This action by the American government constituted an act of genocide against Creoles," (Terrel Delphin, "The Creole Struggle and Resurrection: Our Story as Told by Creoles," in Gregory and Moran, *We Know Who We Are*, Appendix I, 9).

47. Susan E. Dollar, "Creole Community of Isle Brevelle," in *Ethnographic Overview and Assessment*, 116-121, describes one such community's maintenance of a separate identity from roughly the end of Reconstruction to World War II. A much more detailed look can be found in Dollar, "Black, White, or Indifferent."

48. Louisiana Creole Heritage Center, *The Creole Chronicles: Creole Celebrations 2* (April 2002) details community-wide celebrations held in a number of these Creole communities.

49. Delphin, "The Creole Struggle," 15.

50. Gregory and Moran, *We Know Who We Are*, 159-164, describes the growth of this "Creole Movement."

51. The author of this essay was the person who asked the question about a definition of Creole.

52. The author of this essay was one of the interviewers involved in this project.

Chapter 2

Calumny in the House of the Lord: The 1932 Zion Traveler Church Shooting

Thomas Aiello

"Americans generally are a religious people," wrote Gunnar Myrdal in 1944. "Southerners are more religious than the rest of the nation, and the Negroes, perhaps, still a little more religious than the white Southerners." Myrdal's *An American Dilemma* noted that "the Negro church was, from the beginning, the logical center for community life." It was "the oldest and—in membership—by far the strongest of all Negro organizations." The black church was a "power institution," that "has the Negro masses organized and, if the church bodies decided to do so, they could line up the Negroes behind a program."¹ But that formula didn't always hold. The power of the southern black church gave it more than a religious or social importance. Its high profile gave its members a far larger stake in its success, gave them far more to lose in ecumenical or doctrinal disputes. And sometimes that dependence turned the church into a source of division rather than unity. Still, for southern blacks outside of a single church membership, exceptions to the black-church-as-unifying-element rule could have their own binding power—could become, perhaps, a "power institution" in and of themselves—as a curious community flocked to rubberneck as inter-congregational arguments turned from localized crisis to region-wide fiasco. The seemingly paradoxical phenomenon of organizational division creating an extra-organizational unity was rare. But it helped create the post-World War II black church that would become the new unifying element of the civil rights movement, when the fight against segregation often overruled such internecine squabbles.

Of course, Myrdal saw these potential problems in the Depression-era black church, as well. "The frequent schisms in Negro churches weaken their institutional strength," he argued. Such schisms were rarely caused by theological differences. More common was an intense competition between preachers. "Some members of a church feel that the

minister is too emotional or not emotional enough," and so broke from the original body to find a leader that better suited their Sunday morning whims. Such would be the case in 1932 at the Zion Traveler Baptist Church in Monroe, the cotton and natural gas hub of rural northeast Louisiana. But the Zion Traveler congregation would move beyond a simple split. Instead, the dispute would grow through the courts and the pulpit, culminating in a church service massacre that would draw the horror and revulsion of both white and black in Jim Crow Monroe. It would validate the racism of white residents and leave black residents to rally in its wake.

Myrdal's analysis would serve as a point of departure for the black South, as the 1940s became the 1950s. The post-World War II civil rights movement invested itself in Myrdal's insistence on the available organizing power of the black church, relying for its success on the church as an organizing vehicle, leadership crucible, and source of motivation. Authors like David L. Chappell have argued that such religious emphasis (what Chappell would call "prophetic religion") trumped the liberal secular idealism of the intellectual community.² The importance of the southern black church, however, was not new to the civil rights generation. It had been a source of strength and unity since at least the first Great Awakening.

Sources of strength and unity were in particular need in Depression-era northeast Louisiana. Monroe was notorious for its racism. In 1919, black carpenter George Bolden was lynched after being accused of writing a lewd note to a white woman. It was one of many lynchings in the Monroe area, but the case merited special notoriety when the mob entered the colored ward of the St. Francis Sanitarium, attempting to push past the nuns who ran the institution. The incident earned Monroe the unfortunate moniker "the lynch law center of Louisiana." Its reputation hadn't improved by 1932.³

Of course, violence enveloped the whole of the southern African-American population. Southern cities stood at the top of the murder lists as 1932 began, largely, said reports, due to "lynch law and lawlessness." Birmingham, Alabama, with 54.8 murders per 100,000 people, led the nation, followed by Memphis, Tennessee, and Atlanta, Georgia. In the first six months of 1932, five people were lynched, three black and two white.⁴ But violence was far from black Monroe's only worry. "The Southern states are among those at the bottom of the literacy list," Edwin R. Embree, president of the Julius Rosenwald Fund, said at a New

Orleans meeting of the American Library Association. He noted a lack of library facilities and a lack of books, adding that though southern black literacy rates were extremely low, "figures for whites alone still leaves [sic] the South far below all other sections."⁵

