



Installation view of the NEH on the Road exhibition, *For All the World to See*. Wyandotte County Museum, Bonner Springs, Kansas. April 2012.  
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# ***For All the World to See: Memorializing the Images of the Civil Rights Movement***

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## **Biography**

Gwennaëlle Cariou has completed her Ph.D. at the Université Paris-Diderot on African American museums in the United States. She has a degree in Art History, Museology and History of Museums from the Ecole du Louvre, and in American Civilization from the Université Paris Diderot. She is teaching American history and History of art in several universities. She is also an art lecturer at museums and monuments, and has worked in several museums and galleries.

## **Abstract**

Through the example of the images displayed in the exhibition *For All the World to See* at the National Museum of African American History in 2011, this article examines how violent images of the Civil Rights movement, which can be defined as “war images” were used by activists and have become icons of the movement, thus creating a lasting legacy of the Civil Right movement in collective and public memory.

## **Résumé**

A travers les exemples d’images choisies dans l’exposition *For All the World to See* au National Museum of African American History en 2011, cette article se propose d’examiner la manière dont les images du mouvement des droits civiques d’une très grande violence, que l’on peut définir comme des « images de guerre », ont été utilisées par les militants et sont devenues des icônes, créant ainsi une mémoire collective et publique du mouvement des droits civiques.

## **Keywords**

Civil rights movement, photographs, images of war, Emmett Till, Birmingham, temporary exhibition, National Museum of American History, National Museum of African American History and Culture, Smithsonian Institution

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**I**n 2011, a temporary exhibition organized by the National Museum of African American History and Culture (to be open in Washington D.C. in September 2016), was presented at the National Museum of American History in Washington D.C. entitled *For All the World to See: Visual Culture and the Struggle for Civil Rights*. Through images, especially photographs, The Civil Rights Movement and some of its prominent figures were displayed, as well as images showing stereotypes and acts of racism against African Americans.

This article examines the way some famous photographs of the Civil Rights Movement can be interpreted as images of war, even though conflict zones were outside the country during the 1950s-1960s (in Korea and in Vietnam). Indeed, the Civil Rights Movement can be seen as a war within the USA, and some of those images resemble war images in their content: lynching, bombing, destruction and murder. They are not representations of war but images of domestic terrorism of individuals as well as some states towards black people. The distinction between the two conflicts at home and abroad is sometimes thin in term of visual imagery, as images of Vietnam were sometimes closer to images of terrorism than war.

For one of its first exhibitions, the National Museum of African American History and Culture decided to question the role of images in the creation of the collective memory of the Civil Rights Movement. Indeed, some photographs are today iconic images of the period such as the lynching of Emmett Till or certain images from the Birmingham campaign and are part of the collective memory of the movement.

What is perceived today as the Civil Rights Movement is mainly from the period of the 1950s and 1960s, but the movement has deeper roots. Several important organizations which took part in the movement such as the NAACP (National Association for the Advancement of Colored People) were created at the beginning of

the 20<sup>th</sup> century. At the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century and early 20<sup>th</sup> century, black intellectuals and leaders, such as Frederick Douglass, Booker T. Washington or Marcus Garvey, offered different theories on the status of African Americans in the USA: integration, separation, or pan-Africanism. Those theories and their leaders provided the basis of the modern Civil Rights Movement. One could talk about “the long Civil Rights Movement,” starting early 20<sup>th</sup> century with historical and social changes such as the First Great Migration of Black Americans towards the North which completely transformed American demography, or the New Deal policies that included Black Americans. The 1940s are a great decade in this long Civil Rights Movement with important events such as the March on Washington Movement in 1941 led by A. Philip Randolph or boycott campaigns such as the “Double V” or “Don’t Buy Where You can’t Work.” These were precursors of the Montgomery Bus Boycott of 1955-1956 and set a precedent for the March on Washington For Jobs and Freedom in 1963, and other events of the 1960s.

