



MARCH

BOOK TWO

JOHN LEWIS ANDREW AYDIN NATE POWELL

*To the past and future children
of the movement.*



JANUARY 20, 2009.



U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES--
10:17 AM.





WHEN MY PARENTS FOUND OUT I'D BEEN
ARRESTED AND GONE TO JAIL, THEY WERE
DEVASTATED. I WAS AN EMBARRASSMENT,
A SOURCE OF HUMILIATION AND GOSSIP.

SO I STOPPED COMING
HOME AS MUCH.



I STILL SAW MY FAMILY OVER THE
SUMMER AND ON BREAKS HERE AND THERE,
BUT **NASHVILLE**--AND THE GROWING
NASHVILLE STUDENT MOVEMENT--



-- BECAME MY HOME.



MARCH: BOOK TWO

WRITTEN BY JOHN LEWIS & ANDREW AYDIN

ART BY NATE POWELL

NASHVILLE, TN--
NOVEMBER 10, 1960

HAMBURGERS
TAKE ALONG A SACK FULL

EXCUSE US,
MA'AM--?

KRISTAL

OPE

USING NONVIOLENT SIT-INS,
OUR YOUNG ORGANIZATION HAD
SUCCESSFULLY **ENDED** SEGREGATION
AT THE LUNCH COUNTERS DOWNTOWN.
NEXT, WE TURNED OUR ATTENTION
TO **FAST FOOD RESTAURANTS**
AND **CAFETERIAS**, USING THE
SAME STRATEGY.

BY RESPECTFULLY INSISTING TO BE TREATED FAIRLY, WE WOULD DRAW ATTENTION TO THE UNFAIRNESS OF SEGREGATION.



I WAS BEGINNING MY SENIOR YEAR AT AMERICAN BAPTIST, AND ANY TIME NOT DEVOTED TO MY SCHOOL WORK WAS SPENT PLANNING, PREPARING, AND ORGANIZING.



BUT OVERALL, I WAS OPTIMISTIC.

THAT NOVEMBER, WE BEGAN
OUR NEW CAMPAIGN.



BUT WHAT WE FOUND, AS WE
PUSHED OUR PROTESTS DEEPER
INTO THE HEART OF
SEGREGATED SOCIETY,

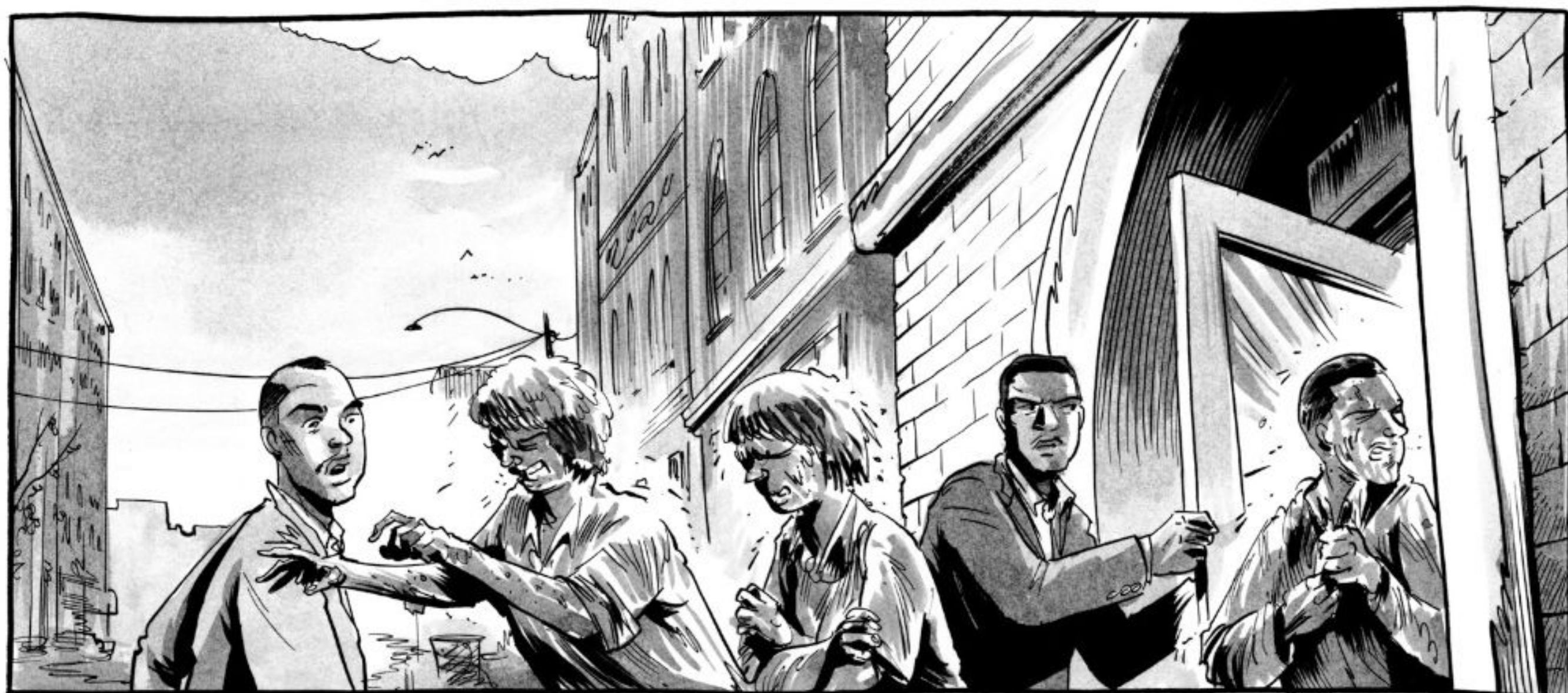
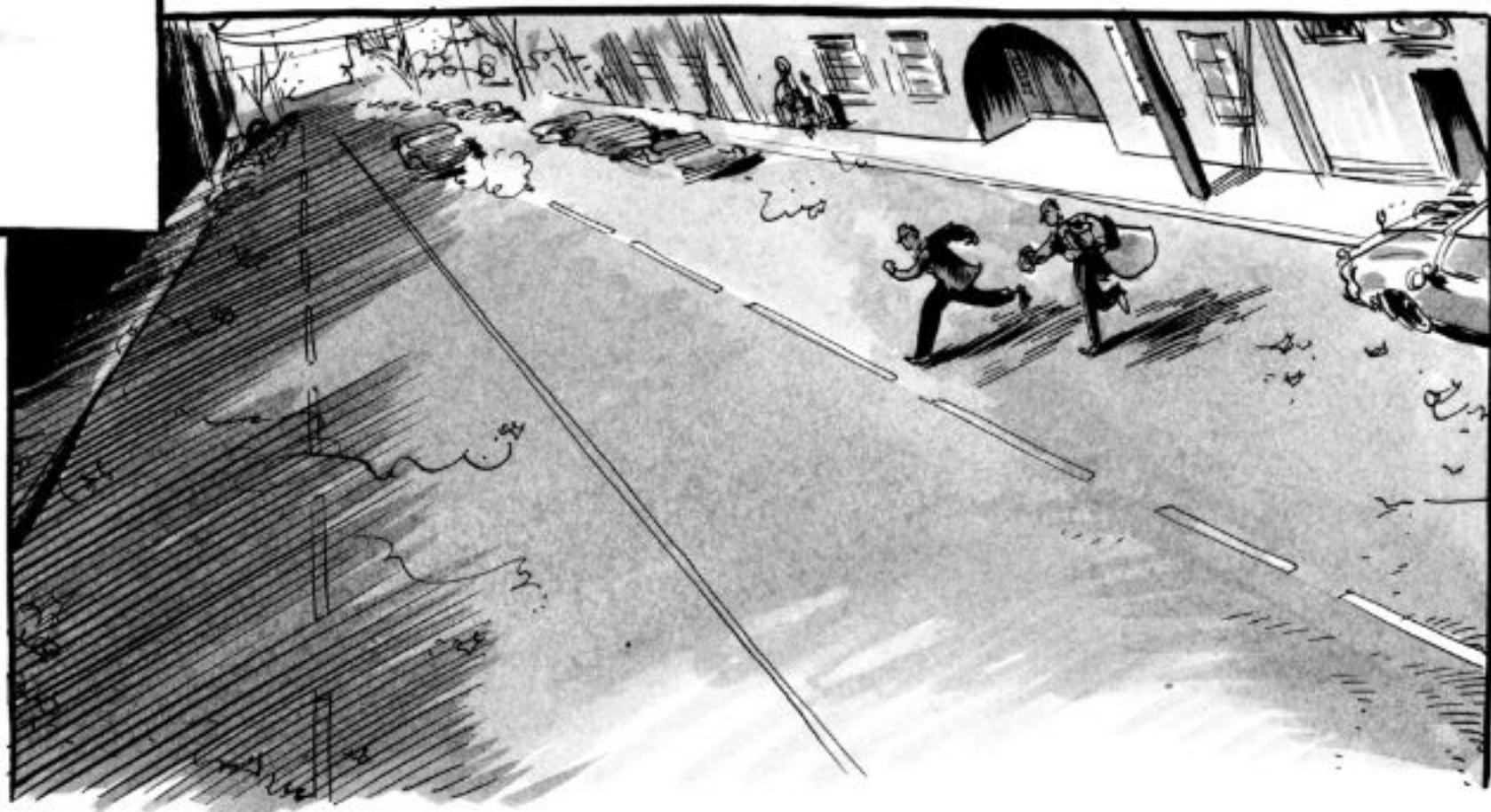
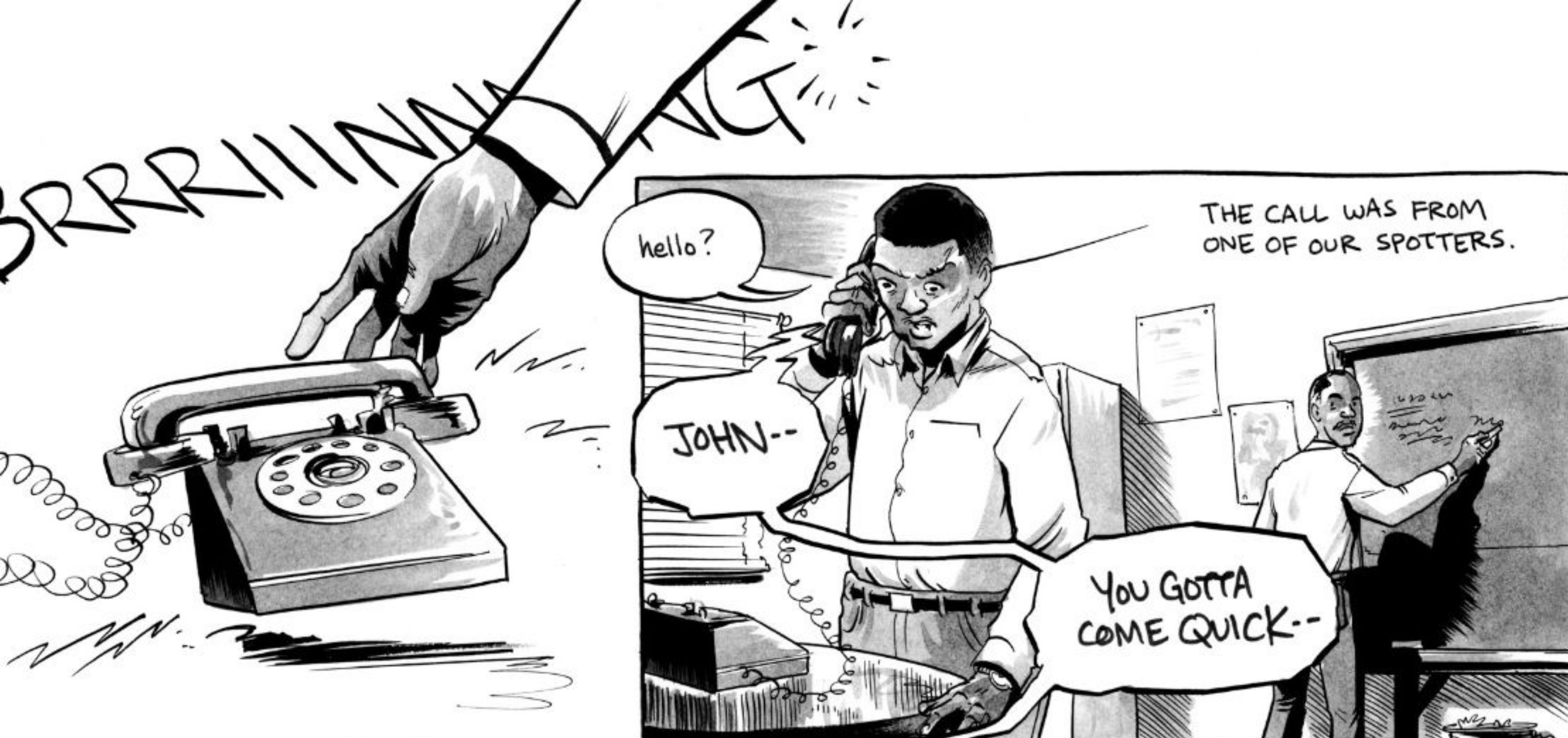


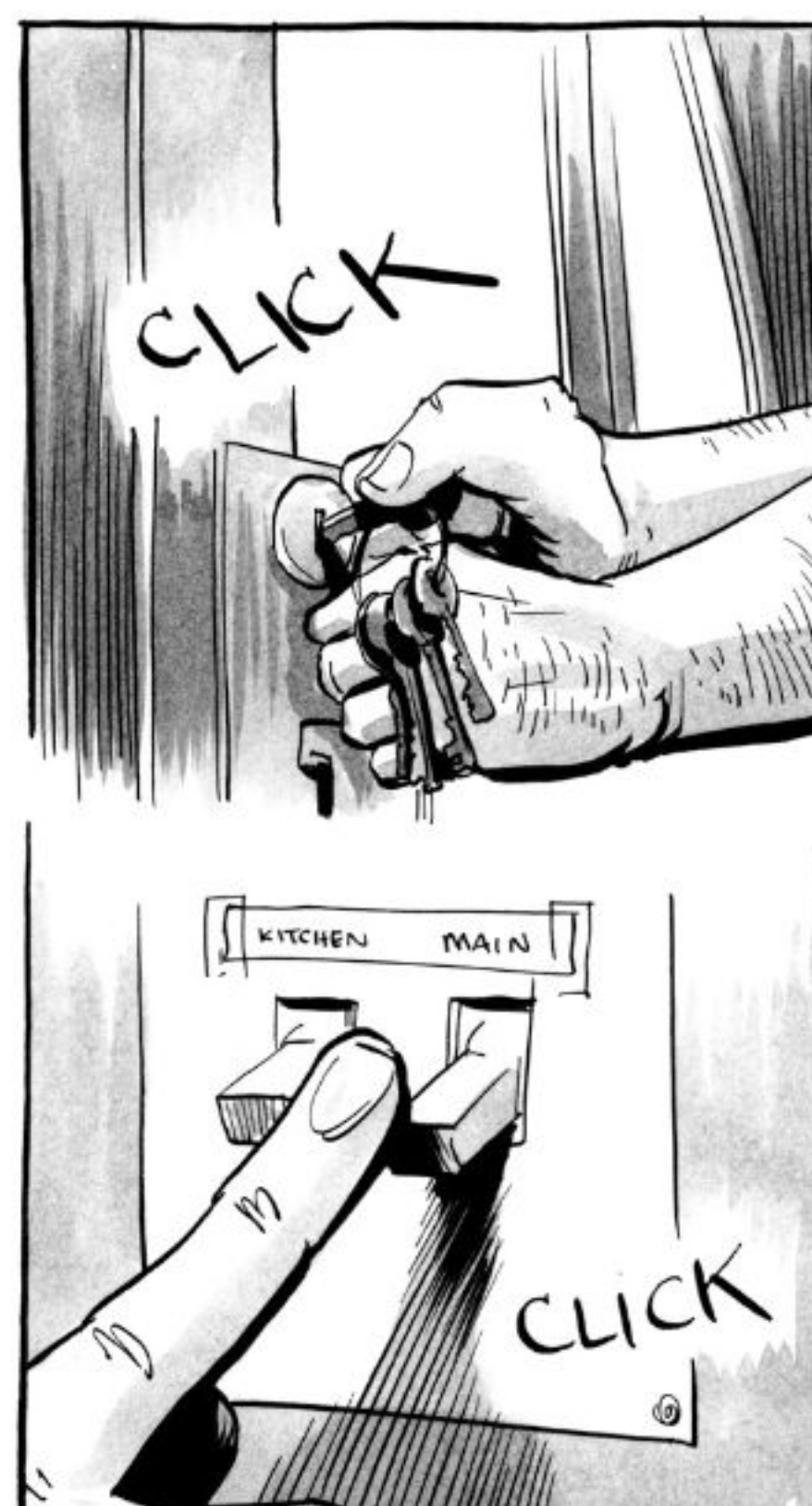
WAS THAT OUR
NONVIOLENT ACTIONS



WERE MET WITH INCREASINGLY MORE VIOLENT RESPONSES.











AT FIRST, I DIDN'T BELIEVE THAT MAN
COULD'VE REALLY LEFT US THERE TO DIE.



WERE WE NOT
HUMAN TO HIM?

BAM!
BAM!
BAM!
BAM!

BAM!
BAM!







FOR MORE THAN
TWO WEEKS,

WE PROTESTED EVERY NIGHT.

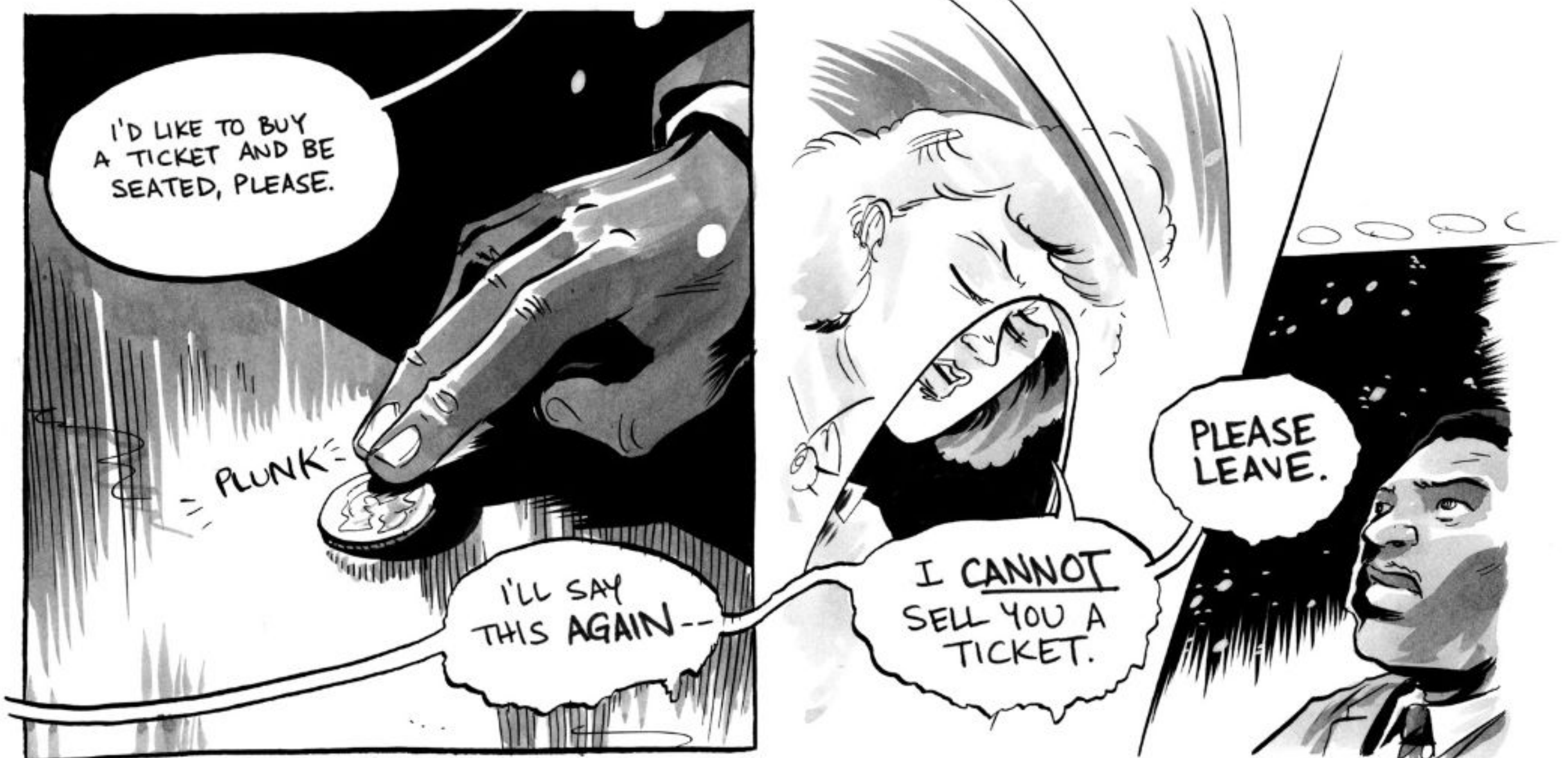


AT FIRST,



IT WAS JUST THE LOCAL WHITE TEENAGERS WE HAD TO WORRY ABOUT.











IN RESPONSE TO THE ESCALATING VIOLENCE, THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE HELD A MEETING THAT INCLUDED ALLIES LIKE REV. WILL CAMPBELL.

LOOK, THE VIOLENCE IS GOING TO GET WORSE AND WORSE UNTIL SOMEONE IS KILLED--

HOW CAN IT BE THE RIGHT THING TO DO, TO CONTINUE PUTTING YOUNG PEOPLE IN HARM'S WAY?

WHAT DO YOU THINK, JOHN?

I RESPECTED CAMPBELL AND THOSE WHO SHARED HIS CONCERNS,

BUT I HEARD NOTHING THAT NIGHT TO CHANGE MY MIND.

we're gonna MARCH.

uh huh,

--AND WHAT DO YOU THINK WE SHOULD DO ABOUT THE POLICE, WHO ARE JUST AS DANGEROUS AS SOME OF THE OTHERS?

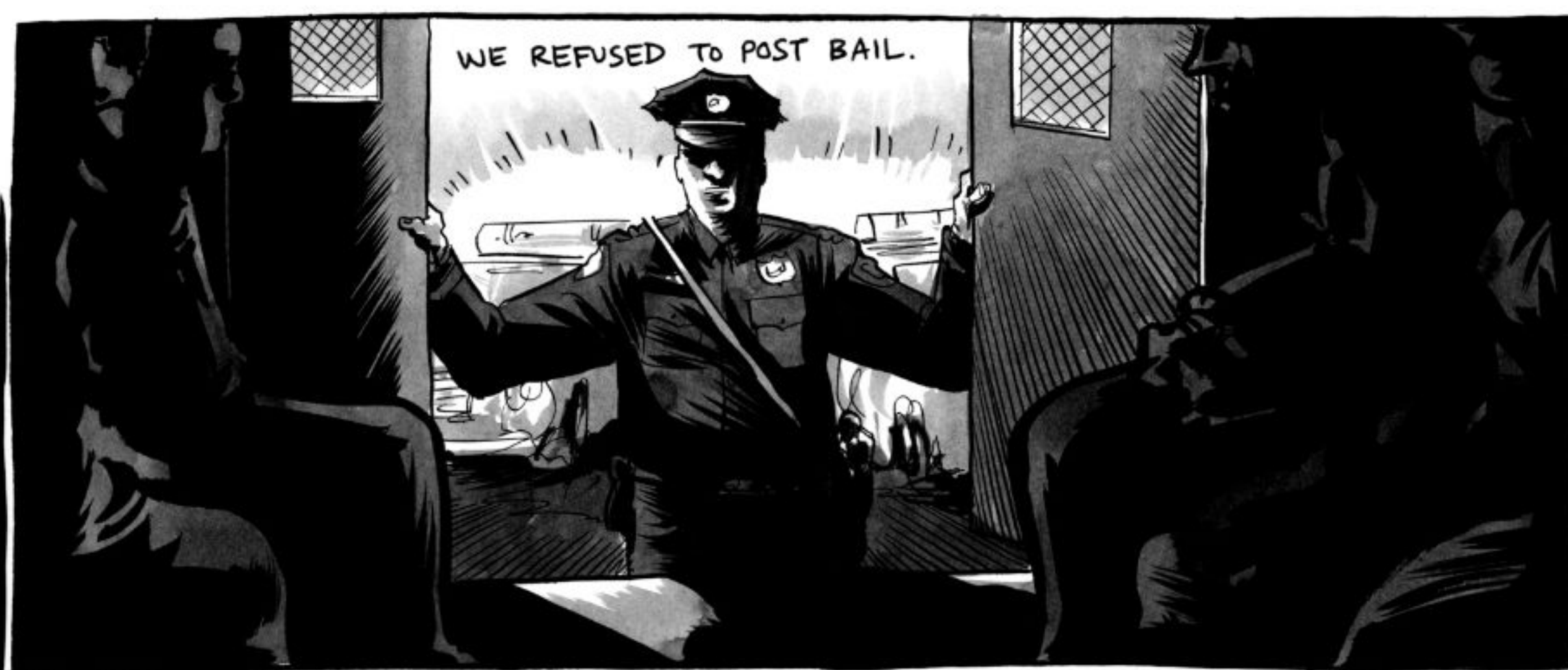
we're gonna MARCH.



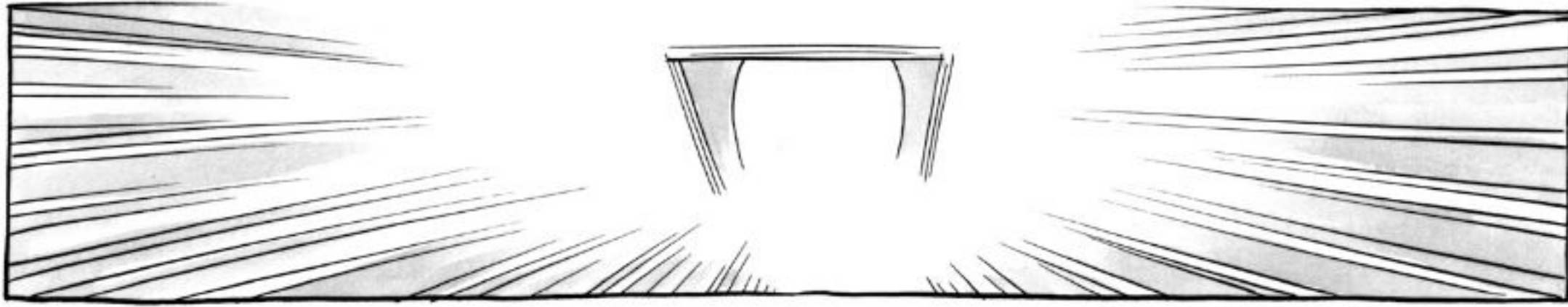
SO THE NEXT EVENING,
I LED THE PROTESTS.



TWENTY-SIX OF US WERE ARRESTED.



SO I SPENT FEBRUARY 21, 1961--
MY TWENTY-FIRST BIRTHDAY--
IN JAIL.





APRIL 29, 1961--
SOMEWHERE OUTSIDE
NASHVILLE, TENNESSEE

JIM,
SLOW DOWN--



YOU'RE GONNA
GET US ALL
KILLED!

LEWIS, I WOULDN'T
HAVE TO GO SO FAST
IF YOU HADN'T MISSED
YOUR BUS.

JOHN, YOU ALMOST
SLEPT THROUGH THE
REVOLUTION!

A GOOD NIGHT'S
REST IS BETTER THAN
NOT BEING OLD
ENOUGH TO GO--

SO WHAT DID YOUR PARENTS SAY WHEN THEY REFUSED TO SIGN YOUR PERMISSION FORM, BERNARD?

they said,
"boy, ...

"you're asking
me to sign your
DEATH WARRANT."

... ha! =

snicker
snicker

"Bernard, I sent you to Nashville to STUDY, not to AGGRAVATE WHITE FOLKS!"

hee hee!

wait wait,
they said.

~Pined 2 w
you 2nd game
and all
that was in

STUDY, YOU WHITE FOLKS!

RRRRMMMM



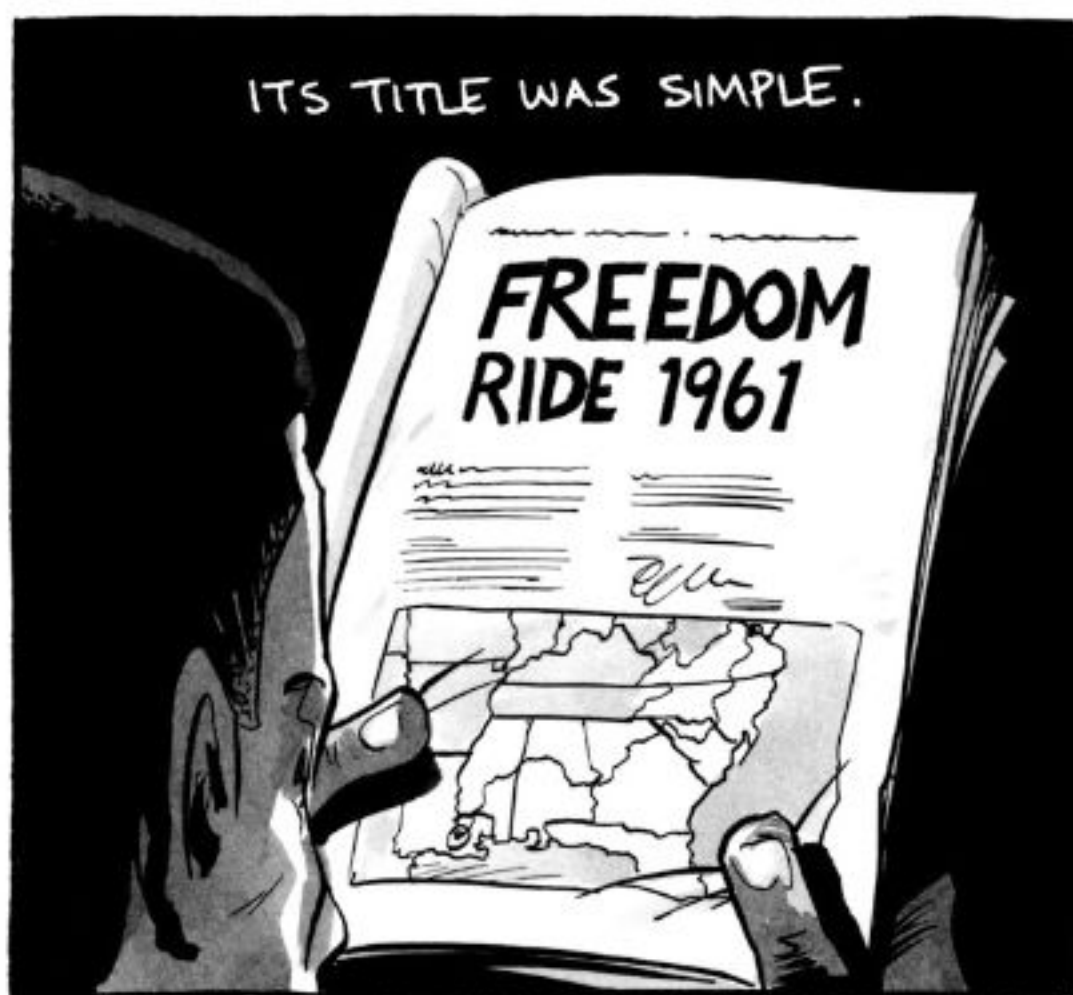
IN LATE MARCH 1961, A FRIEND SHOWED ME AN AD IN THE STUDENT VOICE, A MONTHLY SNCC PUBLICATION.

IT ANNOUNCED THAT THE CONGRESS OF RACIAL EQUALITY (CORE) WAS SEEKING VOLUNTEERS TO TEST THE SUPREME COURT DECISION FROM THE PREVIOUS YEAR, **BOYNTON V. VIRGINIA**,



WHICH OUTLAWED SEGREGATION AND RACIAL DISCRIMINATION ON BUSES AND IN BUS TERMINALS.

ITS TITLE WAS SIMPLE.



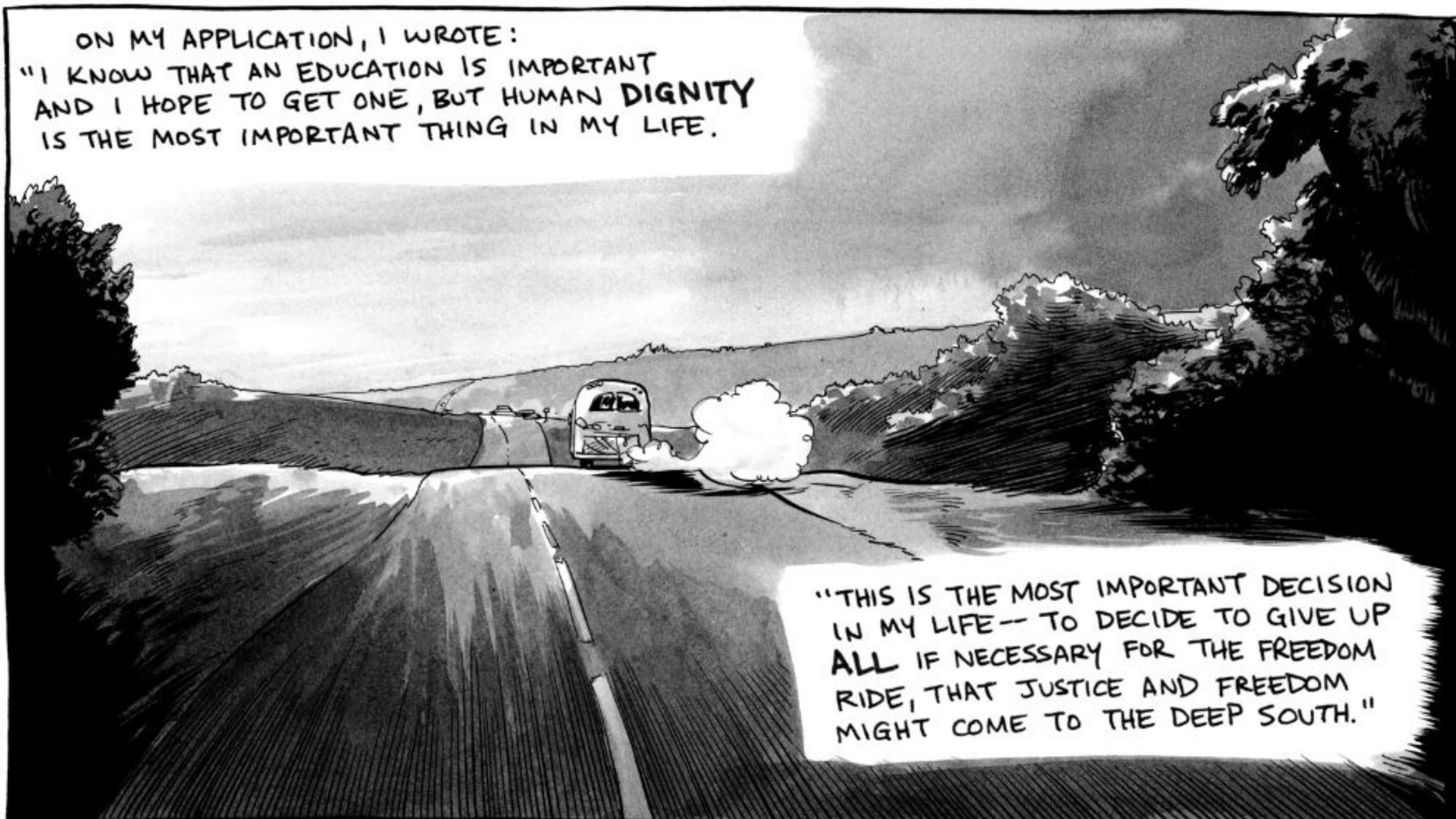
HE WROTE US BACK, BUT SAID HE THOUGHT IT WAS TOO DANGEROUS, AND THE SITUATION IN BIRMINGHAM TOO VOLATILE.



SO WHEN I SAW THAT AD, I FELT IT WAS THE SPIRIT OF HISTORY AT WORK AGAIN.



ON MY APPLICATION, I WROTE:
"I KNOW THAT AN EDUCATION IS IMPORTANT AND I HOPE TO GET ONE, BUT HUMAN **DIGNITY** IS THE MOST IMPORTANT THING IN MY LIFE."



"THIS IS THE MOST IMPORTANT DECISION IN MY LIFE-- TO DECIDE TO GIVE UP **ALL** IF NECESSARY FOR THE FREEDOM RIDE, THAT JUSTICE AND FREEDOM MIGHT COME TO THE DEEP SOUTH."