Black Louisianians of 1932 also had to be on their guard against tuberculosis. A joint report of the New York Tuberculosis and Health Association and the Public Health Committee of the National Negro Insurance Association detailed the danger. "In forty of the largest cities of the United States, with a total Negro population of 2,474,469, there were 6,820 deaths from tuberculosis in 1931 and a death rate, therefore, of 276 per 100,000." Godias J. Drolet, statistician of the New York association, noted that "there was not a single city in 1931 among those studied where a death rate above 80 existed among the whites, but in thirty-seven of the forty cities surveyed the Negro tuberculosis death rate was above 100."⁶

And then there was the Depression. "The Negro was born in depression," said Clifford Burke, a community volunteer who described his Depression experience for Studs Terkel. "It only became official when it hit the white man." African American urban unemployment rose to fifty percent by 1932, making the maintenance of black businesses a tenuous prospect at best. In the North, approximately half of all black families were receiving some form of depression relief. It was even worse in the South. For example, 65 percent of Atlanta's black families needed aid. But the Depression affected everyone. In 1929, the estimated national income was 83 billion dollars. In 1932, it was 39 billion. In 1929, there were 513 American millionaires. In 1932, there were twenty. In 1929, average per capita income was \$1,475. In 1932, it was \$1,119. 1.6 million people—3 percent of the labor force—were unemployed in 1929. By 1933, that number had grown to 12.8 million, a full 25 percent of workers. In the first four years of the Depression, more than 9,000 banks closed. Throughout the first decade of the Depression, one fourth of all Southerners were tenants or sharecroppers, as were half of all Southern farmers. By June, farm prices had dropped to 52 percent of the 1909-1914 average. At the same time, farmers paid taxes 166 percent higher than in 1914.⁷

Monroe was far from immune. Between 1930 and 1935, total assessed property value in Ouachita Parish plummeted from almost 65 million dollars to just over 43 million. Agricultural income fell by almost 65 percent. Similar drops in total payroll and retail sales stood as tes-

taments to the economic devastation in the region. Thirty-five percent of the 55,000 Ouachita Parish residents were black, and more than 19 percent of that group was illiterate. Within Monroe, Ouachita's parish seat, the illiteracy rate dropped to 17 percent. In 1930, 48 percent of the Ouachita African-American population was unemployed, a number that surely rose in the lean years between the census and 1932. The city population did not fare much better; 43 percent were unemployed.⁸

These calamities seemed a collection of virtually insurmountable hurdles, but they were exacerbated by environmental conditions. Throughout the first three months of 1932, a devastating Ouachita River flood submerged Monroe, affecting rich and poor, white and black alike. The flood was the worst in the region's history, outpacing even the 1927 Mississippi River flood in structural and monetary damage. The frantic citizens of Monroe and West Monroe, pushed by the rise of the Ouachita, as well as of the Black and Toni Bayous, moved south of town, establishing a makeshift community of tents and abandoned houses south of the Illinois Central railroad tracks. Black and white citizens crowded the area. They lived side by side in a way that would have been unthinkable when homes were permanent. Of course, the interracial cooperation fed by immediate desperation was necessarily short-lived. When the disaster abated, so too did white willingness to associate with blacks.⁹

If ever there were a need for strength and unity, it was there in Monroe in 1932. And the black church was clearly an active social force in the city. Coverage of the black community in Monroe's white dailies—the *Monroe Morning World* and the *Monroe News Star*—was generally negative, consisting primarily of arrest reports, prohibition violations, and patronizing caricatures of the southern black dialect (to say nothing of advertisements for visiting minstrel shows and cartoons featuring exaggerated black features). But the papers also printed myriad reports and advertisements for religious and civic meetings among the black community (see Table). These meetings were not only important to the spiritual and social life of black Monroe, they were the one positive black representation that white Monroe ever saw. For the members of Monroe's Zion Traveler Baptist Church, however, the positive benefits of church membership never came.

Founded in 1871, the Zion Traveler Baptist Church had been a prominent and viable part of the community since its inception, led by pastor, teacher, and community worker William Hamilton. Hamilton had been a minister in Monroe's First Colored Baptist Church prior to Zion Trav-

eler's founding, but was with the new church at its creation. Two years after Hamilton's death in 1902, revivalist minister Warner Washington Hill replaced him. Hill served the church through the first decades of the twentieth century, overseeing a dramatic growth in membership. He spearheaded the effort to build a new facility on the corner of Eleventh and Grammont streets when a 1923 trash fire destroyed the church. But in 1932, a dissenting group, calling themselves the Harmony Club, sought a change of leadership.¹⁰

The reasons for their dissent are unclear. Myrdal cited "too emotional" ministers as being one of the causes of such conflict, and Tracy DeWitt, current minister of Zion Traveler, noted that Hill was a boisterous, fire-and-brimstone orator. His preaching style may very well have alienated a portion of his congregation. Of course, splits in the church were nothing new to Monroe congregants. The fractured evolution of Monroe's black churches began with the First Colored Baptist Church, founded in 1869. "It was the training ground for much of the Black leadership," notes journalist and historian Roosevelt Wright. "Given this situation it was only a matter of time before rivalry for the leadership of Ouachita's most prestigious church for Negroes would develop." Zion Traveler, in fact, was Monroe's second black church, as Hamilton and others left the First Colored Baptist congregation to found it. More followed. Wright counts at least three more congregations founded by original First Baptist members. Other splits developed from the newly-created churches, creating an evolutionary tree that grouped together like-minded members of Ouachita Parish's black religious community.¹¹ While many of these splits would end in angry bickering, none would fall to violence, save one.