The period from 1954 to 1968 can be considered as the “classical” or the “modern” Civil Rights Movement circumscribed by the Supreme Court Case *Brown v. Board of Education* in 1954 which ruled against *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896), stating that the policy “separate but equal” was unconstitutional. This case favored the desegregation of the school systems, but without a precise agenda and against the opposition of most of the Southern states, it took years, other Supreme Court decisions and the movement itself to make significant progress integrating schools. Though *Brown* was clearly decisive:

it set the law clearly on the side of blacks and thereby encouraged them to seek their rights more aggressively. By putting whites on the defense, it impelled them to organize in response, which widened the gulf between black and white and made it more necessary for the blacks to push forward.<sup>2</sup>

The end of the “classical” period of the Movement would be 1968, with the assassination of Martin Luther King, Jr., and the radicalization of the movement by groups such as the Black Panthers Party founded in 1967.

The 1950s and 1960s are marked by very violent actions overseas with the Korean and the Vietnam Wars and also acts of extreme violence within the USA, especially in the South, providing iconic moments, notably the lynching of Emmett Till in 1955, the police dog attack on Walter Gadsden, in Birmingham, Alabama in May of 1963, the bombing and arson of the 16<sup>th</sup> Street Baptist Church again in Birmingham, September 1963, and the assassinations of activists and political leaders: the three activists of the *Freedom Summer*, James Earl Chaney, Andrew Goodman and Michael Schwerner in 1964, Malcom X in 1965 and Martin Luther King in 1968. Many race riots occurred in the North and on the West Coast: Harlem and Philadelphia in 1964, Watts in Los Angeles in 1965, Newark and Detroit in 1967 and in many cities after King’s assassination. Pacifist marches, such as the ones in Birmingham and Selma, Alabama and actions, such as sit-ins, for instance at Woolworth Lunch Counter in Greensboro, North Carolina, led to violent reactions from the white population, as well as from the police forces.

### **The status of images of the Civil Rights Movement**

Images can be considered as weapons, and they were used that way during the Civil Rights Movement by its leaders, who could be defined as “image makers.”

Besides, the 1950s and the 1960s especially, mark the wide development of visual communication with advertisements, picture magazines and the rise of television. Civil Rights activists understood very soon the power of photographs and used them in publications, tracts, and posters such as the poster using a photograph of the lynching of Bert Moore and Dooley Morton in 1935 in Mississippi.<sup>3</sup> Many activists from the SCLC (Southern Christian League Conference), the SNCC (Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee) or the CORE (Congress of Racial Equality) were themselves photographers and covered the events.

The first book on civil rights photography was commissioned by the SNCC and published in 1964, entitled *The Movement: Documentary of a Struggle for Equality*, with photographs mainly by Danny Lyon and texts by the playwright Lorraine Hansberry. The cover shows a young black boy screaming while held by a white policeman. In the background, white men stare at the scene impassively.<sup>4</sup>

All those events were recorded in photographs and were widely published in newspapers and magazines intended for both black and white audiences. The leaders of the movement knew the power of images and used them as tools to force awareness in the USA, especially the North and West and also around the World, and to record what was happening in the South of the country.<sup>5</sup> They understood that violent images were “attractive,” in the sense that “graphic photographs of violence tend to be more attention getting – and marketable – than photographs of orderly lines of marchers armed only with protest placards or articles detailing the economic and social inequalities facing blacks.”<sup>6</sup>

Besides, as Maurice Berger writes in the catalog of the exhibition, *For All the World to See*:

Civil rights activists had come to rely on more than just the medium’s capacity to document events. They understood that it was also an adept messenger of ideas, able to illuminate the causes and effects of a problem, give a human face to abstract thoughts, and illustrate complex realities. More than anything, the movement seized on the ability of photographs to convey political meaning.<sup>7</sup>

The images, especially photographs, were destined to become tools to denounce segregation in the South, and especially the reaction of white supremacists against civil rights activists. Images, published in newspapers and magazines and on TV, represented specific events and participants of the movement, but also built the movement by creating images that became icons:

The mass media, in turn, made the protest “one of the great news stories of the modern era,” but they did so very selectively. Journalists’ interest waxed and waned along with activists’ ability to generate charismatic personalities (who were usually men) and telegenic confrontations, preferably those in which white villains rained down terror on nonviolent demonstrators dressed in their Sunday best. Brought into American living rooms by the seductive medium of television and replayed ever since, such scenes seem to come out of nowhere, to have no precedents, no historical roots. To compound that distortion, the national press’s overwhelmingly sympathetic, if misleading, coverage changed abruptly in the mid-1960s with the advent of black power and black uprisings in the urban North.<sup>8</sup>

