

PARADE

Performance Guide

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A B O U T T H E P L A Y

Parade was written by Alfred Uhry and lyrically and musically composed by Jason Robert Brown in 1998. The show opened at the Lincoln Center Theatre on December 17th, 1998 and closed February 28th, 1999 with a total of 39 previews and 85 performances. It won the Tony Award for Best Book of a Musical and Best Original Score and the New York Drama Critics Circle for Best Musical. It also won Drama Desk awards for Outstanding Musical, Outstanding Actor (Brent Carver), Outstanding Actress (Carolee Carmelo), Outstanding Book of a Musical, Outstanding Orchestrations (Don Sebesky), and Outstanding Score of a Musical.

Alfred Uhry is a playwright, lyricist and screenwriter. Born in Atlanta, Georgia from German-Jewish descendants, Uhry graduated Brown University in 1958 with a degree in English and Drama. Uhry relocated to New York City where he taught English and wrote plays. His first success was the musical adaption of *The Robber Bridegroom*. He received a Tony Award nomination for Best Book of a Musical. His other successful works include *Driving Miss Daisy*, *Last Night of Ballyhoo*, and *LoveMusik*.

Jason Robert Brown is a composer, lyricist, conductor, arranger, orchestrator, director and performer. He was born in Ossining, New York and was raised Jewish. He attended the Eastman School of Music in Rochester, New York. His most well-known works include *Songs for a New World*, *The Last Five Years*, *Urban Cowboy*, *Wearing Someone Else's Clothes*, *13*, *The Bridges of Madison County*, and *Honeymoon in Vegas*.

We are using the version revised in 2007 for/by the Donmar Warehouse production in London. The 2007 version consists of the reduced size of the cast and orchestra,

DIRECTOR'S NOTE

Fabio Polanco

Set between 1913 and 1915 in Atlanta, Milledgeville, and Marietta, Georgia, *Parade* (book by Alfred Uhry and music and lyrics by Jason Robert Brown) is based on the 1913 rape and murder of 13-year-old Mary Phagan and the subsequent arrest, trial, sentencing, and lynching of Jewish factory superintendent Leo Frank. Inspired by the spirit of Epic Theatre, our hope is to show how art can “lead spectators to think, question, and learn about the social conditions exhibited in the work,” consider parallels between the past and the present, and engage in civic discourse.

The play is about yearning, grasping, and fighting for “home” and a restoration of the past. Frank yearns for the familiarity of Brooklyn. He fights to return home. Lucille yearns for Leo to integrate into her home. Leo and Lucille find a home in each other as they fight to bring him home. The Phagans have left their rural home to live and work in a foreign Atlanta. Young girls are forced from their homes to toil in factories. The Black Atlantans who are displaced from their

home yearn for security, safety, and betterment of their lives while many white Christian Atlantans yearn for a return to their antebellum home.

The atmosphere of *Parade* resonates with a sense of fear amidst changing economics, population migration, and demographics. Under a perceived existential threat from industrialization, the North, Jews, and African Americans, the white Christians in the play fear that they are losing their identity, dignity, self-determination, power, and privilege. They are also afraid of the denigration of the Confederacy, the exploitation of their children, and an influx of immigrants whom they see as a threat to supplant them and all they hold dear. This fear leads to media sensationalism, anti-Semitism, racism, intimidation, mob rule, and, finally, the erosion of civil rights and violence. We also see how fear can prompt members of non-dominate groups to turn against other non-dominant groups.

In the hope of a final resolution to the murder of Mary Phagan and the trial of Leo Frank, an investigation of the case was reopened through the Fulton County Conviction Integrity Unit established in 2019. What is resolved is that there have been at least 4,700 lynchings in the history of the United States, overwhelmingly of Black men, and those extrajudicial executions, including that of Leo Max Frank, are criminal violations of civil and human rights. Amidst all of this, we must also be very careful never ever to lose sight of the terrible violation and murder of an innocent 13-year-old girl.

Parade includes many factual pieces about the Phagan murder, the Frank case, and the subsequent events. We acknowledge that not all perspectives or events are presented in Uhry and Brown's work. It is our hope to unpack multiple voices and perspectives through our story-telling.

AN INTERVIEW WITH TAMMY HONESTY (SCENIC DESIGNER)¹

I have a scene-design team that consists of our first-year graduate students: Travis Williams, Sam Catone, and Brian Seckfort. During our meeting with Fabio Polanco, the director of the show, we discussed the opening scene with a young soldier going to war with the Old Red Hills of Georgia behind him. We envisioned the natural world changing to the industrial world. When the young soldier returns from the Civil War, the audience can see that transformation.

We wanted our design concept to have a through-line with Fabio's artistic vision. With Travis Williams, I explored ways to visualize the sense of yearning and longing. Travis created original sketches of vines reaching out as if they were fighting for space and air. Sam Catone transformed the sketches into the treetops. She also came up with the idea of symbiosing the bark and a rope to suggest, throughout the show, a noose to hang Leo Frank. This represents how racism, bigotry, and prejudice are rooted in the deep part of their lives.

Efficiency was one of our priorities. The biggest challenge was getting the transitions to happen quickly and efficiently. The scenes move so quickly from one location to the next. There are also flashbacks and simultaneous scenes. We played with the type of latches we used for the platforms to make these transitions as easy and quick as possible. Also, originally the trees were 16 feet tall

¹¹ This article is based on the interview conducted with Tammy Honesty on January 30, 2020. Transcribed by Talia Rockland. Edited by Yuko Kurahashi.

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with no railing We changed this by putting the trees on slidable panels that could easily move on and off stage. Adjusting our design concept to fit the needs of the production was our biggest priority.

The process of *Parade* has been very nonlinear and organic. It's exciting to see it all come to life. What is fabulous about an educational environment is students get the experience of learning new techniques and skills that also inspire our faculty to dig deeper into their own skillset. This show has challenged us to think about how we approach and visualize difficult issues in the most efficient, conscientious, and thought-provoking way.

COSTUME DESIGN CONCEPT: KELLEY SHEPHARD²

To incorporate the director's concept of yearning and longing for home, I focused on the character's connection to each other and to Atlanta manipulating colors, shapes, and styles. My inspiration came from the real people the characters are based on in the musical which takes place in 1913-1915 Atlanta, Georgia. My research sources include catalogues from the time period. I drew upon the photographs of the trial, in particular, to grasp what they used to wear. My color scheme came from the colorized black and white photographs. Because those photographs are either under-saturated or over-saturated, giving a tinge of "fakeness." I used muted jewel tones as well as pastel colors for some characters.