More than just fire-and-brimstone and a tendency toward reorganization drove the Harmony Club. Money, particularly in the face of a mounting Depression, was usually a concern in such situations. "Overhead expenses tend to be relatively high in the small church establishments," noted Myrdal. "Since, in addition, the membership of the churches is composed usually of poor people, the economic basis of most churches is precariously weak." Myrdal blamed much of this monetary deficiency on "poor business practices," but there is no evidence of such at Zion Traveler. Still, the poverty of a church—or the poverty of its membership—can cause the sort of strain that exacerbates the importance of other, more immediate differences.¹²

In early February 1932, as deacons and other church members were

volunteering at the levees, the Harmony Club, led by George Daniels and David Hodge, held a meeting of congregation dissenters and voted Hill out of the pulpit. Hill responded by writing an open letter to Judge Percy Sandel and the Ouachita Parish District Court. Sandel was native of the area who had served as district attorney and had been a judge since 1924. He was a booster of northeast Louisiana and had played a prominent role in the creation of Ouachita Parish Junior College the previous year. He was unlikely to be moved by such a request. Hill claimed that those seeking his ouster were a small faction of the church population, which still overwhelmingly supported him. The Harmony Club, in turn, went to court on March 2, 1932, seeking an injunction to bar Hill from acting as pastor. Hill then countersued for access to what he believed to be his rightful pulpit. Though he lost the suit, his supporters responded to the Harmony Club by voting to reinstate him. Throughout March and April, the church, on the verge of breaking apart, held sessions to resolve the controversy.¹³

In May, the congregants of Zion Traveler continued their back-and-forth over Hill's pastorship. Hill had been enjoined against preaching at the church through the efforts of the Harmony Club, but a majority of the church's congregation had given him a vote of confidence. The Harmony Club, for its part, spent May in court, arguing that the injunction superseded the vote of some of the church's members. During the second week of May, as the congregation waited for a May 23 court date, another vote demonstrated support for Hill, 117 votes to 2. Members of the church's Harmony Club did not participate in the election.¹⁴

That non-participation would substantially influence the ruling of Judge James T. Shell, who ruled that Hill was in contempt of court for violating the injunction. Shell was a district court judge who lived and worked in Bastrop, Louisiana, in neighboring Morehouse Parish. His distance from Monroe probably made him the most dispassionate voice possible. A legal reelection to the pulpit, argued Shell, would have nullified the court order, but the absence of the anti-Hill faction at the most recent vote left the congregation without a quorum and made the election unofficial. Hill would have to leave yet again.¹⁵

Leaving well enough alone wasn't in the evangelist's makeup. He was a fiery orator who believed in divine imperatives and in the doctrine of the call. And Hill knew he had been called to lead that congregation. On June 12, he forced his way back into the Zion Traveler Baptist Church, attempting to preach despite the court's injunction. Tom Jasper, Harmo-

ny Club member and anti-Hill congregant, responded by swearing out a warrant against the erstwhile pastor. On June 15, Hill was arrested and charged with "disturbing public worship." The arrest only convinced the town's white population that the Zion Traveler scandal was no longer a sideshow. It was a nuisance. Luther V. Tarver, white superintendent of police, shut down the church indefinitely.¹⁶

Tarver was a lifelong policeman. He had worked his way up from the beat to become a detective in the 1920s, before finally becoming chief.¹⁷ His knowledge of the city, its religion, and its race relations made him sensitive to such delicate situations. He had been an officer during the Bolden lynching. He had seen the power of the black church in Monroe. "Indefinitely," then, turned out to be a brief summer respite. It wouldn't be long enough.

In the meantime, however, things seemed to be going well for Monroe's black population. The city's Negro Southern League baseball team, the Monroe Monarchs, were playing well. By late August they would be participating in the Negro World Series versus the Pittsburgh Crawfords.¹⁸ Also that summer, Sherman Briscoe founded the *Southern Broadcast*. A native of Brunswick, Mississippi, Briscoe graduated from Southern University in Baton Rouge in 1931, then moved to Monroe to serve as math, chemistry, and general science teacher at Monroe Colored High. He also coached the football team. But Briscoe was a journalist, and a year after his arrival in Monroe he founded the city's first black weekly of the twentieth century. He maintained the paper until 1939, when he took a job as the national news editor of the *Chicago Defender*.¹⁹

That success showed in the *Morning World's* black coverage patterns (see Table). Negative coverage of the black community had grown steadily in the *Morning World* from January to April, finally peaking in May. When murder, robbery, and other crime statistics are added to reports of drunkenness, bootlegging, and general condescension, the total monthly negative stories for the first five months of 1932 runs from 3, 17, 17, and 38, to a high of 56. Positive portrayals of the black community's church and civic meetings remained infrequent, running from 3, 3, 3, and 15, to 25 in the corresponding months.²⁰ As the summer progressed, however, the frequency of the negative depictions decreased markedly. From June through August, the negative coverage numbers ran from 50 to 32 to 16. Things seemed to be getting better.²¹

Of course, some of the murder stories did not occur in Monroe or Ouachita Parish. The portrayal of the criminality of the black popu-

lace, however, did not rest on regional variation. Negative depictions of what it meant to be black contributed to the white perception of African American inferiority and the need for continued segregation. It made white people more likely to remain skeptical of the affairs at Zion Traveler.