The use of violent images to show the disenfranchisement of blacks in the South was a way to speak a large audience, nationwide and worldwide, yet what was shown can be understood in another way. Martin A. Berger gives another analysis of those representations:

Intellectual and practical dangers exist in the circulation of any violent imagery, but when the group depicted is disproportionately the victim of real-world violence, the stakes are even higher. Depictions of violence are not the same as violence itself, and even violent scenes can catalyze productive change. However, when representations of black passivity and victimhood are the norm, images that adhere to this norm help maintain racial systems of domination.<sup>9</sup>

Images of violence against black people were not new. Postcards of lynching had existed before this “classical” Civil Rights Movement. Photographs exist showing Black people as victims of slavery and then of segregation and disenfranchisement, often in a position of deference or submission. One of the earliest, the image “Am I not a man and a brother?” produced in 1787 by Josiah Wedgwood, first as a medallion, then as an engraving was intended as abolitionist propaganda, but is also in this tradition of showing slaves as submissive<sup>10</sup>. Berger questions the use of violent images of the Civil Rights movement and what they say about the status of African Americans. A shift of representation occurred in the representation of the Black Power Movement with images such as the portrait of Black Panther Party leader Huey P. Newton posing with weapons in 1967 or the photograph of the athletes Tommie Smith and John Carlos during the 1968 Olympic Games raising their fist on the podium. In these examples, African American personalities took control over their own representation, putting the stress on empowerment and pride, rather than deference or submission.

The iconic photographs of the Civil Rights Movement turn out to be ones of victimhood that attracted the sympathy and sometimes active support of northern white people and the liberal, white controlled press and other media. To be iconic, the photograph needed this media and approbation and sympathy by the viewers of the photograph. The political intention, however urgent, of African Americans was not enough.

## **The politics of memorialization of the Civil Rights Movement**

Studying the memory of the Civil Rights Movement can be complex. When talking about memory, several expressions come to mind: “public history”, “collective memory”, and “public memory.” Some images have become icons of the Civil Rights Movement and were displayed in the exhibition *For all the World to See*. They can be both considered as part of public history due to their wide publication in books and they have a place in collective memory as well. Among the vast quantity of images produced during the 1950s-1970s of the Civil Rights Movement with mainly photography and TV recording as their support, some have become iconic of the movement. Doing a search on “Civil Rights Movement” on the website Google Images can offer some answers as to why. Most of the images are marches; there are several pictures of civil rights leaders such as Martin Luther King Jr., Malcolm X and Rosa Parks; as well as images of violence like attacks of demonstrators by dogs or by the police. The memory of the movement is also built on violent that spill over to the horrific such as photographs of lynchings in the South or the disfigured face of

Emmett Till. Some images, because of a combination of visual violence, their meaning and their diffusion, have become icons of the 1950s-1960s.

Pierre Nora's work on memory raises several questions on the way memory operates, and its relationship to history:

Mémoire, histoire : loin d'être synonymes, nous prenons conscience de tout ce qui les oppose. La mémoire est la vie, toujours portée par des groupes vivants et à ce titre, elle est en évolution permanente, ouverte à la dialectique du souvenir, de l'amnésie, inconsciente de ses déformations successives, vulnérable à toutes les utilisations et manipulations, susceptible de longues latences et de soudaines revitalisations. L'histoire est la reconstruction toujours problématique et incomplète de ce qui n'est plus. La mémoire est un phénomène toujours actuel, un lien vécu au présent éternel ; l'histoire, une représentation du passé.<sup>11</sup>

Following Nora's lead, images can be interpreted differently and can carry specific messages in memory depending on the agenda of one group or another group while in history images can be frozen into representations that serve the arguments of historians and their institutions which up until the Civil Rights Movement had been decidedly white. A part of the exhibition *For All the World to See* examined how images can be understood. In 1965, Albert C. Persons, editor of a small Alabama newspaper, published an article and then a book, in which he accused "northern" newspapers and magazines such as *Time* and *Life* of showing only one side of the story of Selma's demonstrations. He concentrated especially on police brutality towards protesters.<sup>12</sup> In the two images used in the article, he stated that police officers were attacked by the woman lying in the street and that the other woman arrested was drunk in the middle of the day. This is an example of rewriting the history of an event and re-interpreting an image in order to fit an agenda and reduce the violence of those photographs showing police forces brutalizing black women.