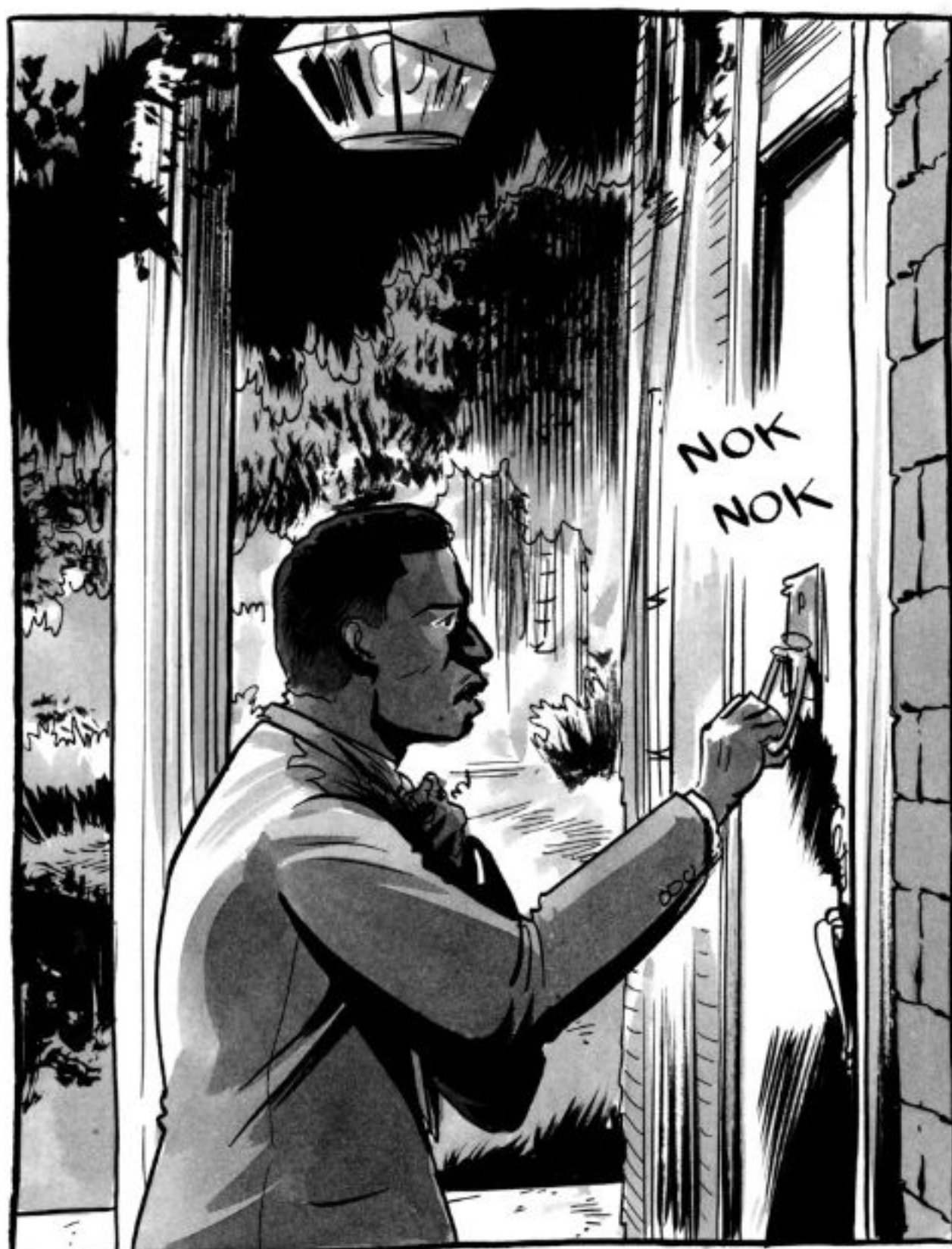
THEY LET ME IN.

APRIL 30, 1961.

LOOKING OUT AT WASHINGTON, DC FOR
THE FIRST TIME IN MY LIFE WAS MAGICAL.



I HEADED TO THE FELLOWSHIP
HOUSE, WHICH WAS RUN BY QUAKERS
AS A SORT OF HEADQUARTERS FOR
PACIFIST ORGANIZATIONS.





JIM PECK-- HE HAD BEEN ON CORE'S FIRST FREEDOM RIDE, THE JOURNEY OF RECONCILIATION IN 1947, WHICH LANDED ALL ITS PARTICIPANTS IN A CHAIN GANG.



ELTON COX-- A MINISTER FROM NORTH CAROLINA.



DR. WALTER BERGMAN, A PROFESSOR FROM THE UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN, AND HIS WIFE FRANCES.



THERE WAS JIMMY McDONALD-- A PLAYFUL GUY, HE WAS A FOLK SINGER FROM NEW YORK.



18-YEAR-OLD CHARLES PERSON, A PHYSICS STUDENT FROM MOREHOUSE COLLEGE.



ED BLANKENHEIM-- CORE STAFF MEMBER.



GENEVIEVE HUGHES-- A CORE FIELD SECRETARY.



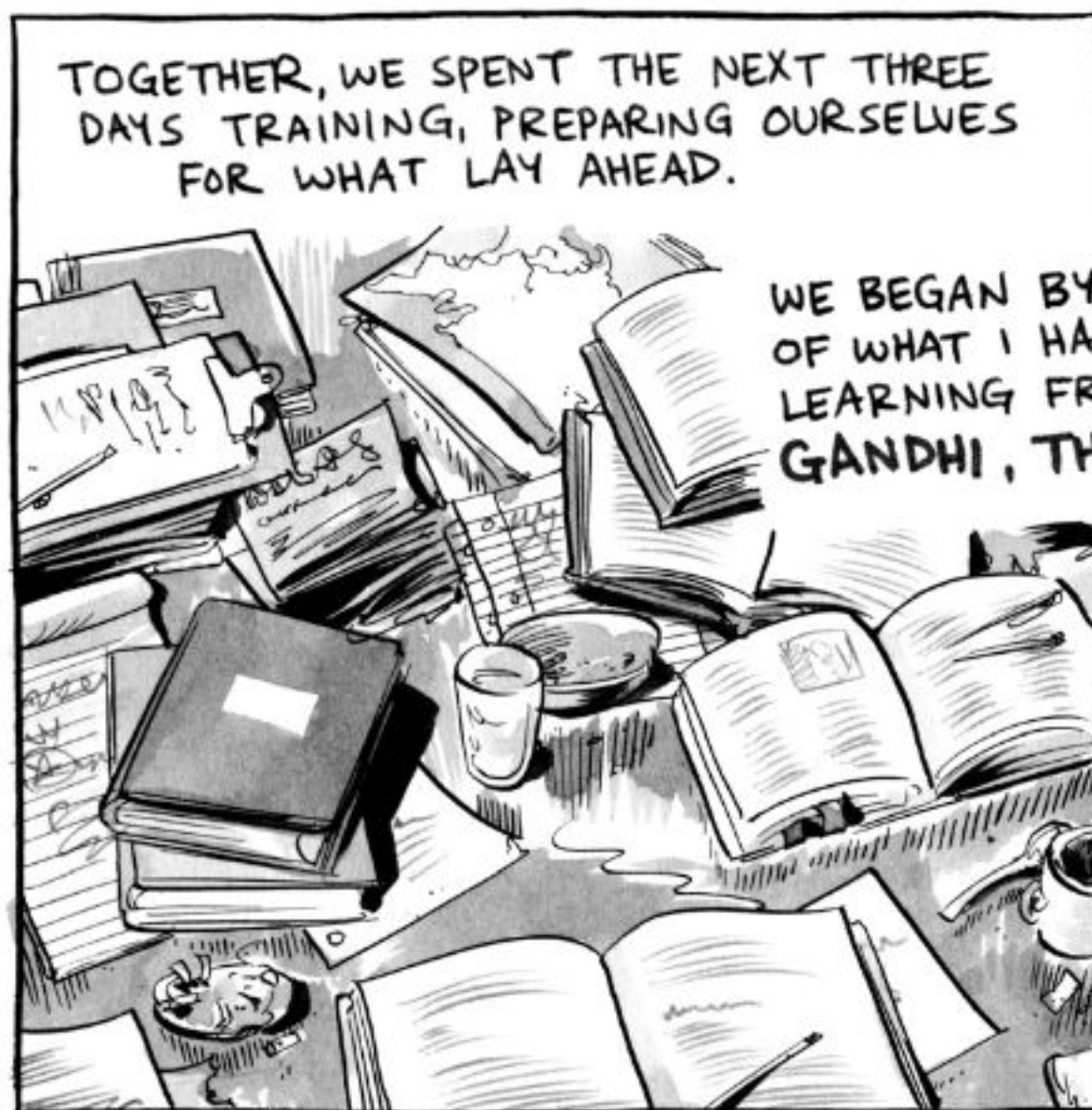
THERE WAS ALBERT BIGELOW-- A PACIFIST ARRESTED IN 1958 FOR STEERING A SKIFF CALLED THE GOLDEN RULE INTO A NUCLEAR TESTING ZONE IN THE SOUTH PACIFIC, PROTESTING THE USE OF ATOMIC WEAPONS.



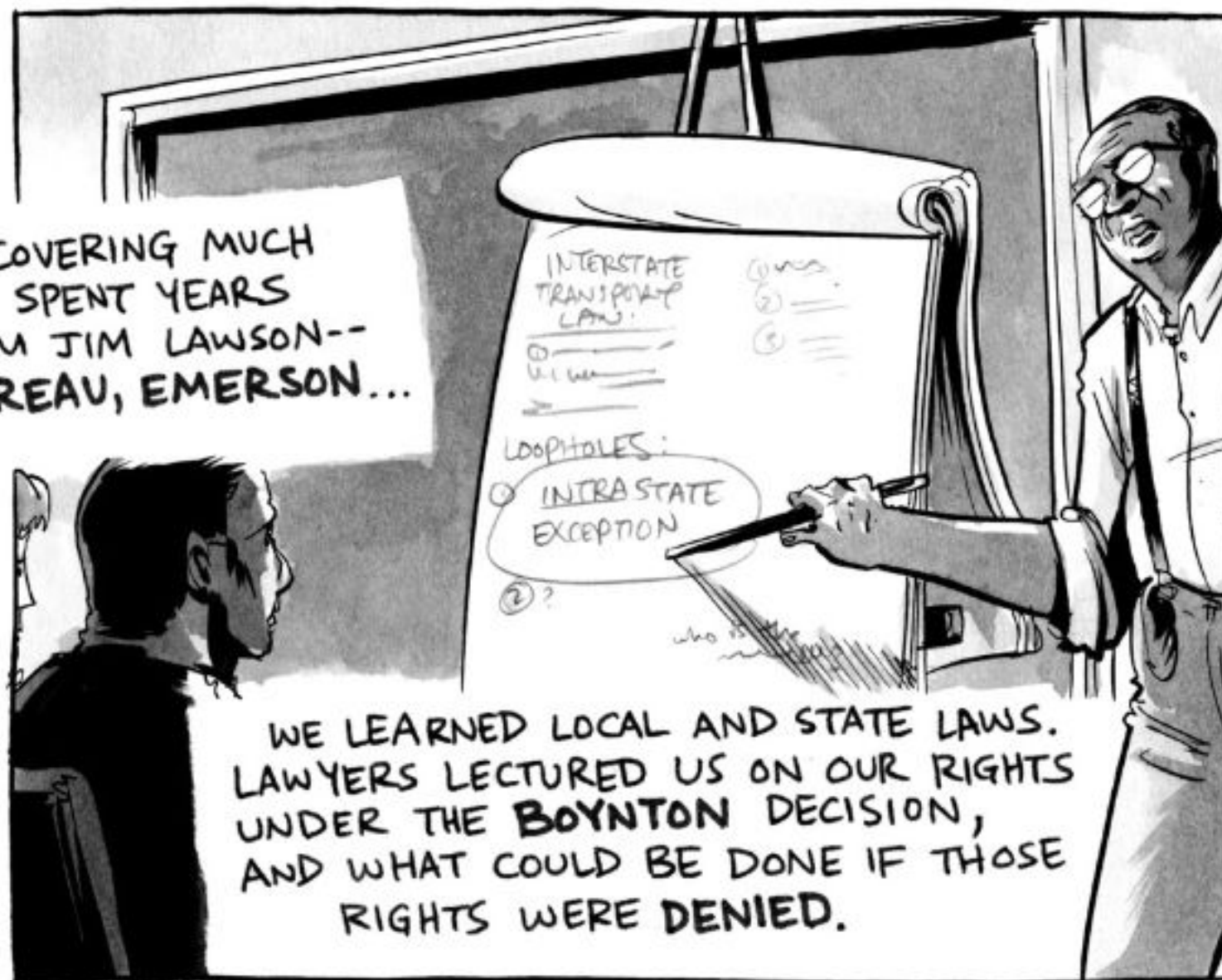
HANK THOMAS-- A HOWARD UNIVERSITY SENIOR.



AND JAMES FARMER-- THE LEADER OF OUR GROUP.



WE BEGAN BY COVERING MUCH OF WHAT I HAD SPENT YEARS LEARNING FROM JIM LAWSON-- GANDHI, THOREAU, EMERSON...



WE LEARNED LOCAL AND STATE LAWS. LAWYERS LECTURED US ON OUR RIGHTS UNDER THE **BOYNTON** DECISION, AND WHAT COULD BE DONE IF THOSE RIGHTS WERE DENIED.



ON THE NIGHT BEFORE WE STARTED OUR JOURNEY, WE WENT OUT TO EAT AT A NICE CHINESE RESTAURANT.

I HAD NEVER ACTUALLY EATEN AT A RESTAURANT BEFORE IN MY LIFE--

THE ONLY OTHER TIMES I HAD STEPPED FOOT INSIDE ONE HAD BEEN PART OF A PROTEST.

CLINK
CLINK

= ahem =

IF I COULD GET YOUR ATTENTION, PLEASE--



RIDERS--

I HAVE FAITH IN YOUR ABILITY TO MEET ANY CHALLENGE, BUT I ALSO WANT YOU TO KNOW THAT I'M THE **ONLY** PERSON OBLIGATED TO GO ON THIS TRIP.

YOU ARE FREE TO CHOOSE WHETHER TO JOIN ME--AND IF YOU CHOOSE **NOT** TO GO, THERE WILL BE NO BLAME, NO RECRIMINATION, AND **CORE** WILL PAY FOR YOUR TRAVELS BACK HOME.

EAT WELL, EVERYONE--

THIS MAY BE OUR LAST SUPPER.

WE ALL KNEW WHAT HE SAID WAS TRUE--

THE **WILLS** WE'D SIGNED THAT WEEK SERVED AS TESTAMENT.

shuffle

MAY 4, 1961 -- TRAILWAYS BUS STATION, WASHINGTON, DC.

DEPART	
PHILADELPHIA	8:31
NEW YORK	8:52
TRENTON	9:40
RICHMOND	9:53
CINCINNATI	10:12
PITTSBURGH	11:24
ROANOKE	11:51

ONE-WAY TICKET, PLEASE.

WHERE YOU GOING?

NEW ORLEANS.



HE MAILED COPIES TO PRESIDENT KENNEDY,
ATTORNEY GENERAL ROBERT F. KENNEDY,
FBI DIRECTOR J. EDGAR HOOVER, TO THE
CHAIRMAN OF THE INTERSTATE COMMERCE
COMMISSION, AND TO THE PRESIDENTS OF BOTH
GREYHOUND AND TRAILWAYS BUS COMPANIES.

THOSE LETTERS WERE
NEVER ANSWERED.



OUR FIRST STOP WAS FREDERICKSBURG.

LOOKS LIKE THEY
KNEW WE WERE COMING
AND BAKED US A CAKE.

IT WAS THE SAME IN
RICHMOND AND PETERSBURG,
WHERE WE STAYED
THE NIGHT.

WE LEFT THE NEXT MORNING FOR FARMVILLE,
THEN ON TO LYNCHBURG AND DANVILLE.

IN CHARLOTTE, JOE PERKINS ASKED FOR A SHOESHINE
IN A BARBER SHOP, AND WAS PROMPTLY
ARRESTED FOR TRESPASSING.

JOE'S CHARGE WAS THROWN
OUT THE NEXT DAY, BUT BY
THEN WE WERE IN
ROCK HILL, SOUTH CAROLINA.

I COULD TELL WE WERE IN TROUBLE AS SOON AS I STEPPED OFF THE BUS.

WHITES









THAT NIGHT WE STAYED AT FRIENDSHIP JUNIOR COLLEGE, AND ALMOST AS SOON AS I GOT THERE,



IT WAS FROM THE AMERICAN FRIENDS SERVICE COMMITTEE-- THE QUAKERS. THEY'D TRACKED ME DOWN THROUGH NASHVILLE--



THEY WERE INVITING ME TO COME TO PHILADELPHIA FOR A PHYSICAL, AND TO COMPLETE MY INTERVIEW FOR A TWO-YEAR VOLUNTEER PROGRAM IN INDIA THAT WAS VERY SIMILAR TO THE PEACE CORPS.





IT WAS A TOUGH DECISION--
I'D OFTEN IMAGINED LIVING ABROAD.



SO I DECIDED TO GO
TO PHILADELPHIA.

IF ALL WENT AS PLANNED, I'D
TAKE A FLIGHT BACK TO NASHVILLE
AFTER MY INTERVIEW, AND THEN
TAKE A CAR TO BIRMINGHAM ON
SUNDAY, MAY 14TH-- MOTHER'S DAY--
TO REJOIN THE FREEDOM RIDERS.

BUT MY GROUP NEVER MADE IT
TO BIRMINGHAM.





MAY 14, 1961 --
NASHVILLE, TENNESSEE.

WHEN I GOT BACK TO NASHVILLE, I
ATTENDED A PICNIC TO CELEBRATE THE
FACT THAT, AFTER FOURTEEN WEEKS OF
STAND-INS, THE CITY'S THEATER OWNERS
HAD FINALLY AGREED TO DESEGREGATE.

so before you see
there was plenty of
resistance.

we went back and we
went back. FORTY TIMES
we demonstrated at
those theaters!

♪ ♪

AFTERWARDS, I WOULD
SET OFF TO REJOIN THE
FREEDOM RIDES--

JUST LIKE THE BIBLE'S
GREAT FLOOD, FORTY
DAYS AND FORTY
NIGHTS WE--

♪ -- WE HAVE
A BREAKING
NEWS BULLETIN--

AT LEAST, THAT WAS
THE PLAN.

--AT THIS TIME, A
GREYHOUND BUS
CARRYING FREEDOM RIDERS
IS REPORTED TO BE
IN FLAMES OUTSIDE
OF ANNISTON,
ALABAMA--

THAT'S
MY BUS!!

REPORTS INDICATE
THAT THE BUS WAS
FIREBOMBED-- WE
HAVE NO WORD YET
ON CASUALTIES OR INJURIES
BUT DETAILS WILL BE
FOORTHCOMING. OUR SOURCE
CLAIM TO KNOW

COME ON,
LET'S GO!

oh my god!

we've got
to do
something!

what!!

hurry, hurry!
more reports are
starting to
come in!

WE RACED TO
MEET UP AT
FIRST BAPTIST.

NOT KNOWN AT THIS
TIME WHAT THE IDON
OF THE ACT



HELLO?
HELLO?!

CAN YOU
HEAR ME?!



ONE WITNESS DES
SEEING WINDOWS
AND TIRES SLA
BEFORE AN U
EXPLO

AT THIS TIME,
IS NOT KNOWN
THE ASSAILA
BE COM



...yes?

THIS IS DIANE
NASH-- I'M CALLING
FOR JAMES FARMER.

wh--

HE'S IN
WASHINGTON?!

okay--



HELLO?!
IS JAMES
FARMER IN?

well, DO YOU KNOW
WHERE HE IS?!

I'M CALLING
FROM NASHVILLE.

TURN
IT UP!!

key--

yeah, and we
do that first!
then the locals.

okay. you get
in touch with everyone
on that list from
northern states,
and i'll take.

ALLEYS AND
CORRIDORS,

POUNDING THEM
WITH PIPES, WITH
KEY RINGS, AND
WITH FISTS.

HEY!



ONE PASSENGER WAS KNOCKED
DOWN AT MY FEET BY TWELVE
HOODLUMS, AND HIS FACE
WAS BEATEN INTO A
BLOODY RED PULP.

HEY!!

THE SECOND BUS
MADE IT TO BIRMINGHAM,
BUT THEY GOT
THAT ONE, TOO.



-- CHIEF CONNOR, AFTER THE EVENTS IN ANNISTON, WHERE A BUS CARRYING FREEDOM RIDERS WAS ATTACKED BY A MOB AND FIREBOMBED --

-- CAN YOU TELL US WHY THERE WERE **NO** POLICE OFFICERS PRESENT AT THE BIRMINGHAM BUS STATION WHEN THE SECOND BUS FINALLY DID ARRIVE ?



EUGENE "BULL" CONNOR--
HE WAS BIRMINGHAM'S CHIEF OF POLICE. **EVERYONE** WAS AFRAID OF HIM--

EVEN THE GOVERNOR.

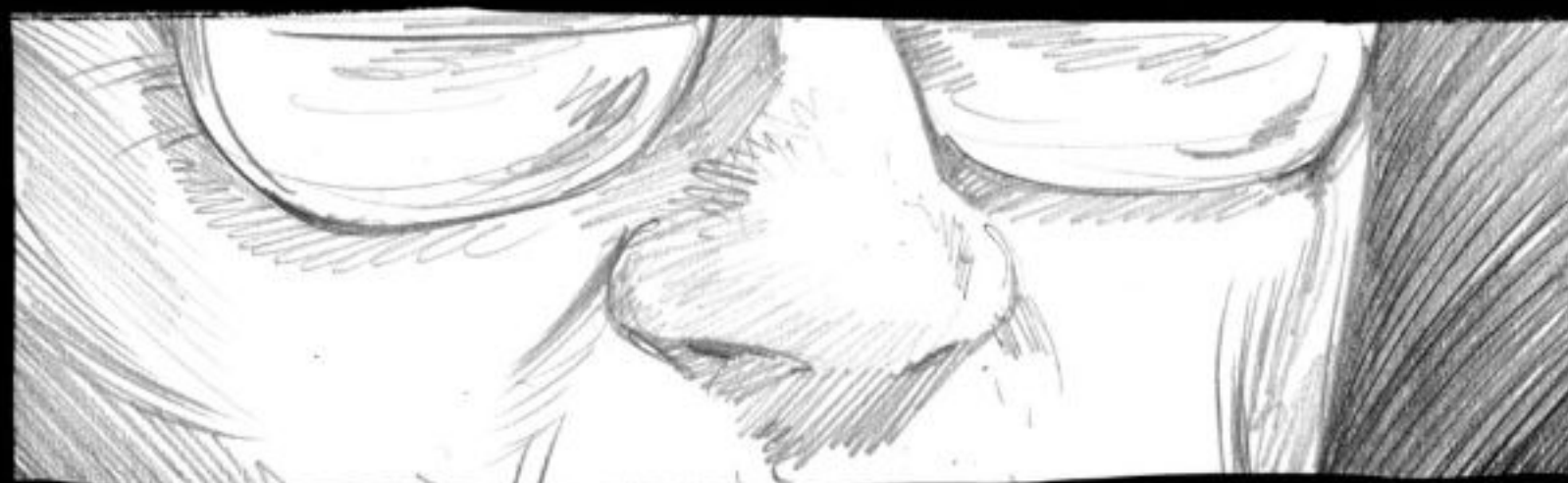


MOTHER'S DAY.

WE TRY AND LET OFF AS MANY OF OUR POLICEMEN AS POSSIBLE, SO THEY CAN SPEND MOTHER'S DAY AT HOME WITH THEIR FAMILIES.



WE FOUND OUT LATER THAT HE'D PROMISED THE **KU KLUX KLAN** FIFTEEN MINUTES WITH THE BUS BEFORE HE'D MAKE ANY ARRESTS.



WORD CAME THE NEXT DAY
THAT JAMES FARMER WAS
CALLING OFF THE RIDES.

hello--?

can I speak
to James Farmer,
please?

MR. FARMER?
THIS IS DIANE
NASH.

I COULDN'T BELIEVE IT.
WE COULD NOT JUST GIVE UP.

I'M SORRY--

WHO IS
THIS?

DIANE
NASH--

ATTORNEY GENERAL ROBERT KENNEDY WAS BECOMING
MORE AND MORE INVOLVED IN THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT'S
RESPONSE. HIS AIDE, JOHN SEIGENTHALER, HAD
ARRANGED AN AIRPLANE TO FLY THE REMAINING
FREEDOM RIDERS OUT OF ALABAMA.

-- I'M WITH THE
NASHVILLE
STUDENT MOVEMENT.

MR. FARMER,
WE WANT TO RESUME
THE FREEDOM RIDE.

I'M CALLING
TO ASK FOR YOUR
SUPPORT.



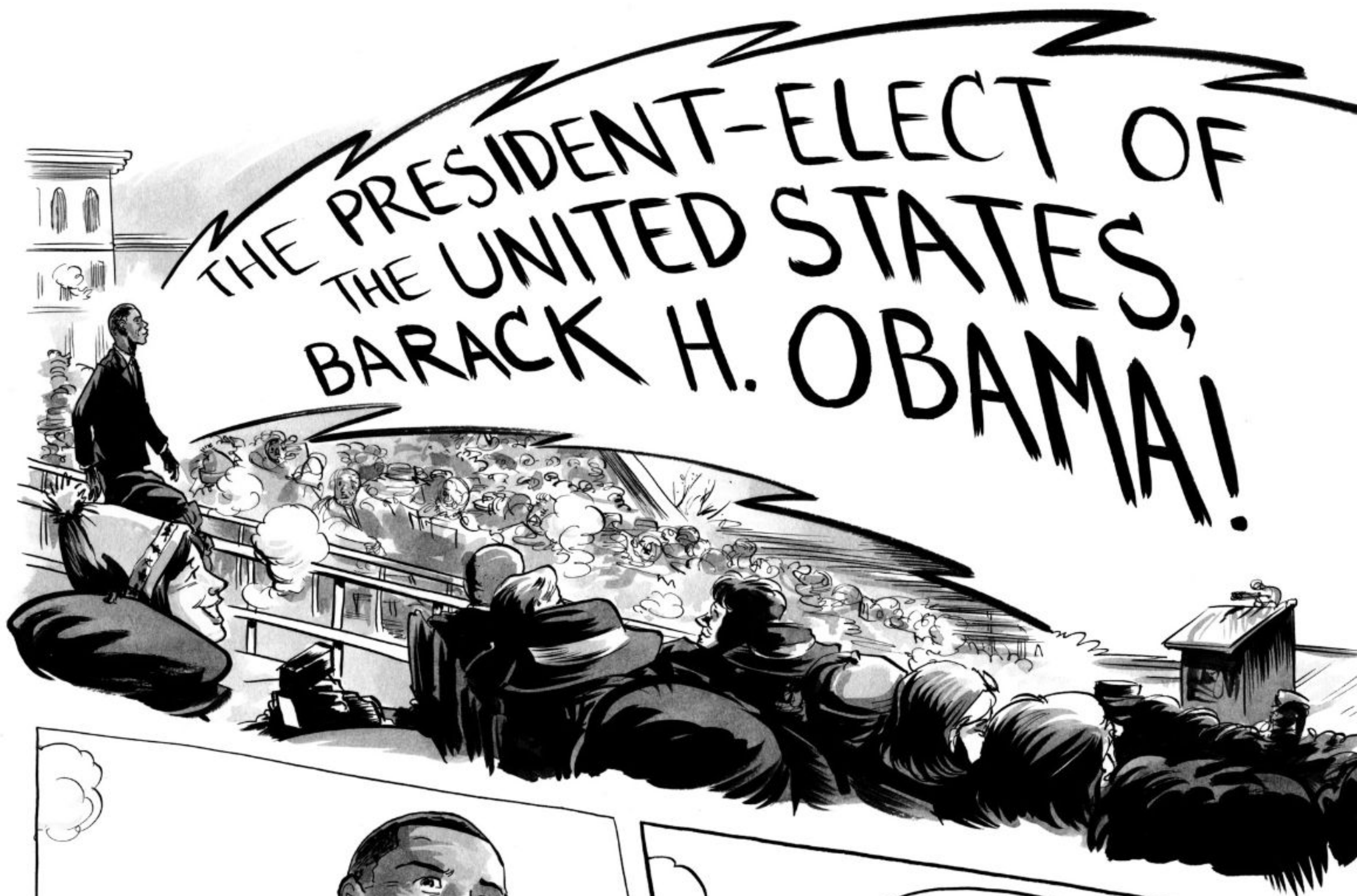
you...

... YOU REALIZE
IT MAY BE SUICIDE?

YOU COULD BE
MASSACRED.



LADIES AND GENTLEMEN--



WEDNESDAY, MAY 17, 1961--
BIRMINGHAM CITY LIMITS.

TEN OF US SET OUT FROM NASHVILLE TO TAKE
THE PLACE OF THE BLOODIED RIDERS WHOSE BUSES
WERE ATTACKED IN ANNISTON AND BIRMINGHAM,
AND TO PICK UP WHERE THEY LEFT OFF.

BUT THE POLICE CAUGHT UP TO US BEFORE WE
MADE IT ALL THE WAY INTO TOWN.



YOU'RE UNDER
ARREST FOR VIOLATING
STATE LAW--

YOU KNOW WHITE
PEOPLE AND NIGGERS
CAN'T SIT
TOGETHER!

JIM ZWERG AND PAUL BROOKS WERE
TAKEN TO JAIL ALMOST IMMEDIATELY.

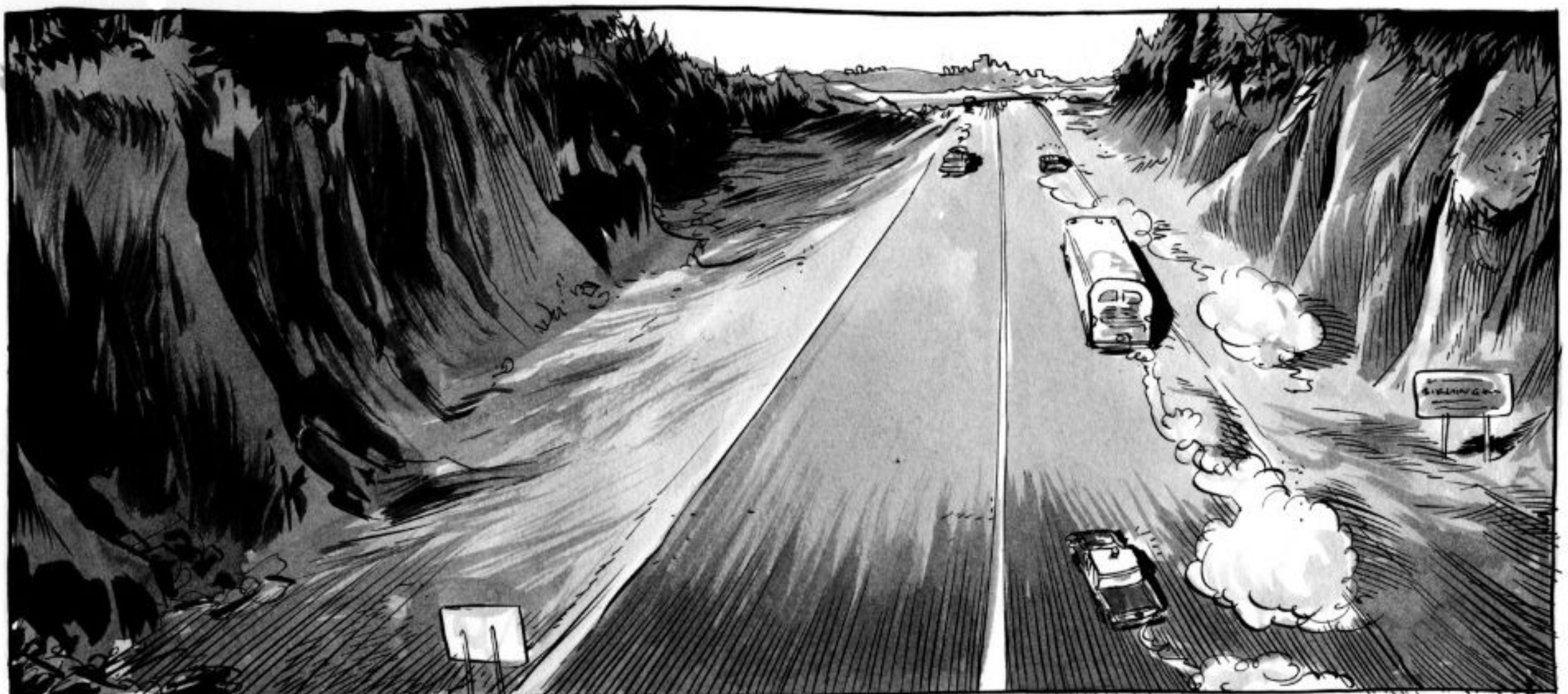


WE WERE ALL ON EDGE, KNOWING WHAT THIS CITY HAD DONE TO THE OTHER RIDERS.



DR. BERGMAN, STILL BLOODY FROM THE FIRST BUS'S ATTACK IN ANNISTON,
WAS BRUTALLY BEATEN AGAIN ON THE TERMINAL FLOOR IN BIRMINGHAM.







OKAY--

EVERYONE WITH A
TICKET FROM NASHVILLE
TO BIRMINGHAM,
YOU ARE TO REMAIN
ON THE BUS.

EVERYONE ELSE,
YOU'RE FREE
TO LEAVE.



FELLOW RIDER SALYNN MCCOLLUM, WHO HAD
A DIFFERENT TICKET, SLIPPED OUT TO CALL
DIANE NASH AND ALERT HER
OF THE SITUATION.

excuse me,
officer--



WE HAVE A
RIGHT TO GET
OFF THIS BUS--

WE HAVE TICKETS
FOR BIRMINGHAM,
AND HAVE FRIENDS
AND RELATIVES HERE

SIT
DOWN--









11:30 pm,
THURSDAY
MAY 18, 1961.

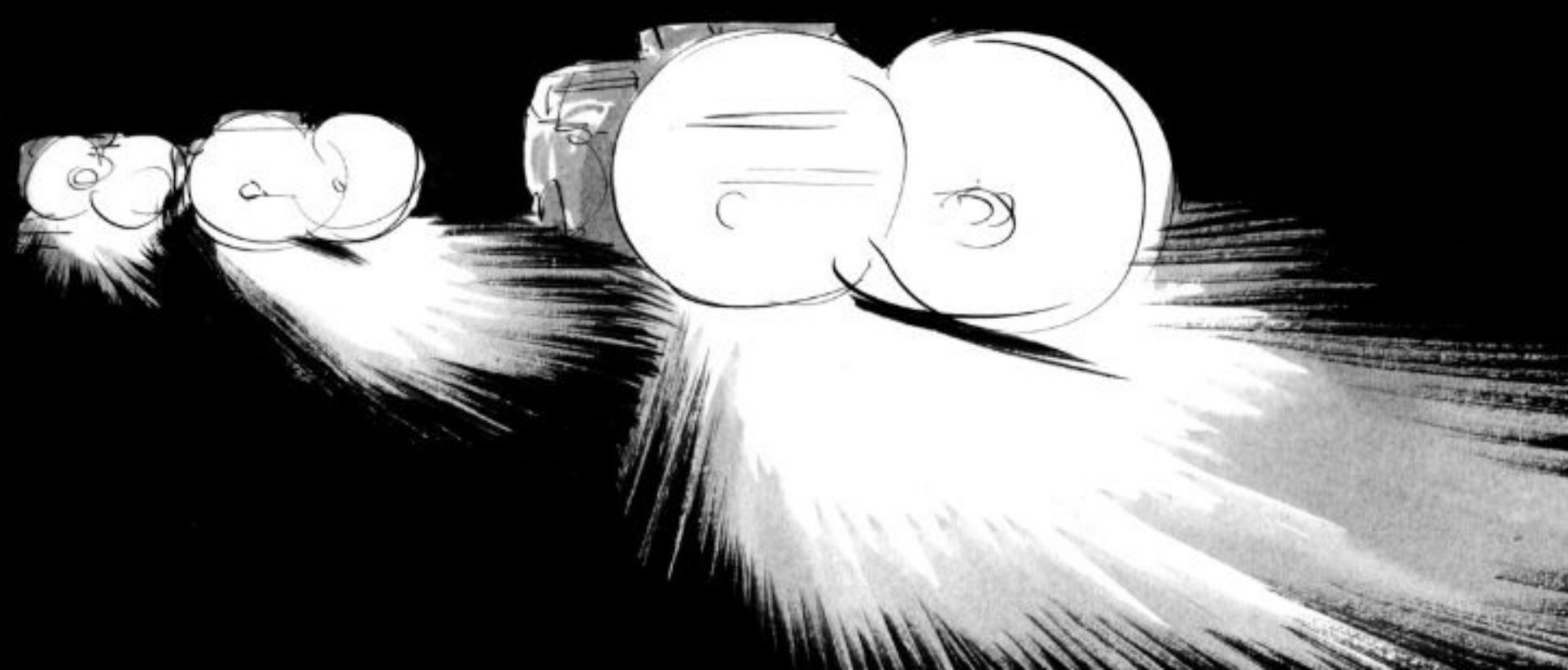


CL-
CLANK

AND JUST TO
MAKE SURE YOU
GET THERE--

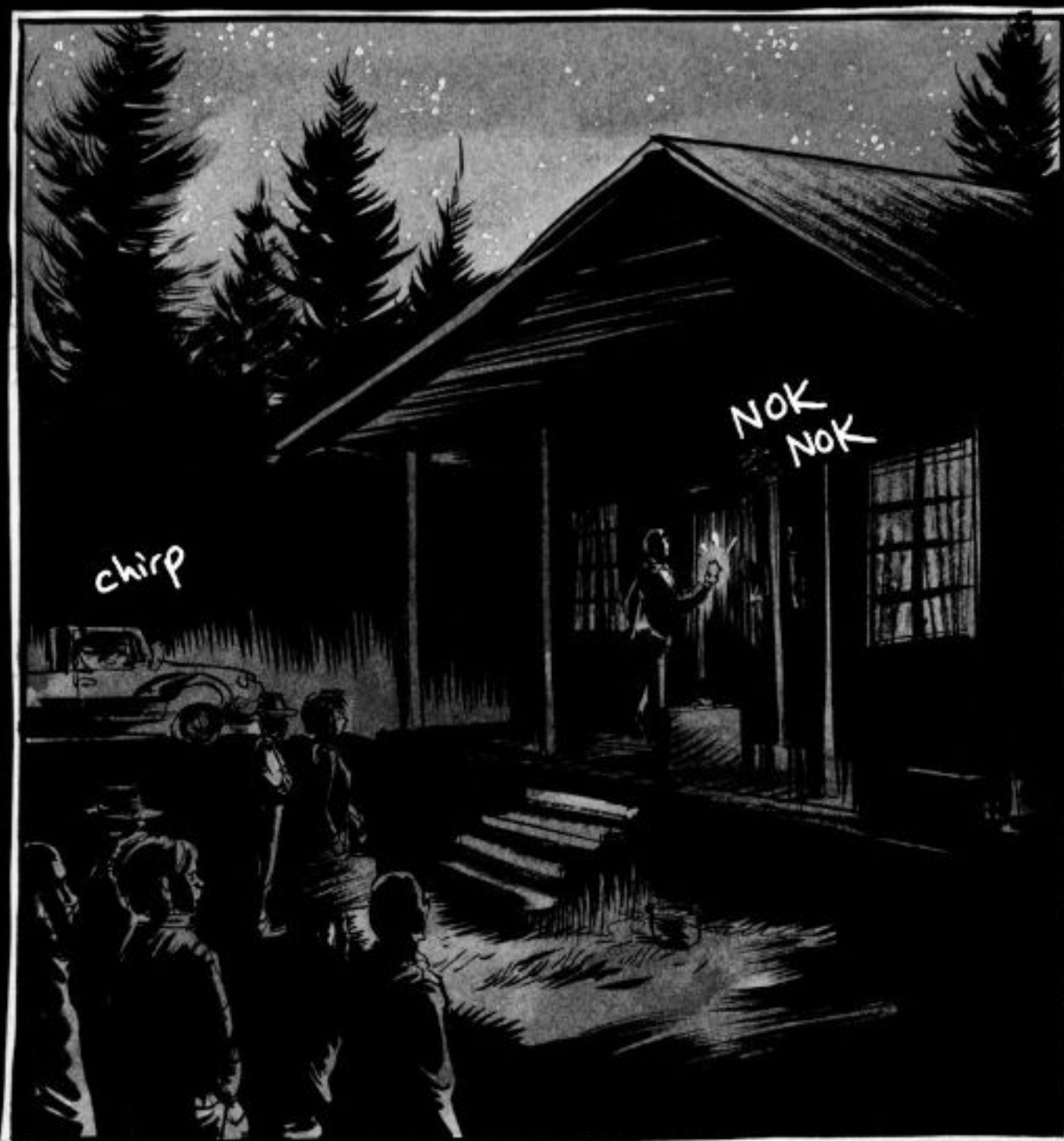
I'M PUTTING YOU PEOPLE
UNDER PROTECTIVE CUSTODY,
AND SENDING YOU ALL
THE WAY BACK TO
NASHVILLE WHERE
YOU BELONG.