Tarver reopened the Zion Traveler Baptist Church on August 31. He warned the waiting members of the congregation that no more disturbances would be tolerated, then left the keys to the building with Deacon Alec Johnson. Tarver wasn't acting out of kindness. He was responding to a congregation-wide vote on a resolution created by a special committee. In a contentious but "official" vote, church members agreed to bar Warner Hill from the church. He would be replaced by M. J. Foster, principal of Monroe Colored High School. Monroe Colored High began as Wisner High School in 1870, the only secondary education outlet for African Americans in Ouachita Parish. Foster was appointed to lead the school in 1922. Under Foster's leadership, Wisner built a new structure, moved the school to a new location, and changed its name to Monroe Colored High. His organizational ability and largesse in Monroe's black community made him a seemingly ideal choice.²²

This, it was assumed, would be the end of the year-long controversy. But four days later, while the eyes of most were focused squarely on Pittsburgh and the Monarchs' second game of the Negro World Series, Tarver's decision proved disastrous.²³ As Foster began his Sunday sermon on September 4, four female congregants, supporters of Hill, walked to the pulpit and asked him to stop. Though the protest was calm, the reaction was not, and the congregation of Zion Traveler grew very violent, very quickly. Hill supporter James Dougans responded to the chaos by pulling a pistol. Seeing the gun, George Daniels, president of the Harmony Club, ran to the house next door, where he had planted a gun before the service. He claimed after the furor that he hid the gun because he expected Hill's supporters to "shoot up the church if Foster preached."²⁴

While Daniels was away, Dougans shot his daughter Patsy in the stomach. Patsy was still alive, but bleeding profusely on the church floor when her father returned with his pistol. Daniels saw his daughter, then saw the smoking gun of Dougans, and he turned quickly upon him. Dougans fired at Daniels, wounding him, but the shot did not incapacitate the shattered father enough to keep him from firing back. Dougans was hit, and as he fell he began firing wildly—striking Robert Sam Lee, Mattie Levy, and Clarence Burrell—before dying on the church floor.²⁵

Police and rescue workers arrived shortly, rushing Patsy Daniels and Mattie Levy, both in critical condition, to the same colored ward of St. Francis Sanitarium that had housed George Bolden so many years before. St. Francis was the only option. The St. Francis Sanitarium and Training School for Nurses began in 1913 as the pet project of Father Ludovic Bnaut, a Franciscan priest. A core of nuns from France and Ireland lived on the grounds and ran the institution, which featured an x-ray department, surgical suites, and a wing for black patrons. Mother de Bethany Crowley administered both the hospital and the on-site nursing school, which graduated its first class in 1916. Homes for nurses accompanied the convent on the hospital grounds. Though the hospital was segregated, St. Francis always maintained a colored ward, the only available source for emergency medical treatment for Monroe's black community. And so Levy and Daniels arrived, wounded and waiting. While Levy would survive the incident, Patsy Daniels died on Monday afternoon.²⁶

Many newspapers in the area could have covered the Zion Traveler controversy. Monroe's white dailies certainly did, but of the regional papers in the surrounding areas, only one paper chose to cover it—the *Madison Journal*. Other northeast Louisiana newspapers were silent.²⁷ They were white weeklies, of course, but they served a population that was heavily black. Of the twelve parishes that constituted northeast Louisiana, 44.23 percent of the population was black. Five of the twelve had black majorities.²⁸ Still, if their community wasn't specifically affected by the drama, even in an overtly religious region like northeast Louisiana, they found little reason to cover the story. Though Monroe's dailies were larger and more comprehensive in local and regional coverage, they probably shouldn't be seen as exceptions to this rule. The *Monroe News Star* and *Monroe Morning World* were undoubtedly "white" papers, too. In 1909, Monroe's *Evening News* and *Daily Star* combined to form the *News Star*. Colonel Robert Ewing, publisher of the *New Orleans States* and *Shreveport Times* came to Monroe in 1929 and created the *Morning World*. In 1930, he bought the *News Star*, as well, making it the afternoon counterpart to the *Morning World* and giving him a virtual monopoly on mainstream white news in the region.²⁹ And to keep mainstream white readers in a segregated, racist city like Monroe, coverage of the black community was framed in relation to the white. Unlike the readers of the smaller weeklies, Monroe's white population lived in the midst of such controversy. The coverage, then, was a demonstration of the volatility of black citizens—of a potential danger for white readers.

It showed white readers that even Christianity was different or suspect in black hands. That reinforcement of black otherness would only be given a sort of pseudo-validation as the Zion Traveler controversy escalated to its catastrophic denouement.