In *Civil Rights Memorials and the Geography of the Mind*, the authors, Owen J. Dwyer and Derek H. Alderman, examine the development of Civil Rights memorials in the USA which started during the last quarter of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, especially since the designation of King's birthday as a national holiday in 1983. Memorials, as well as museums, are political and important to understand what is remembered and what is forgotten. They are considered to be "impartial records of the past," as well as to be official markers of collective memory of a political entity—a municipality, a county, a state. They can give the visitors the impression of witnessing the past or a past emotion. They are not just traces of memory but aids to make the past tangible. Dwyer's book is only concerned with memorials and monuments dedicated to the Civil Rights Movement but some conclusions can be attached to other types of memorialization such as memorialization linked to images.<sup>13</sup>

Indeed, images, during and after the Civil Rights Movement, act as a record connecting the present and the past, and making aspects of the movement visible to everyone, in a manner similar to that of memorials. Some images have become icons of the movement, one can think about the photographs made of sit-ins, especially the ones showing students at a Woolworth lunch counter in Greensboro. The lunch counter has itself become an embodiment of the movement. A part of the actual lunch counter is today presented at the National Museum of American History other museums contain reconstitutions of a lunch counter to evoke sit-ins, and by

extension the modern Civil Rights Movement. Such a reconstruction exists at the African American Museum of Iowa in Cedar Rapids.

**The exhibition at the National Museum of American History: *For All the World to See: Visual Culture and the Struggle for Civil Rights***

The National Museum of African American History and Culture is going to open in 2016 on the National Mall in Washington DC. It is the last museum that will be open on the Mall, it going to be built next to the National Museum of American History near the White House and all the historical monuments and memorials of the National Mall. Until its opening, several exhibitions have been held at the National Museum of American History as well as travelling exhibitions in many museums throughout the USA (both in African American museums and “general” museums).

The National Museum of American History, like many other sites of the Smithsonian Institution, was mainly “white” until the 1970s both in terms of its collections, exhibitions<sup>14</sup>, and in employment.<sup>15</sup> Several exhibitions were created including the black presence and experience in the USA such as *We The People* from 1975 to 1995, *A Nation of Nations: The People Who Came to America as Seen Through Objects and Documents* from 1976 to 1991. The exhibition *Field to Factory: Afro-American Migration, 1915-1940* presented between 1987 and 2006 is a landmark exhibition, as it is the first one entirely devoted to black history in the National Museum of American History.

Many other temporary exhibitions dealing with black history have been displayed since, as well as the permanent exhibition with the displaying of the Woolworth lunch counter as one of the *Landmark Objects*.<sup>16</sup> It is interesting to point out that the location devoted to the exhibitions of the National Museum of African American History and Culture is a gallery next to Greensboro’s Woolworth Lunch Counter, an emblematic object of the Civil Rights Movement, because of the sit-ins which were organized there to desegregate the counter and especially because of the important photographic coverage of the sit-ins.

In fact, the memory associated to this object is more important than the object itself. The lunch-counter is a three-dimensional embodiment of an event recorded by photography. The counter was acquired directly from Woolworths when the Greensborough restaurant closed in 1993. Negotiations were made between the firm, and with the African American community of Greensboro that wanted to keep the restaurant and create a museum dedicated to the Civil Rights Movement.<sup>17</sup> Displayed at the exhibition *For All the World to See* with its iconic photographs of black students sitting at the Woolworths counter, near the three-dimensional embodiment of this event of the Civil Rights Movement adds an essential layer of meaning to the theme of the exhibition: communications. Seeing the photographs makes sense of the solid counter. The exhibition, *For All the World to See: Visual Culture and the Struggle for Civil Rights* was organized by the Center for Art, Design, and Visual Culture, University of Maryland, Baltimore County in partnership with the Smithsonian National Museum of African American History and Culture, and presented in 2011.<sup>18</sup> The aim of the exhibition is explained by the catalog: “the modern Civil Rights Movement, coextensive as it was with the birth of television and the rise of picture magazine and other forms of visual mass media, effectively capitalized on the power of visual images to edify, convince, and persuade.”<sup>19</sup> The counter, in other words, would have been meaningless without the photographs at the time of the movement. Today, it would be meaningless again, unless through the

use of photographs it can be seen in its desegregating moment. The sit-ins and other Civil Rights Movement activities needed photographic media to preserve and diffuse such moments, as well as the commitment and desire of African Americans.