THEY WERE BRAVE AND COURAGEOUS PEOPLE TO TAKE US ALL IN.





I'LL HAVE A CAR ON ITS WAY TO YOU.

ELEVEN OTHER "PACKAGES" HAVE BEEN SHIPPED DOWN TO BIRMINGHAM...



... JOHN, WHERE DO I SEND THE REST OF THE PACKAGES?



SEND THEM TO BIRMINGHAM, TOO.

SEND THEM ALL TO BIRMINGHAM.

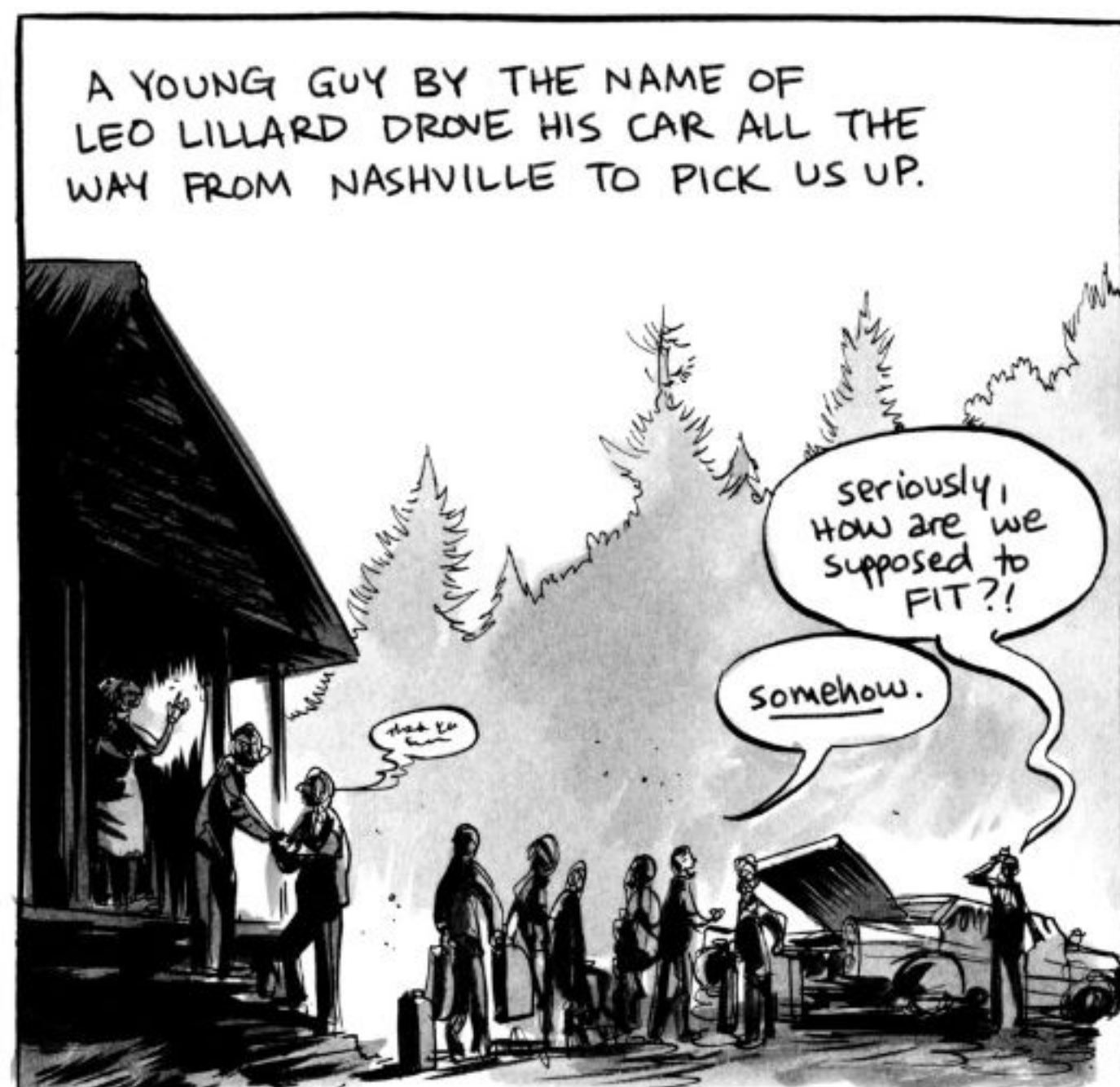


WHEN DAYBREAK CAME, WE TOLD THIS KIND COUPLE THAT WE HADN'T HAD ANYTHING TO EAT, AND WE GAVE THEM SOME MONEY.

WE WERE SO HUNGRY --



BUT NOT FOR LONG.



A YOUNG GUY BY THE NAME OF LEO LILLARD DROVE HIS CAR ALL THE WAY FROM NASHVILLE TO PICK US UP.

SERIOUSLY, HOW ARE WE SUPPOSED TO FIT?!

SOMEHOW.

WE STARTED DOWN THE HIGHWAY
AND HEARD A NEWS BULLETIN:

THIS JUST IN--THE FREEDOM RIDERS
ARE BACK IN NASHVILLE, AND
HAVE RETURNED TO THEIR
COLLEGE CAMPUSES...



WE WERE ECSTATIC
THAT THEY DIDN'T KNOW
WHERE WE WERE--

BUT THE MOOD QUICKLY FADED.

THEY-- WE ARE NOW REPORTING THAT THE
STUDENTS ARE ON THEIR WAY TO
BIRMINGHAM IN A PRIVATE CAR.

who--!

hang on,
everybody--

THEY KNEW WE
WERE COMING.

time for
a DETOUR!



SOMEHOW, WE MADE IT BACK
UNDETECTED THROUGH
LESS-TRAVELED ROADS.

WE ALL HAD A MEAL TOGETHER
BEFORE BEING DRIVEN DOWN TO THE
GREYHOUND STATION TO RESUME
THE FREEDOM RIDES.



3:04 PM,
MAY 19, 1961--
BIRMINGHAM GREYHOUND
BUS STATION.

SORRY--
I REPEAT:

THIS BUS HAS BEEN
CANCELED.
THE NEXT ONE IS
SCHEDULED FOR
5:00 PM.

WHAT THE
HELL?!

hey man,
watch the
language,
okay?

DID YOU
HEAR WHAT
HE JUST
SAID?!

THIS IS
RIDICULOUS.

okay!
okay!
let's keep
it under
control.

IT'S ALL RIGHT.
JUST HOLD TIGHT.

BUT THIS TIME, THERE WAS
NO DRIVER FOR THE BUS.

TO	FROM	TIME	STATUS
MOBILE		4:20	ON TIME
TUPELO / MEMPHIS		6:10	DEPARTED
MONTGOMERY / DOTHAN		6:00	ON TIME
CHATTANOOGA		5:00	BOARDING
ATLANTA		5:00	ON TIME
		5:30	ON TIME
		6:00	DEPARTED

TIK TIK TIK

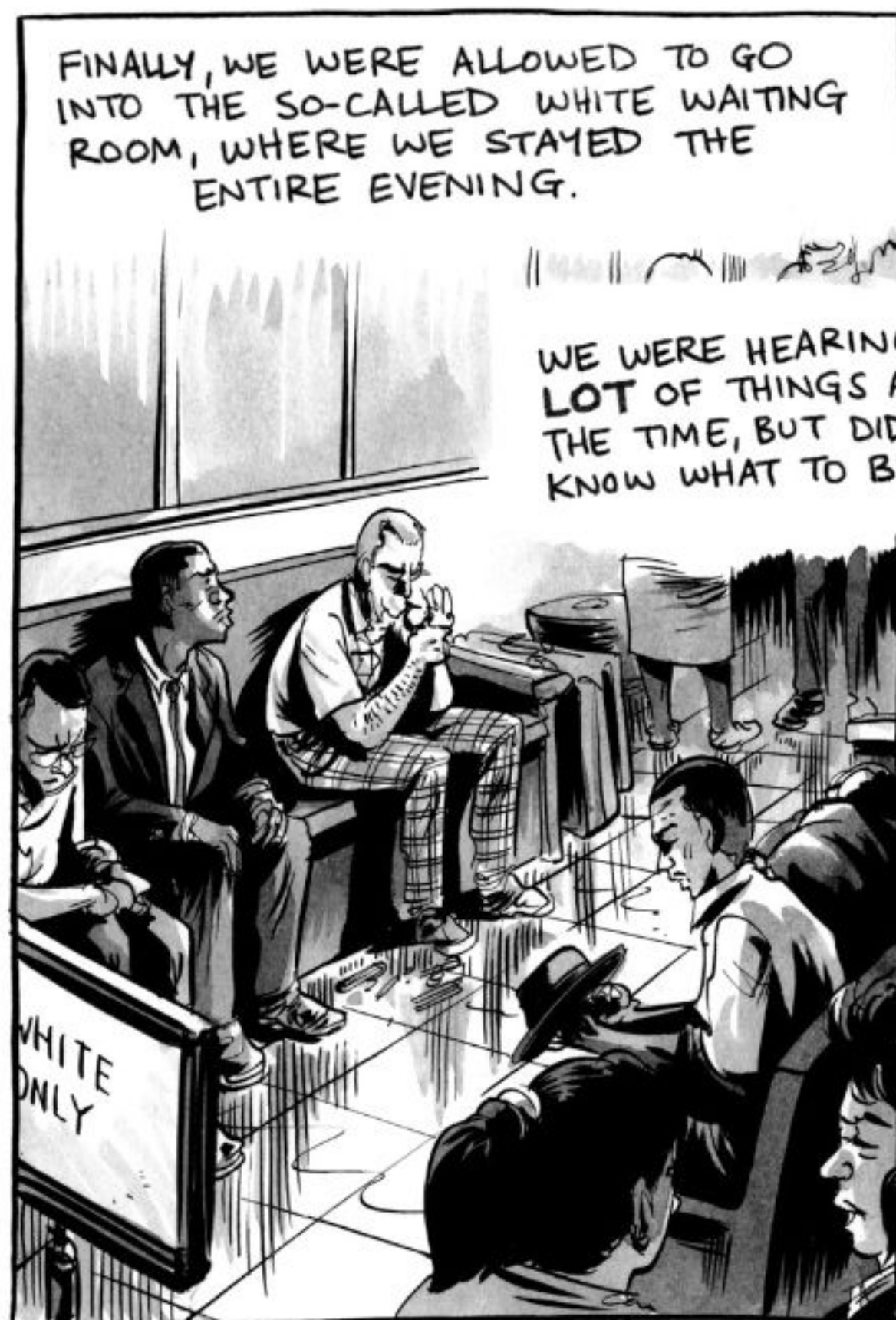
TO	FROM	TIME	STATUS
NASHVILLE		5	ON TIME
ANNISTON		1	7:00
MOBILE		4	4:40
TUPELO / MEMPHIS		3	4:20
MONTGOMERY / DOTHAN		2	6:10
CHATTANOOGA		4	6:00
ATLANTA		6	5:00
		1	ON TIME
		7	CANCELED

TIK TIK TIK

TIME	STATUS
5:00	CANCELED
5:30	ON TIME
6:00	ON TIME

WE STILL DON'T
HAVE ANY DRIVERS
WILLING TO TAKE
YOU.

SLAP!



FINALLY, WE WERE ALLOWED TO GO INTO THE SO-CALLED WHITE WAITING ROOM, WHERE WE STAYED THE ENTIRE EVENING.

WE WERE HEARING A LOT OF THINGS AT THE TIME, BUT DIDN'T KNOW WHAT TO BELIEVE.



--AND WE HEARD THAT BOBBY KENNEDY SAID, "THE PEOPLE HAVE A RIGHT TO TRAVEL" --

but he wants all of you OUT of Birmingham.



He thinks Birmingham is too dangerous.

ALL I KNEW WAS THAT ATTORNEY GENERAL ROBERT KENNEDY COULD NOT COUNT ON ANY COOPERATION FROM STATE OR LOCAL AUTHORITIES.



WE HEARD THAT ROBERT KENNEDY AND HIS AIDE, JOHN SEIGENTHALER, HAD BEEN TALKING TO GOVERNOR JOHN PATTERSON AS WELL AS GREYHOUND OFFICIALS TO WORK OUT A SOLUTION.

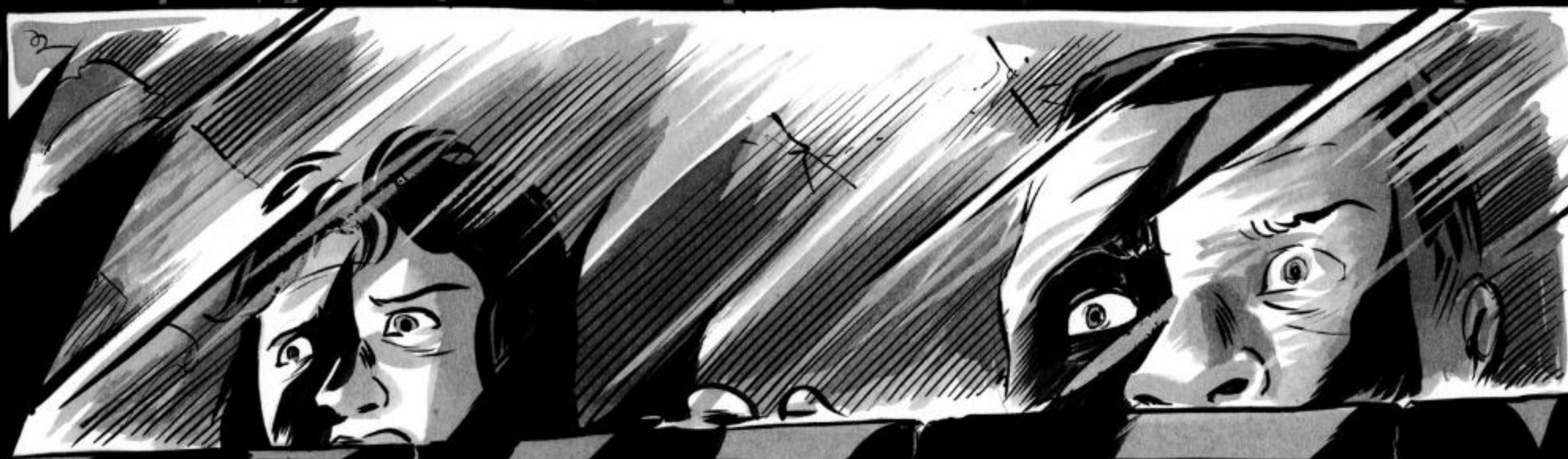


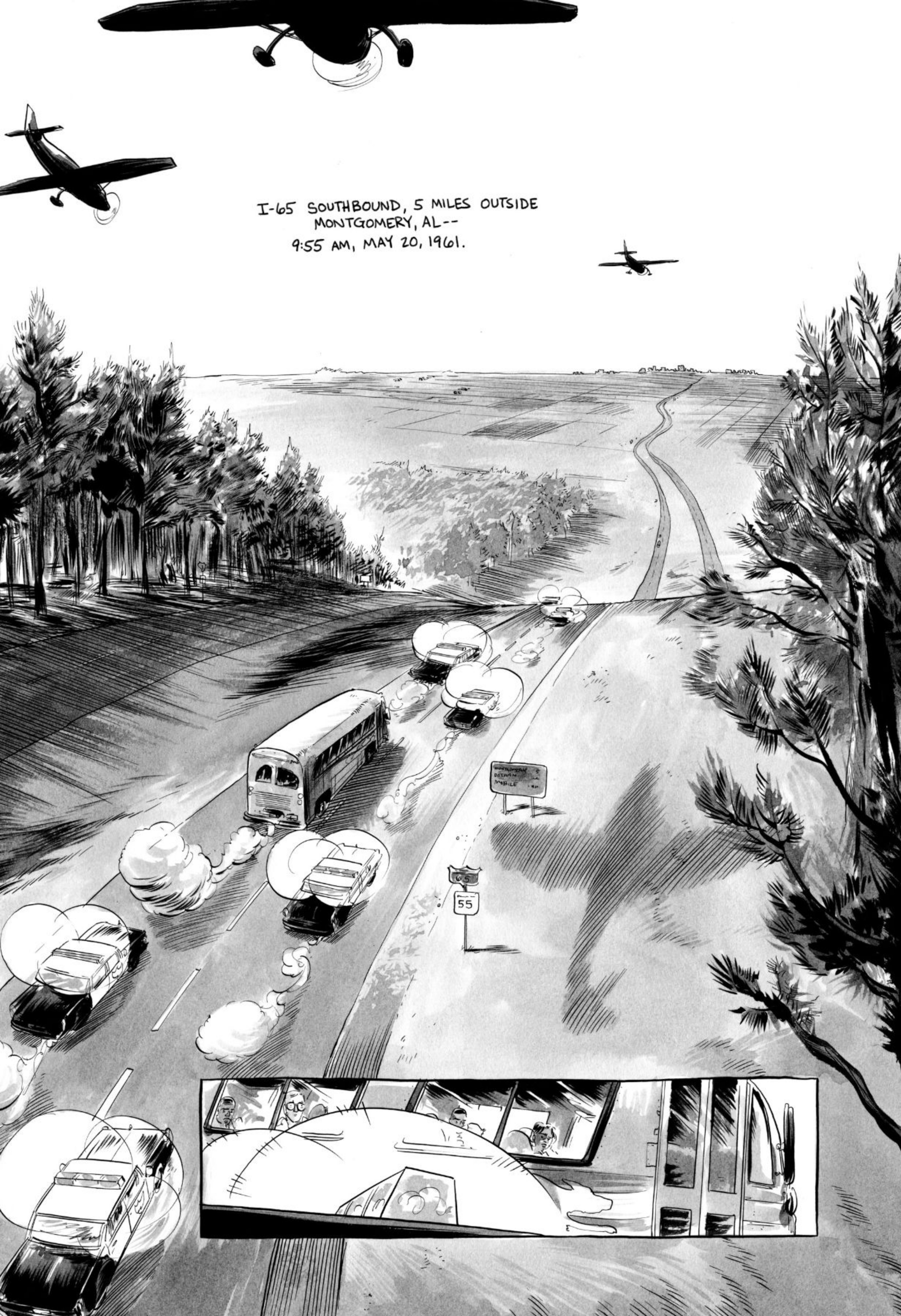
YEAR... KNOW THERE'S...
US GO SAY HI!! for a minute!!



WE COULDN'T SLEEP, AND THERE
WAS NOTHING TO EAT--

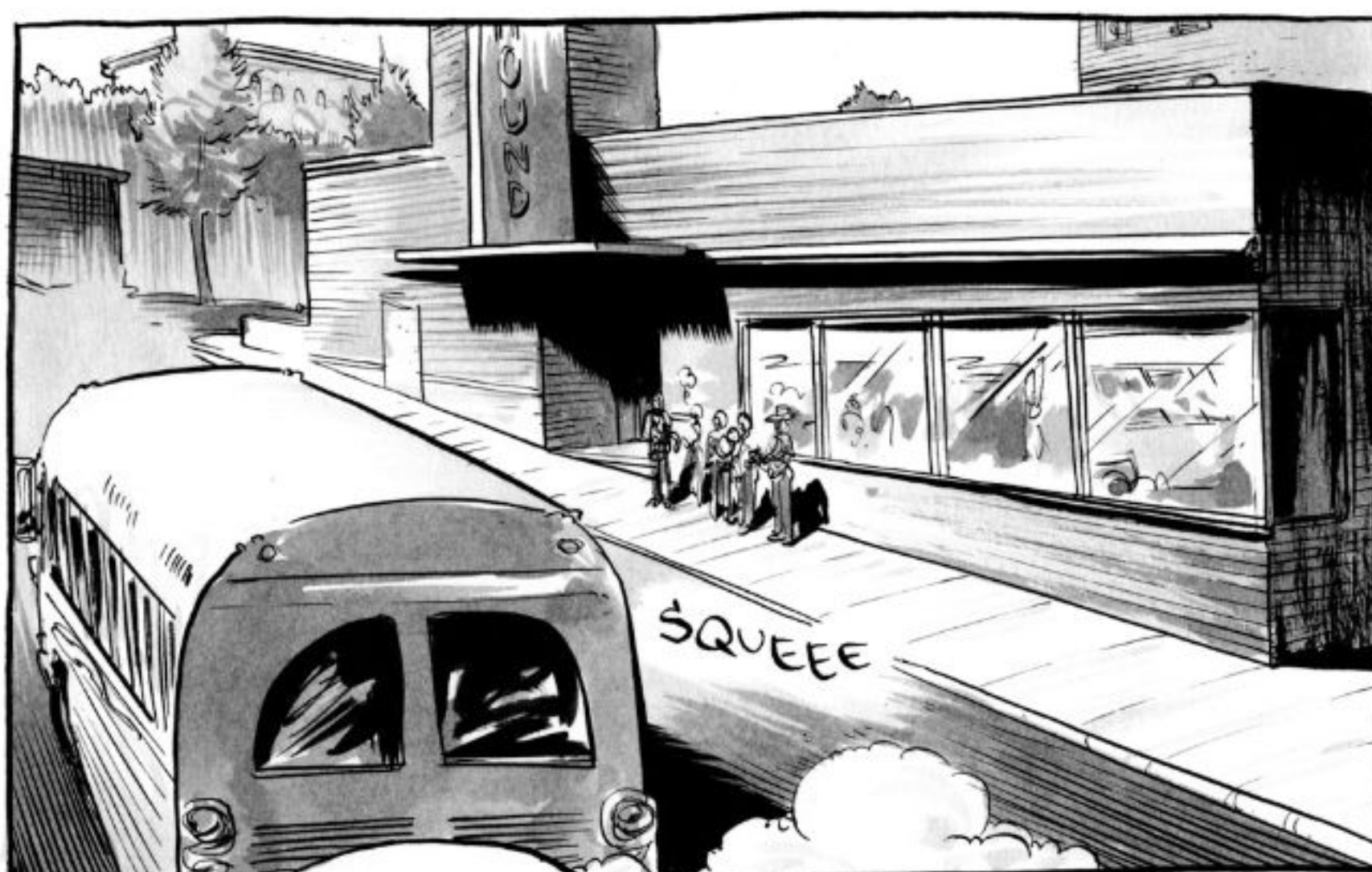
BUT THAT NIGHT, WE HAD
MORE SERIOUS CONCERNS.





I-65 SOUTHBOUND, 5 MILES OUTSIDE
MONTGOMERY, AL--
9:55 AM, MAY 20, 1961.







HOW MANY OF THE RIDERS













IT WAS FLOYD MANN, ALABAMA'S PUBLIC SAFETY DIRECTOR, WHO SAVED OUR LIVES.



I'LL SHOOT THE NEXT MAN THAT HITS HIM.

THERE'LL BE NO KILLING HERE TODAY.



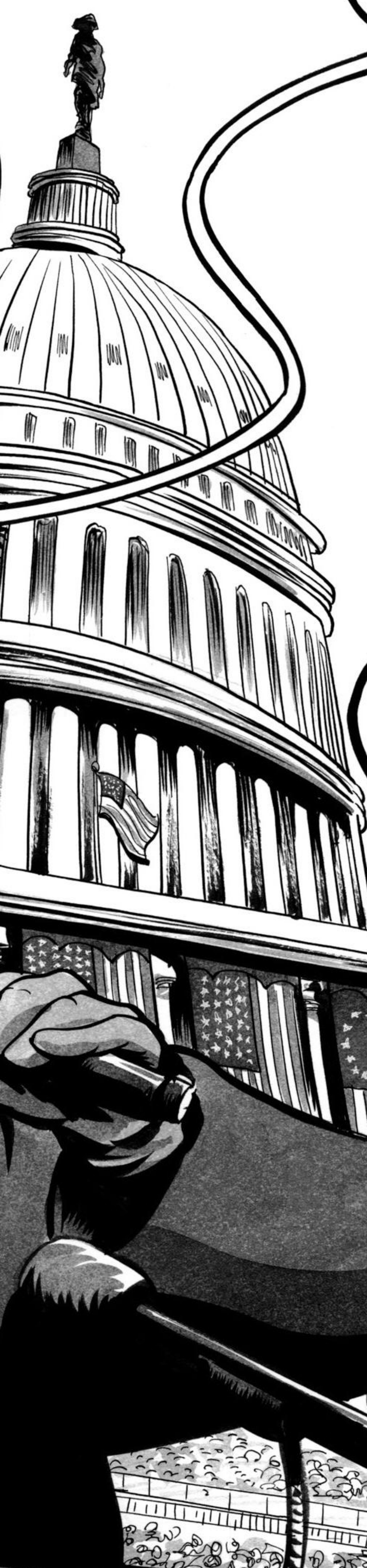
U.S. CAPITOL, WASHINGTON, D.C. --
11:41 AM, JANUARY 20, 2009

SWEET LAND OF LIBERTY,
OF THEE I SING;

LAND WHERE MY
FATHERS DIED,
LAND OF THE
PILGRIMS' PRIDE,
FROM EV'RY
MOUNTAIN SIDE

LET FREEDOM
RING!





♪ OUR FATHERS' GOD TO THEE,
AUTHOR OF LIBERTY,
TO THEE WE SING. ♪

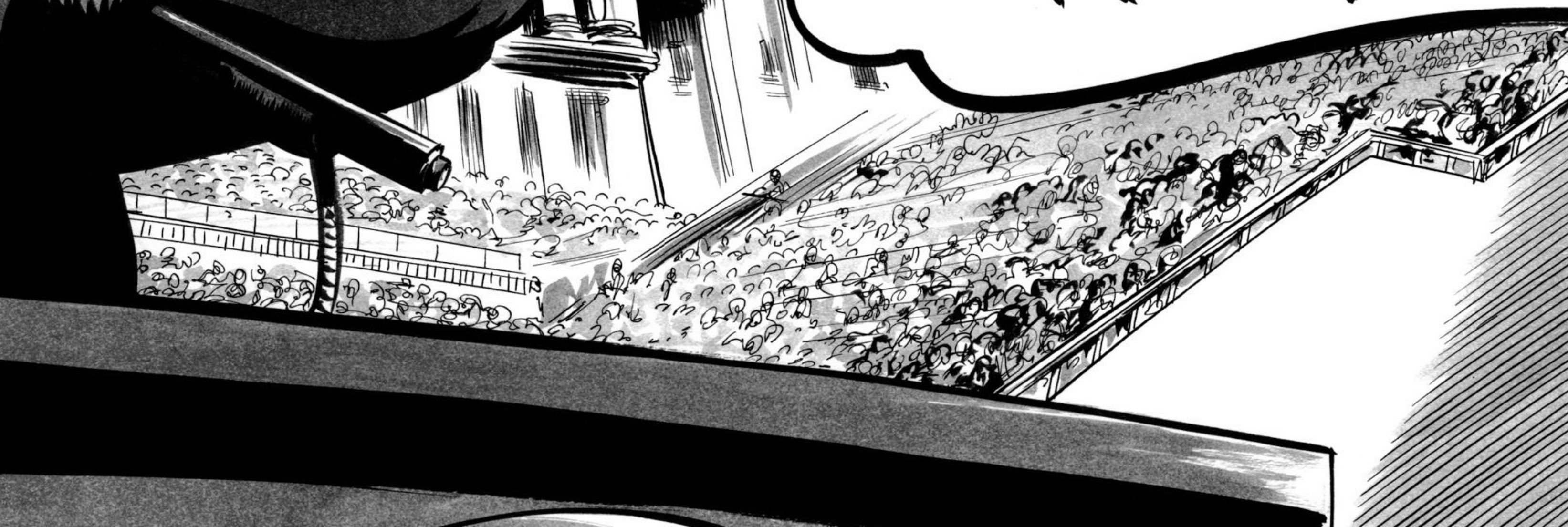


♪ LONG MAY OUR
LAND BE BRIGHT,
WITH FREEDOM'S HOLY
LIGHT, PROTECT US
BY THY MIGHT,
OH LET FREEDOM RING! ♪

♪ LET
IT
RING! ♪

FROM THE RED
CLAY OF GEORGIA--
ALL THE WAY TO THE
ALLEGHENY MOUNTAINS-- ♪

♪ LET IT
RING! ♪





FIRST BAPTIST CHURCH--
MONTGOMERY, AL-- 8:08 PM, MAY 21, 1961



AFTER HEARING OF THE VIOLENCE AT THE
BUS STATION, DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.
FLEW TO MONTGOMERY.

A MASS MEETING WAS CALLED
AT RALPH ABERNATHY'S CHURCH.
GOVERNOR PATTERSON, DESPITE PROMISING
TO PROTECT US, HAD WARRANTS SWORN
OUT FOR OUR ARREST. WE RIDERS
DECIDED TO SCATTER OURSELVES
THROUGHOUT THE CHURCH'S PEWS IN
CASE THE POLICE TRIED TO ARREST US.



BY SUNSET, MORE THAN 1,500 PEOPLE HAD PACKED THE CHURCH.

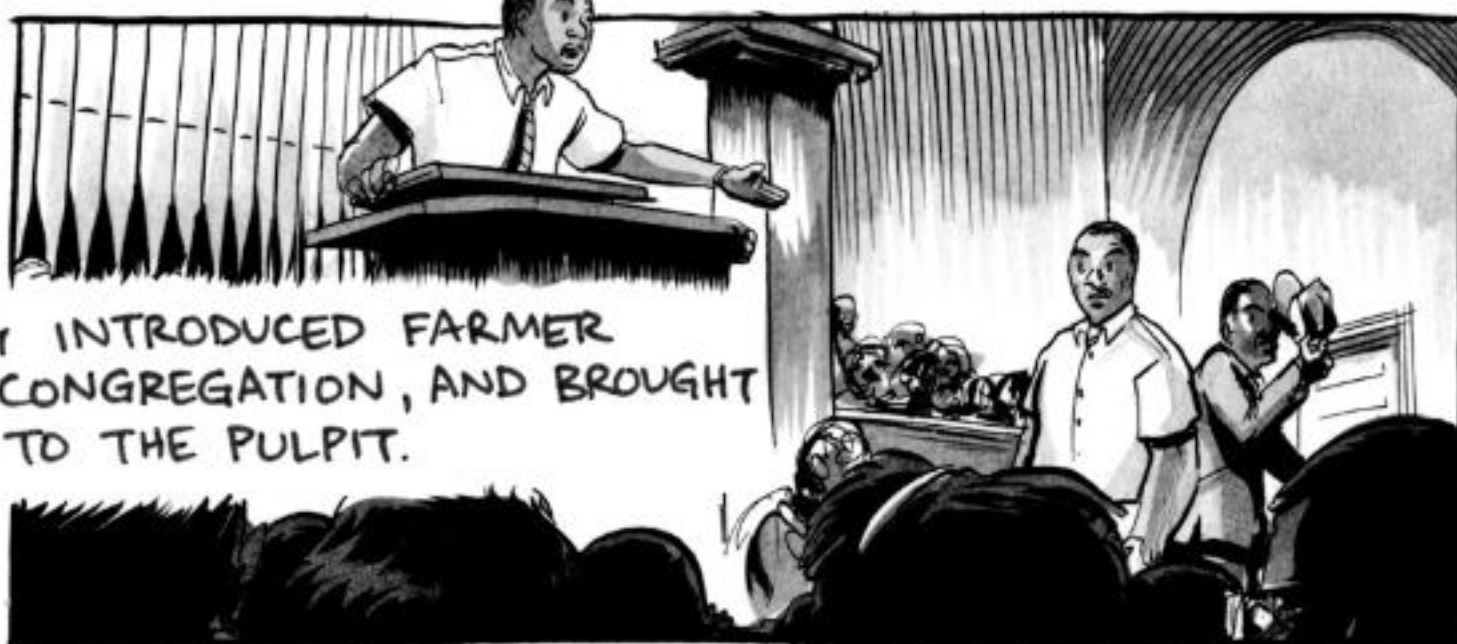
JUST AS THE CROWD INSIDE THE CHURCH
GREW, SO DID THE CROWD OF WHITES
OUTSIDE. AND THEY WERE ANGRY.



THE MEETING DIDN'T BEGIN UNTIL FRED SHUTTLESWORTH ARRIVED SAFELY WITH JAMES FARMER.



DR. KING INTRODUCED FARMER TO THE CONGREGATION, AND BROUGHT HIM UP TO THE PULPIT.



THEN THEY ASKED ME TO COME UP AS WELL.

THE TWO REMAINING ORIGINAL FREEDOM RIDERS-- REUNITED.



AS THE MEETING CONTINUED, WE POURED OUR HEARTS INTO THE MUSIC OF THE MOVEMENT, SONGS LIKE "AIN'T NOBODY GONNA TURN ME 'ROUND" AND "WE SHALL OVERCOME," TO GIVE US STRENGTH.

TINK!
CRASH!

we know
what's in
there.
come out
and play!

SMASH!

T-TINK
TINK

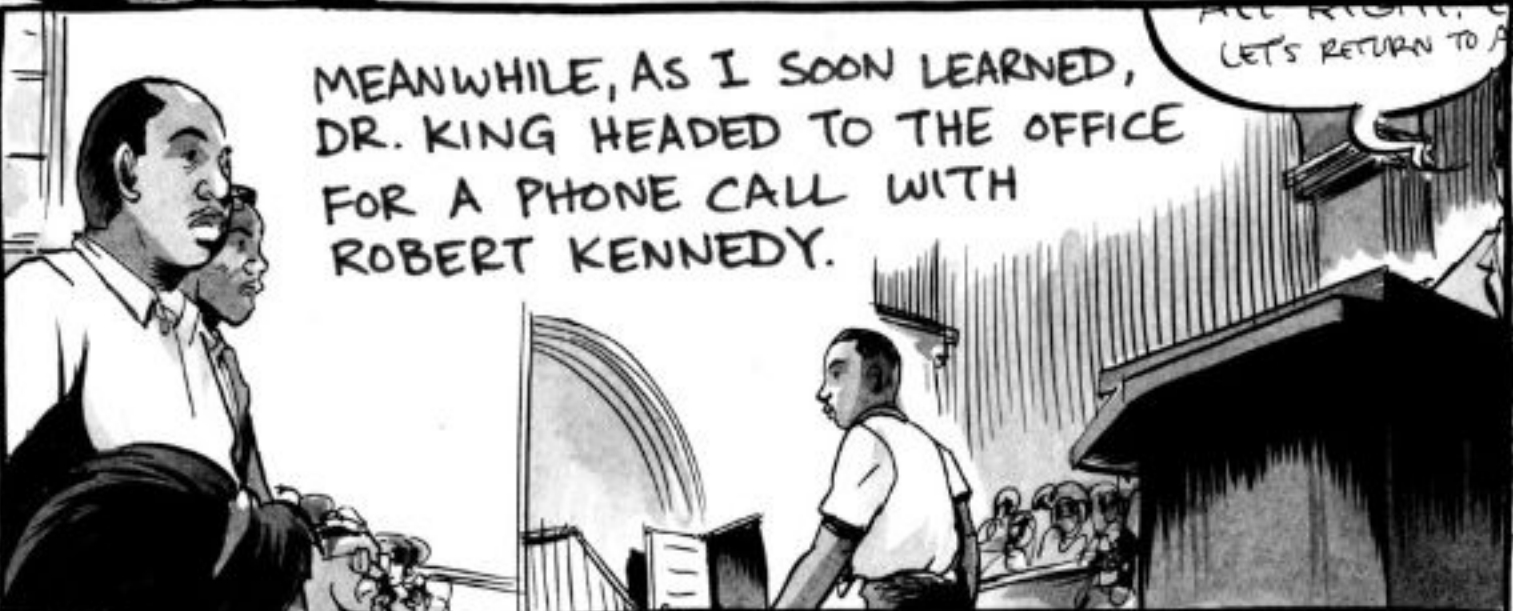
CRASH!

come on
out to
here!