On September 11, George Daniels, who killed James Dougans in the Zion Traveler chapel, was arrested and charged with carrying a concealed weapon. He paid his bond and was released. That month, criminal hearings were held for bad checks, manufacturing whiskey, forgery, disturbing the peace, assault and battery, breaking and entering, and burglary. But Daniels' crime was only a misdemeanor. There are two explanations for Daniels's treatment: either Negro shootings were not considered so egregious, or retribution for a murdered daughter seemed reasonable enough. The second explanation seems most plausible. Superintendent Tarver stated at the scene that Dougans was to blame for the incident.³⁰ Besides, to interpret the charge as callousness at the death of a black citizen is to ignore the real white fear of the dangers posed by armed blacks. Sure, African American death was going to matter less to Southern whites conditioned by racism and segregation. But that othering created by white newspaper coverage was no accident. September assault and robbery charges were brought against black criminals, and the victims of their crimes were black.

After the debacle, Tarver again closed the church, but on November 6, the doors to Zion Traveler opened again. All church offices would be open to new elections, and Hill would be barred from all of them. Instead, Warner Washington Hill and those who sided with him started their own church, Triumph Baptist. Both churches still survive in Monroe. "There's tension," argues Tracy DeWitt, current pastor of Zion Traveler, describing the twenty-first century feelings between the two congregations. "Feuds die hard down South." He acknowledged Hill's rough, fire-and-brimstone style, but interpreted the factionalism—and the idea of church membership in general—as "an ownership mentality." Both Hill supporters and the Harmony Club wanted to feel that the church was truly theirs. "It was power," contends DeWitt. "Power had to be involved somehow."³¹ The official church history quietly mentions a split without offering any specific details. Those in the church who remember the shooting, or those who have heard stories about it, describe the collective embarrassment of the congregation, the reciprocal shame left by the memory of an ecumenical blood feud.³²

Table

Monroe Morning World's Portrayal of African-American Life, 1932

The *Monroe Morning World* was Monroe's white mainstream morning newspaper. Its portrayal of black life can provide a portrait of how the city's white population saw its black neighbors. Most of the coverage of the black community is negative, and what positive coverage there is often centers around church-related activities. (Monroe had a viable black press in 1932, though its *Southern Broadcast* did not begin until the middle of the year. Sherman Briscoe founded the *Broadcast*, which remained a solvent publication until 1939. Though Briscoe went on to serve as a press officer for the U.S. Department of Agriculture and Executive Director of the National Newspaper Publishers Association, his paper's longevity did not match his own. Only scattered editions of the *Southern Broadcast* from 1936 and 1937 now exist.³³)

<u>January</u>		<u>February</u>	
Negative Coverage		Negative Coverage	
Crime		Crime	
Murder	2	Murder	1
Robbery	1	Robbery	4
Other	0	Other	6
Drunkenness	0	Drunkenness	1
Other	0	Other	5
Total	3	Total	17
Positive Coverage		Positive Coverage	
Church-related	1	Church-related	1
Other	2	Other	2
Total	3	Total	3
Ratio	1.000	Ratio	5.666

Morning World's Portrayal of African-American Life

<u>March</u>			<u>April</u>		
Negative Coverage			Negative Coverage		
Crime			Crime		
Murder	5		Murder	11	
Robbery	2		Robbery	9	
Other	6		Other	9	
Drunkenness	0		Drunkenness	0	
Other	4		Other	9	
Total	17		Total	38	
Positive Coverage			Positive Coverage		
Church-related	0		Church-related	8	
Other	3		Other	7	
Total	3		Total	15	
Ratio	5.666		Ratio	2.533	

<u>May</u>			<u>June</u>		
Negative Coverage			Negative Coverage		
Crime			Crime		
Murder	6		Murder	8	
Robbery	21		Robbery	5	
Other	20		Other	18	
Drunkenness	2		Drunkenness	12	
Other	7		Other	7	
Total	56		Total	50	
Positive Coverage			Positive Coverage		
Church-related	9		Church-related	11	
Other	16		Other	13	
Total	25		Total	24	
Ratio	2.240		Ratio	2.0833	

Morning World's Portrayal of African-American Life

<u>July</u>			<u>August</u>		
Negative Coverage			Negative Coverage		
Crime			Crime		
Murder	2 (1)		Murder	1 (5)	
Robbery	8		Robbery	7	
Other	9		Other	4	
Drunkenness	6		Drunkenness	2	
Other	7		Other	2	
Total	32 (33)		Total	16 (21)	
Positive Coverage			Positive Coverage		
Church-related	1		Church-related	1	
Other	4		Other	4	
Total	5		Total	5	
Ratio	6.400 (6.600)		Ratio	3.200 (4.200)	

<u>September</u>			<u>September</u>		
Crawford series ended on the 12th			remainder of the month		
Negative Coverage			Negative Coverage		
Crime			Crime		
Murder	1 (5)		Murder	5	
Robbery	3		Robbery	7	
Other	3		Other	3	
Drunkenness	3		Drunkenness	1	
Other	1		Other	6	
Total	11 (16)		Total	22	
Positive Coverage			Positive Coverage		
Church-related	1		Church-related	1	
Other	0		Other	2	
Total	1		Total	3	
Ratio	11.000 (16.000)		Ratio	7.333	