The exhibition was divided in several parts questioning the representation of African Americans through different objects, videos, photographs, posters, etc. It started with images of “Racial nostalgia” such as the stereotypes of the mammy and signs of segregation. The second part displayed positive images with national black heroes in sports and entertainment, and the artists and intellectuals who appeared in African American publications such as W. E. B. Du Bois’s *The Crisis*. The third part of the exhibition addressed the visual culture of the Civil Rights Movement. That was followed by a section entitled “Guess Who’s Coming to Dinner? Broadcasting Race” devoted to African Americans in film and television. The actor, Sidney Poitier, was important in this section because he had played path-breaking roles in cinema of the 1950s and 1960s, including in the movie, “Guess Who’s Coming to Dinner” of 1967. That movie has special Civil Rights significance because Poitier’s African American character intends to marry the movie daughter of Katherine Hepburn and Spencer Tracy and the movie was in the last stages of filming when the Civil Rights Supreme Court Decision, *Loving v. Virginia* (June 12, 1967) struck down prohibition of interracial marriage in 17 states.

The timing of other shows was perhaps less dramatic, but their chronology reflects the progress made during this Classical part of the movement. The television sitcom “Julia,” 1968-1971, featured an early non-stereotyped black woman character. Even variety shows, like the “Ed Sullivan Show” (1948-1971) were important for showcasing African American entertainers during the era.

The exhibition then moved beyond these images of African Americans in domestic and cultural settings with white people that hardly seem revolutionary now. They were followed by the self consciously aggressive images of Black Panthers or of Malcolm X and his followers, where the image vocabulary of confrontation is still very apparent. The exhibition ended with the “discovery” by publicists of black Americans as targets for advertising. The exhibition moves between the vocabulary of confrontation and acceptance, between revolution and consumerism, demonstrating the gulf crossed by the Civil Rights Movement. Before the Movement, the presence of a black character in a sitcom or the elegant Sidney Poitier embracing a white actress could be seen as provocation. By the end, these images tell us, black Americans are integrated into the images of a consumer culture, hardly iconic, in fact the opposite, but important for their presentation of a near seamless consumerism.

The part of the exhibition devoted to the Civil Rights Movement, emphasized iconic images as well as the subject of images itself. The curators wanted the audience to understand that the images were crucial in the Civil Rights Movement and were used by activists to promote the movement. The violence of racism and of white racists played its role. The Movement could be violent too. Showing this violence makes us understand the changes that have brought us to a world where a Woolworths counter from the 1960s, always a place for consumption, passed through a crucible of violent conflict, to become once more a place to consume but for everyone.

The part of the exhibition devoted to the Civil Rights movement was entitled “Let the world see what I’ve seen—Evidence and Persuasion.” It states that those images remain records of events and were used both as evidence of racial problems and segregation, as well as a means to persuade public opinion of the injustice of violence inflicted upon African Americans especially in the South. It is these images

that created a memory of the movement and of the confrontation. These images were eventually widely published in newspapers and magazines, both black and white.

Among all the images shown in this exhibition, some are especially relevant to the creation of a memory of the civil rights movement as well as depiction of violence, such as the photographs of the murder of Emmett Till.<sup>20</sup> Emmett Till, a 14 year old boy, was beaten to death because he was reported to have flirted with a married white woman in Mississippi in 1955. The murderers were acquitted by a white jury. His body was so disfigured and decomposed after being hidden underwater for several days, that he was only identified by his ring. His mother, Mamie Till Bradley, insisted on having an open casket and a public funeral, as well as a public viewing which lasted for four days in Chicago, to show how her son was brutally murder. Photographs of the funeral and of Emmett Till's corpse were then published in African American newspapers such as *The Chicago Defender* and *Jet* magazine and had a great impact in the USA and abroad. Both the photographs of Emmett Till a few months before his death and his body were published in the newspapers to reinforce the brutality of the murder in terms of visual imagery. Concerning this choice, Emmett Till's mother wanted the whole country to see what has happened to her son. She knew that those images would shock and they could be used as evidence of the evil of racism and lynching.