I DON'T WANT



MEANWHILE, AS I SOON LEARNED, DR. KING HEADED TO THE OFFICE FOR A PHONE CALL WITH ROBERT KENNEDY.



ALL RIGHT!
LET'S RETURN TO A





A FEW U.S. MARSHALS HAD ARRIVED,
BUT THEY STRUGGLED OUTSIDE TO HOLD THE MOB BACK...



... AND IT QUICKLY BEGAN TO LOOK
LIKE THEY WOULD BE OVERWHELMED.



UNEXPECTEDLY, THE ALABAMA NATIONAL GUARD ARRIVED AND SENT THE MARSHALS AWAY.

AFTER HOURS OF REFUSING TO SPEAK WITH ANY FEDERAL OFFICIAL, GOVERNOR PATTERSON HAD FINALLY ORDERED MONTGOMERY TO BE PUT UNDER WHAT HE CALLED "QUALIFIED MARTIAL LAW."

AND SO, WE CONTINUED OUR MEETING.

WYATT WALKER SPOKE, FOLLOWED BY RALPH ABERNATHY, AND THEN JAMES FARMER. BUT DR. KING BROUGHT IT HOME.

GOVERNOR PATTERSON BEARS THE ULTIMATE RESPONSIBILITY FOR THE HIDEOUS ACTION IN ALABAMA.

HIS CONSISTENT PREACHING OF DEFIANCE OF THE LAW, HIS VITRIOLIC PUBLIC PRONOUNCEMENTS, AND HIS IRRESPONSIBLE ACTIONS HAVE CREATED THE ATMOSPHERE IN WHICH VIOLENCE COULD THRIVE.

THEN FRED SHUTTLESWORTH SPOKE, AND MADE IT QUITE PLAIN.

IT'S A SIN AND A SHAME BEFORE GOD THAT THESE PEOPLE WHO GOVERN US WOULD LET THINGS COME TO SUCH A SAD STATE. BUT GOD IS NOT DEAD.

THE MOST GUILTY MAN IN THIS STATE TONIGHT IS GOVERNOR PATTERSON.

FINALLY, JUST AFTER MIDNIGHT,
THE MEETING FINISHED.



WE STARTED TO LEAVE,



ONLY TO FIND THAT THOSE SAME TROOPS
SUPPOSEDLY SENT TO PROTECT US,
NOW HELD US INSIDE THE CHURCH.



OUT OF
THE WAY--

ALL RIGHT,
BACK UP,
BACK UP!

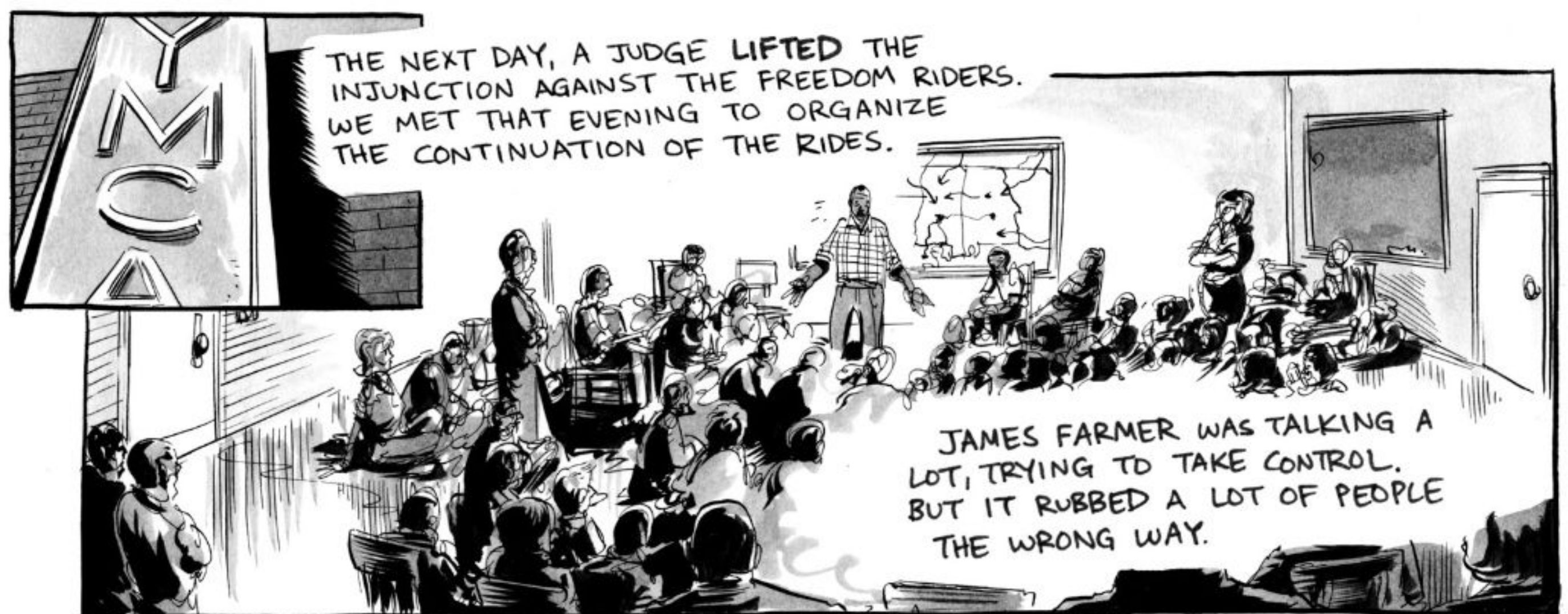
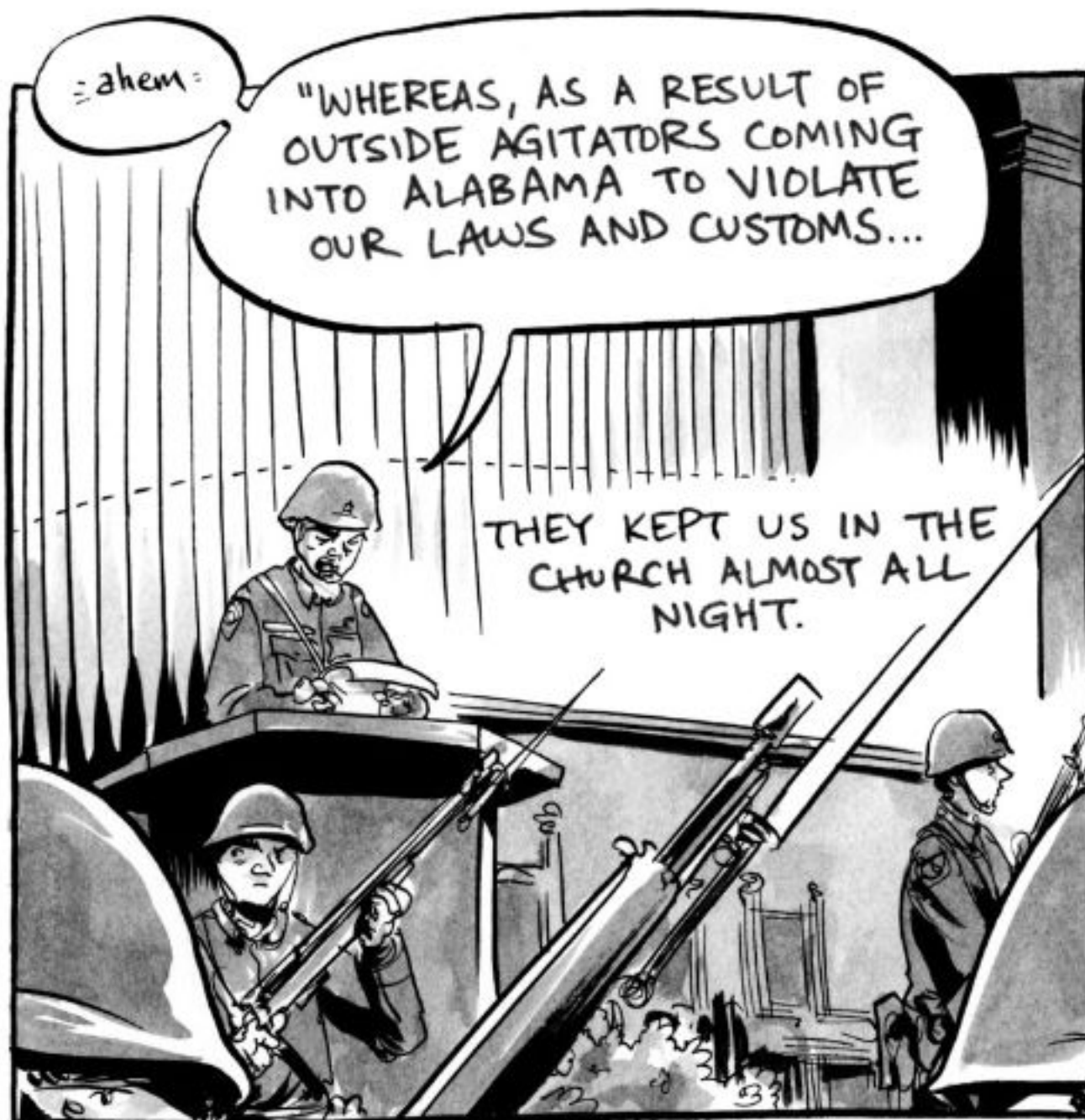


GENERAL HENRY GRAHAM OF
THE ALABAMA NATIONAL GUARD,

A REAL ESTATE AGENT
IN HIS CIVILIAN LIFE,

REFUSED TO ALLOW
ANYONE TO LEAVE.





ANOTHER ISSUE WAS DR. KING'S PARTICIPATION IN THE RIDES.





... I think I should choose the time and place of my GOLGOTHA.

tsk!

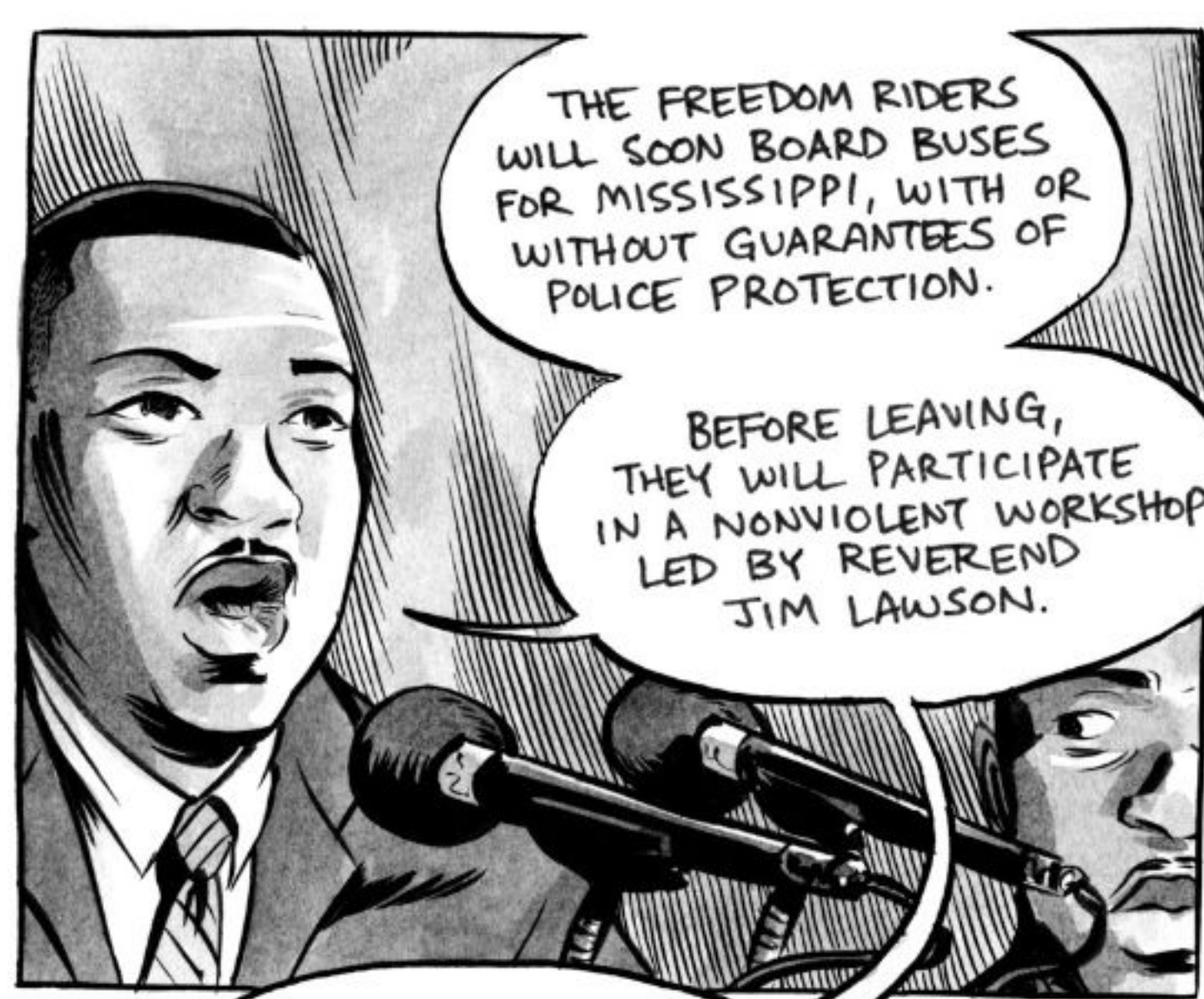
de Lawd!

MONTGOMERY, AL--
MAY 23, 1961.

I'M GOING TO READ A STATEMENT.

THE NEXT DAY WE HELD A PRESS CONFERENCE ANNOUNCING OUR INTENTION TO CONTINUE THE FREEDOM RIDES TO JACKSON, MISSISSIPPI-- THE HEART OF THE BEAST.

FLASH! FLASH!



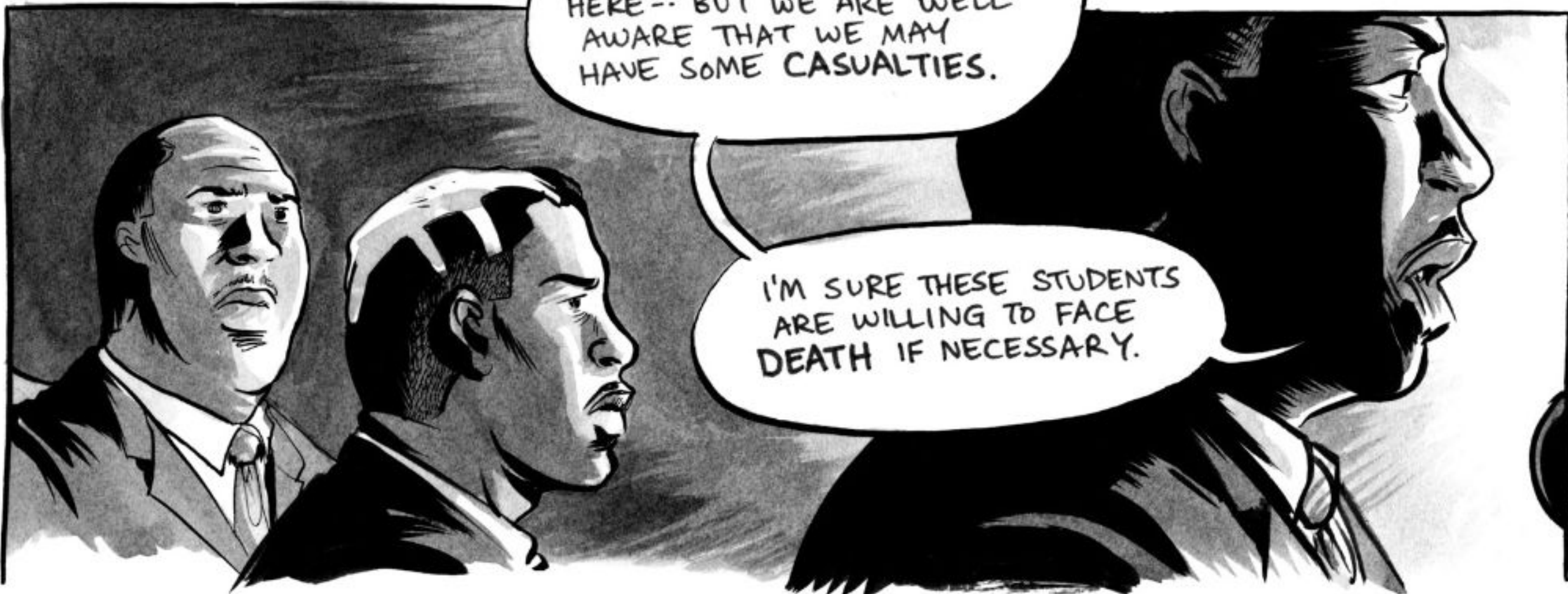
THE FREEDOM RIDERS WILL SOON BOARD BUSES FOR MISSISSIPPI, WITH OR WITHOUT GUARANTEES OF POLICE PROTECTION.

BEFORE LEAVING, THEY WILL PARTICIPATE IN A NONVIOLENT WORKSHOP LED BY REVEREND JIM LAWSON.



FREEDOM RIDERS MUST DEVELOP THE QUIET COURAGE OF DYING FOR A CAUSE.

WE ALL LOVE LIFE, AND THERE ARE NO MARTYRS HERE-- BUT WE ARE WELL AWARE THAT WE MAY HAVE SOME CASUALTIES.



I'M SURE THESE STUDENTS ARE WILLING TO FACE DEATH IF NECESSARY.



EARLY THE NEXT MORNING, WE WERE DRIVEN TO THE BUS STATION BY NATIONAL GUARD TROOPS, FOR OUR OWN PROTECTION.



yeahhh,
uh gee, well uh
you know i've got
a lot of paperwork
is the thing, and
you know CORE
really needs
somebody to...





JACKSON, MS-- MAY 24, 1961

WHEN WE GOT TO THE JACKSON BUS STATION, WE LEARNED
THAT EVERYONE FROM THE BUS AHEAD OF US HAD ALREADY
BEEN TAKEN TO JAIL.



BUT THAT DIDN'T
STOP US.

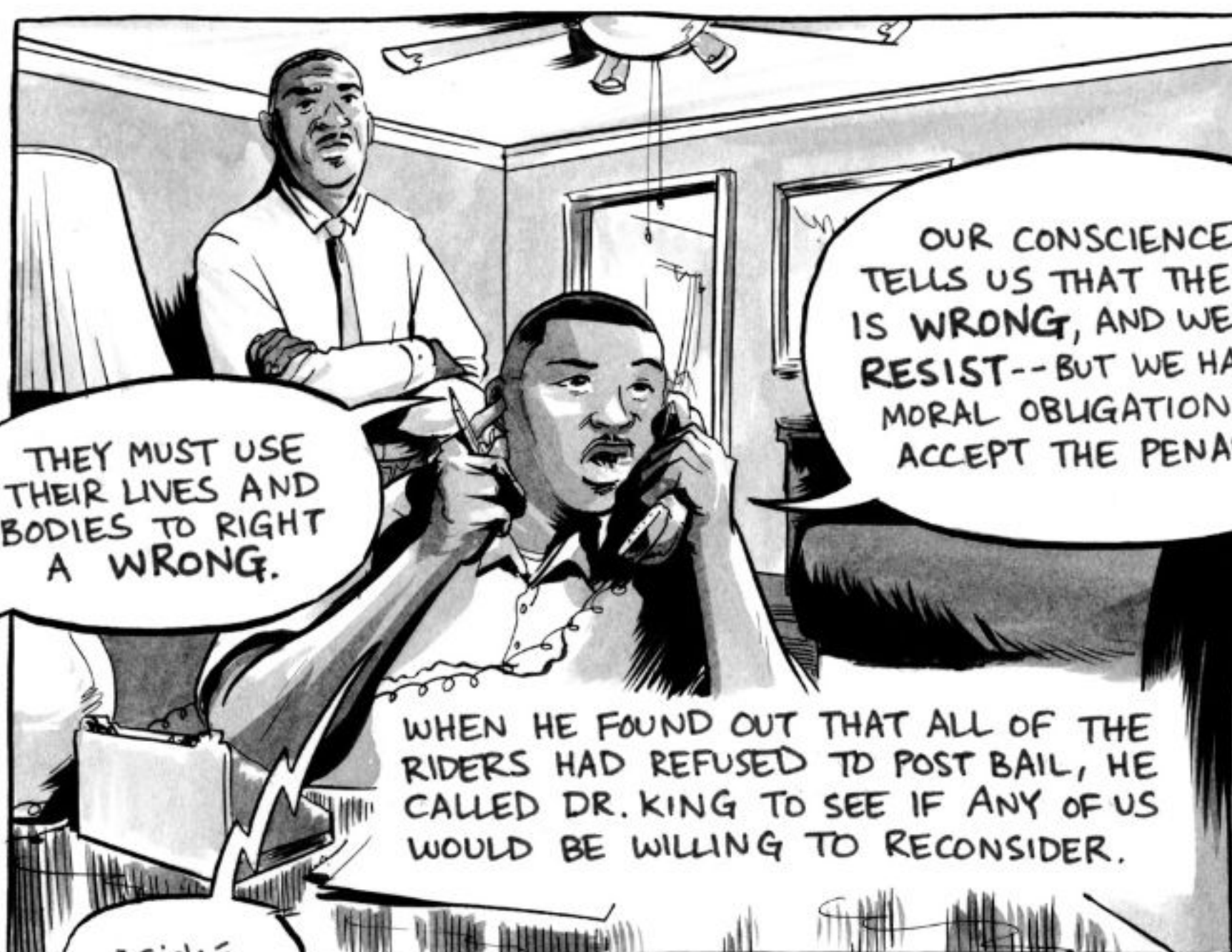


AFTER OUR ARRESTS IN JACKSON, ROBERT KENNEDY WAS QUICKLY LOSING PATIENCE WITH US.



MR. ATTORNEY GENERAL, IT'S A MATTER OF CONSCIENCE AND MORALITY--

THEY MUST USE THEIR LIVES AND BODIES TO RIGHT A WRONG.



THAT IS NOT GOING TO HAVE THE SLIGHTEST EFFECT ON WHAT THE GOVERNMENT IS GOING TO DO IN THIS FIELD, OR ANY OTHER. THE FACT THAT THEY STAY IN JAIL IS NOT GOING TO HAVE THE SLIGHTEST EFFECT ON ME, DR. KING.



PERHAPS IT WOULD HELP IF THE STUDENTS CAME DOWN HERE BY THE HUNDREDS--

BY THE HUNDREDS OF THOUSANDS.



LOOK, THE COUNTRY BELONGS TO YOU AS MUCH AS TO ME. YOU DETERMINE WHAT'S BEST JUST AS WELL AS I CAN, BUT DON'T MAKE STATEMENTS THAT SOUND LIKE A THREAT.

THAT'S NOT THE WAY TO DEAL WITH US.



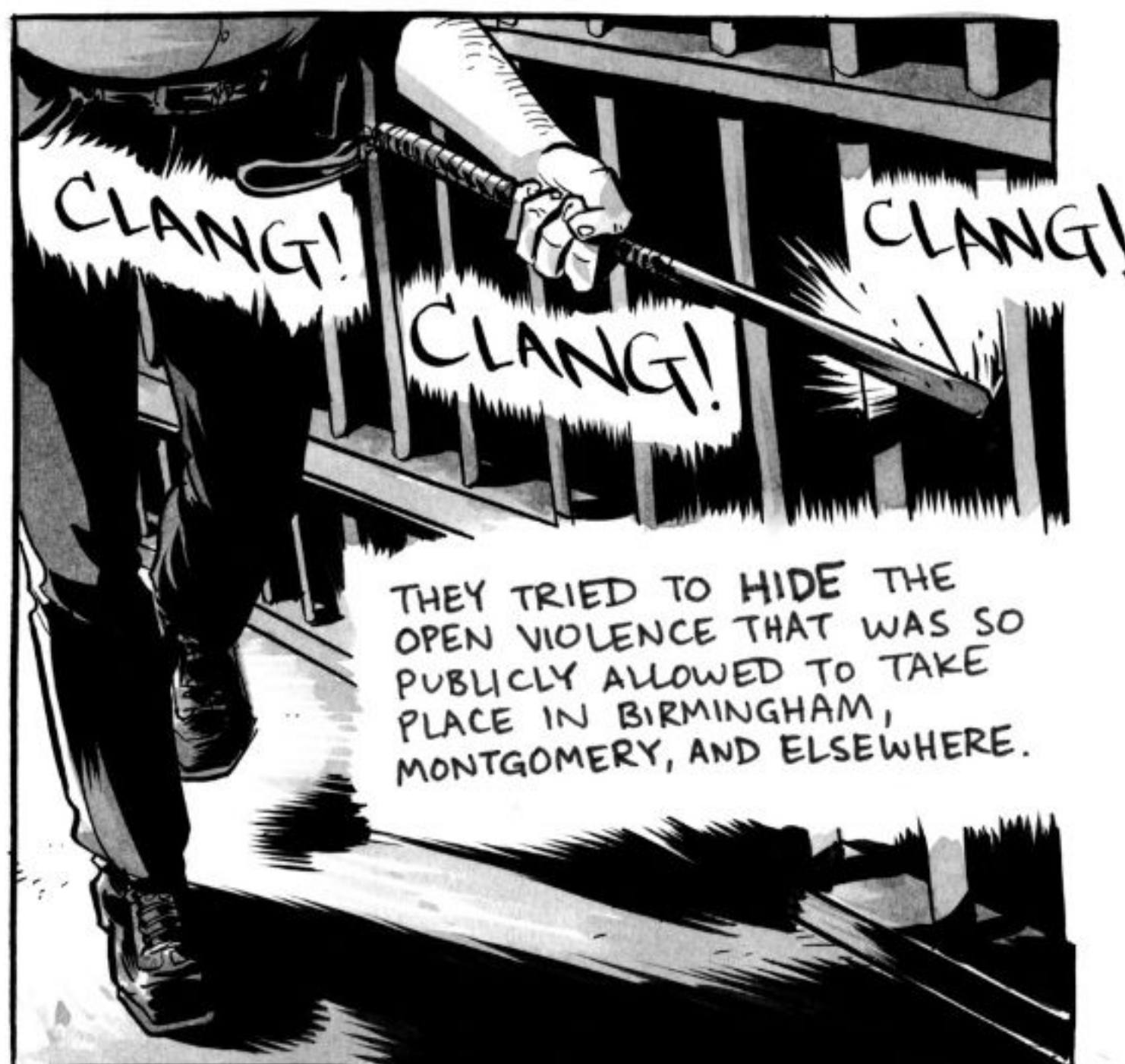
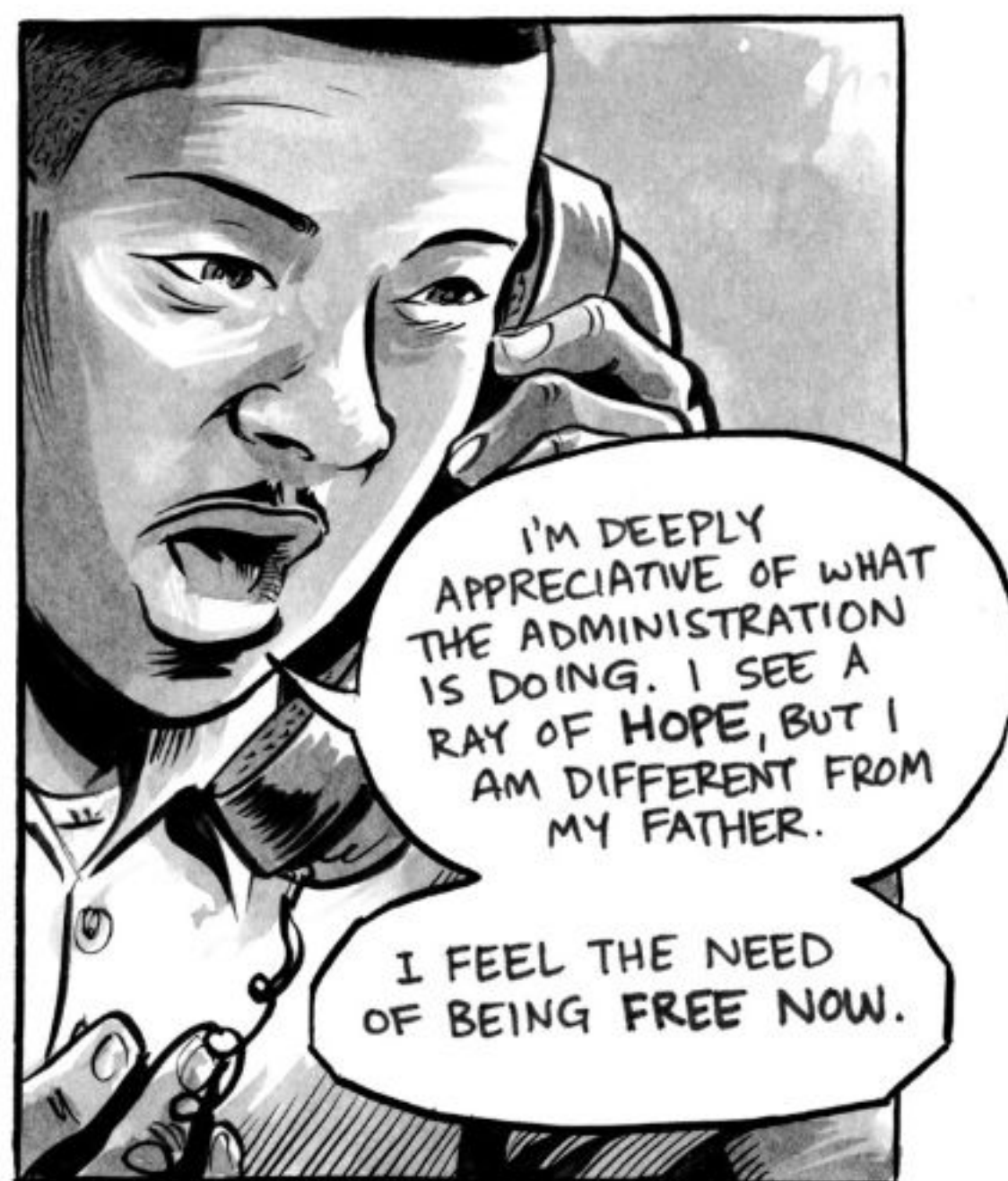
IT'S DIFFICULT TO UNDERSTAND THE POSITION OF OPPRESSED PEOPLE. OURS IS A WAY OUT-- CREATIVE, MORAL, AND NONVIOLENT.

IT IS NOT TIED TO BLACK SUPREMACY OR COMMUNISM, BUT TO THE PLIGHT OF THE OPPRESSED.



IT CAN SAVE THE SOUL OF AMERICA.







WHEN I ASK YOU A QUESTION, YOU FINISH YOUR ANSWERS WITH "SIR" BECAUSE I AM YOUR SUPERIOR.

DO YOU UNDERSTAND ME?!

INSTEAD, MUCH OF THE MEANS OF ENFORCING SEGREGATION CAME THROUGH ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL PRESSURE ORGANIZED BY A GROUP CALLED THE WHITE CITIZENS' COUNCIL.

BUT BEHIND CLOSED DOORS--

GOD DAMMIT!

THE VIOLENCE COULD BE EVEN WORSE.

SORT OF LIKE A BUSINESSMAN'S KU KLUX KLAN.

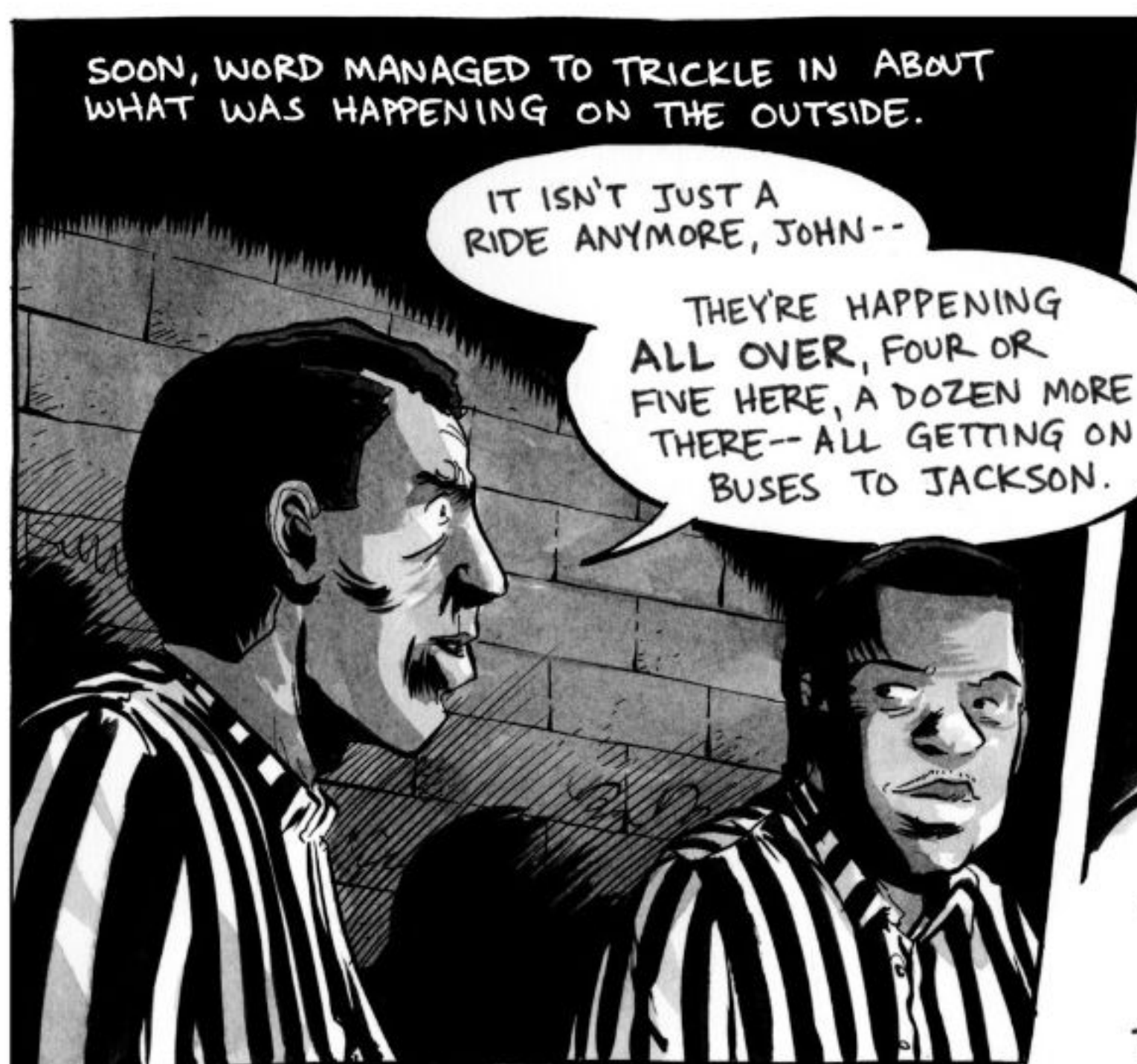
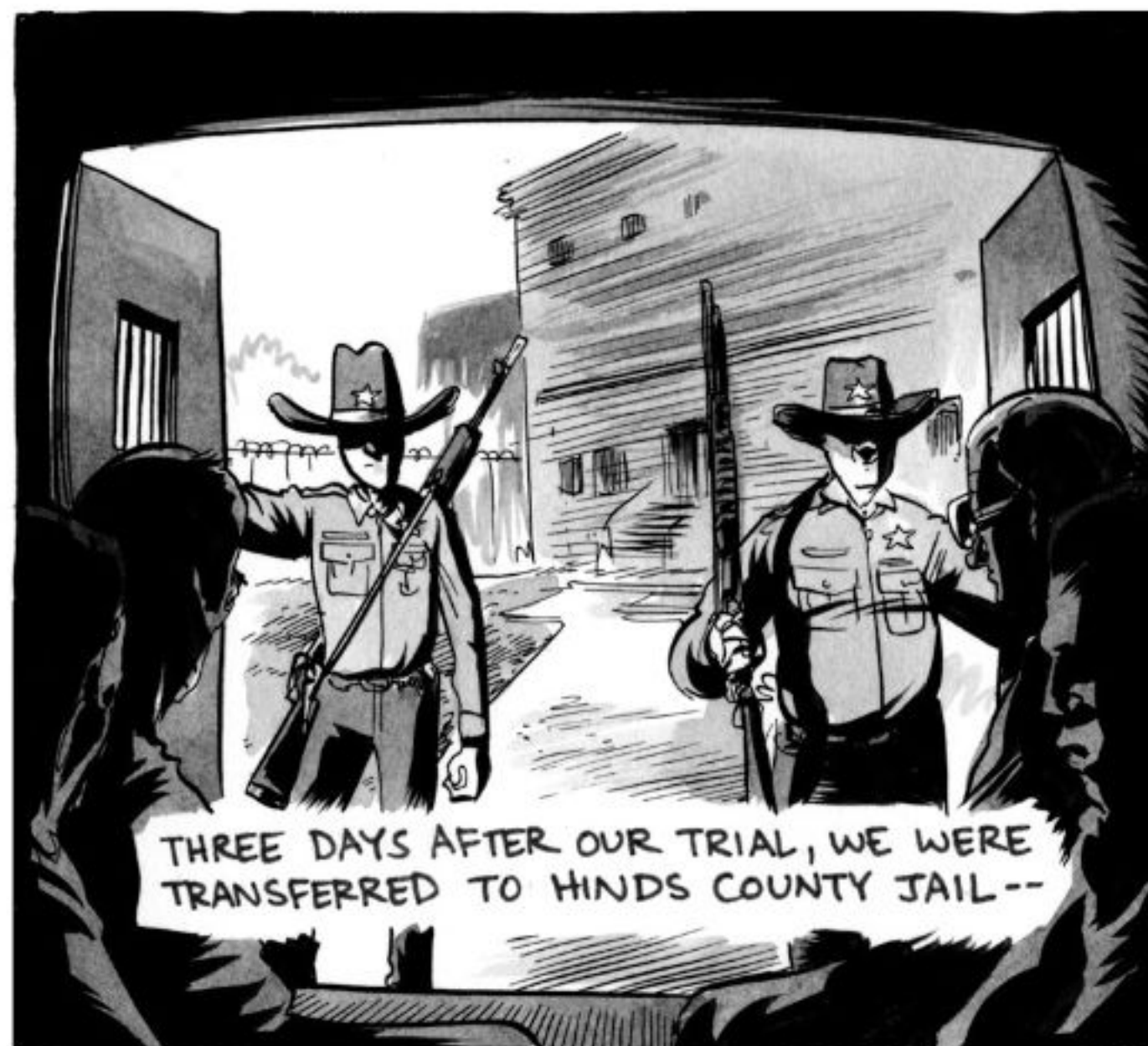
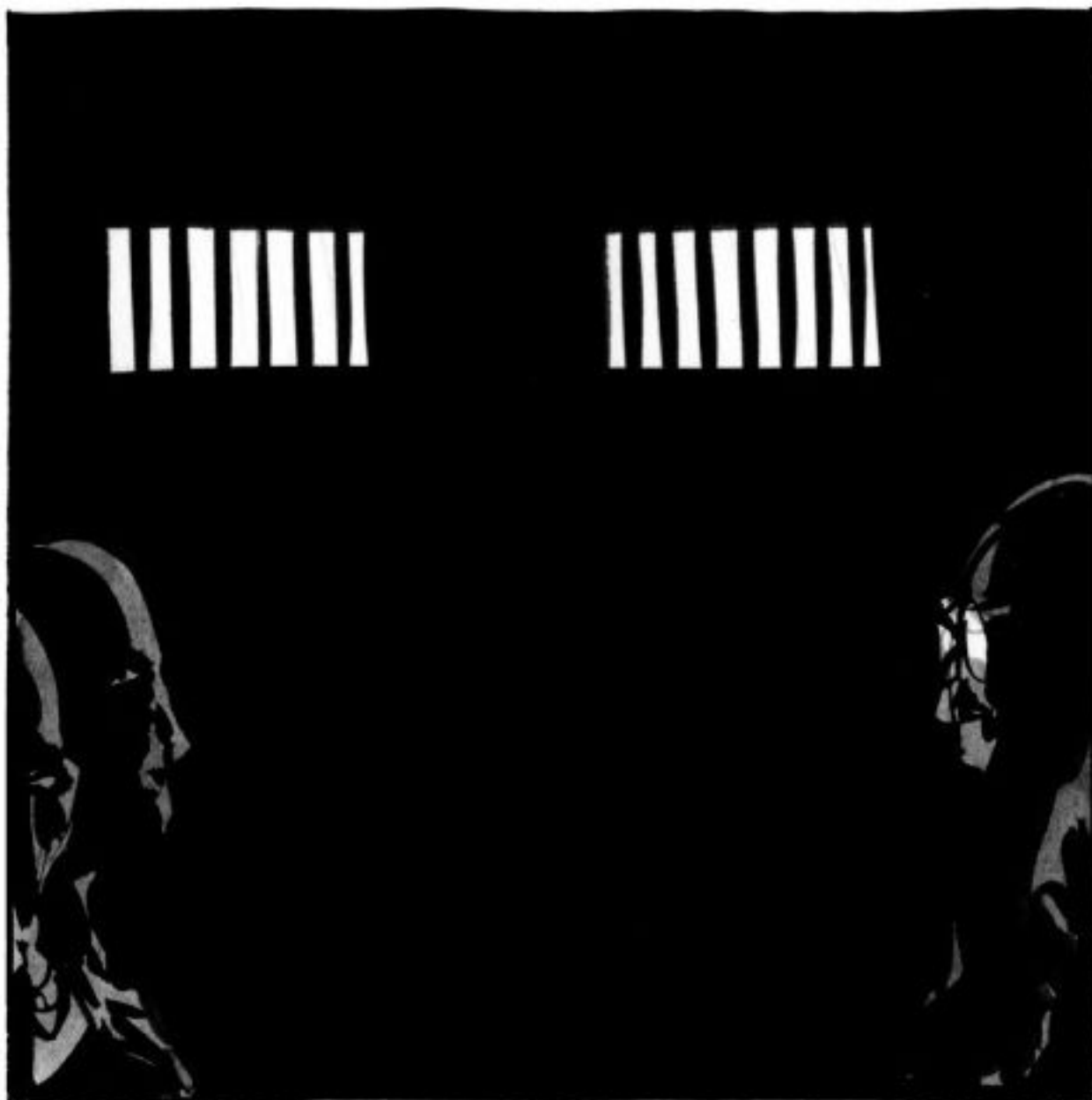
yes.