The biggest challenge was the enormity of the cast of over 30 characters. I invented a color-coded way to stay organized and I also employed the "broad strokes to details" approach. For example, I made sure everyone had their main pieces such as an ensemble of pants, vest, and jacket first, and then added details like hats, ties, and jewelry later.

I avoided stereotypes of the characters. For example, I saw Jim Conley as a desperate human being who is threatened and pressured by law enforcement and prosecutors. We also discussed the characters of Riley and Angela, who are normally portrayed as servants. Riley, in our production, can be a professor, and Angela is a middle-class Georgian, reflecting the historical period in which black intellectuals, entrepreneurs, and middle-class were blossoming.

I specifically applied more of a historical replica to the characters of Leo and Mary. Leo wears a tight and high collar. Leo's monotone and "tight" attire allows him to stand out from the rest of the townspeople. For example, during the song "How Can I Call This Home." Leo, in a tightly buttoned up colorless suit, steps out of a crowd of colorfully dressed people. Mary Phagan's huge bows, which I saw in several books and articles, emphasize her innocent, cheerful, and full-of-life essence, which was tragically cut short.

For this show, we built for seven clothes: Mary's dress for Memorial Day Parade, Lucille's day dress, and Sally's blouse jacket ensemble and her ball gown, Judge Roan's vest, and Angela and Mrs. Phagan's shirts. I also pulled and rented a variety of clothes and items that resonated with

² This essay is based on the interview conducted by Talia Rockland. Transcribed by Talia Rockland, edited by Yuko Kurahashi

my design. If needed, I modified my design so that both the items would produce a sense of replication of my renderings.

We all collaborate in this educational setting as learners at different levels. Filled with energetic and dedicated “learners,” our costume shop always exudes positive energy, which has become invaluable fuel to support this musical.

ANTISEMITISM IN AMERICA: PAST AND PRESENT

Richard Steigmann-Gall³

The Definition and Heritage

I teach the history of the Holocaust at Kent State University and what I always emphasize is the scope of antisemitism which has been found everywhere in history. When we talk about “antisemitism,” we have to consider many contexts. Who is a Jew? How do we define being Jewish? For example, I have Jewish heritage but I do not identify myself as Jewish in terms of religion because it is not my faith. On the other hand, one does not have to practice Judaism to be still considered Jewish. Jewishness is also not just a question of personal belief, but also collective identity. In German, there is a phrase, *Schicksalsgemeinschaft*, meaning a “community of fate.” This term applies to a great deal of Jewish history, and suggests that Jewish identity is shaped in large part by external forces—by those who are antagonistic to Jews, who wielded power over Jews, and who viewed Jews not just as a different religious group, but as a separate “race.” The reality, of course, is that anyone can be Jewish. Jewishness is usually perceived in this country as white but Jews come in many colors. And around the world, there are African Jews, Arabic Jews, even Indian and Chinese Jews. This is intimately bound up with the diasporic history of the Jewish people.

Judaism as Religion

When we think about the Jewish religion, we must keep in mind that there are a variety of Judaisms: Orthodox, Conservative, Reform, Reconstructionist, Secular Humanist, and so on. The idea that one’s Jewishness is determined by your mother’s Jewishness and her mother’s Jewishness is a historical understanding of “inheriting” the faith most closely tied to Orthodox Judaism. But starting with the development of Reform Judaism in nineteenth-century Germany, one could start to convert to Judaism. Unlike Christianity, however, Judaism does not seek out converts. There is no such thing as a Jewish “missionary.” Judaism and Christianity both believe in the same God. However, Christians believe the Messiah has already come whereas Jews are still waiting for a Messiah. For many centuries of European history, Jews were considered responsible for the death of Christ. In the twentieth-century, especially after the Holocaust, this view began to change. For instance, up until the Second Vatican Council under John XXIII, the Catholic Church taught that both biblical Jews and living Jews were responsible for the death of

³ Dr. Richard Steigmann-Gall is Associate Professor in the Department of History at Kent State University. This essay is based on his talk to the students and faculty of the Scholl of Theatre and Dance, 14 January 2020. The talk was transcribed by Yuko Kurahashi and Talia Rockland. Edited by Yuko Kurahashi.

Jesus. With the promulgation of *Nostra aetate*⁴ in 1965, this teaching was finally declared outdated.

Antisemitism

It is in this historical context that we must situate the question of antisemitism. Antisemitism, like any hostility toward a minority group, is a kind of undergrowth in human society. It never quite goes away, even as it might disappear from view. And in the right circumstances, it can quickly spread. We saw antisemitism 2000 years ago, and we see it again today. Before the Enlightenment, Jews of Europe were forced to live in ghettos. Venice, Italy, was the site of Europe's first ghetto, located in a neighborhood just off the Grand Canal named "Ghetto." In the ghetto, Jews would live in confinement, under the watchful eye of the monarch or city authorities, which would constrict their activities but also promise to keep angry mobs at bay. They did not have freedom of activity and were instructed that they could only undertake certain trades. They were forbidden from owning land or becoming farmers—and since banking many centuries ago was considered unholy for Christians (the sin of "usury"), the princes of Europe gave the task of running their financial systems to Jews. This led to the accusation among antisemites that Jews were innately "good with money." With the Enlightenment, Jews were released from ghettos and embraced emancipation—but could still be subject to great violence. Before the Holocaust, the worst violence experienced by Jews in modern times was the pogroms in the Russian Empire in the late 1800s.

Historically, America has experienced less antisemitic violence than Europe, but that "undergrowth" has been no less evident here. Historical markers of antisemitism in this country include: General Grant's edict to remove all of the Jewish people from the state of Tennessee when the Union forces invaded (Lincoln interceded to reverse this); the first and second "generation" of the KKK, which was powerful enough to take effective control of the Indiana state government in the 1920s; the writings of Henry Ford, who openly admired Adolf Hitler and who in turn was admired by Hitler, and who published antisemitic articles in his newspaper *The Dearborn Independent* in the 1920s; the Madison Square Garden Nazi Rally in the late 1930s; and the ill-fated voyage of the SS Saint Louis, which carried over 900 Jewish refugees from Europe, and which was denied entry into American ports after being turned away at its original destination, Havana.