Morning World's Portrayal of African-American Life

<u>October</u>	
Negative Coverage	
Crime	
Murder	7
Robbery	9
Other	8
Drunkenness	2
Other	9
Total	35
Positive Coverage	
Church-related	1
Other	2
Total	3
Ratio	11.666

<u>December</u>	
Negative Coverage	
Crime	
Murder	11
Robbery	8
Other	7
Drunkenness	2
Other	8
Total	36
Positive Coverage	
Church-related	0
Other	0
Total	0
Ratio	36.000

<u>November</u>	
Negative Coverage	
Crime	
Murder	17
Robbery	3
Other	6
Drunkenness	3
Other	10
Total	39
Positive Coverage	
Church-related	1
Other	6
Total	7
Ratio	5.571

Notes

1. Gunnar Myrdal, *An American Dilemma: The Negro Problem and Modern Democracy* (New York: Harper and Row, 1944), 863, 867, 872-73.
2. See David L. Chappell, *A Stone of Hope: Prophetic Religion and the Death of Jim Crow* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004).
3. For more on the Bolden lynching and the state of extralegal violence in Depression-era Louisiana, see Thomas Aiello, "The Proximity of Moral Ire: The 1919 Double-Lynching of George Bolden," *Ozark Historical Review* (2006): 20-33.
4. The total number of 1932 lynchings was disputed by the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and Tuskegee Institute, as they had been in 1919 and throughout the 1920s. The NAACP tallied eleven lynchings in 1932, down from fourteen in 1931. Only one occurred in Louisiana. Tuskegee only recognized eight lynchings, which was five fewer than the thirteen they calculated for 1931. *Houston Informer*, April 23, 1932, 3; *Boston Chronicle*, December 31, 1932, 1; *Indianapolis Recorder*, July 9, 1932, 2; and *Lynchings by States and Race, 1882-1959* (Tuskegee, AL: Department of Records and Research, Tuskegee Institute, 1959), 2. For elaboration on Louisiana's upsurge in lynching, see Adam Fairclough, *Race and Democracy: The Civil Rights Struggle in Louisiana, 1915-1972* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1995), 25-28.
5. *Houston Informer*, May 7, 1932, 3.
6. African Americans are not genetically more susceptible to *Mycobacterium tuberculosis* than others. The disease, however, is more prevalent when human immune systems in a given area are weak. Weak human immune systems tend to exist in the largest numbers in difficult living conditions and extreme poverty. In the early 1930s, the African American community suffered from both, making their risk for tuberculosis greater. *Kansas City Star*, June 3, 1932, 5B; and Liz Corbett and Mario Raviglione, "Global Burden of Tuberculosis: Past, Present, and Future," in *Tuberculosis and the Tubercle Bacillus*, Stuart T. Cole, Kathleen Davis Eisenach, David N. McMurray, and William R. Jacobs, Jr., eds. (Washington, D.C.: ASM Press, 2005), 3-7.
7. Norman Thomas, *Human Exploitation in the United States* (New York: Frederick A. Stokes Co., 1934), xiv-xv; Neil Lanctot, *Negro League Baseball: The Rise and Ruin of a Black Institution* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004), 6; Lawrence D. Hogan, *Shades of Glory: The Negro Leagues and the Story of African-American Baseball* (Washington, D.C.: National Geographic, 2006), 224-225; Kari Frederickson, *The Dixiecrat Revolt and the End of the Solid South, 1932-1968* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001), 13; and Harris Gaylord Warren, *Herbert Hoover and the Great Depression* (New York: W. W. Norton and Co., 1967), 241-242.
8. Percentages derived by the author, using the base figures of the 1930

census. *Fifteenth Census of the United States, 1930*, vol. 3, part 1: Alabama-Missouri (Washington D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1932), 982, 990, 999, 1003; *Louisiana's Resources and Purchasing Power* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana Department of Commerce and Industry, 1938), 188; and Betty M. Field, "Louisiana and the Great Depression," in *The Age of the Longs in Louisiana, 1928-1960*, Edward F. Haas, ed., vol. 8, *The Louisiana Purchase Bicentennial Series in Louisiana History* (Lafayette, LA: Center for Louisiana Studies, 2001), 4-5.

9. *Monroe Morning World*, January 15, 1932. For more on the 1932 Ouachita River flood, see Thomas Aiello, "The Ouachita River Flood in Monroe, Louisiana, 1932," *Louisiana History* 48 (Winter 2007): 25-54.

10. "History of Zion Traveler Baptist Church," December 1993, typed document in the possession of Reverend Dr. Tracy C. DeWitt, Zion Traveler Baptist Church, Monroe, Louisiana; and "History," no available date, revised version of "History of Zion Traveler Baptist Church" for use in church bulletin, document in the possession of Reverend Dr. Tracy C. DeWitt, Zion Traveler Baptist Church, Monroe, Louisiana; *Monroe, Louisiana and West Monroe, Louisiana City Directory, 1930* (Springfield, MO: Interstate Directory Co., 1930), 337; and *Monroe Morning World*, March 1, 1932, 6.