WE WERE QUICKLY TAKEN TO TRIAL. THE PROSECUTION ONLY CALLED ONE WITNESS, AND ALL 27 OF US WERE CONVICTED OF DISTURBING THE PEACE. WE WERE SENTENCED TO A \$200 FINE EACH, AND A SUSPENDED SENTENCE OF 60 DAYS IN JAIL.

REFUSING TO PAY THE FINE MEANT THAT WE WOULD HAVE TO SERVE OUR 60 DAYS IN JAIL. FOR MANY, THAT WAS A VERY FRIGHTENING PROSPECT.

BUT FOR ME, AND NEARLY EVERY OTHER FREEDOM RIDER, WE JUST WOULD NOT PAY THAT FINE.

AND SO WE WENT TO JAIL.



MISSISSIPPI STATE PENITENTARY,
AKA "PARCHMAN FARM"--
JUNE 15, 1961.

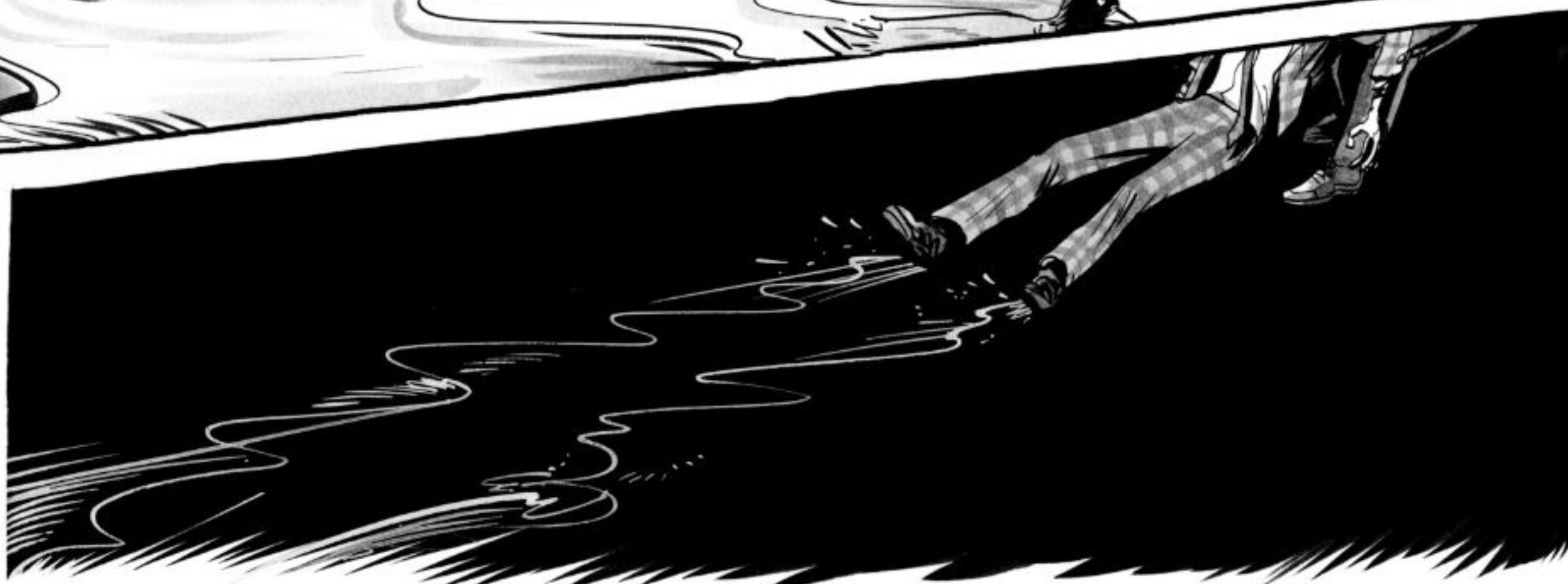
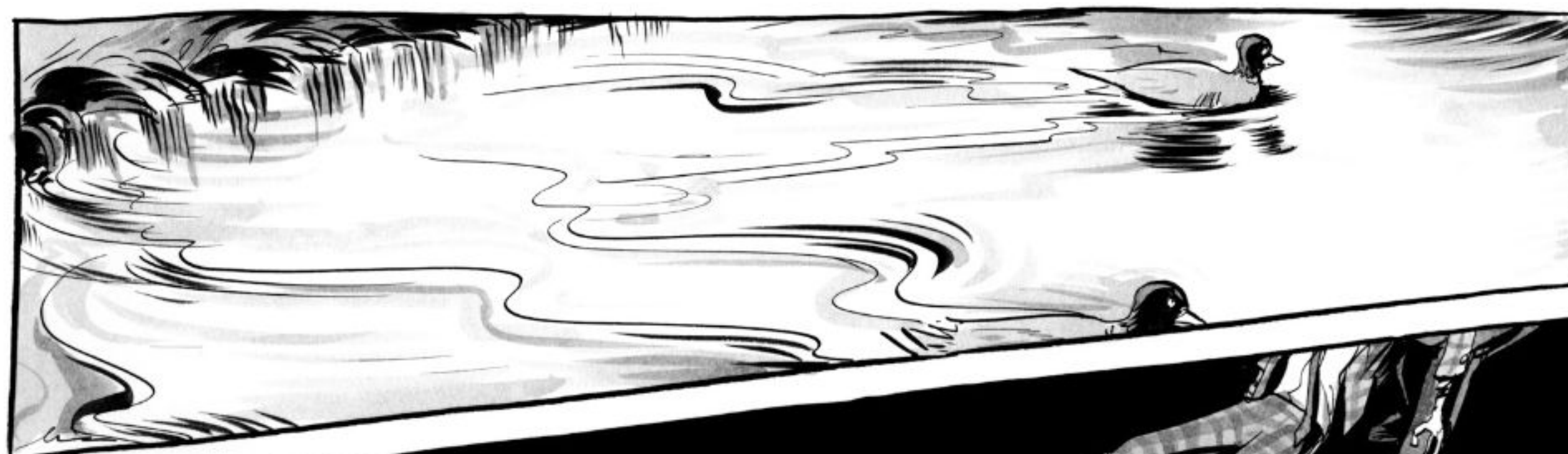
PARCHMAN WAS THE STUFF
OF LEGENDS-- DARK LEGENDS.

21,000 ACRES OF BULLWHIP-WIELDING
GUARDS AND HUMAN BONDAGE.



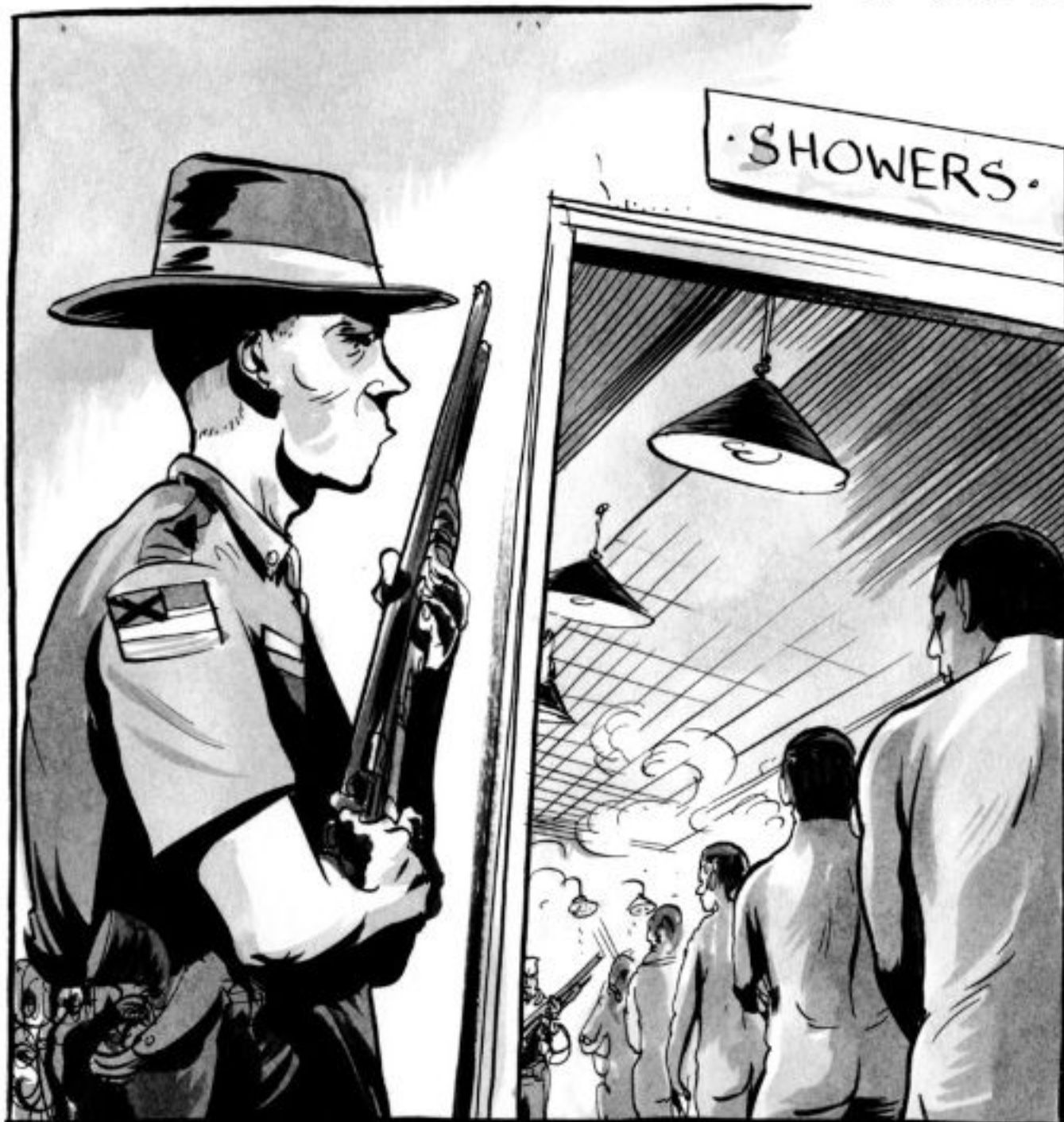
THE SUPERINTENDENT HIMSELF,
FRED JONES, GREETED US.







IT WAS DEHUMANIZING,



JUNE 24, 1961.

AS THE DAYS WORE ON, WE SANG TO KEEP THE MONOTONY FROM GETTING TO US.

CLINK

CL-CLINK

AIN'T GONNA LET
NO JIM CROW ♪
TURN ME AROUND ♪

♪
TURN ME AROUND,
TURN ME AROUND

AIN'T GONNA LET
NO JIM CROW ♪
TURN ME AROUND

I'M GONNA
KEEP ON
A-WALKIN', ♪
KEEP ON
A-TALKIN', ♪

MARCHIN' UP
TO FREEDOM'S
LAND ♪

dammit--

ALL RIGHT,
ALL RIGHT--

IF YOU DON'T QUIT
SINGIN' THEM DAMN SONGS,
I'M GONNA TAKE EVERY
LAST ONE-A-Y'ALL'S
MATTRESSES!

snaps:

that's IT
with that
noise!

WHAT THEY'RE
TRYING TO DO IS
TAKE YOUR SOUL
AWAY.

IT'S NOT THE
MATTRESSES, IT'S YOUR
SOUL-- SATAN PUT US
HERE FOR FORTY DAYS AND
FORTY NIGHTS TO TEMPT
US WITH THE FLESH.

HE'S SAYIN' TO US,
"IF YOU'LL JUST STOP
YOUR SINGIN' AND BAIL OUTTA
HERE, I'LL GIVE YOU ANYTHING
YOU WANT-- SOFT, THICK
COTTON MATTRESSES. DOWN
PILLOWS. EVERYTHING.

"BE GOOD, BOYS,
AND I'LL LET YOU
KEEP YOUR MATTRESSES."

AND SO BEGAN "THE MATTRESS WAR."



TO THEM, NONVIOLENCE WAS JUST A TACTIC,
NOT A PERSONAL PHILOSOPHY OR A WAY OF LIFE.

hey
DEPUTY--

BUT IN THE END, THEY LOST
THEIR MATTRESSES, TOO.







WE WERE ONLY ALLOWED TO WRITE ONE LETTER A WEEK-- I ALWAYS MADE MINE AS LONG AS POSSIBLE.

BUSES ARE A-COMING, oh YES, ♪

BUSES ARE ♪ A-COMING, oh YES,

I WROTE THE REGISTRAR BACK AT SCHOOL, EXPLAINING THAT I WOULDN'T BE ABLE TO GET BACK TO NASHVILLE FOR MY GRADUATION BECAUSE I WAS IN JAIL IN MISSISSIPPI.

BUSES ARE A-COMING, BUSES ARE A-COMING, ♪

BUSES ARE A-COMING, oh YES ♪

ALL RIGHT--

SHUT UP ALL THAT SINGING AND HOLLERING IN THERE!!

I ALSO WROTE TO THE QUAKERS TO WITHDRAW FROM THE PROGRAM IN INDIA. I DECIDED I TRULY BELONGED IN THE SOUTH.

THIS ISN'T NO PLAYHOUSE, IT'S A JAILHOUSE!!



WHAT ARE YOU GONNA DO?

PUT US IN JAIL?!

hee haw ha ha

BETTER GET YOU READY, oh YES, ♪

BETTER GET YOU READY, oh YES-- ♪

BUSES ARE A-COMING, BUSES ARE A-COMING, ♪

IF-- IF I--

BUSES ARE A-COMING, ♪ oh YES.





JULY 7, 1961.



IN MISSISSIPPI, THOSE CHARGED WITH BREACH OF THE PEACE, AS WE WERE, HAD TO POST BOND WITHIN 40 DAYS OR LOSE ANY RIGHT TO APPEAL.



SO, THREE WEEKS AND A DAY AFTER WE'D ARRIVED,



AND WELL MORE THAN A MONTH AFTER WE'D BEEN ARRESTED IN JACKSON,



IT WAS A COMPLETE SURPRISE TO US



WHEN BOND WAS POSTED ON OUR BEHALF



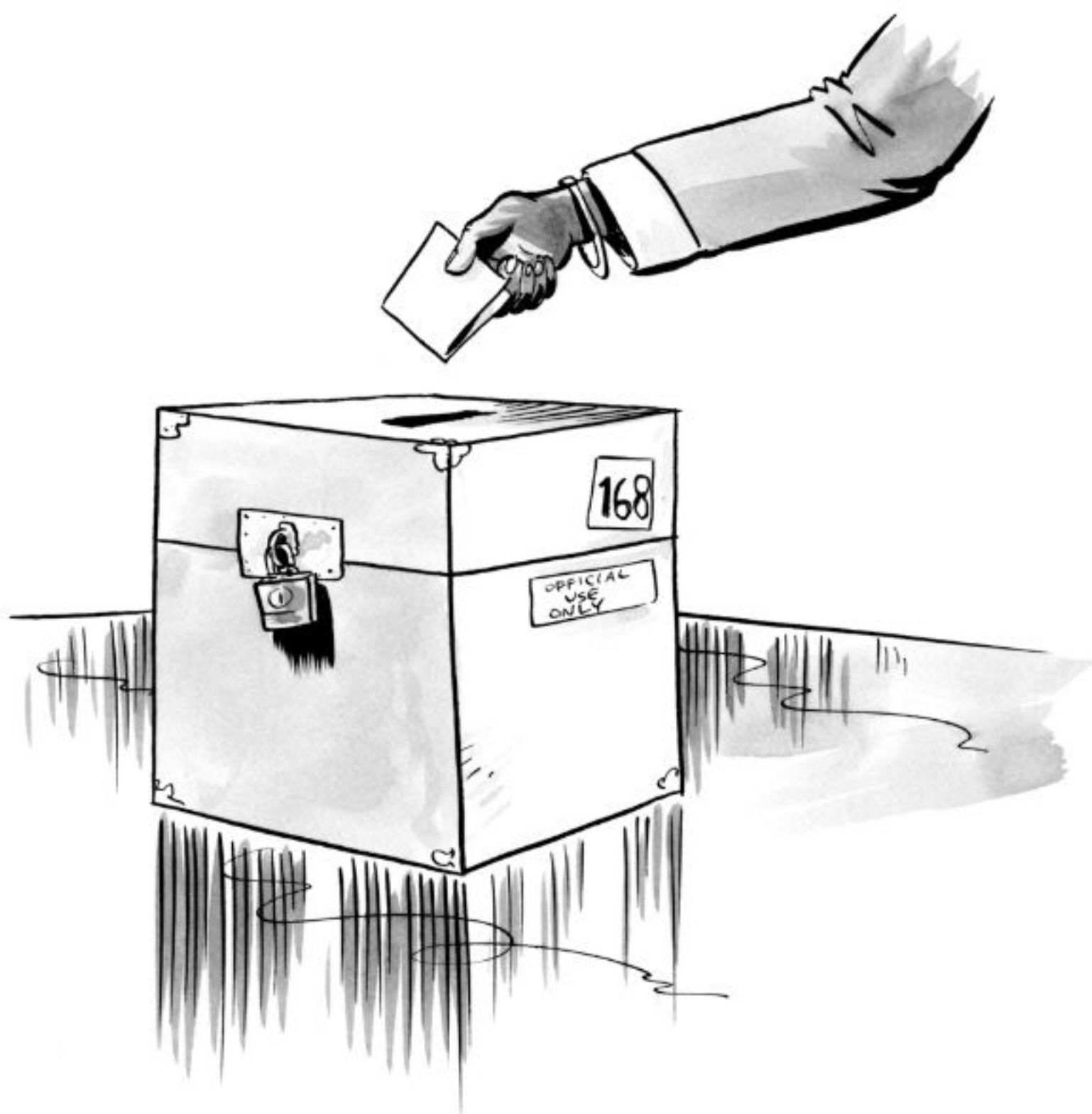
BY THE END OF THE SUMMER, DOZENS MORE BUSES
CARRIED THE NATION'S DAUGHTERS AND SONS INTO THE HEART
OF THE DEEP SOUTH TO CARRY ON THE WORK WE BEGAN.

THE FARE WAS PAID IN BLOOD, BUT THE FREEDOM RIDES
STIRRED THE NATIONAL CONSCIOUSNESS AND AWOKED THE
HEARTS AND MINDS OF A GENERATION.

THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT RESPONDED.
ATTORNEY GENERAL ROBERT KENNEDY AND
THE JUSTICE DEPARTMENT PETITIONED THE
INTERSTATE COMMERCE COMMISSION (ICC)
FOR A RULING TO ENFORCE THE SUPREME
COURT'S DECISION IN BOYNTON, AND IT
CAME ON SEPTEMBER 22nd, 1961.

WE WERE BECOMING A
NATIONAL MOVEMENT.





AFTER WE WERE RELEASED FROM PARCHMAN, I WENT BACK TO NASHVILLE, WHERE THE NATIONAL ATTENTION HAD CAUSED OUR NUMBERS TO SWELL.

THE SUCCESS OF OUR CAMPAIGN TO DESEGREGATE THE MOVIE THEATERS THERE LED US TO SHIFT OUR EFFORTS FROM INTEGRATION OF FACILITIES TO FAIR EMPLOYMENT PRACTICES, AS PART OF WHAT WE CALLED "OPERATION OPEN CITY."



I DEEPLY BELIEVE THAT OUR DISCIPLINE PAVED THE ROAD TO OUR SUCCESS.

BUT I WAS STARTING TO SEE THAT DISCIPLINE ERODE.



OUR CENTRAL COMMITTEE HELD A MEETING, AND THE RESPONSIBILITY FELL TO JIM LAWSON TO INFORM STOKELY OF THE DECISION.

THE COMMITTEE WOULD LIKE TO OFFER YOU AN INVITATION TO CONTINUE YOUR PROTEST ACTIVITIES...

... ELSEWHERE.



IN JUNE OF 1961, ROBERT KENNEDY SUGGESTED TO DIANE NASH AND OTHERS THAT IT WOULD BE A BETTER DECISION FOR US, IN THE LONG RUN, TO FOCUS ON REGISTERING BLACK VOTERS.

I BELIEVED OUR DIRECT ACTION CAMPAIGNS WERE WORKING, AND MANY WITHIN THE MOVEMENT WERE UPSET AT THE MERE SUGGESTION. BUT BY THE END OF 1961, DR. KING GAVE THE IDEA HIS FULL ENDORSEMENT.

THE CENTRAL FRONT IS THAT OF SUFFRAGE. IF WE IN THE SOUTH CAN WIN THE RIGHT TO VOTE, IT WILL PLACE IN OUR HANDS MORE THAN AN ABSTRACT RIGHT--

IT WILL GIVE US THE CONCRETE TOOL WITH WHICH WE, OURSELVES, CAN CORRECT INJUSTICE.

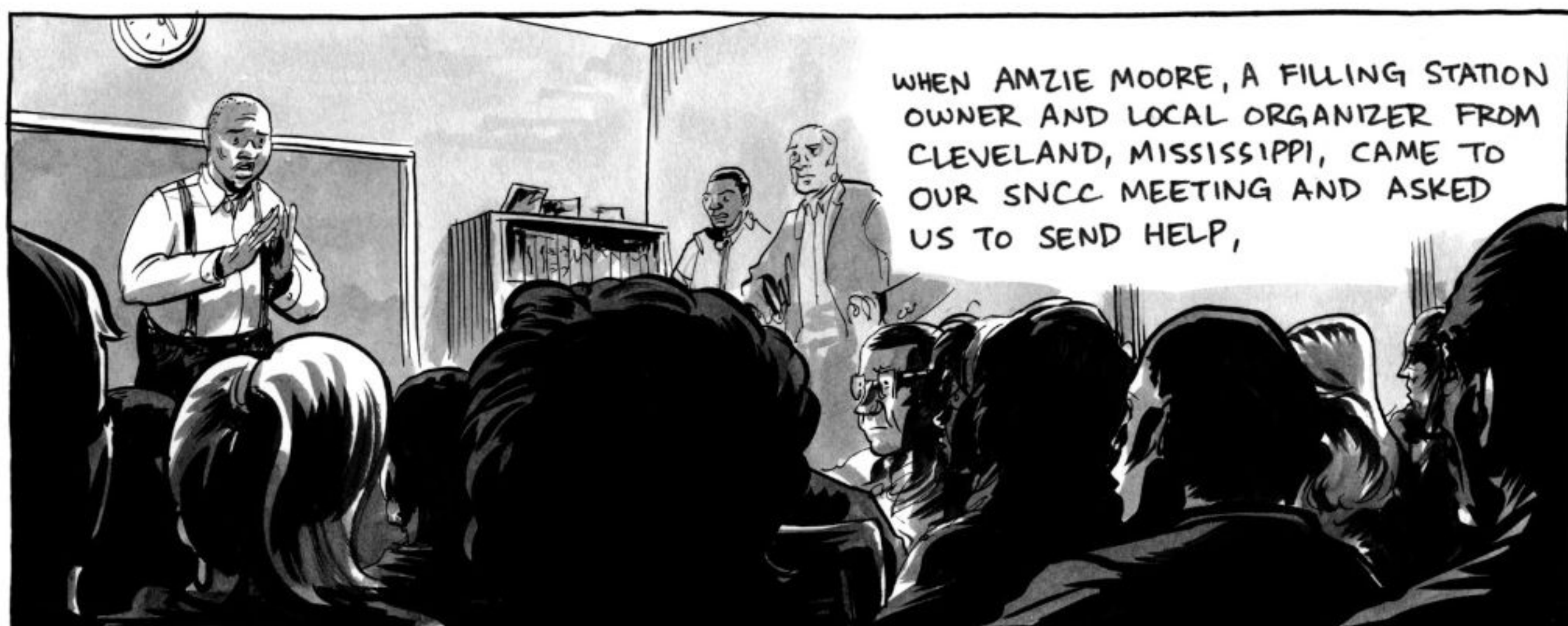
THERE WAS A GREAT
D I V I D E
WITHIN SNCC.

A COMPROMISE SUGGESTED BY ELLA BAKER WAS AGREED TO, CREATING TWO WINGS--

ONE, FOCUSED ON DIRECT ACTION, WAS LED BY DIANE NASH. THE OTHER, FOCUSED ON VOTER REGISTRATION, WAS LED BY CHARLIE JONES.

A BIRD NEEDS
TWO WINGS
TO FLY.

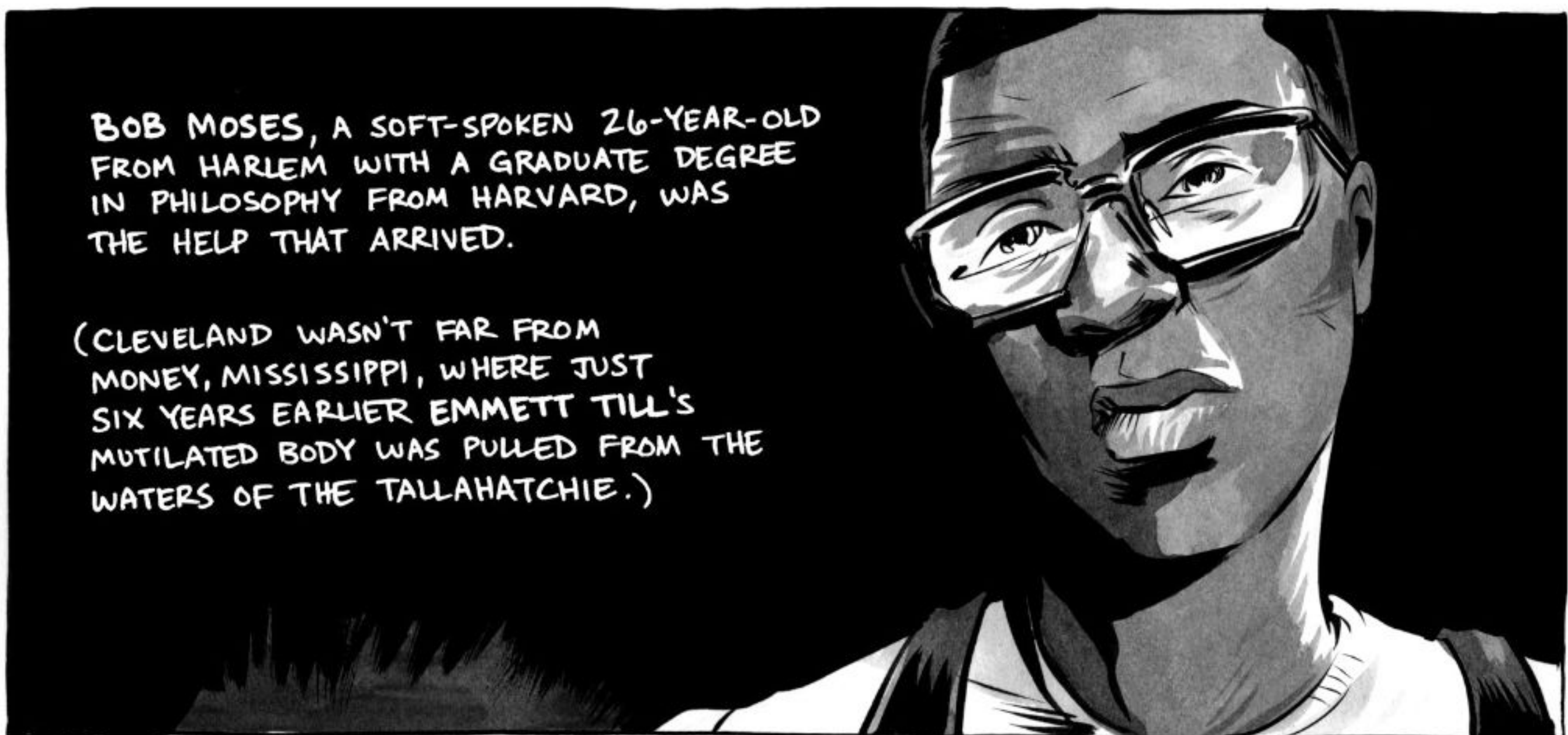
A PLAN QUICKLY TOOK SHAPE FOR SNCC TO SEND FIELD SECRETARIES INTO COMMUNITIES THROUGHOUT THE SOUTH TO ORGANIZE AND REGISTER AMERICA'S BLACK VOTE.



WHEN AMZIE MOORE, A FILLING STATION OWNER AND LOCAL ORGANIZER FROM CLEVELAND, MISSISSIPPI, CAME TO OUR SNCC MEETING AND ASKED US TO SEND HELP,

BOB MOSES, A SOFT-SPOKEN 26-YEAR-OLD FROM HARLEM WITH A GRADUATE DEGREE IN PHILOSOPHY FROM HARVARD, WAS THE HELP THAT ARRIVED.

(CLEVELAND WASN'T FAR FROM MONEY, MISSISSIPPI, WHERE JUST SIX YEARS EARLIER EMMETT TILL'S MUTILATED BODY WAS PULLED FROM THE WATERS OF THE TALLAHATCHIE.)



NO STATE SHOWED US WHAT WE WERE UP AGAINST MORE THAN MISSISSIPPI. NEARLY 90 PERCENT OF THE STATE'S BLACK FAMILIES LIVED BELOW THE POVERTY LINE, AND ONLY 5 PERCENT OF ELIGIBLE BLACK VOTERS WERE REGISTERED.

IN MANY COUNTIES, THERE WERE NONE.

THE GOOD LORD WAS THE ORIGINAL SEGREGATIONIST.

HE PUT THE NEGRO IN AFRICA, SEPARATED HIM FROM ALL OTHER RACES.

(GOVERNOR ROSS BARNETT, 1960-1964)

IN LIBERTY, MISSISSIPPI, A LOCAL BLACK FARMER NAMED HERBERT LEE WHO STARTED WORKING WITH BOB MOSES TO HELP REGISTER VOTERS WAS SHOT DEAD BY E.H. HURST--

A MEMBER OF THE MISSISSIPPI STATE LEGISLATURE.



HURST CLAIMED LEE HAD ATTACKED HIM WITH A TIRE IRON, AND SO HURST SHOT HIM THROUGH THE HEAD.

NOT GUILTY BY REASON OF JUSTIFIABLE HOMICIDE.



THE SOLE BLACK WITNESS LATER SAID HE LIED IN TESTIMONY BECAUSE HE WAS SCARED FOR HIS OWN LIFE.

BOB MOSES, CHARLES McDEW, AND A WHITE SNCC MEMBER FROM ALABAMA NAMED BOB ZELLNER LED A PROTEST MARCH IN RESPONSE TO THE VERDICT.



THEY WERE BEATEN BY A MOB BEFORE BEING ARRESTED ALONG WITH 119 LOCAL STUDENTS.



THE PROTESTORS WERE SENTENCED TO FOUR MONTHS IN PRISON.



MEANWHILE --

I ENROLLED AT FISK UNIVERSITY AND WAS ELECTED CHAIRMAN OF THE NASHVILLE MOVEMENT, BUT BY THEN DIANE AND BEVEL WERE WORKING DOWN IN JACKSON, AND MOST EVERYONE FROM THOSE EARLY MEETINGS WITH JIM LAWSON HAD MOVED ON.

I FELT A LITTLE LIKE AN OUTSIDER.

A NUMBER OF PROFESSORS, AND EVEN SOME OF MY CLASSMATES, THOUGHT I WAS A LITTLE ODD -- AND I DID TAKE A LIGHT COURSE LOAD TO FOCUS ON MY PRIORITY, THE MOVEMENT.

BUT I WILL NEVER FORGET GATHERING ONE AFTERNOON THAT NOVEMBER TO GO DOWNTOWN FOR A DEMONSTRATION.

WE WERE GETTING SET TO DRIVE OVER TO FIRST BAPTIST WHEN WE HEARD A COMMOTION.

I WAS SHOCKED TO SEE THESE YOUNG BLACK FRATERNITY MEN SWEEP UP LIKE THIS, AT THE VERY MOMENT THAT PEOPLE THEIR OWN AGE WERE RISKING THEIR LIVES.

IN APRIL 1962, SNCC HELD A CONFERENCE
IN ATLANTA TO OBSERVE ITS SECOND ANNIVERSARY.

IT WAS INCREDIBLE TO SEE HOW DRASTICALLY THE
ORGANIZATION HAD CHANGED IN SUCH A SHORT TIME.

BERNARD, BEVEL, DIANE, AND
OTHERS WERE NOW GONE. IN
THEIR PLACE ROSE NEW VOICES--

STOKELY CARMICHAEL, JIM FORMAN,
CHARLES SHERROD, RUBY SMITH, AND
WHITE ACTIVISTS FROM LEFTIST GROUPS
SUCH AS THE SOUTHERN CONFERENCE
EDUCATIONAL FUND AND STUDENTS
FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY (SDS).

OUR CAUSE REMAINED THE SAME,
BUT OUR METHODS WERE IN
QUESTION.