Tragically, violent acts of antisemitism in this country are at an all-time high and include the terrible mass shooting at the Tree of Life Synagogue in Pittsburgh in October 2018, which became the worst day of antisemitic violence in US history; the Charlottesville march carried out by the "Proud Boy" group (whose members chanted "the Jews shall not replace us"), and the recent attacks in New Jersey. The desecrating of Jewish historical markers, such as tombstones at cemeteries and synagogues, or the stereotyped and degrading representations of Jews on social media and chat boards, are part of this wave. When the arguments put forth by antisemites here and abroad are examined, we see the ironic insistence that Jews are both communists and capitalists. They are often considered "smart" and, therefore, "cunning." They are viewed as "effeminate" but also possessing sexual power over gentile women. In the musical *Parade*, the story of Leo Frank and his persecutors reveals some of these stereotypes being utilized.

⁴ Latin for "In Our Time," a document that revolutionized the Catholic Church's approach to Jews and Judaism.

The ugly face of antisemitism has once again come into public view today. Antisemitic discourse has once more been employed in our public sphere and our politics. The notorious antisemitic tract, “The Protocols of the Elders of Zion,” a fraudulent document published in the early twentieth-century purporting to reveal a secret Jewish conspiracy to take over the world, has never been more accessible. The internet plays a central role in the dissemination of this bigotry. The question of when criticism of Israeli government policies becomes a mask for antisemitism is also very real today—and deeply complicated by the fact that Jewish Israelis will, as occurs in any democracy, find themselves in disagreement with their government.

While antisemitism never quite disappears, this should not lead us to believe that all societies are always equally antisemitic at all times. There have been many periods of progress, most notably during the Civil Rights movement, when the personal friendship between Martin Luther King Jr. and Abraham Heschel typified a constructive and warm Jewish-black relationship more broadly. Forged in common work to fight racism, to this day, the relationship still lives on in the name of intersectional justice.

In *Parade*, one can see several characters who actively participate in antisemitic actions, as well as those who confront that antisemitism. We hope the audience will ponder their actions and their motives during the Frank case. In particular, Tom Watson, an opportunist and a leader of the “populists” of the period, uses his newspaper to depict Leo Frank in negative ways. Originally, someone who sought political alliances with minorities, Watson would become an avowed racist and antisemite later in life. We hope this performance will shed light not just on a particularly vivid moment in our nation’s history, but also make you reflect on our present as well.

ON *PARADE*: JIM CROW THROUGH THE GENERATIONS

Denise Harrison⁵

The musical *Parade* opens with a scene at the beginning of the Civil War and ends in 1915, the eve of World War I. In the context of race and war, it is important to remember that the first soldier to die during the Revolutionary War was a black man named Crispus Attucks. From the moment that America fought for her independence, Black people were on the front lines but with inequality and injustice. President Wilson refused to integrate Black soldiers into the military. The ironic thing is during World War II, soldiers of Japanese descent—those who were incarcerated in internment camps in the United States because of their ethnicity and the unfounded threat of loyalty to the motherland (Japan)⁶—were fully integrated into white units. Although President Roosevelt, pressured by the African American community, integrated the defense industry, Black soldiers could not get GI bills after they returned home from the war.

⁵ Denise Harrison is an associate lecturer of English and Pan African Studies at Kent State University. She is also an artist and her quilts with themes of Black Lives Matter, freedom, and women’s rights and voices have been exhibited nationally. This essay is based on her talk delivered to the faculty and students of the School of Theatre and Dance on January 15, 2020. The talk was transcribed by Yuko Kurahashi and Talia Rockland. Edited by Yuko Kurahashi.

⁶ Japanese internment camps were built during WWII by President Franklin D. Roosevelt through Executive Order 9066. Japanese citizens were rounded up 48 hours after the attack on Pearl Harbor.

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The Jim Crow⁷ is the period legally started approximately 14 years after the Emancipation and Proclamation and lasted through the 1960s. The Jim Crow system is the fixed system of behavior commodified with policies such as “colored only” and “white only” segregation laws. Before the Jim Crow period, African American men gained some legal status as office holders and representatives of Congress. Legal progress was made for African American men, allowing them to get into politics as Congressmen and civic leaders. In a little over a decade after that progress, However, African Americans would see an erosion of those rights and the rise of white supremacist groups. The Knight Riders and other white supremacy groups intimidated, terrorized, and attacked everyone who was not white Protestants, including Catholics, Italians, Jewish, Blacks, and gays. That kind of fear and intimidation resides at the heart of the musical *Parade*. Throughout this Jim Crow period, people of African descent continued to demonstrate their resistance to these unfair laws implicit in attitude and explicit in creating a culture of fear and intimidation.

The resistance began with those who never reached the shores of the North American continent; those who resisted by refusing to cooperate with their enslavers by looking into the eyes of the slave traders, by refusing to comply with the degradation of the middle passage, and simply by refusing sustenance. Some Africans made a conscious decision to jump overboard. The simple but absolute truth is that the Jim Crow era left so much trauma in those who were affected, including so many who suffer psychological and generational trauma today.

I have a mom, 96, who is now transitioning and at the end of life. When she was a little girl in Birmingham, Alabama, she could not drink water from faucets reserved for whites. Yet, her family exercised resistance. My mother’s grandmother was very light-skinned and could pass as a white woman (Grandma Brook’s dad was a white Southerner). Grandma Brooks took her granddaughter—my mother—to the local picture show. Black and white people thought the daughter of her black housekeeper was escorting a white woman to the movies. What Grandma Brooks did was an act of defiance and resistance.

Whenever I drink from a public water fountain, I think about all those Americans who were forced into this system of imbalance. The Jim Crow system has governed every aspect of people’s lives in the South, normalizing racist fear-tactics and the psychological behaviors of the white supremacy towards blacks. For example, in the South, if a barber cut a black person’s hair, he could not use the same clippers for his white patrons without incurring fines.

Writers Anna Julia Cooper and Mary Church Terrell argue that black women belong “to the only group in this country that has two huge obstacles to surmount both sex and race.”⁸ African American women did not resent when their “brothers” were given voting rights. Black women emphasized that black men could not fully speak on their behalf; African American men cannot be a perfect spokesman for their black sisters.⁹ And we need to remember black women were an integral part of social justice; Ida B. Wells-Barnett launched an anti-lynching crusade in 1892 and

⁷ Jim Crow Timeline, Ferris State University, <https://www.ferris.edu/HTMLS/news/jimcrow/timeline/jimcrow.htm>

⁸ Mary Church Terrell. *A Colored Woman in a White World* (New York: Ayer Co. Publishing, 1980).