11. Myrdal, *An American Dilemma*, 874; interview with Reverend Dr. Tracy C. DeWitt, June 13, 2005; and Roosevelt Wright, "Baptist Churches," *Monroe Free Press*, <http://monroefreepress.com/history/blkhist2.htm#Zionhill> (accessed July 23, 2008).

12. Myrdal, *An American Dilemma*, 874.

13. Jean S. Kiesel and Ashley E. Bonnette, eds., "Academic Libraries in the Twentieth Century," *Louisiana Libraries* 62 (Fall 1999): 14; *Monroe Morning World*, March 1, 1932, 6; *ibid.*, March 2, 1932, 2; *ibid.*, April 28, 1932, 10; and *Zion Traveler's Baptist Church v. WW Hill*, no. 20679, minutes of District Court, Ouachita Parish, Book N, 20 November 1930 thru 2 November 1932, Ouachita Parish Courthouse, Civil Division, 513, 517, 521, 533, 544.

14. *Monroe Morning World*, May 11, 1932, 9; *ibid.*, May 15, 1932, 14; *ibid.*, May 24, 1932, 11; *Zion Traveler's Baptist Church v. WW Hill*, 586, 604, 616, 617.

15. *Monroe Morning World*, May 26, 1932, 14; *Zion Traveler's Baptist Church v. WW Hill*, 617; and Department of Commerce-Bureau of the Census, "Population Schedule," *Fifteenth Census of the United States: 1930* (1930), sheet 14B.

16. *Monroe Morning World*, June 16, 1932, 6; *ibid.*, September 1, 1932, 5.

17. "Luther V. Tarver," Registration Card, War Department, Local Board for the Parish of Ouachita, State of Louisiana, September 12, 1918, serial number 1018, order number A 1648; and Department of Commerce-Bureau of the Census, "Population Schedule," *Fifteenth Census of the United States: 1930* (1930), sheet 9A.

18. For more on the Monroe Monarchs and their relationship to race in Monroe, see Thomas Aiello, "The Composition of Kings: The Monroe, Louisi-

ana Monarchs, 1932," *The Baseball Research Journal* 35 (Spring 2007): 1-14; and Thomas Aiello, "The Casino and Its Kings are Gone: The Transient Relationship of Monroe, Louisiana with Major League Black Baseball, 1932," *North Louisiana History* 37 (Winter 2006): 15-38.

19. In 1941, Briscoe became a press officer for the U.S. Department of Agriculture, where he stayed for almost thirty years before becoming executive director of the National Newspaper Publishers Association. Jessie Parkhurst Guzman, ed., *1952 Negro Year Book: A Review of Events Affecting Negro Life* (New York: William H. Wise and Co., 1952), v; and *Who's Who Among Black Americans, 1977-1978*, 2nd ed. (Northbrook, IL: Who's Who Among Black Americans Publishing Co., 1978), 1:98.

20. Naturally, some stories dragged on for days. Each day, each mention was logged, even if repetitive. Civic and church meetings often had newspaper notices days prior to the events, and each of those mentions were also logged. This data is based on the author's examination of each issue of the 1932 *Monroe Morning World*.

21. See note 18.

22. In 1944, Foster unexpectedly resigned, and the school's football coach, Morris Henry Carroll was appointed to the position. Speculation led, as it often does, to conspiracy theory. Carroll was friends with prominent white businessman James A. Noe, and it was rumored at the time that Anna Noe, James's wife and a powerful school board member, orchestrated the change. *Monroe Morning World*, September 1, 1932, 5; *ibid.*, September 5, 1932, 2; Lyneta Coats, "Brief History of Carroll High School," http://www.mcschools.net/~carroll/chs_history/index.html (accessed July 23, 2008); Roosevelt Wright, "Richard Barrington," *Monroe Free Press*, <http://monroefreepress.com/history/blkhist3.htm> (accessed July 23, 2008); and Roosevelt Wright, "Morris Henry Carroll," *Monroe Free Press*, <http://monroefreepress.com/history/blkhis11.htm> (accessed July 23, 2008).

23. Pittsburgh would ultimately win the series four games to one, with one tie. The World Series is mentioned here to demonstrate that the pending Zion Traveler disaster caught everyone off-guard. The white population, too, had been following the success of the city's black baseball team, with half the local grandstands reserved for white patrons when the Monarchs played home games. But this positive interaction between white and black (however segregated it may have been) would quickly dissipate. See note 17 for references.

24. *Monroe Morning World*, September 5, 1932, 2; *Baton Rouge State-Times Advocate*, September 5, 1932, 12; *Houston Informer*, September 10, 1932, 3; and *Louisiana Weekly*, September 10, 1932, 1.

25. *Monroe Morning World*, September 5, 1932, 2; *Baton Rouge State-Times Advocate*, September 5, 1932, 12; *Houston Informer*, September 10, 1932, 3; *Madison Journal*, September 9, 1932, 1; *Louisiana Weekly*, September 10, 1932, 1.