WE FORGET TOO
SOON THE JAILINGS
AND BEATINGS SUFFERED
BY OUR BROTHERS AND
SISTERS FIGHTING
EVERY DAY.

MORE THAN A FEW OF THE 250
SNCC REPRESENTATIVES IN
ATLANTA THAT WEEKEND ARGUED
THAT IT SHOULD BE ACCEPTABLE
TO STRIKE BACK IF YOU'RE HIT.

IF WE ARE MET WITH
VIOLENCE, WE MUST BE ABLE
TO DEFEND OURSELVES.

JIM LAWSON WOULD NEVER ACCEPT SUCH A POSITION, BUT HE WASN'T THERE TO OFFER HIS OWN. FOR THE FIRST TIME, LAWSON, WHO HAD BEEN SO CRUCIAL TO THE CREATION OF SNCC-- THE VERY AUTHOR OF THE STATEMENT OF PURPOSE PRINTED ON THE CONFERENCE'S BROCHURE--
--WAS NOT INVITED TO PARTICIPATE.

STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE

STATEMENT OF PURPOSE

We affirm the philosophical or religious ideal of nonviolence as the foundation of our purpose, the presupposition of our faith, and the manner of our action. Nonviolence as it grows from Judaic-Christian traditions seeks a social order of justice permeated by love. Integration of human endeavor represents the crucial first step towards such a society.

Through nonviolence, courage displaces fear; love transforms hate. Acceptance dissipates prejudice; hope ends despair. Peace dominates war; faith reconciles doubt. Mutual regard cancels enmity. Justice for all overthrows injustice. The redemptive community supersedes systems of gross social immorality.

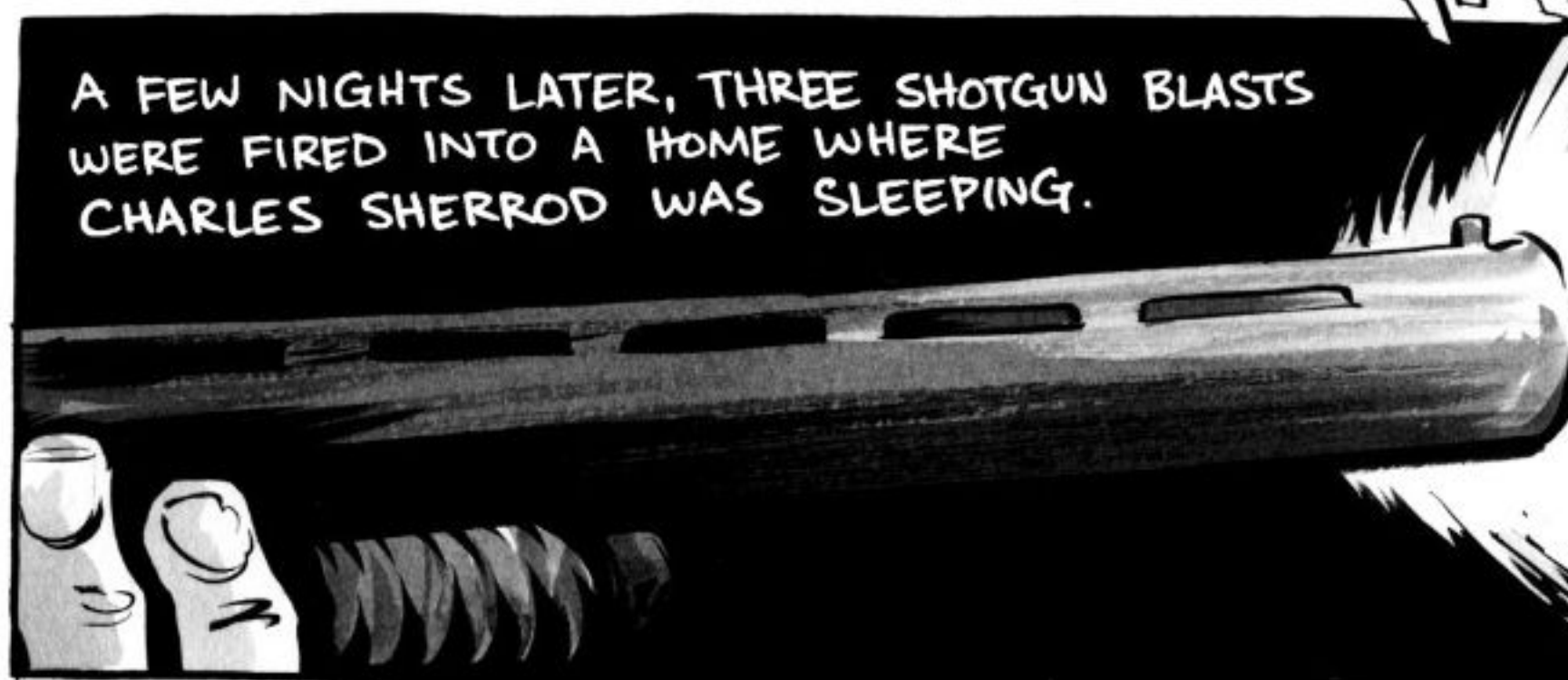
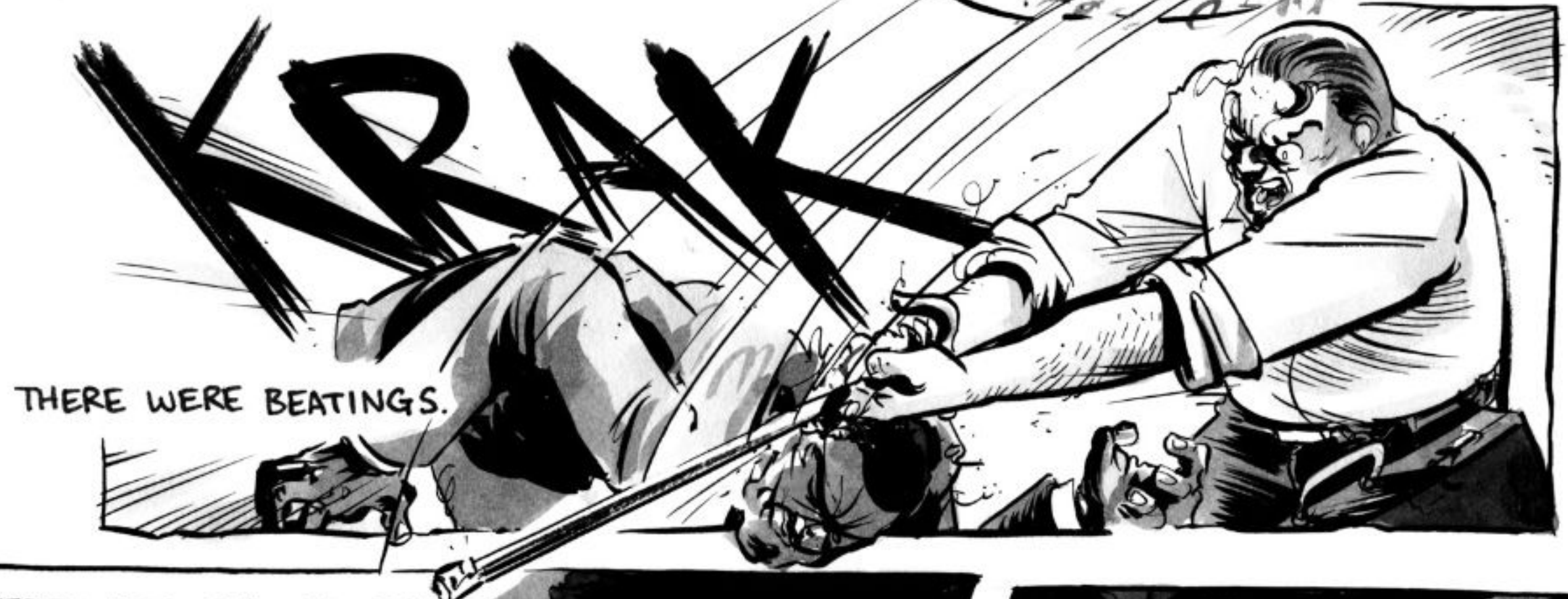
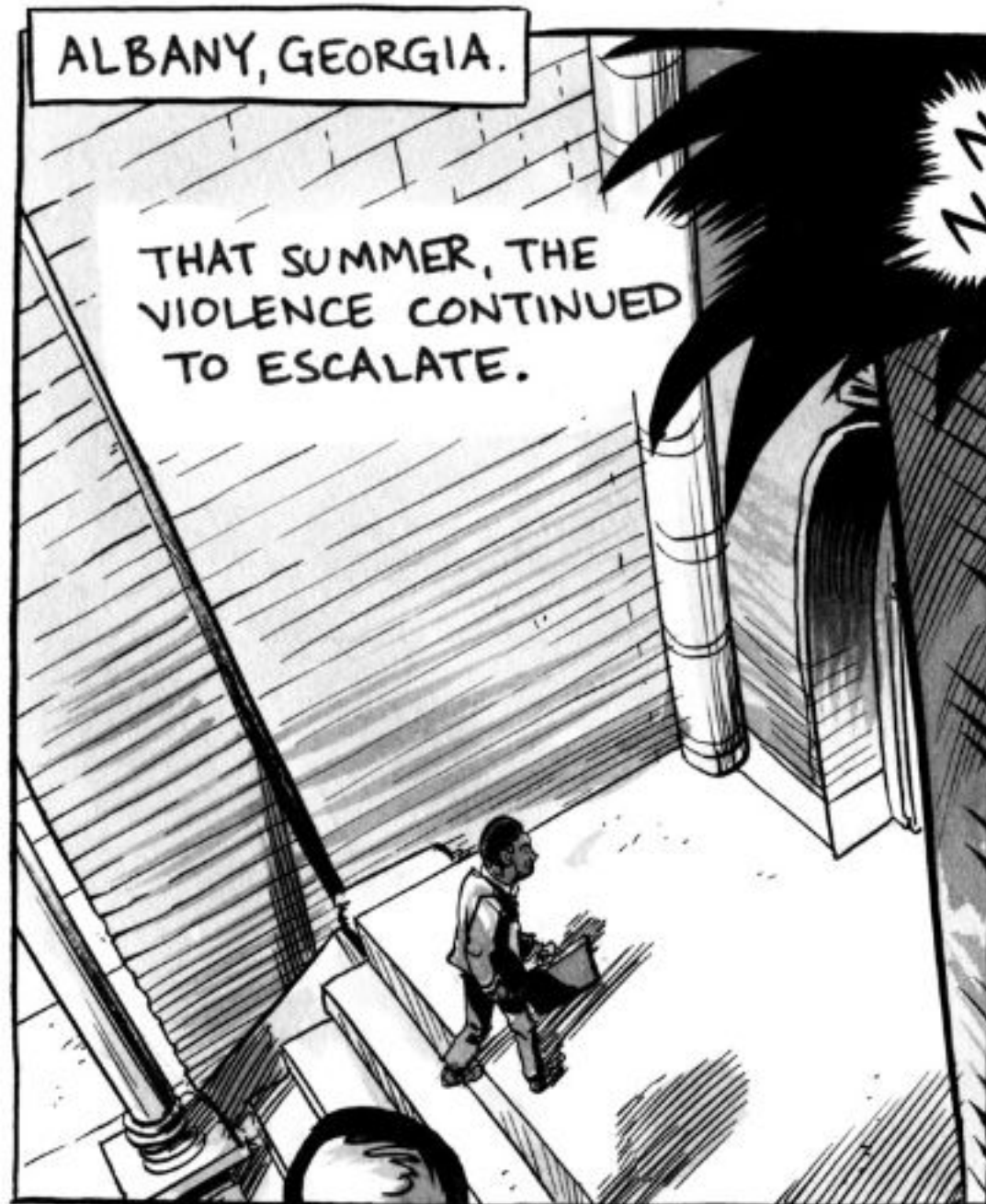
Love is the central motif of nonviolence. Love is the force by which God binds man to Himself and man to man. Such love goes to the extreme; it remains loving and forgiving even in the midst of hostility. It matches the capacity of evil to inflict suffering with an even more enduring capacity to absorb evil, all the while persisting in love.

By appealing to conscience and standing on the moral nature of human existence, nonviolence nurtures the atmosphere in which reconciliation and justice become actual possibilities.

EVERYONE KNEW I STOOD WITH JIM WHEN IT CAME TO NONVIOLENCE,

BUT THE FACT THAT I'D BEEN ARRESTED AND BEATEN AND JAILED SO MANY TIMES HELD A LOT OF WEIGHT WITH MY SNCC COLLEAGUES, OLD AND NEW.

SO AT THE SAME TIME AS JIM LAWSON WAS SHUNNED, I WAS ELECTED TO SNCC'S EXECUTIVE COORDINATING COMMITTEE.



CAIRO, ILLINOIS.

NEAR THE END OF THE SUMMER OF 1962,
I WAS LEADING A PROTEST AT THE CAIRO
SWIMMING POOL, WHICH HAD REMAINED
SEGREGATED DESPITE OUR WEEKS
OF DEMONSTRATION.

DANNY LYON, A NEW STAFF
PHOTOGRAPHER FOR SNCC --
WE CALLED HIM DANDELION --
WAS THERE THAT DAY.



AS WE KNELT AND PRAYED, DANNY SNAPPED A PHOTOGRAPH.

THAT PICTURE BECAME PROBABLY THE MOST
POPULAR POSTER OF THE MOVEMENT.

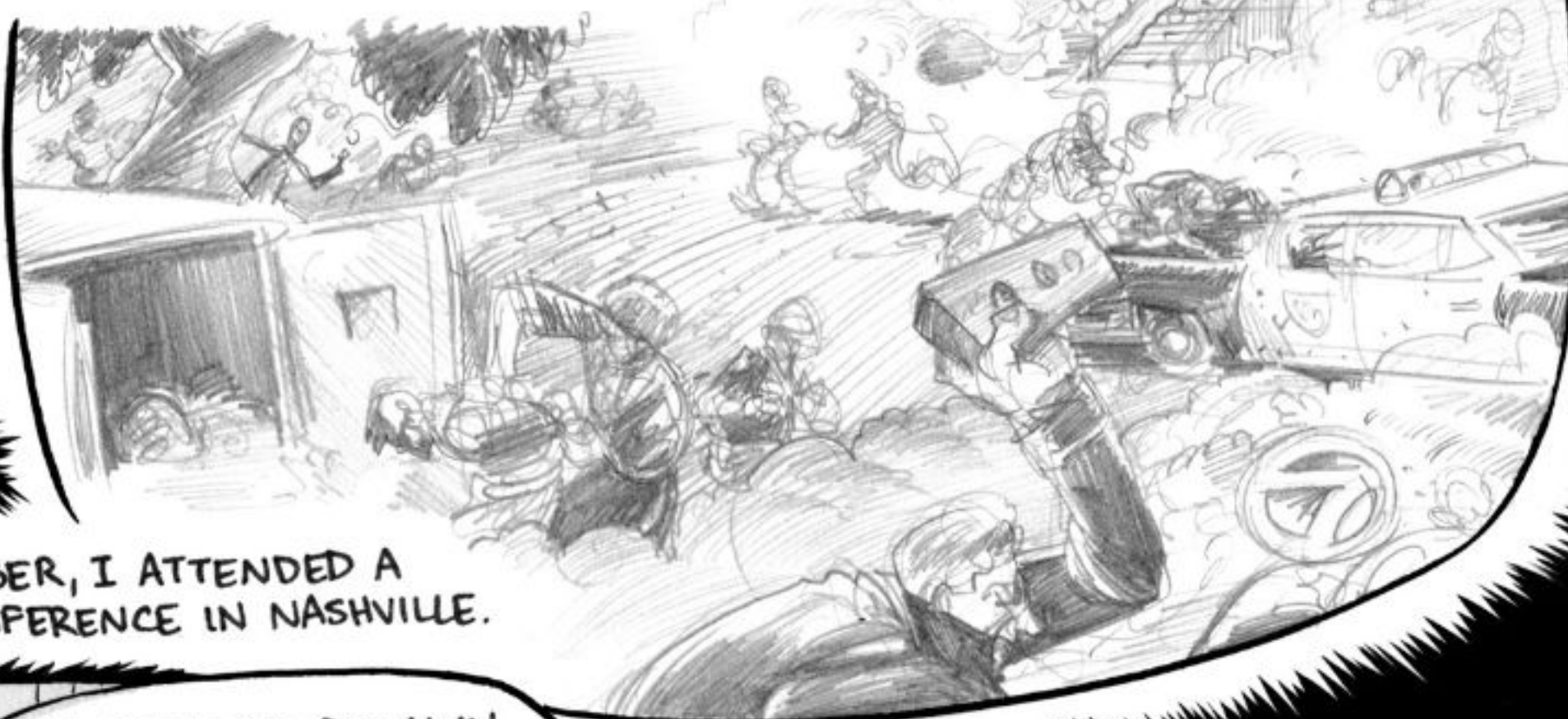


WHAT A LOT OF PEOPLE DON'T KNOW
IS WHAT HAPPENED JUST AFTER
THAT PHOTO WAS TAKEN.





THAT SEPTEMBER, THE NATION WATCHED AS MORE THAN 300 U.S. MARSHALS WERE WOUNDED TRYING TO PROTECT JAMES MEREDITH AS HE BECAME THE FIRST AFRICAN-AMERICAN TO ENROLL AT THE UNIVERSITY OF MISSISSIPPI.



IN NOVEMBER, I ATTENDED A SNCC CONFERENCE IN NASHVILLE.



THOSE MOBS DOWN IN MISSISSIPPI MAKE YOUR PROTESTS HERE LOOK LIKE SMALL POTATOES, JOHN.

HE WASN'T WRONG.



AS PART OF THE CONFERENCE, WE STAGED A DEMONSTRATION AT THE TIC-TOC, A SEGREGATED RESTAURANT.

BUT THIS PROTEST LACKED DISCIPLINE--



YOUNG MAN, WE DON'T ALLOW SMOKING HERE.

SOMETHING I WAS SEEING MORE AND MORE OFTEN.



AND IT WASN'T THE ONLY PROBLEM FESTERING WITHIN SNCC.



BY THE END OF 1962, YOU HEARD
PEOPLE QUESTIONING WHETHER
SNCC SHOULD EVEN BE A
MULTI-RACIAL ORGANIZATION.

JANUARY 14, 1963.
ALABAMA STATE CAPITOL.



INAUGURATION OF
GEORGE CORLEY WALLACE, JR.,
45th GOVERNOR OF ALABAMA

EVEN AS WALLACE WAS SPEAKING
THAT DAY, DR. KING'S ORGANIZATION,
THE SOUTHERN CHRISTIAN
LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE (SCLC),
HELD A MEETING TO DECIDE
WHAT TO DO.

TODAY I HAVE
STOOD WHERE ONCE
JEFFERSON DAVIS
STOOD, AND TOOK
AN OATH TO
MY PEOPLE.

IT IS VERY APPROPRIATE THEN,
THAT FROM THIS CRADLE OF THE
CONFEDERACY, THE VERY HEART
OF THE GREAT ANGLO-SAXON
SOUTHLAND, THAT TODAY WE SOUND
THE DRUM FOR FREEDOM, AS HAVE
OUR GENERATIONS OF FOREBEARS
BEFORE US HAVE DONE, TIME
AND TIME AGAIN THROUGHOUT
HISTORY.

LET US RISE TO THE CALL
OF FREEDOM-LOVING BLOOD
THAT IS IN US, AND SEND OUR
ANSWER TO THE TYRANNY
THAT CLANKS ITS CHAINS
UPON THE SOUTH.

IN THE NAME OF THE
GREATEST PEOPLE THAT
HAVE EVER TROD THIS EARTH,
I DRAW THE LINE IN
THE DUST,

THEY NEEDED A NEW TARGET--

THEY "NEEDED A VICTORY", AS
FRED SHUTTLESWORTH PUT IT.

AND TOSS THE GAUNTLET
BEFORE THE FEET OF
TYRANNY.

AND I SAY--

SEGREGATION TODAY,

WHILE WE HAD MADE PROGRESS ELSEWHERE,
ONE CITY CONTINUED TO EARN ITS LABEL
AS "THE **MOST** SEGREGATED CITY IN
THE SOUTH", SUBJECT TO SO MUCH
VIOLENCE THAT IT WAS NICKNAMED
"BOMBINGHAM."

SHUTTLESWORTH MADE A PROMISE
THAT AFTERNOON TO DR. KING:
"I ASSURE YOU," HE SAID, "IF YOU
COME TO BIRMINGHAM, THIS
MOVEMENT WILL NOT ONLY
GAIN PRESTIGE--"

SEGREGATION
TOMORROW,

SEGREGATION
FOREVER.

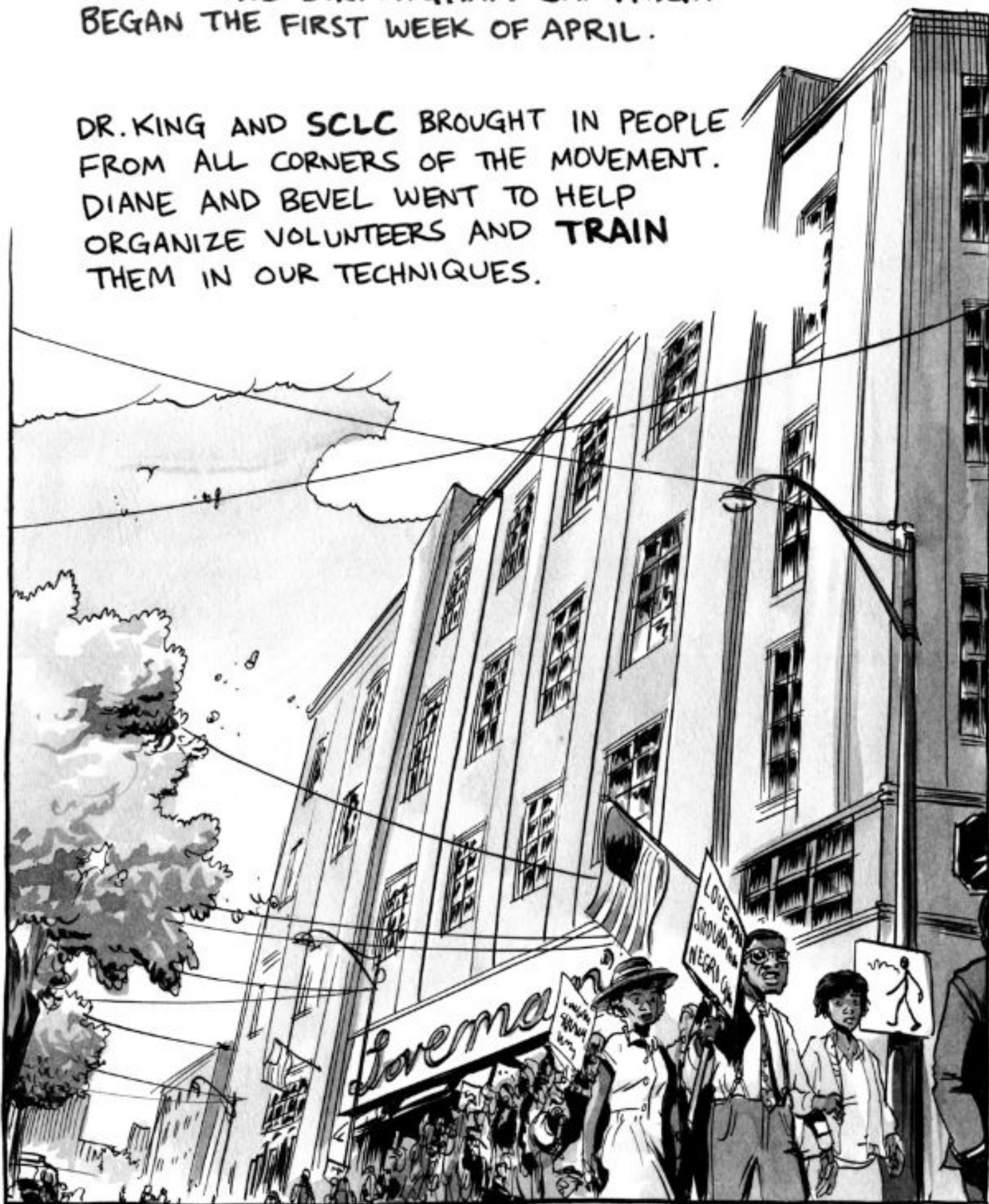
"--BUT IT WILL REALLY
SHAKE THIS COUNTRY."

ABANDON

APRIL 9, 1963--
BIRMINGHAM, AL.

AND SO THE BIRMINGHAM CAMPAIGN
BEGAN THE FIRST WEEK OF APRIL.

DR. KING AND SCLC BROUGHT IN PEOPLE
FROM ALL CORNERS OF THE MOVEMENT.
DIANE AND BEVEL WENT TO HELP
ORGANIZE VOLUNTEERS AND **TRAIN**
THEM IN OUR TECHNIQUES.



EVEN AL HIBBLER, A FAMOUS JAZZ
SINGER WHO HAPPENED TO BE
BLIND, JOINED THE PROTESTS.



THE NEXT DAY.



NOT MUCH HAD CHANGED IN THE TWO YEARS SINCE
THE FREEDOM RIDE CAME THROUGH BIRMINGHAM...



AFTER WEEKS OF NIGHTLY MASS MEETINGS TO COORDINATE THE PROTESTS, DR. KING ANNOUNCED THAT HE WOULD PERSONALLY LEAD THE NEXT MARCH.

8:30 P.M.--
ST. JAMES AME CHURCH.

WE ARE NOT HERE TO
DO SOMETHING FOR YOU, BUT
TO DO SOMETHING WITH YOU.
WE WILL MARCH THROUGH THE
STREETS OF BIRMINGHAM WITH YOU.
EVERYONE IN THE MOVEMENT
MUST LIVE A SACRIFICIAL LIFE.

I CAN'T THINK OF
A BETTER DAY THAN
GOOD FRIDAY...

...FOR A MOVE
FOR FREEDOM.

FRIDAY, APRIL 12, 1963.
ZION HILL BAPTIST CHURCH--
BIRMINGHAM, AL.

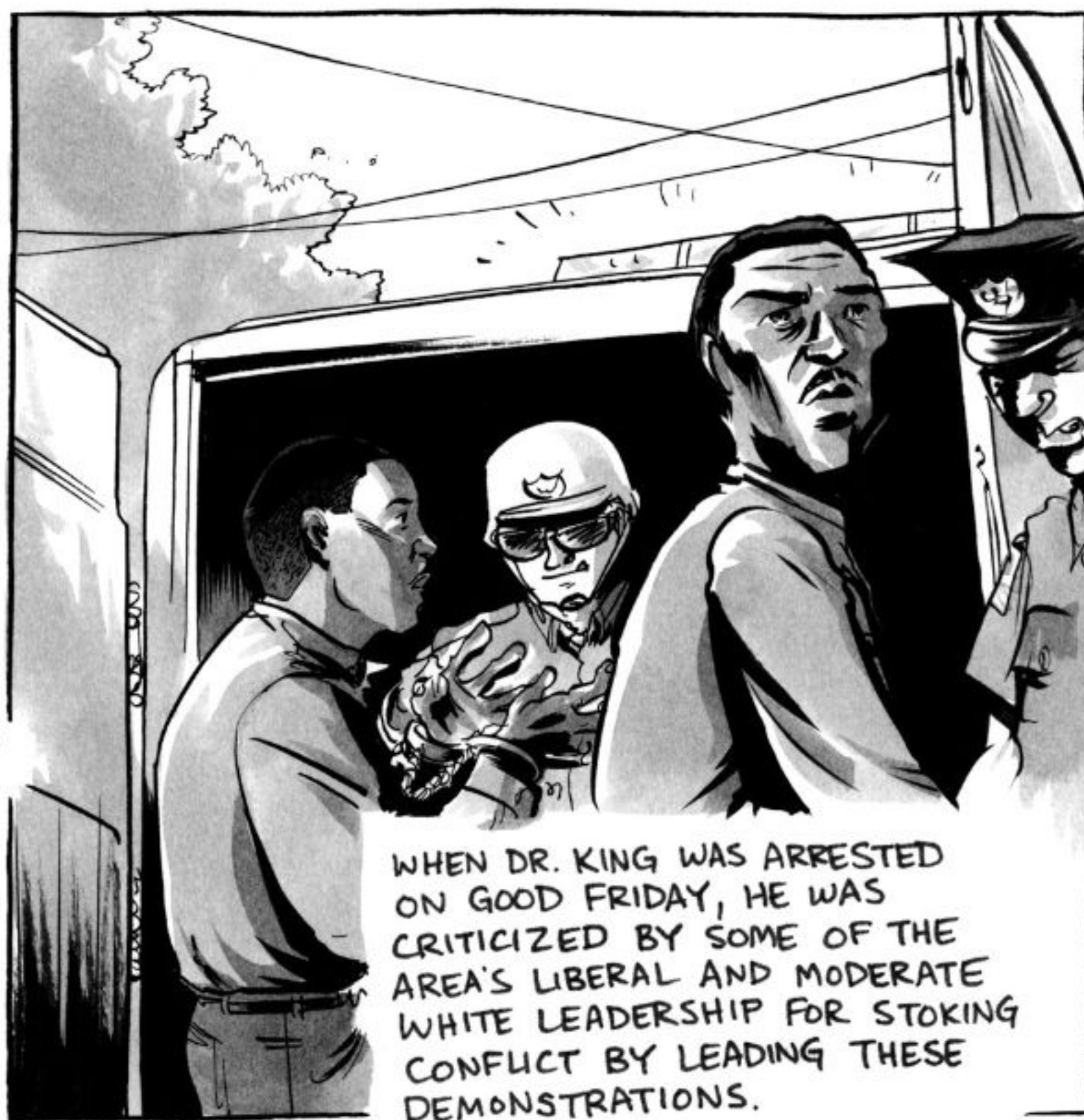
all right folks,
we're moving
out! remember to live

THERE HE GOES,
JUST LIKE JESUS.

CONNOR HAD OBTAINED A COURT ORDER FROM
THE STATE PROHIBITING ALL PROTEST
ACTIVITIES, AND SET THE BOND AT
EIGHT TIMES THE NORMAL MAXIMUM.

EVERYONE KNEW THAT THIS MARCH
WOULD MEAN JAIL TIME.

SOME WERE CONCERNED THAT THE CAMPAIGN
WOULD COLLAPSE IF DR. KING WENT TO PRISON.



HIS RESPONSE, WRITTEN ON SCRAPS OF PAPER AND SMUGGLED OUT OF HIS CELL, WAS THE "LETTER FROM BIRMINGHAM JAIL."



"...I SUBMIT THAT AN INDIVIDUAL WHO BREAKS A LAW THAT CONSCIENCE TELLS HIM IS **UNJUST**, AND WHO WILLINGLY ACCEPTS THE PENALTY OF IMPRISONMENT IN ORDER TO AROUSE THE CONSCIENCE OF THE **COMMUNITY** OVER ITS INJUSTICE, IS IN REALITY EXPRESSING THE HIGHEST **RESPECT** FOR LAW."



WHILE DR. KING WAS IN JAIL, JIM BEVEL, WHO HAD LEFT SNCC AND JOINED SCLC, SET OUT TO ORGANIZE AND TRAIN BIRMINGHAM'S CHILDREN.



WHAT KINDA MOVEMENT ARE Y'ALL TRYING TO RUN HERE?!

YOU GUYS ARE RUNNING A SCAM MOVEMENT.

IN A MOVEMENT, YOU DON'T DEAL WITH THE PRESS--

YOU ACT LIKE THERE IS NO PRESS. OTHERWISE YOU END UP STAGING IT.

BEVEL WENT INTO BLACK SCHOOLS AND CHURCHES, USING THE NBC WHITE PAPER DOCUMENTARY "THE NASHVILLE SIT-IN STORY"-- FOR WHICH WE HAD BEEN INTERVIEWED BACK IN 1960-- TO TEACH HUNDREDS OF TEENAGERS THE TECHNIQUES OF NONVIOLENCE.

A MOVEMENT IS WHEN PEOPLE ACTUALLY DO IT OUT OF CONVICTION.

YOUNG PEOPLE IDENTIFY MORE STRONGLY THAN ANYONE ELSE WITH THE WHOLE CONCEPT OF FREEDOM.

SOME NEGROES DON'T WANT TO GET WELL. IF THEY DID, THEY WOULD HAVE TO COMPETE WITH THE WHITE MAN.

THERE ARE SOME NEGROES WHO WANT SEGREGATION AS MUCH AS BULL CONNOR.

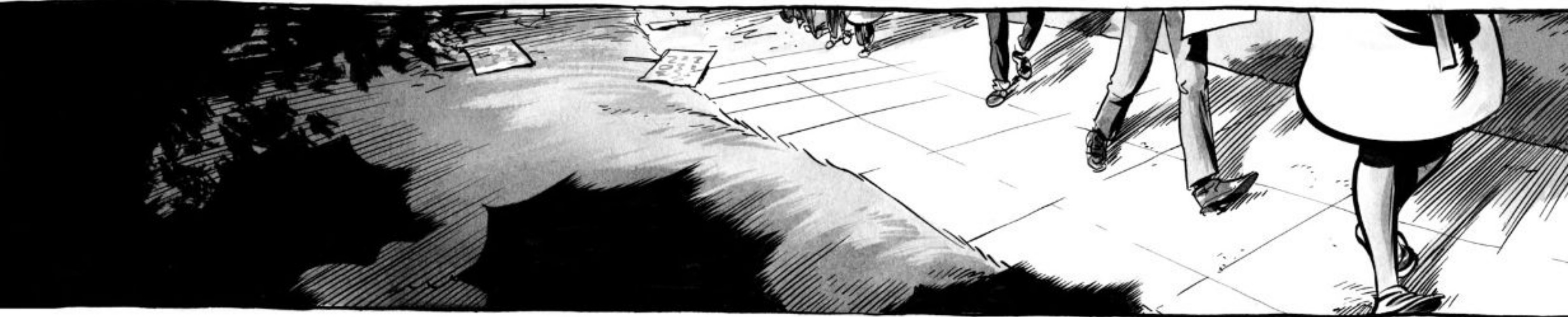
THE NEGRO HAS BEEN SITTING HERE DEAD FOR THREE HUNDRED YEARS.

YOUNG PEOPLE, AS WE KNEW VERY WELL, ARE WILLING TO RISK EVERYTHING FOR THE CAUSE.

IT'S TIME HE GOT UP AND WALKED.

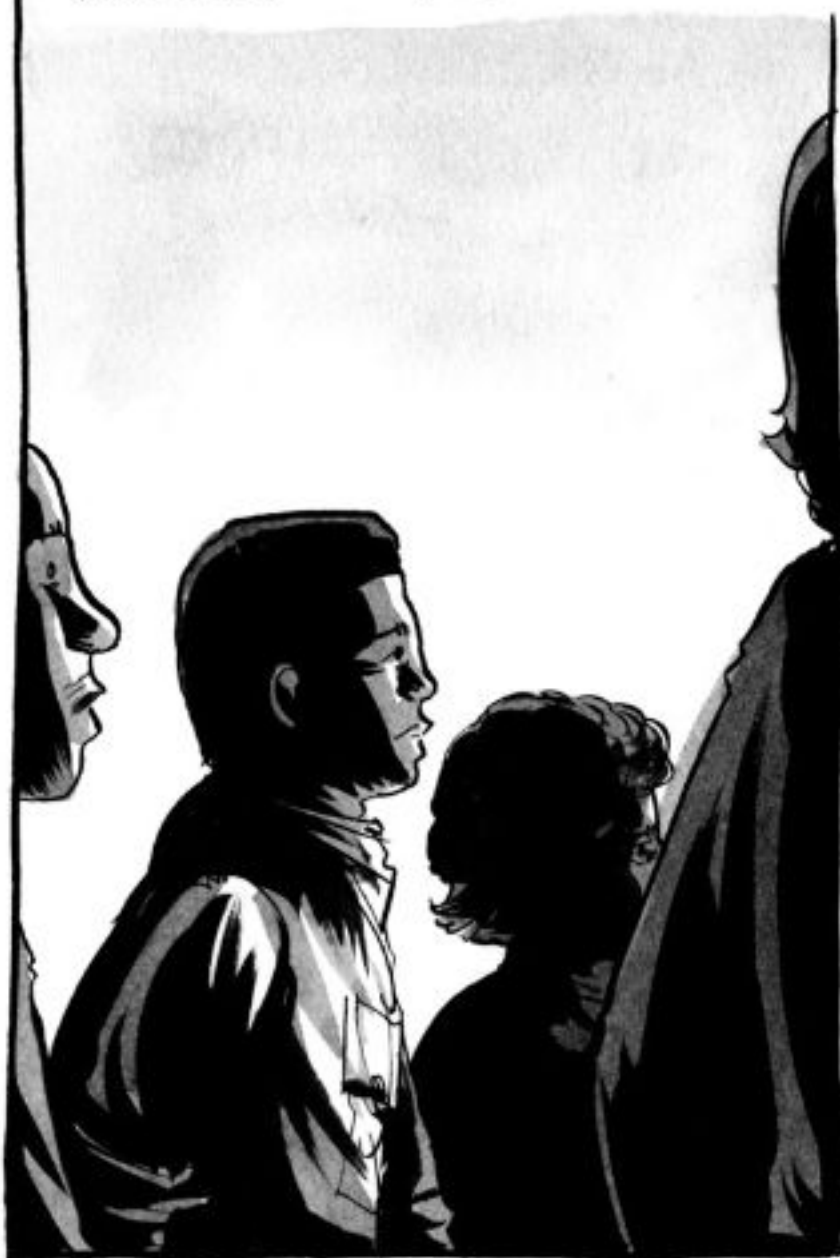
LOVE
EQUALITY
LOVE T
NEIGH







NEARLY A THOUSAND OF BIRMINGHAM'S BLACK CHILDREN WERE ARRESTED THAT DAY.