A wall in the exhibition was entirely devoted to this event and necessarily to those images which have become iconic of the violence of racism in the USA as well. This famous photograph is not only a record of horror but is also a means to persuade the audience. This photograph is considered by the historian David Halberstam as "the first great media event of the Civil Rights Movement."<sup>21</sup> Emmett Till became one of the first martyrs of the movement, according to Martin Luther King, and a symbol for many activists. The photographs were also published in 1955 *Complete Photo Story of Till Murder Case* by the photojournalist Ernest Withers. This event went on to have a great impact on the collective memory of the civil rights movement.

Media coverage of the Birmingham campaign in 1963 was also largely presented in the exhibition. The city was considered by Martin Luther King to be "the chief symbol of racial intolerance." Indeed city officials refused to desegregate public accommodations as well as private businesses such as restaurants and movie houses. Black neighborhoods were often attacked by bombs and gunshots. A campaign was organized by the SCLC and led by Martin Luther King with nonviolent protests such as marches and boycotts of white-owned businesses. At first, the demonstrations did not gain a lot of attention; Martin Luther King proposed a "Children's Crusade." A student march was organized on May 2 and in a few hours more than 900 hundred people were arrested. The next day, the march continued and led to an offensive against the students by the police with the use of water cannons. The demonstrations became more violent, and the police sent German shepherd dogs who injured people.

Two photographs are representative of the violence of the event: Bill Hudson's image of *Walter Gadsden, 17 attacked by police dogs on May 3, 1963 during civil rights demonstrations in Birmingham* and Charles Moore's *High school students hit by a high-pressure water jet from a fire-hose during a protest in Birmingham, May 1963*. In the first photo, we can see a young black man attacked by two dogs and held by a white police officer, the other one depicts several people, men and women, pushed onto a wall due to the force of water-cannons. The events of May 1963 in

Birmingham were largely published in newspapers and magazines, black and white, local and national. On May 10, City officials announced several measures to desegregate public spaces as well as shops. They also announced the release of all the demonstrators. The use of images in this campaign were very efficient, Wyatt Walker the executive director of the SCLC, said about the event: "There never was any more skillful manipulation of the news than there was in Birmingham. [...] Sure, people got bit by the dogs! I'd say at least two or three. But a picture is worth a thousand words."<sup>22</sup> The diffusion of the photographs of Birmingham, especially Bill Hudson's, gave the event national and international coverage. The movement succeeded in showing the violence of the conflict toward non-violent actions attracting everyone's attention. The Birmingham campaign was also widely covered on TV with many reports and several documentaries.

Those photographic examples are iconic of the Civil Rights Movement and its memory. They show specific moments: Emmett Till's death early in the Movement in 1955, the same year of the Montgomery bus boycott and a year after the Supreme Court case *Brown v. the Board of Education* and the police dog attack at the height of the movement in 1963, the year which also saw the March on Washington For Jobs and Freedom in August. The choice of the National Museum of African American History and Culture to display these images in the exhibition *For All the World to See* reveals the essential place they held in collective memory of the modern Civil Rights Movement, a place that rivals the importance of the events themselves even as the photographs complemented the events.

Like photographs in newspapers and magazines, television played an active part in the displaying of the Civil Rights Movement. Some events were recorded and broadcast worldwide such as the March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom. There were at least five hundreds cameramen, technicians and correspondents to report the event<sup>23</sup>, special reports were broadcast on NBC and ABC News of the March including the "*I have a dream*" speech. King knew how images were important and wrote about his experience in *Why we Can't Wait* in 1964:

If anyone had questioned how deeply the summer's activities had penetrated the consciousness of white America, the answer was evident in the treatment accorded to the March on Washington by all the media of communication. Normally Negro activities are the object to attention in the press only when they are likely to lead to some dramatic outbreak, or possess some bizarre quality. The March was the first organized Negro operation which was accorded respect and coverage commensurate with its importance. The millions who viewed it on television were seeing an event historic not only because of the subject but because it was being brought into their homes.<sup>24</sup>