26. *Medical Center News*. 90th Anniversary Edition (Summer 2003): 1-4, 8; *Insurance Map of Monroe and West Monroe, Louisiana, 1932* (New York: Sanborn Map Co., 1920), 16; *Monroe, Louisiana City Directory, 1913-1914* (Asheville, NC: Piedmont Directory Co., 1913) 209, 225; *Monroe, La City Directory, 1921* (Monroe, LA: HH Boyd, Co., Inc., 1925), 255, 220, 227; *Monroe Morning World*, September 8, 1932, 2.

27. Examples include the *Caldwell Watchman*, *Farmerville Gazette*, *Franklin Sun*, *Morehouse Enterprise*, *Ruston Daily Leader*, and *Tensas Gazette*. Issues cited are examples of this lack in early September, when the controversy came to its violent conclusion. *Caldwell Watchman*, September 9, 1932, 3; *ibid.*, September 16, 1932, 1; *Farmerville Gazette*, September 7, 1932, 1; *ibid.*, September 14, 1932, 1; *Franklin Sun*, September 1, 1932, 1; *ibid.*, September 8, 1932, 1; *Morehouse Enterprise*, September 1, 1932, 6; *ibid.*, September 8, 1932, 6; *ibid.*, September 15, 1932, 6; *Ruston Daily Leader*, September 6, 1932, 4; *Tensas Gazette*, September 2, 1932, 4; *ibid.*, September 9, 1932, 1. The *Madison Journal* covered the crisis at its crescendo, September 9, 1932, 1. These newspapers can be found in the Louisiana and Lower Mississippi Valley Collection, Hill Memorial Special Collections Library, Louisiana State University, Baton Rouge, Louisiana.

28. In Ouachita Parish 35.53 percent of the residents were black. The region had 261,001 people, 115,443 of whom were black. The parishes with black majorities were Morehouse, East Carroll, Madison, Tensas, and Richland. Those that did not were Union, West Carroll, Franklin, Caldwell, Jackson, Lincoln, and Ouachita. Percentages derived by the author, using the base figures of the 1930 census. *Fifteenth Census of the United States, 1930*, vol. 3, part 1: Alabama-Missouri, 974-979.

29. "About Us," <http://www.thenewsstar.com/apps/pbcs.dll/article?AID=/99999999/CUSTOMERSERVICE/02/41202001> (accessed January 12, 2007).

30. *Monroe Morning World*, September 5, 1932, 2; *ibid.*, September 12, 1932, 8; and *Office Criminal Docket G*, Fourth District Court, Clerk of Court, Criminal Division, Ouachita Parish Courthouse, 301-306.

31. *Monroe Morning World*, November 4, 1932, 10; interview with Reverend Dr. Tracy C. DeWitt, June 13, 2005; and interview with Reverend Dr. Tracy C. DeWitt, June 14, 2005.

32. Interview with Vivian Hester, June 16, 2005; interview with Margaret Newman, June 15, 2005; interview with Clara Poe, June 15, 2005; and interview with Carolyn Kennedy, June 14, 2005.

33. Guzman, 1952 *Negro Year Book*, v; *Who's Who Among Black Americans, 1977-1978*, 1:98; and *Southern Broadcast*, July 11, 1936 and February 6, 1937.

Chapter 3

Separate but Sinful:

The Desegregation of Louisiana Catholicism, 1938-1962

Justin Poché

Almost two years after the 1954 *Brown v. Board of Education* decision, Archbishop Joseph Francis Rummel of the Archdiocese of New Orleans issued a missive that denounced racial segregation as "morally wrong and sinful because it is a denial of the unity and solidarity of the human race."¹ Like *Brown*, Rummel's directive did not set any definite timeline for desegregation. It nonetheless promised to integrate roughly 40 percent of New Orleans school children, significantly accelerating the racial integration of southern schools. This step, *Time* magazine declared, made New Orleans "the first major city in the Deep South to become officially committed to integration on any sizeable scale."² The authority of an archbishop over his people was an important moral and political force in this city, one *New York Times* reporter touted. Despite fears of widespread dissent, "on the whole, Louisiana Catholics have taken this quietly. Some local priests may not agree with integration. But when a Roman Catholic priest disagrees with a policy laid down by his bishop and backed by the Vatican, there's little the priest can do except pray."³

Yet despite such early optimism, white resistance in both the pulpit and the pew frustrated the integration of Catholic life in Louisiana. Churches continued to segregate worship services while many lay associations and catechism classes excluded black members altogether. During the 1960 New Orleans school crisis, as whites lined the streets to protest the entry of four black students into two formerly all-white public schools, Catholic schools remained segregated while the ailing archbishop stood silent. "The key to the whole racial problem here seems to be in the hands of the Catholic Church," one school teacher lamented in the wake of the 1960 crisis, "and the inability to turn that key is a particularly poignant one."⁴ The apathy of most clergymen infuriated black Catholics and white interracial activists. Rummel's declining health, meanwhile, further weakened Catholic leadership. When Catho-