⁹ Anna Julia Cooper, *A Voice from the South*, edited by Charles Lemert and Esme Bhan (New York: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, 1998).

published the results of her findings in the book, *Southern Horrors: Lynch Law in All Its Phases*.¹⁰

Bryan Stevenson's Equal Justice Initiatives (EJI) and The National Memorial for Peace and Justice in Montgomery, Alabama, is a contemporary resource to remind people of the scale of the institution of slavery not only in the South but across the country, including the state of Ohio.¹¹ The 15 names of the victims who were lynched near Cincinnati, Sandusky, and other locations throughout Ohio are engraved on the Ohio column. At the memorial site, one learns horrific but important facts. For example, you see that there were lynchings in every county in Louisiana. When one enters; this memorial site, they may feel like walking into a rusty dust-dry hot cemetery. The first of the rusted steel cylinders hung from the ceiling are at eye level. As you move through the exhibit, you look up at the cylinders since as the level gets higher, they look like those lynched and dying in the trees. There are also jars of dirt from the locations of the lynchings. Stevenson believes that the DNA of the victims still lies in the soil as evidence of violence inflicted on Black citizens, men, women, and children. Visitors are challenged to bear witness to this horror.

Bigotry and racism against people who are considered "different" are deeply rooted in America.¹² We have all have seeds of discrimination against others. Yet, as history tells, the Black-Jewish relationship has grown positively, though mainstream media does not cover it. After the attack on the home of the Orthodox Rabbi, Chaim Rottenberg in December 2019, African Americans were outraged and expressed their condemnation on the attacker but much of them was never broadcast in the mainstream media.

Just look around, we discover so many human connections with people with different cultures and histories. For example, Jewish communities have done so much for the arts, education, and medical facilities in this country. When you receive a scholarship, you may want to check where that money comes from. Many times, it is from the Jewish community with its commitment to supporting the arts, education, and medical advancements.

We must continue to fight Jim Crow. Lorraine Hansberry wrote *A Raisin in the Sun* in 1959,¹³ a play about a Black family moving to the white suburbs of Chicago. In the case of Hansberry's protagonist, the white council leaders and the rest of the community offer to give the family more than the value of the home not to move in. We had many cases of "A Raisin in the Sun" in the 1970s and we still do today. In the 1970s, when our family was living on the east side of Akron, we became friends with a family of stature and affluence in the greater Akron community. They purchased a house in Green township. When they visited the new house, they found graffiti with the N-words and other racial slurs all over the walls. Basketball superstar and entrepreneur,

¹⁰ Wells-Barnett chronicled lynching in America. She is a well-known writer and journalist, but she is also known for refusing to give up her seat—over 60 years before Rosa Parks—on a train bound for Tennessee. She was thrown off the train, but her action woke many people. Wells-Barnett sued the train company and won her case. Ida B. Wells Barnett, *Southern Horrors: Lynch Law in All Its Phases* (New York: CreateSpace Independent Publishing, 2017).

¹¹ Bryan Stevenson is the director of the Equal Justice Initiative, an organization committed to ending mass incarceration and creating racial equity in the justice system in the United State through education and activism.

¹² Steve Oney, *And the Dead Shall Rise: The Murder of Mary Phagan and the Lynching of Leo Frank* (New York: Random House, 2005).

¹³ Lorraine Hansberry, *A Raisin in the Sun*, (New York: Vintage Publishing, 2004).

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Lebron James, purchased a home in California and it was vandalized with a “racial” slur in 2017. You may well afford to live here in a free county, but you may not be welcomed in a certain community.

Patriarchy is also one of the core issues of *Parade*. Men talk, make decisions, and act. Audre Lorde says, that “the master’s tool cannot dismantle the master’s house.”¹⁴ This tool is “patriarchy.” The musical suggests that young women are coerced to testify that Leo Frank acted inappropriately towards them. Though we never know what exactly happened during the investigation, *Parade* illustrates how patriarchy operates at multiple levels.

In his book, *Just Mercy*,¹⁵ Stevenson talks about two things; we have to come to terms with an unequal justice system, and we have to look at where we can be merciful. We have the penal system that does not allow space for redemption. That mindset seems to result in the unlawful “execution” of Leo Frank.

We have so much work to do to fight racism, sexism, and other kinds of discrimination. We need to be vigilant since the media will not bear witness; in 2019, at least 22 transgender people and gender non-conforming people were killed, and yet, they are not centered in our consciousness.¹⁶ We need to keep talking and exploring ways to challenge the normalcy of passivity and silence.

BIOGRAPHIES

Frank, Leo Max Frank (1884–1915)

Leo Frank was born in Paris, Texas, the son of Rudolph Frank and Rae (maiden name unknown). Frank, Leo is known for the events that occurred during the last two years of his life rather than for anything that he did before that time.

Until he entered the limelight in April 1913, Frank had led an ordinary life. A few months after his birth his parents had taken him from Texas to Brooklyn, New York, where he attended the public schools and Pratt Institute. He received a degree in mechanical engineering from Cornell University in 1906. His first job was with the B. F. Sturtevant Company of Hyde Park, Massachusetts, a suburb of Boston, and then in 1908 he moved to Atlanta, Georgia, where his uncle, Moses Frank, asked him to help establish the National Pencil Factory.

Leo Frank also invested in the factory and served as its superintendent and manager. In 1910 he married Lucille Selig, daughter of a prosperous Atlanta family. That year he also joined the B’nai B’rith, a Jewish fraternal organization of which he was elected president in 1912.

Frank’s demise began with the rape and murder of a thirteen-year-old girl, Mary Phagan, in his factory on Confederate Memorial Day, 26 April 1913, a Saturday. Phagan had gone to the office

¹⁴ Audre Lorde, *The Master’s Tools Will Never Dismantle the Master’s House* (London: Penguin Classics, 2018).

¹⁵ Bryan Stevenson, *Just Mercy* (New York: Spiegel and Grau Publishers, 2015).

¹⁶ <https://www.hrc.org/blog/hrc-releases-annual-report-on-epidemic-of-anti-transgender-violence-2019>

to collect her pay, which Frank gave to her. Early the next morning the night watchman found the girl's body and summoned the police, who found two scrawled notes (referred to thereafter as the "murder notes") next to her body, allegedly indicating how the murderer committed the deed. At 7:00 A.M. they went to Frank's home and took him first to the morgue and then to the factory. By that time the sister-in-law of one of the policemen had identified the body and given the name; Frank checked his records and saw that he had paid Phagan the previous afternoon.

When Phagan's body had first been found, clear fingerprints were discovered on her jacket, and later in the morning bloody fingerprints were noted on the back door of the factory's basement. No record indicates, however, that the prints were ever tested. On the other hand, reporters as well as the police observed that Frank had appeared nervous when summoned by the police, and alleged blood stains (later discovered to have been drops of paint) led from an upstairs workroom to Frank's office. With no witnesses attesting to having seen the girl after Frank had paid her, the police arrested him on suspicion of murder. The chief of police claimed that because the townspeople were upset this seemed the best course of action at the time.