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- <sup>1</sup> Dowd Hall, Jacquelyn. "The Long Civil Rights Movement and the Political Uses of the Past". *The Journal of American History*, 91:4, (March 2005) 1233-1263.
- <sup>2</sup> Bloom, Jack M. *Class, Race, and the Civil Rights Movement*. Bloomington, Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1987, 121.
- <sup>3</sup> See: <http://www.umbc.edu/cadvc/foralltheworld/section3/murder.php>.
- <sup>4</sup> See: <http://www.umbc.edu/cadvc/foralltheworld/section3/context.php>.
- <sup>5</sup> One has to bear in mind that even though the Northern and Western states did not have a legal segregation, African Americans were prejudiced against and faced discrimination for housing or employment. Cities were largely segregated in terms of housing.
- <sup>6</sup> Berger, Martin A. *Seeing through Race: A Reinterpretation of Civil Rights Photography*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011, 6.
- <sup>7</sup> Berger, Maurice. *For All the World to See: Visual Culture and the Struggle for Civil Rights*; New Haven, London: Yale University Press, 2010, 111.
- <sup>8</sup> Dowd Hall, Jacquelyn. "The Long Civil Rights Movement and the Political Uses of the Past". *The Journal of American History*, 91:4, (March 2005) 1236.
- <sup>9</sup> Berger, Martin A. *Seeing through Race: A Reinterpretation of Civil Rights Photography*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011, 52.
- <sup>10</sup> See: Savage, Kirk. *Standing Soldiers, Kneeling Slaves: Race, War, and Monument in Nineteenth-century America*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1997.
- <sup>11</sup> Nora, Pierre. *Les lieux de mémoire. Tome I, La République*. Paris: Gallimard, 1984, XIX.
- <sup>12</sup> See: <http://www.umbc.edu/cadvc/foralltheworld/section3/birmingham.php>.
- <sup>13</sup> Dwyer, Owen J., Alderman, Derek H. (ed.). *Civil Rights Memorials and the Geography of Memory*. Chicago: Center for American Places at Columbia College Chicago, 2008, 13.
- <sup>14</sup> The exception being the Anacostia Neighborhood Museum funded in 1967 by S. Dillon Ripley in the neighborhood of Anacostia, in Washington D.C., first to be an antenna of the Smithsonian Institution, the program evolved into a community museum devoted to black culture and history, involving the community of Anacostia in its activities and exhibitions. See: *Anacostia Neighborhood Museum*. Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 1972; James, Portia. "Building a community-based identity at Anacostia Museum", in Corsane, Gerard (ed.). *Heritage, Museums and Galleries: An Introductory Reader*, Londres, New York: Routledge, 2005, 339-356; Martin-Felon, Zora. *A Different Drummer: John Kinard and the Anacostia Museum, 1967-1989*, Washington: Smithsonian Institution, 1992.
- <sup>15</sup> Until the middle of the 1950s, black guards were employed only at night when there were no visitors and the bathrooms were also segregated. See: Solinger, Janet W. "Multicultural museums", *Marketing the Arts*, Paris: ICOM, 1992, 127-135.
- <sup>16</sup> See: <http://americanhistory.si.edu/exhibitions/landmark-objects>.
- <sup>17</sup> The International Civil Rights Center and Museum was established in 2010, see: <http://www.sitinmovement.org/>.
- <sup>18</sup> The full exhibition then toured in 2012-2013 at the National Civil Rights Museum in Memphis, TN; at the Center for Art, Design and Visual Culture, University of Maryland, in Baltimore, MD and in the Addison Gallery of American Art in Andover, MS. A "road version" is still touring everywhere in the USA until at least 2017. There is also an online exhibition: <http://www.umbc.edu/cadvc/foralltheworld/>.
- <sup>19</sup> Berger, Maurice. *For All the World to See: Visual Culture and the Struggle for Civil Rights*; New Haven, London: Yale University Press, 2010, 6.
- <sup>20</sup> See: <http://www.umbc.edu/cadvc/foralltheworld/section3/till.php>.
- <sup>21</sup> Berger, Maurice. *For All the World to See*, 108.

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<sup>22</sup> Berger, Maurice. *For All the World to See*, 123.

<sup>23</sup> Berger, Maurice. *For All the World to See*, 125.

<sup>24</sup> King, Martin Luther. *Why we Can't Wait*. Boston: Beacon Press, 2010, 124.