IT WAS AN EMBARRASSMENT TO THE CITY.

MAY 3, 1963.

BULL CONNOR WAS DETERMINED NOT TO
LET THE PROTESTS CONTINUE.

THE NEXT DAY, WHEN THE CHILDREN
MARCHED AGAIN, HE SWORE HE
WOULD MAKE NO ARRESTS.



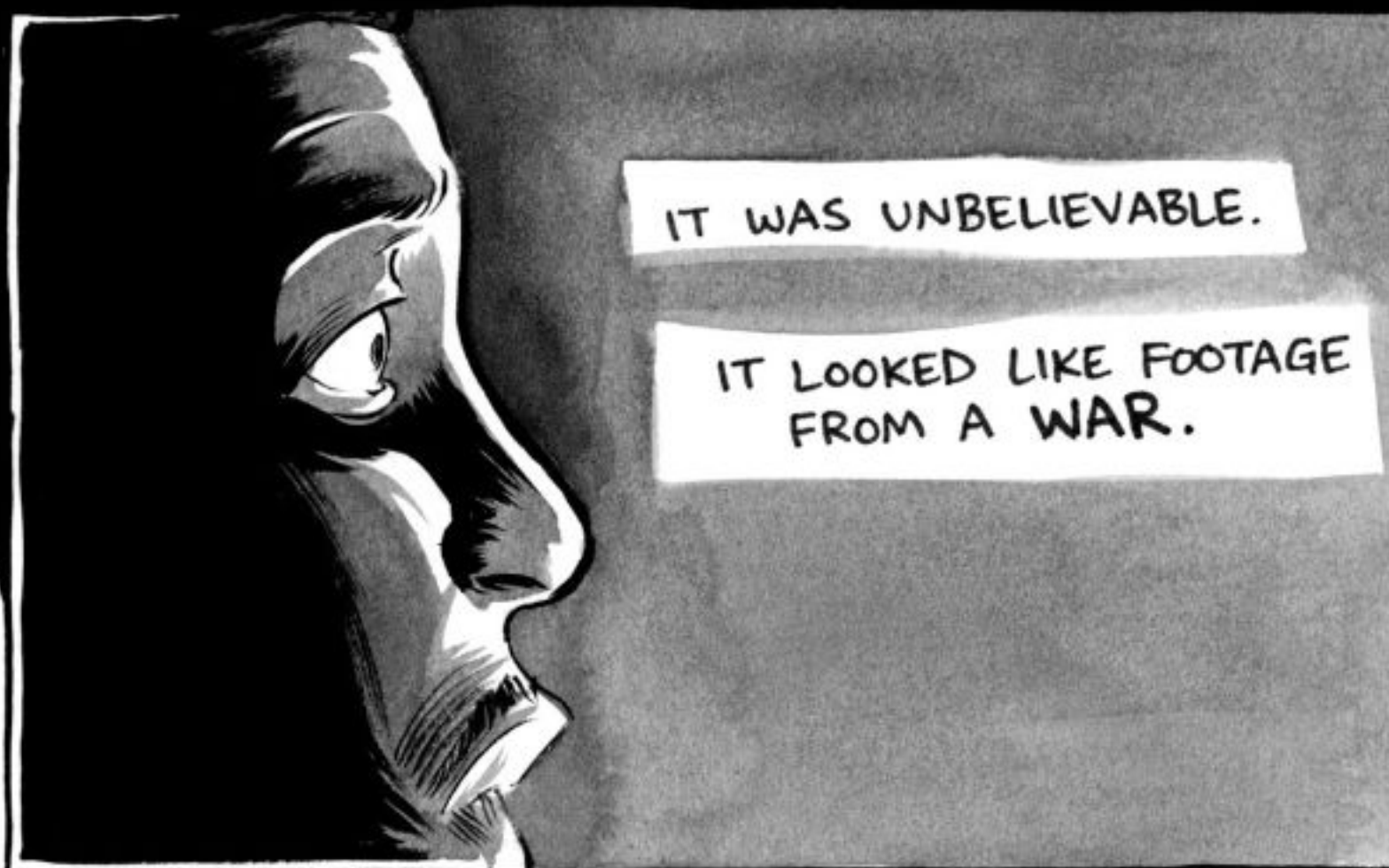




I WATCHED THE IMAGES
ON TELEVISION THAT NIGHT...



...AND LIKE THE REST OF AMERICA, I WAS
ABSOLUTELY STUNNED BY WHAT I SAW.



IT WAS UNBELIEVABLE.

IT LOOKED LIKE FOOTAGE
FROM A WAR.



IN NASHVILLE WE MADE SURE
THEY WERE SEEN, AND OUR RANKS
GREW IMMEDIATELY BECAUSE OF IT.



IF THEY'RE STANDING
UP TO FIRE HOSES AND
DOGS DOWN THERE,
THE LEAST I CAN
DO IS MARCH OUTSIDE
A RESTAURANT
UP HERE.

A WEEK AFTER THE ATTACK ON
THOSE CHILDREN, AN ACCORD WAS
REACHED IN BIRMINGHAM. THE CITY
PROMISED TO TAKE STEPS TOWARD
DESEGREGATION AND FAIR HIRING
PRACTICES-- THE SAME GOALS WE WERE
WORKING TOWARD IN NASHVILLE--

AND THE DEMONSTRATIONS CEASED.

JUNE 12, 1963.
FIRST BAPTIST CHURCH,
NASHVILLE, TN





HE WAS COMING HOME FROM A MEETING,

WALKING UP HIS DRIVEWAY,

AND THEY SHOT HIM.

JIM CROW MUST GO!

JIM CROW MUST GO!



Who...

who shot him?

no one knows.

they said it was a SNIPER.



THEY CAN GET ANYONE. YOU'LL NEVER SEE IT COMING.

ONE DAY YOU PARK YOUR CAR IN THE DRIVEWAY AND YOU GO INSIDE, AND YOU'RE FINE. THE NEXT DAY, YOU COME HOME AND... YOU NEVER MAKE IT TO YOUR DOOR.

JUST LIKE THAT.

LAST NIGHT, PRESIDENT KENNEDY ADDRESSED THE NATION IN RESPONSE TO RECENT EVENTS IN BIRMINGHAM, ALABAMA AND ELSEWHERE:

--THE EVENTS IN BIRMINGHAM AND ELSEWHERE HAVE SO INCREASED THE CRIES FOR EQUALITY THAT NO CITY OR STATE LEGISLATIVE BODY CAN PRUDENTLY IGNORE THEM.

THE FIRES OF FRUSTRATION AND DISCORD ARE BURNING IN EVERY CITY, NORTH AND SOUTH.

WE FACE, THEREFORE, A MORAL CRISIS AS A COUNTRY AND AS A PEOPLE. IT CANNOT BE MET BY REPRESSIVE POLICE ACTION. IT CANNOT BE LEFT TO INCREASED DEMONSTRATIONS ON THE STREETS. IT CANNOT BE QUIETED BY TOKEN MOVES OR TALKS.

IT IS TIME TO ACT IN
CONGRESS, IN YOUR STATE AND
LOCAL LEGISLATIVE BODIES--
IN ALL OF OUR DAILY LIVES...

A GREAT CHANGE IS
AT HAND, AND OUR TASK--
OUR OBLIGATION-- IS TO
MAKE THAT REVOLUTION,
THAT CHANGE, PEACEFUL
AND CONSTRUCTIVE
FOR ALL.

ALMOST LOST THAT WEEK WAS DR. KING'S ANNOUNCEMENT ON JUNE 11TH
OF PLANS FOR A MASSIVE MARCH TO TAKE PLACE LATER THAT SUMMER...
... IN WASHINGTON, D.C.

JUNE 14, 1963--
outside MURFREESBORO, TN.

TWO DAYS LATER, I RECEIVED A
TELEGRAM FROM SNCC HEADQUARTERS,
SAYING CHUCK MCDEW WAS RESIGNING
AS CHAIRMAN,

AND THAT I SHOULD HURRY TO
ATLANTA FOR AN "EMERGENCY" MEETING
OF THE COORDINATING COMMITTEE.

IT SEEMED STRANGE TO ME--

SCREEE!



I SAW MYSELF AS A DOER. I NEVER HAD ANY THOUGHTS OF BEING CHAIRMAN.



THERE WERE NO SEATBELTS IN THAT CAR, BUT INCREDIBLY NONE OF US WERE SERIOUSLY HURT.



WE MADE IT, EVENTUALLY.
ANOTHER CAR WAS SENT TO PICK US UP.

AND I WAS ELECTED
CHAIRMAN OF SNCC.



U.S. CAPITOL, WASHINGTON, D.C.
12:04 PM, JANUARY 20, 2009.

ARE YOU PREPARED
TO TAKE THE
OATH, SENATOR?

I AM.

"I, BARACK
HUSSEIN OBAMA..."

I, BARACK...

"DO SOLEMNLY
SWEAR..."

I, BARACK
HUSSEIN OBAMA,
DO SOLEMNLY
SWEAR...

"THAT I WILL
EXECUTE THE OFFICE
OF PRESIDENT TO
THE UNITED STATES
FAITHFULLY..."

THAT I WILL
EXECUTE...

"FAITHFULLY THE
OFFICE OF PRESIDENT
OF THE UNITED STATES..."

THE OFFICE OF
PRESIDENT OF THE
UNITED STATES
FAITHFULLY...

"AND WILL, TO THE
BEST OF MY ABILITY..."

AND WILL, TO THE
BEST OF MY ABILITY...

"PRESERVE, PROTECT,
AND DEFEND THE
CONSTITUTION OF THE
UNITED STATES."

PRESERVE, PROTECT,
AND DEFEND THE
CONSTITUTION OF THE
UNITED STATES.



JUNE, 1963.



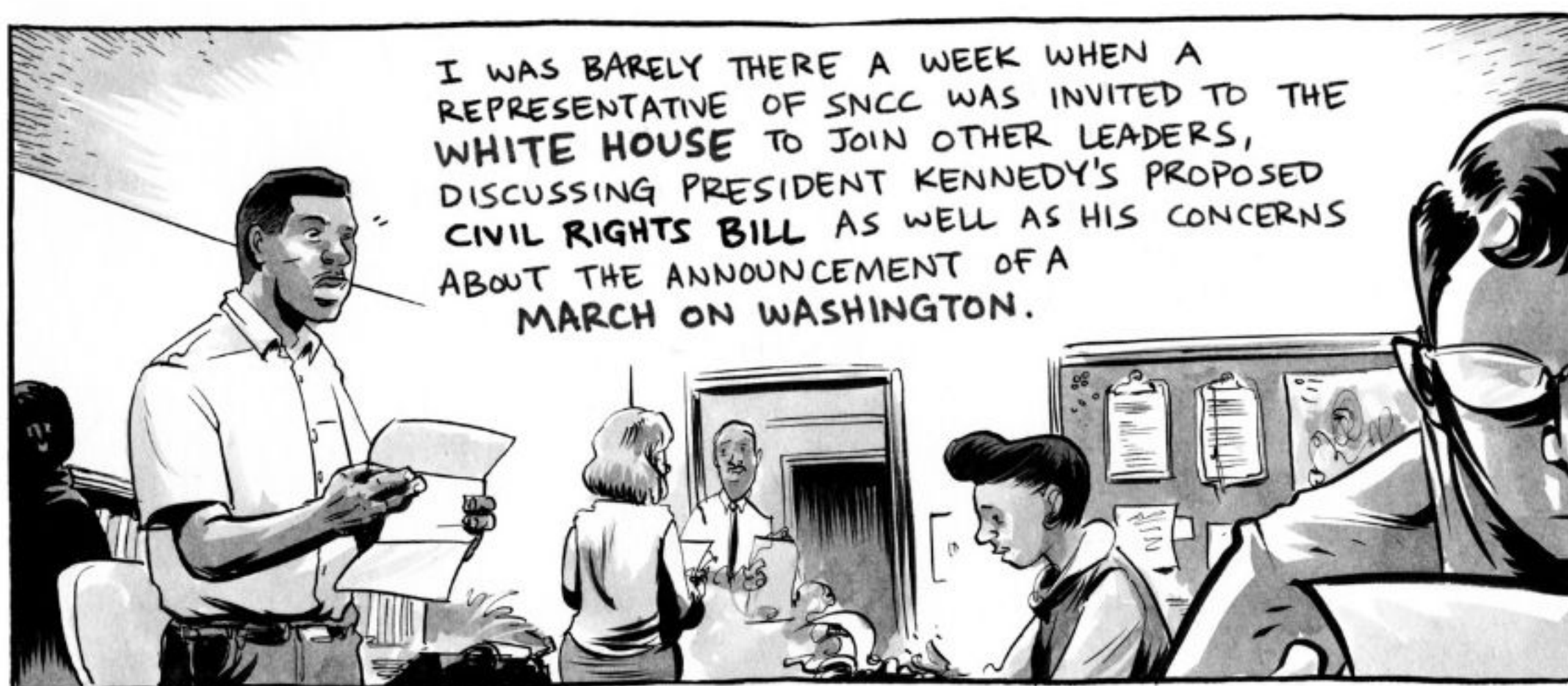
AS CHAIRMAN OF SNCC, I HAD TO WORK AT THE SNCC HEADQUARTERS IN ATLANTA FOR A SALARY OF \$10 A WEEK.



SO I MOVED INTO A SMALL APARTMENT OVER OFF GORDON ROAD IN SOUTHWEST ATLANTA.

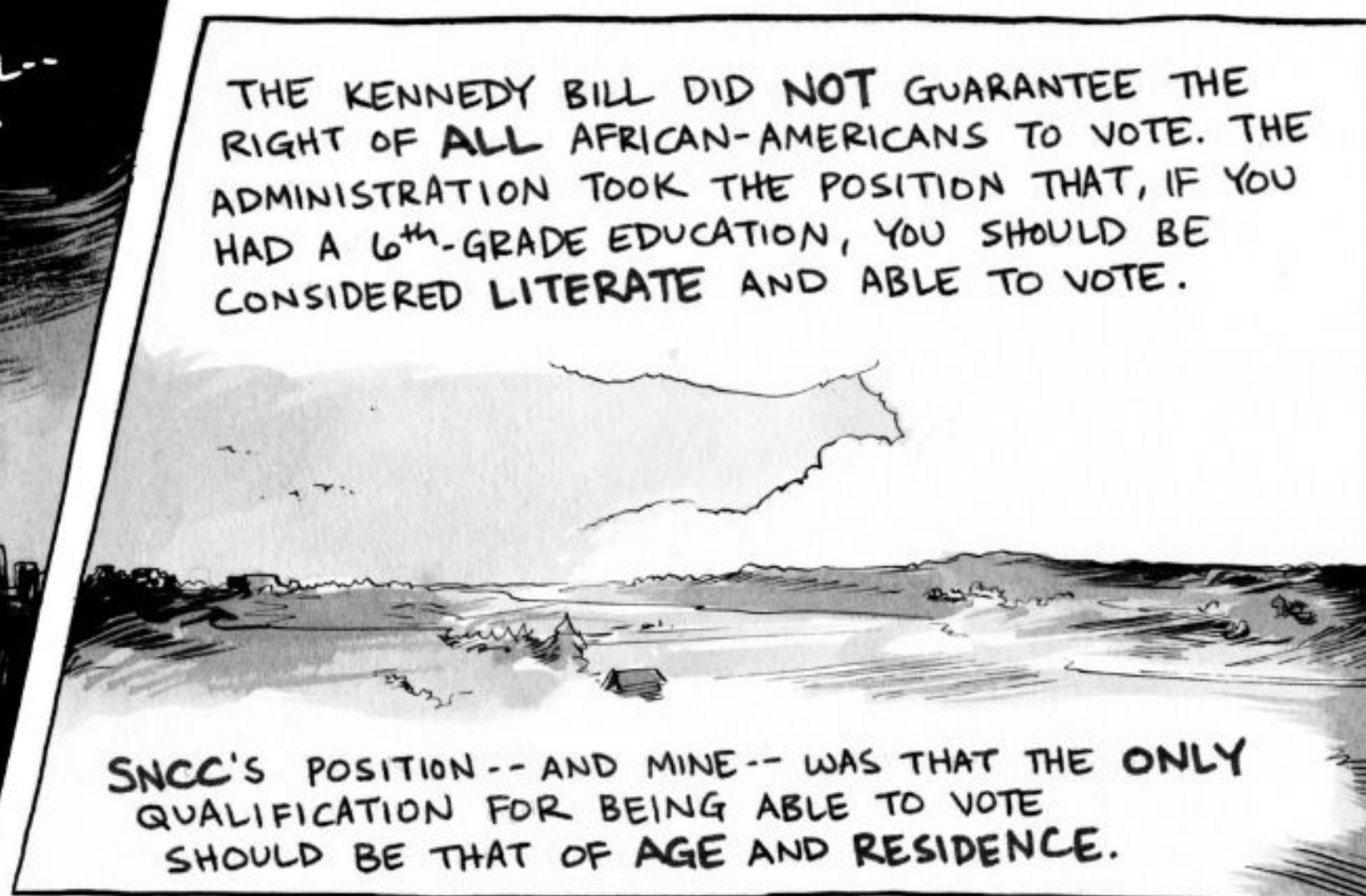


IT WAS A BIG CHANGE FROM THE FLOORS AND COUCHES I CALLED HOME WHILE LIVING ON THE ROAD, BUT MY NEW RESPONSIBILITIES WOULD NEVER LET ME STAY THERE FOR LONG ANYWAY.



AMONG THE SNCC MEMBERS, THERE WASN'T MUCH INTEREST IN THE MARCH OR PRESIDENT KENNEDY'S BILL.

MANY THOUGHT THE MARCH WOULD BE A LAME EVENT STAGED BY CONSERVATIVE BLACK LEADERS THAT WAS PROBABLY, IN SOME WAY, CONTROLLED BY THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT.



THE IDEA FOR THE MARCH ON WASHINGTON
CAME FROM A. PHILIP RANDOLPH.

HE WAS A STATESMAN, A TRUE GENTLEMAN.
IN 1925 HE FOUNDED THE BROTHERHOOD OF
SLEEPING CAR PORTERS, AN INCREDIBLY
INFLUENTIAL CIVIL RIGHTS AND LABOR
ORGANIZATION. IF HE HAD BEEN BORN AT
ANOTHER TIME, HE COULD'VE BEEN
PRESIDENT. AND I'LL NEVER FORGET
THAT DEEP BARITONE VOICE.

MR. RANDOLPH FIRST THREATENED TO
ORGANIZE A MARCH ON THE CAPITAL
CITY IN 1941 AS HE FACED OFF WITH
PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT OVER WHETHER
OR NOT AFRICAN-AMERICAN WORKERS
WOULD BE INTEGRATED INTO THE
GROWING WAR ECONOMY.

AS A RESULT, PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT
SIGNED AN EXECUTIVE ORDER FORBIDDING
THE DEFENSE INDUSTRY FROM
DISCRIMINATION IN HIRING, AND PLANS
FOR THE MARCH WERE CANCELED.





JUNE 22, 1963--
THE WHITE HOUSE.

THE BLACK MASSES
ARE RESTLESS,
MR. PRESIDENT.

WE ARE GOING
TO MARCH ON
WASHINGTON.

WE WANT
SUCCESS IN CONGRESS,
NOT JUST A BIG SHOW
AT THE CAPITOL.

THE CIVIL RIGHTS
BILL STANDS A...
MUCH BETTER CHANCE
IF THE NEGROES
STAY OFF THE
STREETS.



THE NEGROES ARE
ALREADY IN THE STREETS.

THERE WILL
BE A MARCH.

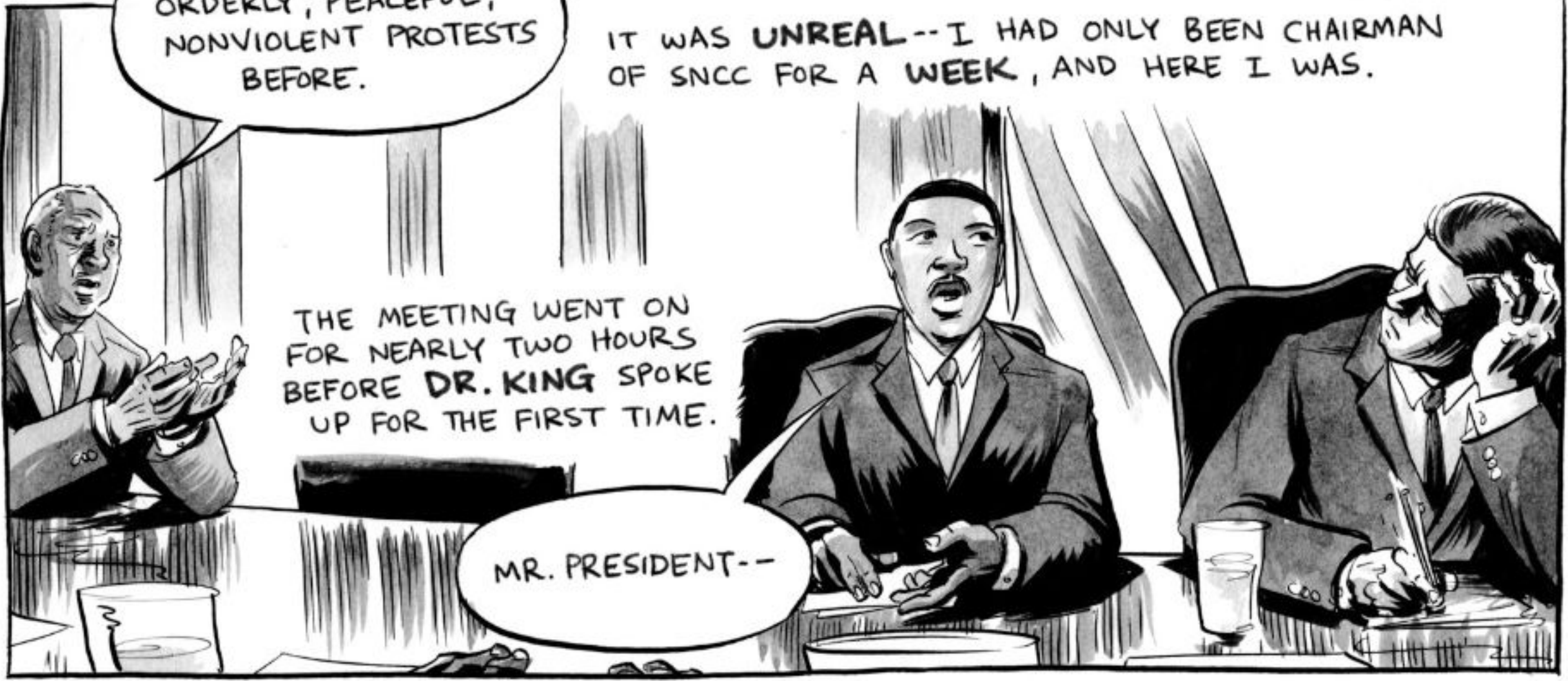
MR. RANDOLPH--



IF YOU BRING ALL
THESE PEOPLE TO WASHINGTON,
WON'T THERE BE VIOLENCE
AND CHAOS AND
DISORDER?

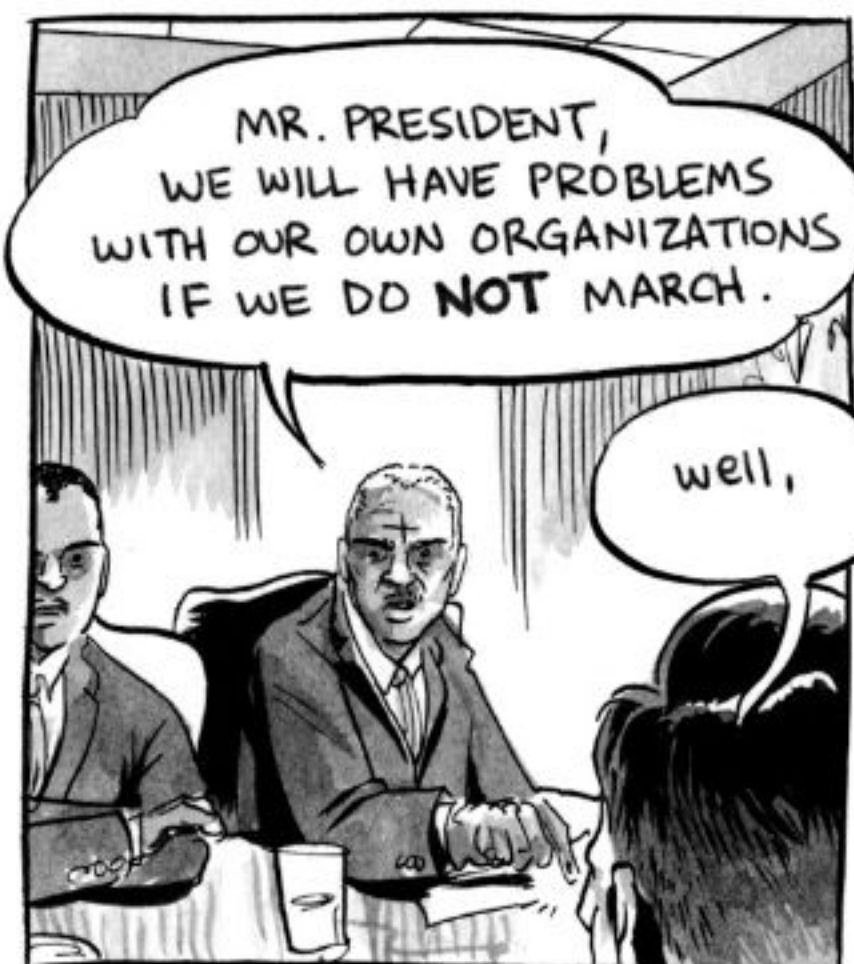
THERE HAVE BEEN
ORDERLY, PEACEFUL,
NONVIOLENT PROTESTS
BEFORE.

IT WAS UNREAL--I HAD ONLY BEEN CHAIRMAN
OF SNCC FOR A WEEK, AND HERE I WAS.



THE MEETING WENT ON
FOR NEARLY TWO HOURS
BEFORE DR. KING SPOKE
UP FOR THE FIRST TIME.

MR. PRESIDENT--



THERE WAS ONE PERSON DELIBERATELY NOT INVITED THAT DAY.
MALCOLM X OF THE NATION OF ISLAM.

I KNEW MALCOLM. I RESPECTED HIM.

I SHARED HIS BELIEF THAT OUR STRUGGLE
WAS NOT SIMPLY IN THE COURTS, BUT
IN THE STREETS.

STILL, I NEVER FELT LIKE HE WAS A PART
OF THE MOVEMENT.

OUR MOVEMENT WAS ABOUT CREATING
AN OPEN, INTEGRATED SOCIETY.

AND, VIOLENCE, NO MATTER HOW JUSTIFIED,
WAS **NOT** SOMETHING I COULD ACCEPT.

BUT I COULD UNDERSTAND HIS APPEAL,
AND THE FEELINGS OF RESTLESSNESS
THAT DROVE IT.



JULY 2, 1963.

A MEETING OF THE MARCH ORGANIZERS WAS CALLED IN NEW YORK CITY. IT WAS THE FIRST TIME I HAD EVER BEEN THERE.

I'M SORRY, BUT YOU HAVE TO LEAVE. thank you.

BUT I

uh huh, yes, you too -- you can wait outside. oh --

JOHN, YOU CAN STAY.

I WAS SHOCKED AT THE WAY ROY WILKINS WAS ABLE TO PUSH EVERYONE AROUND.

come on in, everyone's here.

ONLY THE SIX OF US WHO MET WITH THE PRESIDENT REMAINED.

I DIDN'T KNOW IT AT THE TIME, BUT THOSE OF US IN THAT ROOM--

A. PHILIP RANDOLPH,

DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.,

ROY WILKINS of the NAACP,

JIM FARMER of CORE,

and WHITNEY YOUNG of the URBAN LEAGUE--

-- WOULD BE FOREVER LINKED, KNOWN COLLECTIVELY AS THE "BIG SIX".

THANK YOU, ROY.

of course, Mr. Randolph.

SCOOT.

now--

THE DISCUSSION QUICKLY TURNED TO WHO SHOULD BE LEADING OUR EFFORTS.

AS MANY OF YOU KNOW, I BELIEVE DEEPLY IN THE NECESSITY OF A MARCH ON WASHINGTON, AND I HAVE FOR QUITE SOME TIME.

THERE IS NO ONE, IN MY ESTIMATION, MORE QUALIFIED TO ORGANIZE THIS ENDEAVOR THAN BAYARD RUSTIN.

BAYARD RUSTIN.

HE WAS ONE OF THE PEOPLE ROY WILKINS HAD ASKED TO LEAVE, BUT HIS TALENTS LOOMED.

A DEVOUT PACIFIST AND BRILLIANT ORGANIZER, RUSTIN HELPED WITH THE PLANNING OF RANDOLPH'S FIRST MARCH IN 1941.

BUT WILKINS AND WHITNEY YOUNG WERE OPPOSED.



I'M TELLING YOU, PEOPLE ARE GOING TO USE HIM AGAINST US.

HE'S A CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTOR, HE'S BEEN LINKED TO THE COMMUNIST PARTY,

and, of course, there's the "MORALS" charge...



RUSTIN WAS GAY, THOUGH NO ONE SAID IT DIRECTLY. IT MADE HIM A STRATEGIC LIABILITY.

WE WERE AT AN IMPASSE UNTIL SOMEONE SUGGESTED A. PHILIP RANDOLPH LEAD THE MARCH.

YES PHIL, YOU SHOULD LEAD IT.

IF I DO THAT, I WILL CHOOSE BAYARD AS MY DEPUTY.

well, you CAN DO THAT IF YOU WANT TO, BUT DON'T EXPECT ME TO DO ANYTHING ABOUT IT WHEN THE TROUBLE STARTS.



WE NEEDED RUSTIN. HE WAS THE ONLY PERSON WITH THE ABILITY AND CAPACITY TO ORGANIZE SUCH A MASSIVE MARCH.

AFTER THE MEETING, WE POSED FOR PICTURES WITH THE PRESS.

DR. KING, WHERE ARE ALL THE YOUNG PEOPLE WE KEEP HEARING ABOUT?

RIGHT THERE-- JOHN LEWIS, CHAIRMAN OF SNCC.

YOU SAY THIS MARCH WILL NOT INCLUDE ANY CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE OR SIT-INS. IS SNCC BACKING AWAY FROM ITS PROVOCATIVE TACTICS?

NO, WE WILL NOT CHANGE OUR TACTICS.

WE DO NOT WANT VIOLENCE, AND WE DO NOT ADVOCATE FOR IT--



A FEW WEEKS LATER, I WAS INVITED TO CONTRIBUTE TO NEGOTIATIONS FOR A SNCC-AFFILIATED PROTEST MOVEMENT IN MARYLAND.

JULY 22, 1963--
THE JUSTICE DEPARTMENT, WASHINGTON, D.C.

-- BUT WE WILL NOT SLOW DOWN BECAUSE OF THE POSSIBILITY.

DURING A BREAK, ATTORNEY GENERAL ROBERT KENNEDY PULLED ME ASIDE AND SAID SOMETHING I'LL NEVER FORGET.

A JARRING RIGHT HAND--

-- THE KNOCKOUT BLOW!!

FOLLOWED BY THE LEFT UPPERCUT--

JOHN--

UP TILL THEN, MANY IN THE MOVEMENT-- INCLUDING MYSELF-- HAD BEEN CRITICAL OF HIS RESPONSE TO OUR PLEAS FOR FEDERAL INTERVENTION.

YOU, THE YOUNG PEOPLE OF SNCC, HAVE EDUCATED ME.

you have CHANGED me.

now I understand.

IT SHOWED ME SOMETHING ABOUT ROBERT KENNEDY THAT I CAME TO RESPECT: EVEN THOUGH HE COULD BE A LITTLE ROUGH-- RUTHLESS, SOME WOULD SAY--

HE WAS WILLING TO LEARN,
TO GROW,
AND TO CHANGE.



THE ATTACKS AND CRITICISM OF THE MARCH WERE FIERCE.

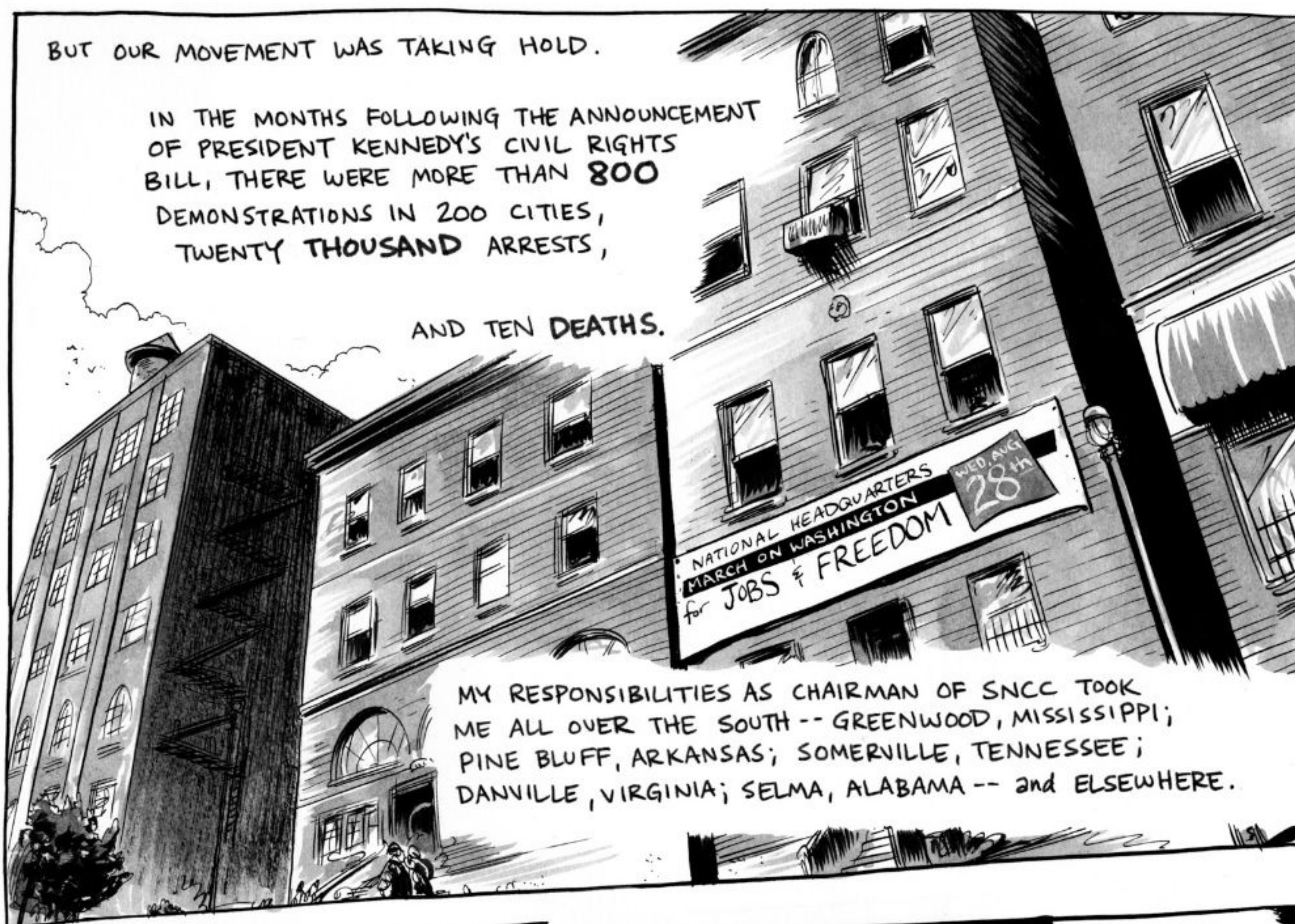
ON AUGUST 13TH, WITH HELP FROM FBI WIRETAPS, STROM THURMOND OF SOUTH CAROLINA SPOKE ON THE SENATE FLOOR, ATTACKING BAYARD RUSTIN FOR BEING GAY AND ENTERING HIS ARREST RECORD INTO THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD--

-- EFFECTIVELY OUTING HIM TO THE ENTIRE NATION.

BUT OUR MOVEMENT WAS TAKING HOLD.

IN THE MONTHS FOLLOWING THE ANNOUNCEMENT OF PRESIDENT KENNEDY'S CIVIL RIGHTS BILL, THERE WERE MORE THAN 800 DEMONSTRATIONS IN 200 CITIES, TWENTY THOUSAND ARRESTS,

AND TEN DEATHS.



NATIONAL HEADQUARTERS
MARCH ON WASHINGTON
for JOBS & FREEDOM
WED. AUG 28TH

MY RESPONSIBILITIES AS CHAIRMAN OF SNCC TOOK ME ALL OVER THE SOUTH -- GREENWOOD, MISSISSIPPI; PINE BLUFF, ARKANSAS; SOMERVILLE, TENNESSEE; DANVILLE, VIRGINIA; SELMA, ALABAMA -- and ELSEWHERE.

THE WEEKEND BEFORE THE MARCH, I WENT TO THE MARCH'S HEADQUARTERS IN HARLEM.



BAYARD SHOWED NO SIGN THE ATTACKS WERE GETTING TO HIM.

WHAT ABOUT THE LATRINES?! WE NEED MORE--

WE CAN'T HAVE ANY DISORGANIZED PISSING IN THE STREETS OF WASHINGTON!

that's exactly what I asked you for.

-- that's right. AND I DON'T CARE--

FOR HIM, AND FOR ALL OF US, IT WAS A RACE AGAINST TIME.