During the next two months the inept police arrested other people, including two blacks: the night watchman who had found the body and a janitor, Jim Conley, who was seen washing blood from a shirt. The police confiscated the shirt and then lost it before the blood could be tested. Assuming that the notes found near the body had been written by the murderer, the police tested the handwriting of various people. By chance, Frank indicated that Conley knew how to write (the janitor had previously denied it), and the police got him to copy the notes.

The handwriting matched and the police began more serious questioning of Conley. The janitor ultimately gave four different affidavits alleging that Frank had been alone with the girl and had summoned him to assist in disposing of the body. Because of the contradictions and illogical sequences described in them, the first three affidavits made no sense, and although newspaper reporters pointed that out, the prosecuting attorney relied on the fourth one as the basis for the state's case against Frank. Unfortunately for Frank he hired lawyers with excellent reputations who failed to perform at the level of their presumed courtroom capabilities. They interrogated Conley, who had been kept in seclusion by the district attorney's office for sixteen hours, since signing the fourth affidavit.

Frank's lawyers assumed that the janitor was lying, but they were unable to convince the jury of that. Conley claimed to have assisted Frank in removing the girl's body from the factory manager's office and to have taken it to the basement after the deed had been done.

The failure of the defense attorneys to discredit the state's main witness ultimately led to Frank's conviction, and the judge sentenced him to hang. Frank's trial did not take place in a neutral atmosphere. The populace had been worked up by the brutal crime against the child. The people were also upset because they believed that Frank, a northerner and a Jew, was a factory manager who exploited the youth and workers of the South. And because the newspapers had given so much attention to the case—front-page headlines daily for four months—everyone knew that Frank was the state's target.

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The applause greeted the prosecuting attorneys as they left the court each day and by shouts from the street warning the twelve male jurors: “hang the Jew or we’ll hang you.” Appeals made on Frank’s behalf—three to the Georgia Supreme Court and two to the U.S. Supreme Court—were all turned down on legal technicalities rather than on a review of the evidence.

A plea for clemency went to Governor John Slaton, who, after carefully reviewing the case records in June 1915, commuted the death sentence to life imprisonment. That decision provoked Georgians into a rampage, and thousands marched on the governor’s mansion with the intention of lynching him. They would have accomplished their task had not an entire battalion of the National Guard been on hand to protect Slaton.

Two months later “the best citizens” of Marietta took the law into their own hands. They stormed the prison farm where Frank was being held, removed him, and took him to Marietta, where they lynched him from a tree. Frank’s body was taken to first Brooklyn and he was buried in Queens.

Barely three weeks after the trial ended, B’nai B’rith established its Anti-Defamation League, partially on the ground that prejudice toward a Jew influenced the Atlanta jury.

A shortened version of *American National Biography*

John Marshall Slaton (1866-1955)

John M. Slaton was born on December 25, 1866, to Nancy Jane Martin and William Franklin Slaton near Greenville, Georgia. After the Civil War (1861-65) his family moved to Atlanta. His father was superintendent of public schools. He received a master of arts degree with highest honors from the University of Georgia in 1886 and was admitted to the bar in 1887. His wife, Sallie Grant, was heiress to a \$2 million estate built by railroads and compounded in bounds. Slaton’s clients are mostly big businesses including the Fulton Bag and Cotton Mill.

Slaton was elected to **the Georgia House of Representatives** from Fulton County in 1896 and served until 1909. During the last four of these years he served as Speaker of the House. In 1909 he was elected to the State Senate from the Thirty-fifth District, a position he held until 1913. Slaton was appointed acting governor after Governor Hoke Smith was elected to the U.S. Senate in 1911. Slaton served in that capacity from 1911 to 1912. After the governorship of Joseph M. Brown (1912-13), Slaton was elected as Governor of Georgia (1913-1915).

As Governor, Slaton preserved the state-owned Western and Atlantic Railroad from the competition of a parallel railroad route, worked out a tax equalization program, paid teachers' salaries in full.

Slaton commuted Leo Frank's death sentence in 1915 after personally reviewing thousands of pages of documents related to the trial held in 1913. Believing that Frank had not received a fair trial and had been convicted on circumstantial evidence, in 1915, Slaton commuted Frank's sentence from death to life imprisonment. It was just days before he left office in June 1915.

The day after Frank's transfer to Milledgeville (and the day of the announcement of the commutation), a mob threatened to attack the governor at home. A detachment of the Georgia National Guard, along with county policemen and a group of Slaton's friends, dispersed the mob. On the same day, the people in Marietta hanged the governor in effigy on the courthouse square. The attached placard says "John M. Slaton, King of the Jews and Traitor Governor of Georgia." Slaton fled the state and did not come back until after World War II—a long time after Frank was abducted from his prison cell and lynched on August 17, 1915.

After his governorship Slaton never held another public (elected) position. He served as president of the Georgia Bar Association in 1928-29 and chaired the Board of Law Examiners for twenty-nine years. He was also a member of the General Council of the American Bar Association. Slaton's story was presented on NBC's *Profiles in Courage* series in 1964. Slaton died on January 11, 1955, in Atlanta and is buried in Oakland Cemetery.

Information: <https://www.georgiaencyclopedia.org/articles/government-politics/john-m-slaton-1866-1955>; Steve Oney *And the Dead Shall Rise*.

Thomas Edward Watson (1856–1922)

Tom Watson was a political leader, orator, and author. Watson is known for his inexcusable and irresponsible character-assassination of Leo Frank who was tried in 1913 and lynched in 1915.

Watson was born about three miles north of Thomson, Georgia, the son of John Smith Watson, a planter, and Ann Eliza Maddox. Watson studied for two years (1872–1874) at Mercer University. The Watsons, plantation owners, lost their family plantation in 1875 during the general economic collapse.

He studied law privately and was licensed to practice law on 19 October 1875. In the post-Reconstruction Georgia, Watson was attracted by the ethos of Robert Toombs and Alexander H. Stephens, Georgian secessionists.

During the late 1870s, while working as a successful criminal attorney, Watson accepted many speaking invitations, popularizing himself to the Georgians. Watson was famous for his fiery orations against northern bankers and industrialists whom he blamed for the decline of southern farms and plantations; Watson's speeches and writings are abundant with his nostalgia for the Old South.

In 1882 Watson was elected to a two-year term in **the Georgia House of Representatives**. In 1890 Watson was elected to **the U.S. House of Representatives as a Democrat**. He supported the **Farmer's Alliance**. **This alliance**, which had evolved during the 1870s, formed separate groups of northern and southern farmers. By 1892 politically active members of both groups established **the People's party** aka **the "Populist party."** Once in Congress, Watson declared his membership in **the Populist party**.

Study Guide, *Parade*

One of Watson's platforms was his private "media" enterprise: he owns Jeffersonian Publishing Company. He published a magazine *Watson's Magazine* (after several name changes), which contains a number of articles with racial and religious bigotry. In 1908, Watson ran for the presidency on the **Populist ticket and lost**. His defeat was caused by the rapid decline of the Populist party itself.

The years covered in the musical *Parade* (1913-15) coincides with the years that Watson exerted enormous political influence, yet without his own campaign for elected political positions. In 1917 Watson vehemently denounced the Conscription Act and American entry into World War I. Perceived as violating federal espionage laws, his publications were excluded from the mails. In 1918 Watson returned to the campaign trail as a candidate for Congress. After narrowly losing this congressional race, he was elected to the U.S. Senate. During his two years in the Senate, Watson defended the Soviet Union and spoke out for organized labor and other oppressed minorities. Attempting to escape the heat of the Washington summer in 1922, Watson traveled to Chevy Chase, Maryland, to rest from frequent asthma attacks. He died at his Maryland residence.

Sources: Fernald Bryan, "Watson, Thomas Edward" *American National Biography*; Carol Pierannunzi, *New Georgia Encyclopedia*.

Hugh Manson Dorsey (1871-1948)

A lawyer by trade, he oversaw numerous education initiatives, vehemently opposed mob violence against blacks, and condemned the state's practice of a political convention system. While Dorsey tried with some success to bring Georgia into a more progressive era, he will forever be remembered as the man who prosecuted the notorious Leo Frank case.

Dorsey was born in Fayetteville on July 10, 1871, to Matilda Bennett and Rufus Thomas Dorsey, a prominent attorney. He studied at the University of Georgia in 1889-93 and at the University of Virginia law school in 1894. He returned to Atlanta in 1895 to practice law in his father's firm, where he later became a partner. In 1910 he was appointed solicitor general of the Atlanta Judicial Circuit.

Prior to the Leo Frank case, Dorsey had prosecuted two other high-profile cases and failed to win a conviction in either one. In the Leo Frank case, Dorsey's vigorous prosecution and victory won him favor with Watson.

Dorsey became suddenly popular after the Leo Frank case. He was elected Governor in 1916. He was reelected in 1918 by a substantial margin. During his tenure, he supported mandatory education for both blacks and whites, condemned lynching, and endorsed conventions to discuss race affairs.

In 1920 Dorsey ran for the U.S. Senate against his old ally Watson. Dorsey lost badly to Watson and returned to Atlanta to serve the remainder of his term as Governor.

Dorsey resumed his law practice after leaving office in 1921. Appointed judge of the city court of Atlanta in 1926, he was later elected to that position and served until 1935. He then became a superior court judge of the Atlanta Judicial Circuit. Dorsey died in Atlanta on June 11, 1948 and was buried in Westview Cemetery. The documents and pieces of physical evidence that Dorsey had kept in the cabinet in his office until his death seem, according to his son James, to have been lost or destroyed.

Sources: *New Georgia Encyclopedia*, Steven Oney, *And the Dead Shall Rise*.

G L O S S A R Y

ARMAGEDDON

In the New Testament, it is considered “the site or time of a final and conclusive battle between the forces of good and evil.”¹

CAPITOL CITY CLUB

It was and still is a private social club in Atlanta, Georgia. It was founded in 1883 and is considered one of the oldest social clubs in the South.

CHAIN GANGS

A group of prisoners chained together to perform menial or physically challenging work as a form of punishment. Such punishment might include repairing buildings, building roads, or clearing land. Chain gang population: African Americans men 90%, African American women 4-5%, White men 5-6% and White women less than 0.1%. Chain gangs weren’t abolished in Georgia until the 1950s. See Robert Elliot Burns, *I Am a Fugitive from a Georgia Chain Gang*.

CHATTAHOOCHEE

A river rising in northern Georgia and flowing southwest and south to join the Flint River at the Florida border, merging with the Apalachicola River.

COMMUTE

To substitute one punishment in the place of another. For example, if a man is sentenced to be hanged, the executive may, in some states, commute his punishment to that of life imprisonment.

CONFEDERATE MEMORIAL DAY APRIL 26

A day for confederate pride and celebratory traditions to honor confederate soldiers and the divide between North and South.¹⁷ It was celebrated on April 26, in Georgia, Alabama, Florida, and Mississippi. Several other southern states have celebrated Confederate Memorial Day on May 10. It is no longer an official holiday in Georgia. It remains an official holiday in South Carolina, Alabama, Mississippi, and North Carolina.

¹⁷¹⁷ <https://www.britannica.com/place/Armageddon>

CROKER SACK

A bag made of burlap or similar material. An example of a croker sack is a bag that holds many pounds of potatoes.

“DEAR DYING LAMB: THY PRECIOUS BLOOD SHALL NEVER LOSE IT’S POWER” & “SINNERS PLUNGED BENEATH THAT FLOOD”¹⁸

Reference to hymn “There is a Fountain Filled with Blood”.

“DIXIE I WISH I WAS IN DIXIE LAND”¹⁹

A Confederate song “I wish I was in Dixie Land.”\

GUNNYSACK

Also known as a gunny shoe or tow sack, “gunnysack” is an inexpensive bag historically made of hessian (burlap) formed from jute, hemp or other natural fibers.

HENRY FORD

Founder of the Ford Motor Company. “In 1919 he purchased the *Dearborn Independent*, an obscure Michigan city newspaper. Dearborn was the headquarters of his automobile company. For eight years he weekly published articles abundant with prejudice and racism. Some articles were antisemitic.”²⁰.

IMMANUEL REFERENCE - FUNERAL: THERE IS A FOUNTAIN

A song “Praise for the Fountain Opened” composed by William Cowper. This hymn is a “meditation on the saving power of the blood of Christ.”²¹

INDICTED

To be formally suspected of committing a crime. This is given by the grand jury after they have enough evidence.

JACOB’S DRUG STORE

The original store is named Jacobs Pharmacy. The owner Joseph Jacobs is well-known as the owner of the drug store that housed the soda fountain that sold the very first Coca-Cola in May 1886.

MESHUGGENEH

An Yiddish word for crazy and senseless.

MR. MONTAG

¹⁸ *Parade* script: songs “There is a Fountain & Old Red Hills of Home”

¹⁹ *Parade* script: songs “There is a Fountain & Old Red Hills of Home”

²⁰ https://www.washingtonpost.com/national/religion/the-dark-legacy-of-henry-fords-anti-semitism-commentary/2014/10/10/c95b7df2-509d-11e4-877c-335b53ffe736_story.html

²¹ umcdiscipleship.org

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Sigmund Montag was an elite Jewish Atlantan. He was the principal stockholder of the National Pencil Company and president of a thriving paper manufacturer. Montag testified that on the morning Mary's body was discovered, he was at least as nervous as Frank."²²

OL' BLACK JOE

A parlor song *Old Black Joe* by Stephen Foster. The fictional Joe was inspired by an African American servant in the home of Foster's father-in-law Dr. McDowell of Pittsburgh.

OLD RED HILLS

Red Hills or Tallahassee Hills is a region of gently rolling hills in the southeastern United States covering parts of Florida and Georgia. The soil of this area is red. The area was first settled by Paleo Natives, Apalachee Natives, and the Seminoles from the sixteenth through the nineteenth century. In the nineteenth century white settlers started cotton plantations.

On Mary Phagan's tomb are inscribed "Little Mary Phagan's heroism is an heirloom than which there is nothing more precious among the old red hills of Georgia."

Martin Luther King's I Have a Dream speech mentions the hills, "I have a dream that one day on the red hills of Georgia, the sons of former slaves and the sons of former slave owners will be able to sit down together at a table of brotherhood."²³

PIEDMONT PARK

Originally owned by Benjamin Walker, who used it as his gentleman's farm and residence. He sold the land in 1887 to the Gentlemen's Driving Club who wanted to establish an exclusive club and racing ground for horse enthusiasts.

PUBLIC APPROBATION

Formal word for approval or praise. *Approbation* is like getting the nod in a big way. Politicians rely on the public's *approbation* to get elected.

RABBI

A Jewish scholar or teacher, especially one who studies or teaches Jewish law. A person appointed as a Jewish religious leader.

SHABBAT

A festive day for Jews beginning Friday evening until Saturday night to exercise their freedom from the regular labors of everyday life. Some Shabbat laws ask one to refrain from engaging in normal daily activities such as writing, business transactions, driving, shopping, using technology, using electricity, cooking, doing laundry etc.

²² Steve Oney, *And the Dead Shall Rise* (Pantheon Book, 2003), 289.

²³ [HTTP://CHANGINGMINDS.ORG/ANALYSIS/I_HAVE_A_DREAM.HTM](http://CHANGINGMINDS.ORG/ANALYSIS/I_HAVE_A_DREAM.HTM)

SHALOM

Used as a salutation by Jews at meeting or parting meaning "hello, goodbye and peace."

SH'MA

A Jewish Prayer, which is also the first two words of a section of the Torah, and is the title of a prayer that serves as a centerpiece of the morning and evening Jewish prayer services.

SILVER GUN

Movie *Silver-Plated Gun*, directed by Allan Dawn, was released in 1913. Avenged, the outlaw takes his way into the mountains, followed by a sheriff. Both struggle for their lives in the wilderness until a silver-plated gun leads the two back into town.

SODOMITE

A person who engages in sodomy.

WATERMELON PICKLES

Watermelon rinds boiled in vinegar, sugar and spices until soft and served as a popular southern snack.

YANKEE

A native or inhabitant of a northern U.S. state, especially of one of the northeastern states that sided with the Union in the American Civil War.

YONTIFF

An Yiddish word meaning "good holiday." It is normally used when referring to Yom Tov holidays such as Yom Kippur or Rosh Hashanah, but can be used for any holiday. In Hebrew the translation is Hag Same'ah meaning happy holiday. Saturday April 26th, 1913 was the fifth day of Pesah/Passover.

C O N T E X T

ANTISEMITISM

Antisemitic language and treatment is used and depicted in *Parade*. Antisemitism means "hatred of Jews or unreasonable prejudice against them; a term coined in 1875." However, in reality it goes back "to the beginnings of Judaism itself."²⁴ Visit [The History of Antisemitism](#) .

RACISM

²⁴ *A Concise Companion to the Jewish Religion*

Study Guide, *Parade*

Racist language and treatment are used and depicted in *Parade*. The African American characters in *Parade* show how African Americans are prejudged before and during the trial. Visit: [Exploring Racism and Social Justice through the Film.](#)

“...A red-blooded man...sweet-smellin’ girl, near enough to feel that hot breath on your face”
“You had to touch her didn’t you....” “Hangin’ another nigra ain’t enough this time” (*Parade* scene 11, p. 26)

Atlanta and the Civil War

- American North: The Union and voted against slavery.
- American South: The Confederate and pro-slavery
- Secession: separation from the Union and declare itself confederate/separate nation.
- Georgia’s secession from the Union took place on January 19, 1861. The South’s main motivation was to preserve the institution of slavery for economic and agricultural growth.
- By March 1862 the Union had captured most of Georgia’s coastal islands.
- On April 10, 1862 - the Union forces captures Fort Palasky near Savannah.
- In April 1862: the Union tries to destroy Georgia’s railroad system. During the raid that lasted seven hours, James Andrews and his 20 associates, they were caught in Marietta the Confederates.
- 100,000+ Georgians served in the Confederate armed forces. Governor Brown tried to stop Confederate militias from growing, but efforts failed.
- Atlanta, Georgia was known for its abundant military supplies, rail center, rolling mills, quartermaster’s depot, and several military hospitals. Other locations in Georgia that provided industrial efforts to the war were Savannah, Augusta, Columbus, and Macon.
- Financing the war became problematic. Instead of taxes, the South used bonds and treasury notes (1864). This caused extreme inflation across the South. (ex. firewood \$80 a cord, flour \$120 a barrel). People suffered from extreme poverty. The army had major shortages of food. Women had to step into multiple roles, aiding soldiers, working in hospitals and factories, and providing for family.
- In 1862 several slaves joined military forces on the Coast and Northwest Georgia.
- In 1864 the Union destroyed the last railroad in Atlanta. The Union also destroyed all factories and bridges.
- In 1866, the period of Georgia’s Reconstruction begins. “While the majority of Southern whites had owned land during the antebellum period, the majority had become landless sharecroppers by the early 1900s. Although landownership by Georgia’s black farmers had grown to 13 percent by 1900, most remained sharecroppers.”²⁵

²⁵ <https://www.georgiaencyclopedia.org/articles/history-archaeology/reconstruction-georgia>

**MARY PHAGAN MURDER AND LEO FRANK
TRIAL TIMELINE**
DATES OF TRIAL

MARY PHAGAN IS MURDERED	APRIL 26 1913
NIGHT WATCHMAN NEWT LEE FINDS MARY PHAGAN'S BODY	APRIL 27 1913
FUNERAL OF MARY PHAGAN	APRIL 29 1913
NEWT LEE & LEO FRANK ARE INVESTIGATED	APRIL/MAY 1913
JIM CONLEY IS INVESTIGATED	MAY 18 1913
GRAND JURY INDICATES LEO FRANK FOR THE MURDER	MAY 23 1913
TRIAL BEGINS: PROSECUTION PRESENTS ITS CASES	JULY 28 1913
JIM CONLEY TESTIFIES	AUGUST 4 1913
JIM CONLEY IS CROSS-EXAMINED BY DEFENSE	AUGUST 5 1913
THE DEFENSE PRESENTS ITS CASE	AUGUST 7 1913
LEO FRANK SPEAKS IN HIS OWN DEFENSE	AUGUST 18 1913
JURY FINDS LEO FRANK GUILTY OF MURDER	AUGUST 25 1913
JUDGE LEONARD ROAN SENTENCES LEO FRANK TO HANG	AUGUST 26 1913
B'NAI BIRTH ESTABLISHES ANTI DEFAMATION LEAGUE	SEPTEMBER 1913
HEARING FOR AN AMENDED MOTION FOR A NEW TRIAL	OCTOBER 4 1913
JUDGE ROAN DENIES MOTION FOR NEW TRIAL	OCTOBER 31 1913
LEO FRANK IS SCHEDULED FOR EXECUTION APRIL 17 1914	OCTOBER 31 1913
DEFENSE PRESENTS CASE TO GEORGIA SUPREME COURT	DECEMBER 15 1913
THE GEORGIA SUPREME COURT DENIES NEW TRIAL	FEBRUARY 17 1914

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JIM CONLEY SENTENCED TO ONE-YEAR IMPRISONMENT AS AN ACCESSORY	FEBRUARY 24 1914
A MOTION FILED IN THE SUPERIOR COURT OF FULTON COUNTY TO SET ASIDE THE VERDICT AGAINST LEO FRANK.	APRIL 6 1914
JUDGEMENT WAS RENDERED AGAINST LEO FRANK	JUNE 6 1914
THE DEFENSE APPEALS TO THE GEORGIA SUPREME COURT	JUNE 6 1914
GEORGIA SUPREME COURT DENIES APPEAL	OCTOBER 14 1914
DEFENSE APPEALS TO U.S. DISTRICT COURT OF NORTH GEORGIA	NOVEMBER 14 1914
THE EXECUTION IS RESET FOR JUNE 22 1915	NOVEMBER 14 1914
WRIT OF HABEAS CORPUS PETITION DENIED IN U.S. DISTRICT COURT IN GEORGIA	DECEMBER 21 1914
THE U.S. SUPREME COURT REJECTS APPEAL	APRIL 9 1915
DEFENSE TEAM APPEALS TO PARDONS AND PAROLES BOARD OF GEORGIA PRISON COMMISSION- IT'S DENIED	MAY 21 1915
GOVERNOR JOHN SLATON PERSONALLY INVESTIGATES AND COMMUTES LEO FRANK'S SENTENCE FROM DEATH TO LIFE IN PRISON	JUNE 20 1915
FRANK IS TRANSFERRED FROM FULTON COUNTY TO STATE PRISON FARM IN MILLEDGEVILLE, GEORGIA	JUNE 21 1915
FRANK'S THROAT IS SLASHED BY A FELLOW PRISONER. HE SURVIVES.	JULY 18 1915
FRANK IS KIDNAPPED FROM PRISON BY 25 ARMED MEN	AUGUST 16 1915
FRANK IS DRIVEN 72 MILES TO MARIETTA AND LYNCHED	AUGUST 17 1915
FRANK IS BURIED IN BROOKLYN, NEW YORK	AUGUST 20 1915
THE NIGHTS OF THE KU KLUX KLAN IS RE-CONSTITUTED	NOVEMBER 25 1915

HISTORICAL INFLUENCES ON THE EVENTS OF *PARADE*

Study Guide, *Parade*

- THE END OF THE CIVIL WAR
- EUROPEAN MIGRATION
- HIGH TENSION BETWEEN THE NORTH AND SOUTH
- WOMEN'S RIGHTS
- JIM CROW LAWS AND THE SEGREGATED SOUTH
- RACISM
- GLOBAL ANTI- SEMITISM
- THE JUSTICE AND LAW SYSTEM
- JEWISH ASSIMILATION
- ECONOMIC DIVIDE AND POVERTY
- SOUTHERN URBANIZATION AND INDUSTRIALISM
- EXPLOITATION OF CHILDREN
- RISE OF YELLOW JOURNALISM

T R I A L O U T C O M E S

ANTI DEFAMATION LEAGUE

Formed in September 1913 after Leo Franks death sentence. The Anti Defamation League was formed to “protect the Jewish people and to secure justice and fair treatment for all. Today the ADL continues to fight all forms of hate with the same vigor and passion.”²⁶

RE-EMERGENCE OF THE KKK

Many believe that the murder of Mary Phagan and the subsequent trail led to the re-emergence of the Ku Klux Klan.

POSTHUMOUS PARDON FOR LEO FRANK- STATE OF GEORGIA 1986

²⁶ [HTTPS://WWW.ADL.ORG/WHO-WE-ARE](https://www.adl.org/who-we-are)

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In 1983, right before his death, 85 -year-old Alonzo Mann told to *The Tennessean* that he had seen Jim Conley carry Mary Phagan's body to the basement on the day of the murder.²⁷ Led by the ADL's attorney, Charles Wittenstein, Frank supporters submitted a second application for a pardon. Georgia State Board of pardons and paroles officially pardons Leo Frank. The official pardon says: "The lynching aborted the legal process, thus foreclosing further efforts to prove Frank's innocence."²⁸ The pardon did not deem Frank innocent.

CASE REOPENED IN GEORGIA

In 2019 Paul Howard, Fulton County District Attorney founded the Conviction Integrity Unity to investigate the Leo Frank trial and other similar cases. Led by former Georgia Governor Ry Barnes the case is being reexamined to see if it could be re-adjudicated.

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²⁷ *And The Dead Shall Rise*, 648

²⁸ Robert Seitz Frey and Nancy C. Thompson. *Mary Phagan and the Lynching of Leo Frank* (Copper Square Press, 1988),

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