I STARTED WORKING ON MY SPEECH FOR THE MARCH IN ATLANTA, AT FIRST WITH SNCC STAFFER NANCY STERN, THEN WITH SNCC'S COMMUNICATIONS DIRECTOR JULIAN BOND, OUR EXECUTIVE SECRETARY JIM FORMAN, AS WELL AS PRATHIA HALL AND OTHERS HELPING ME WORK THROUGH THE EARLY DRAFTS.



BY THE TIME I GOT TO NEW YORK CITY, I WAS WORKING THROUGH THE FINAL DRAFT. THAT WEEKEND, I SAW A PHOTOGRAPH IN THE NEWSPAPER --

IT STUCK WITH ME.



THERE I WORKED WITH SNCC MEMBERS COURTLAND COX AND JOYCE LADNER, ONE OF BAYARD'S ASSISTANTS ELEANOR HOLMES, AND OTHERS, TO FINISH THE SPEECH.



WHEN I ARRIVED IN WASHINGTON,
THE CITY WAS VERY TENSE.

EVERY POLICE OFFICER IN THE CITY WAS
ON DUTY, ARMY PARATROOPERS HAD BEEN
PUT ON ALERT, AND THE WASHINGTON
SENATORS HAD CANCELED TWO HOME
GAMES ON ACCOUNT OF THE MARCH.



I WAS SURPRISED TO SEE MALCOLM X IN MY HOTEL LOBBY.



and WHY DID
YOU COME?





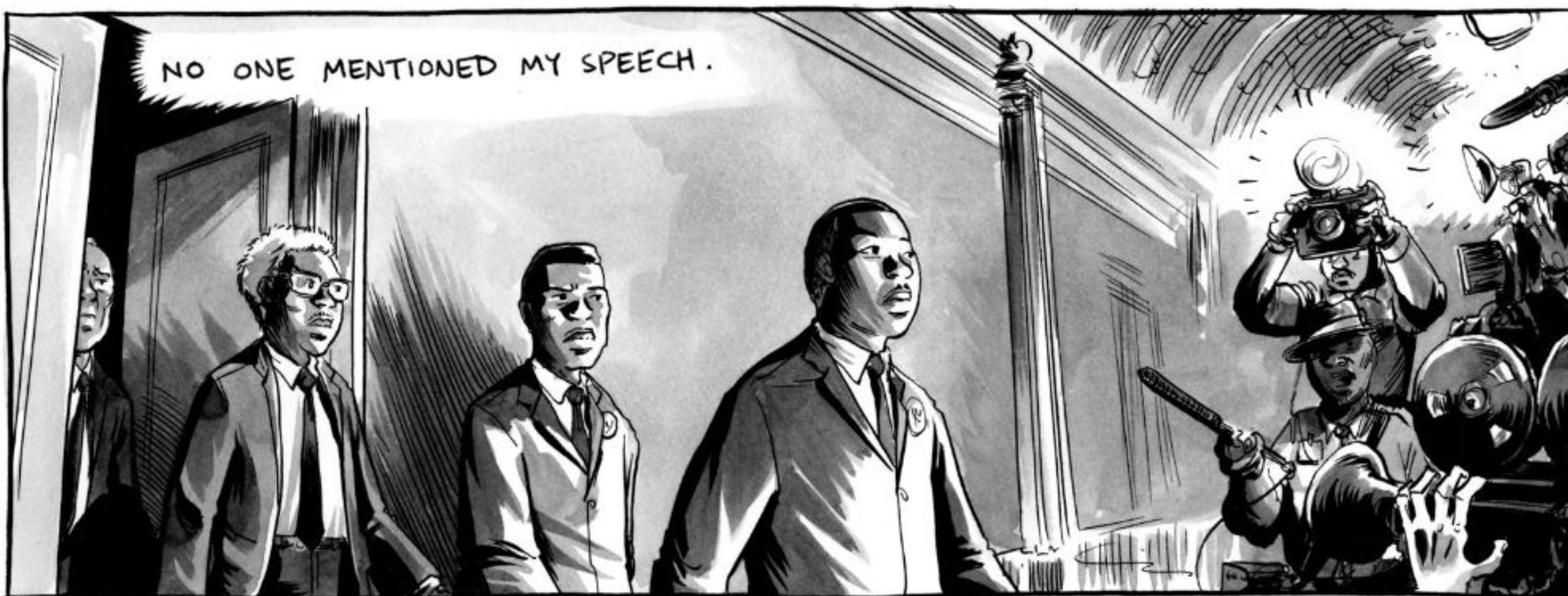
I FELT IT WAS A STRONG SPEECH,
AND THAT IT REPRESENTED THE
POSITION OF SNCC.



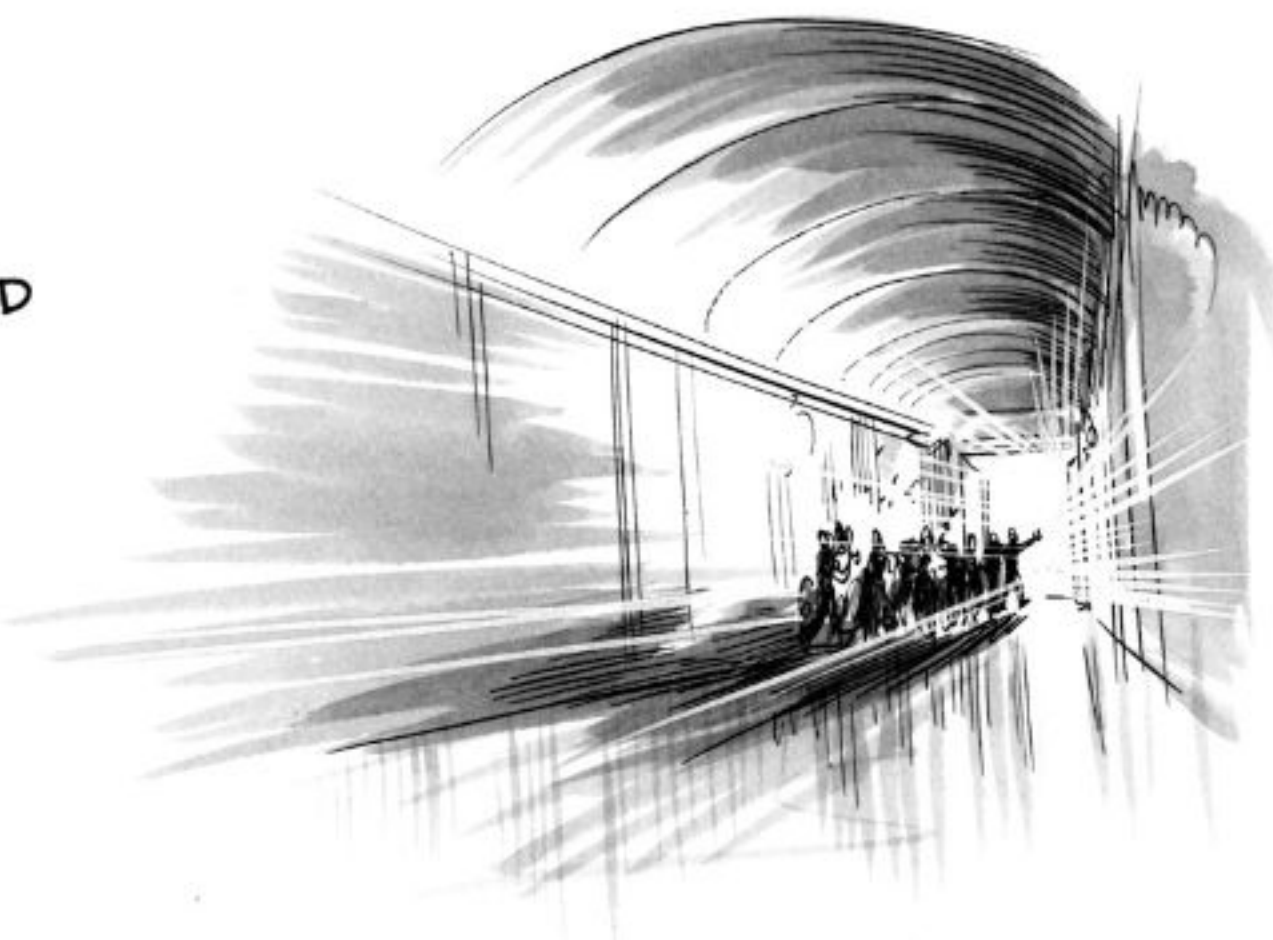
AUGUST 28, 1963.



THE NEXT MORNING, WE HAD BREAKFAST TOGETHER BEFORE HEADING AS A GROUP TO MEET WITH MEMBERS OF CONGRESSIONAL LEADERSHIP.



THEN WE LEARNED
THAT THE MARCH HAD STARTED
WITHOUT US.

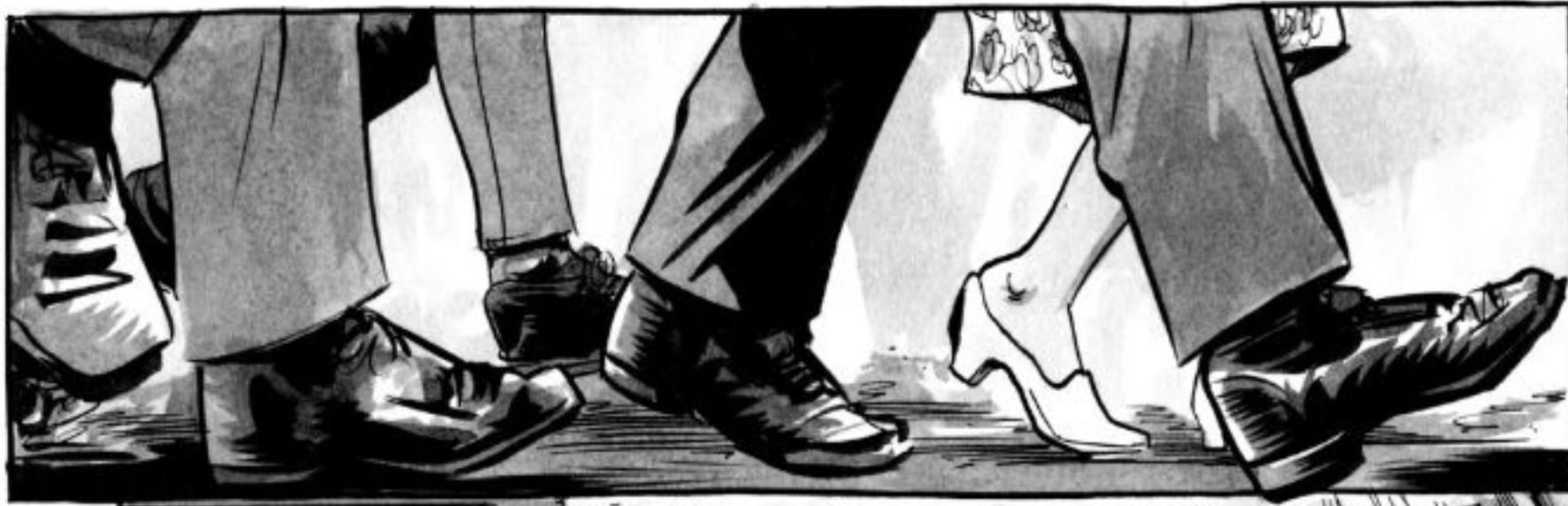




WE'RE SUPPOSED TO
BE LEADING THEM !!



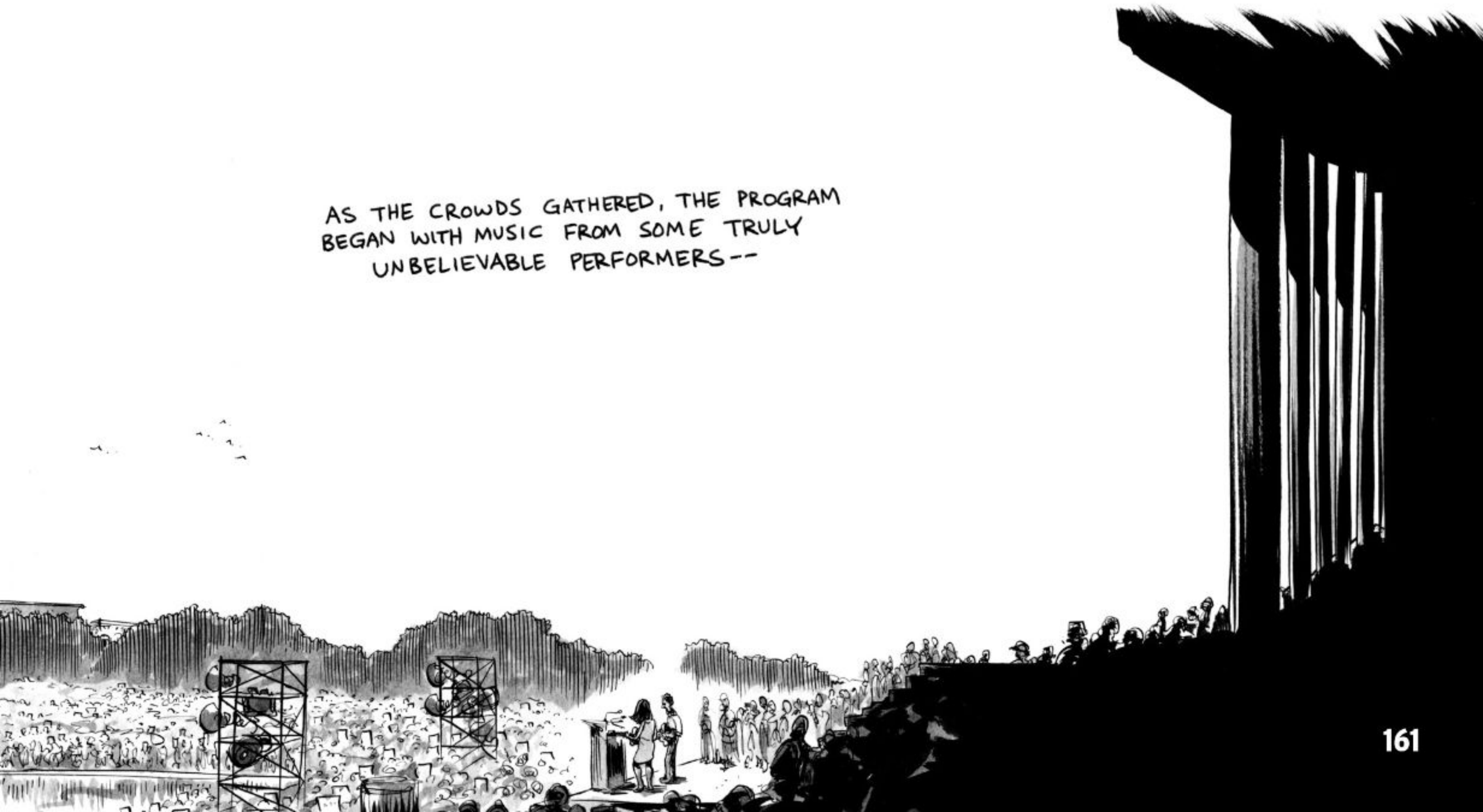
WE CLEARED A SPACE TO TAKE PICTURES, BUT WE WERE NOT AT THE FRONT OF THE MARCH.



TRUTH BE TOLD,
WE COULDN'T EVEN
SEE THE FRONT.



AS THE CROWDS GATHERED, THE PROGRAM
BEGAN WITH MUSIC FROM SOME TRULY
UNBELIEVABLE PERFORMERS --

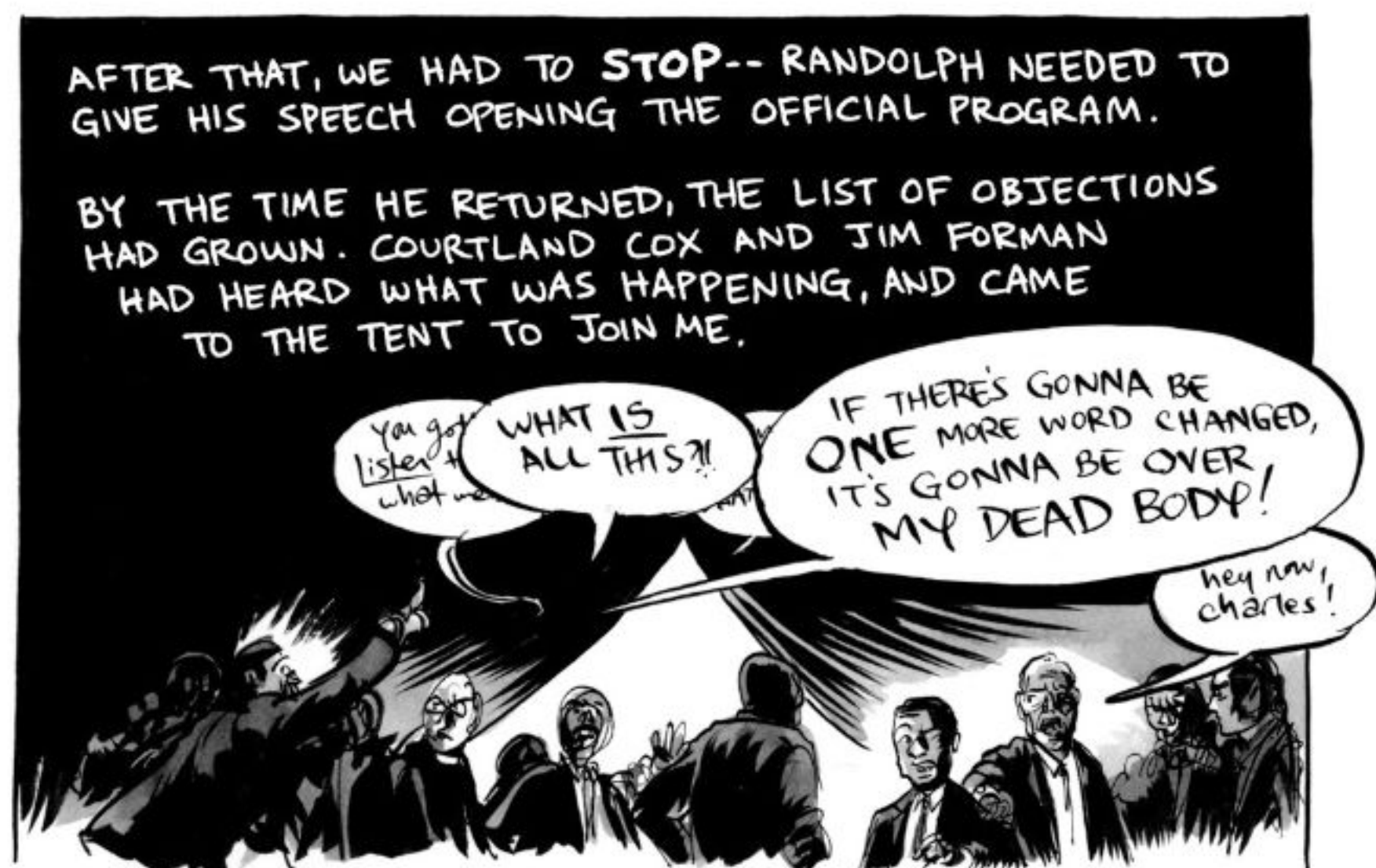




WHAT NO ONE SAW WAS THE DRAMA UNFOLDING OVER MY SPEECH BACKSTAGE.







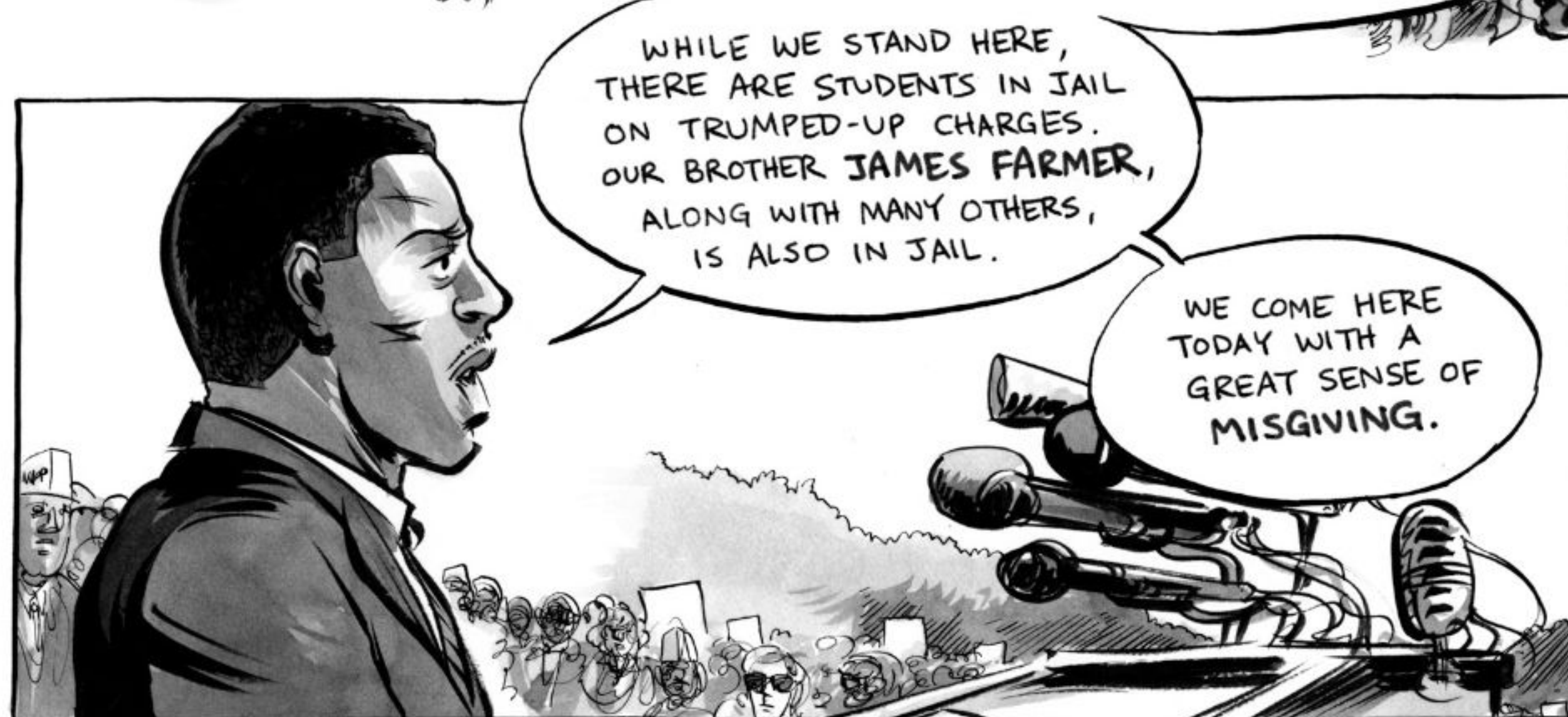
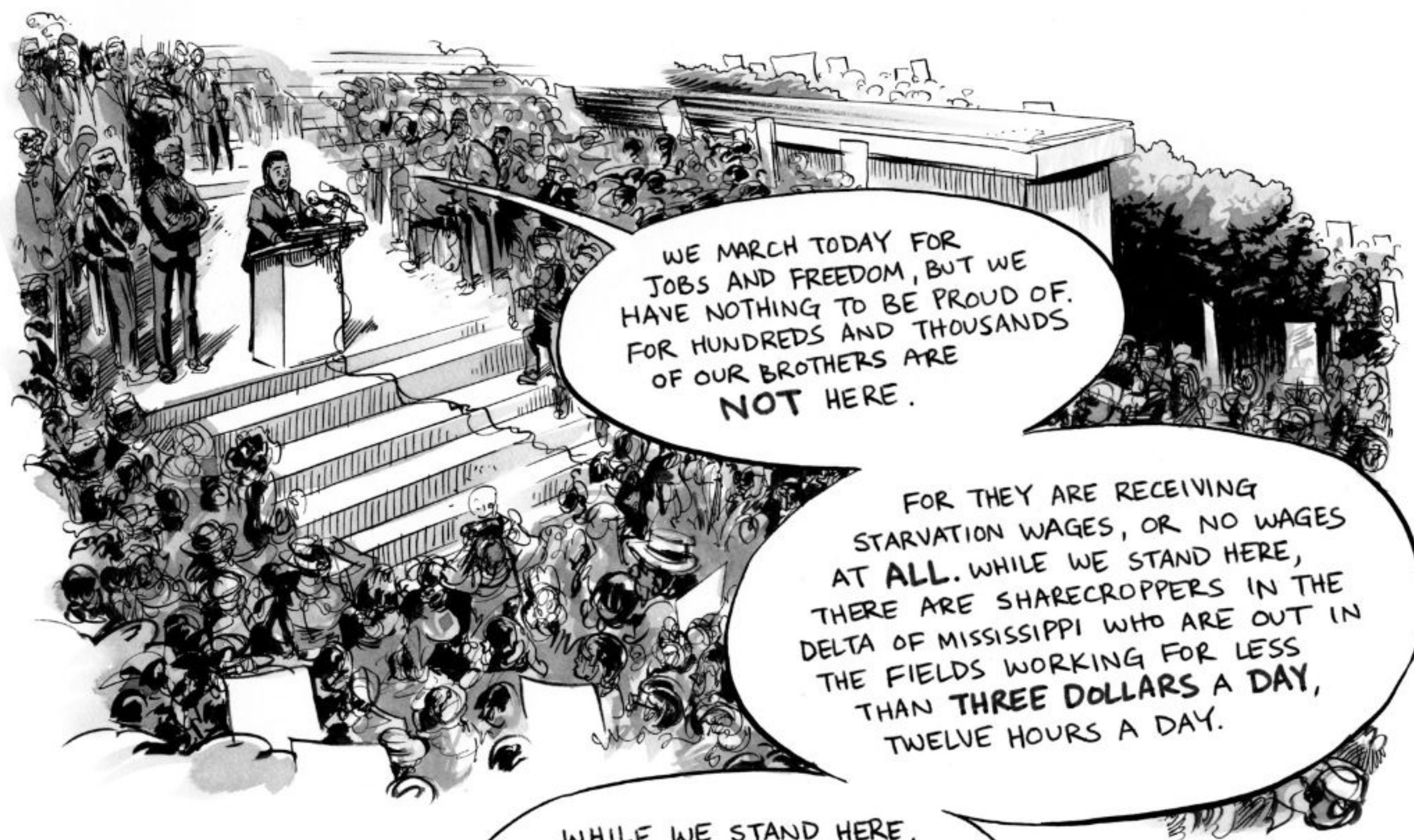
IN THE END, MY SPEECH NO LONGER CALLED
THE PRESIDENT'S BILL "TOO LITTLE, TOO LATE",
NOR CALLED FOR A "MARCH THROUGH THE
HEART OF DIXIE, THE WAY SHERMAN DID."

IT NO LONGER ASKED, "WHICH SIDE IS THE GOVERNMENT ON?",
NOR DESCRIBED SOME POLITICAL LEADERS AS "CHEAP."



WE ALL AGREED THAT OUR MESSAGE
WAS **NOT** COMPROMISED.





IT IS TRUE THAT WE SUPPORT THE ADMINISTRATION'S CIVIL RIGHTS BILL--

WE SUPPORT IT WITH GREAT RESERVATIONS, HOWEVER.

UNLESS **TITLE III** IS PUT IN THIS BILL, THERE IS **NOTHING** TO PROTECT THE YOUNG CHILDREN AND OLD WOMEN WHO MUST FACE **POLICE DOGS AND FIRE HOSES** IN THE SOUTH WHILE THEY ENGAGE IN PEACEFUL DEMONSTRATIONS.

IN ITS PRESENT FORM, THIS BILL WILL **NOT** PROTECT THE CITIZENS OF DANVILLE, VIRGINIA, WHO MUST LIVE IN CONSTANT FEAR OF A **POLICE STATE**.

IT WILL **NOT** PROTECT THE HUNDREDS AND THOUSANDS OF PEOPLE THAT HAVE BEEN ARRESTED ON TRUMPED-UP CHARGES.

WHAT ABOUT THE THREE YOUNG MEN-- SNCC FIELD SECRETARIES IN AMERICUS, GEORGIA-- WHO FACE THE **DEATH PENALTY** FOR ENGAGING IN PEACEFUL PROTEST?

AS IT STANDS NOW, THE VOTING SECTION OF THIS BILL WILL **NOT** HELP THE THOUSANDS OF BLACK PEOPLE WHO **WANT** TO VOTE. IT WILL **NOT** HELP THE CITIZENS OF MISSISSIPPI, OF ALABAMA AND GEORGIA, WHO ARE **QUALIFIED** TO VOTE, BUT LACK A SIXTH-GRADE EDUCATION.

"ONE MAN, ONE VOTE" IS THE AFRICAN CRY. IT IS OURS TOO-- IT MUST BE OURS!

WE MUST HAVE LEGISLATION THAT WILL PROTECT THE MISSISSIPPI SHARECROPPER WHO IS PUT OFF HIS FARM BECAUSE HE DARES TO REGISTER TO VOTE.

WE NEED A BILL THAT WILL PROVIDE FOR THE HOMELESS AND STARVING PEOPLE OF THIS NATION.

WE NEED A BILL THAT WILL ENSURE THE EQUALITY OF A MAID WHO EARNS FIVE DOLLARS A WEEK IN A HOME OF A FAMILY WHOSE TOTAL INCOME IS \$100,000 A YEAR. WE MUST HAVE A GOOD FEPC BILL.

MY FRIENDS, LET US NOT FORGET THAT WE ARE INVOLVED IN A SERIOUS SOCIAL REVOLUTION--

BY AND LARGE, AMERICAN POLITICS IS DOMINATED BY POLITICIANS WHO BUILD THEIR CAREERS ON IMMORAL COMPROMISES, AND ALLY THEMSELVES WITH OPEN FORMS OF POLITICAL, ECONOMIC, AND SOCIAL EXPLOITATION.

THERE ARE EXCEPTIONS, OF COURSE. WE SALUTE THOSE.

BUT WHAT POLITICAL LEADER CAN STAND UP AND SAY, "MY PARTY IS THE PARTY OF PRINCIPLES"?

FOR THE PARTY OF KENNEDY IS ALSO THE PARTY OF EASTLAND. THE PARTY OF JAVITS IS ALSO THE PARTY OF GOLDWATER.

WHERE IS OUR PARTY?!

WHERE IS THE POLITICAL PARTY THAT WILL MAKE IT UNNECESSARY TO MARCH ON WASHINGTON?!

WHERE IS THE POLITICAL PARTY THAT WILL MAKE IT UNNECESSARY TO MARCH IN THE STREETS OF BIRMINGHAM?

WHERE IS THE POLITICAL PARTY THAT WILL PROTECT THE CITIZENS OF ALBANY, GEORGIA?

DO YOU KNOW THAT IN ALBANY, GEORGIA, **NINE** OF OUR LEADERS HAVE BEEN INDICTED **NOT** BY THE DIXIECRATS, BUT BY THE **FEDERAL GOVERNMENT**, FOR PEACEFUL PROTEST?

BUT WHAT DID THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT DO WHEN ALBANY'S DEPUTY SHERIFF **BEAT** ATTORNEY **C.B. KING** AND LEFT HIM **HALF-DEAD**?

WHAT DID THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT DO WHEN LOCAL POLICE OFFICIALS KICKED AND ASSAULTED THE **PREGNANT WIFE** OF SLATER KING,

and she lost her baby?

TO THOSE WHO HAVE SAID, "BE PATIENT AND WAIT," WE HAVE LONG SAID THAT WE **CANNOT** BE PATIENT.

WE DO NOT WANT OUR FREEDOM GRADUALLY, BUT WE WANT TO BE **FREE NOW!**

WE ARE TIRED.

WE ARE TIRED OF BEING **BEATEN** BY POLICEMEN.

WE ARE TIRED OF SEEING OUR PEOPLE LOCKED UP IN JAIL **OVER** AND **OVER** AGAIN.



WE WILL MARCH THROUGH THE SOUTH; THROUGH THE STREETS OF JACKSON, THROUGH THE STREETS OF DANVILLE, THROUGH THE STREETS OF CAMBRIDGE, THROUGH THE STREETS OF BIRMINGHAM.

BUT WE WILL MARCH WITH THE SPIRIT OF LOVE AND WITH THE SPIRIT OF DIGNITY THAT WE HAVE SHOWN HERE TODAY.

BY THE FORCE OF OUR DEMANDS, OUR DETERMINATION, AND OUR NUMBERS, WE SHALL SPLINTER THE SEGREGATED SOUTH INTO A THOUSAND PIECES, AND PUT THEM TOGETHER IN THE IMAGE OF GOD AND DEMOCRACY.

WE MUST SAY:
"WAKE UP, AMERICA!"

"WAKE UP!!"

FOR WE CANNOT STOP,

AND WE WILL NOT AND CANNOT BE PATIENT.

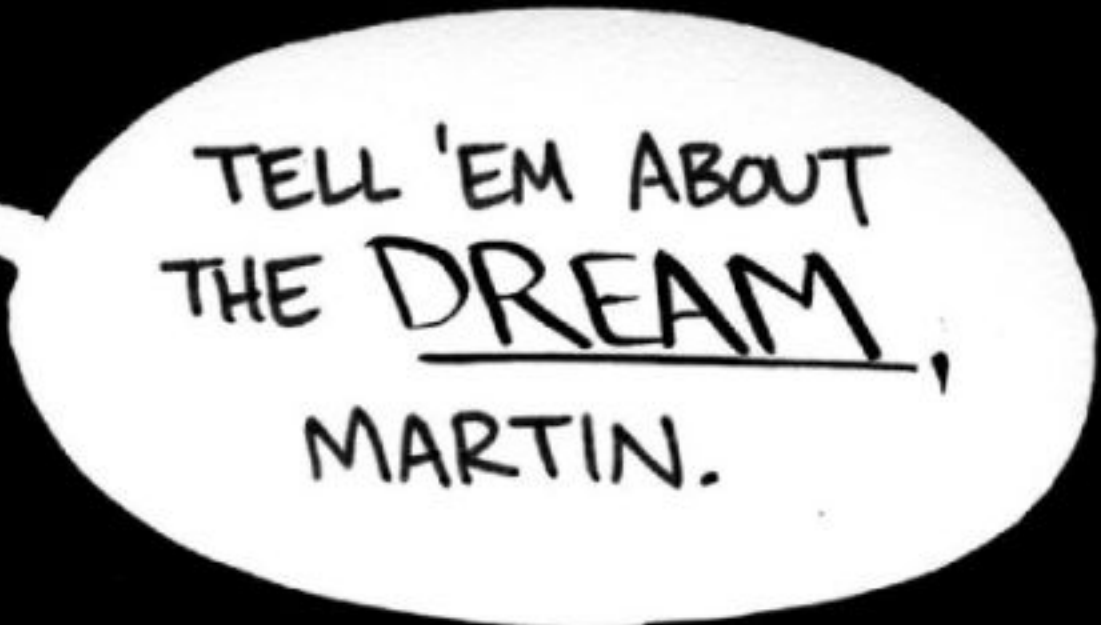


DR. KING WAS THE DAY'S LAST SPEAKER.

HE STARTED SLOW. I'D HEARD HIM SPEAK
MANY TIMES. HIS CADENCE WAS SO FAMILIAR TO ME.

BUT AS HE FOUND HIS STRENGTH,
HIS **POWER**, HE TRANSFORMED THE
STEPS OF THE LINCOLN MEMORIAL
INTO A MODERN-DAY **PULPIT**.

HIS WORDS CARRIED THROUGH THE AIR
LIKE **ARROWS**... MOVING TO A CLIMACTIC
REFRAIN THE WORLD WOULD
NEVER FORGET.



TELL 'EM ABOUT
THE **DREAM**,
MARTIN.

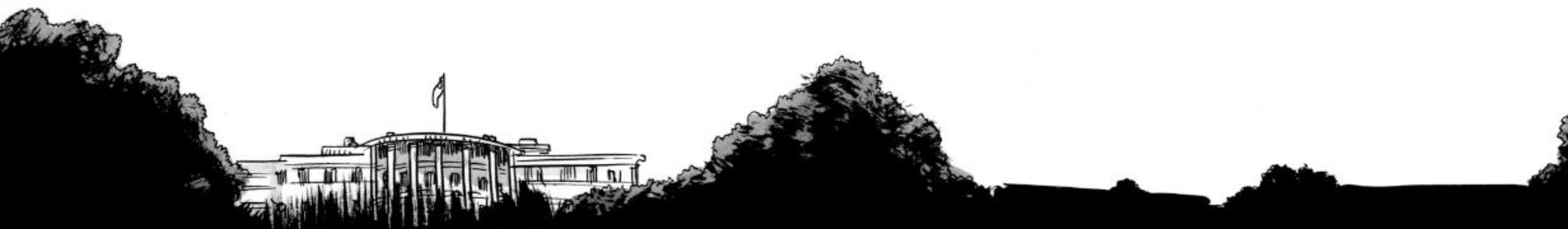
IN THOSE MOMENTS, DR. KING MADE PLAIN
ALL OF OUR HOPES, OUR ASPIRATIONS...

EVERYTHING WE SOUGHT THROUGH
THE BEATINGS AND THE BLOOD,
THROUGH THE TRIUMPHS
AND FAILURES,


EVERYTHING WE DARED TO IMAGINE
ABOUT A NEW AMERICA,
A BETTER AMERICA,

IN WHICH EACH OF GOD'S CHILDREN
CAN LIVE IN A SOCIETY THAT
MAKES LOVE ITS HIGHEST VIRTUE.






AFTER THE PROGRAM WAS OVER, ALL OF THE SPEAKERS WERE INVITED TO THE WHITE HOUSE TO MEET WITH PRESIDENT KENNEDY.



GOOD TO SEE YOU--




YOU DID A GOOD JOB.

THANK YOU, MR. PRESIDENT.



I HEARD YOUR SPEECH.



AND YOU HAD A DREAM.

IT WAS THE LAST TIME I SAW PRESIDENT KENNEDY ALIVE.



JANUARY 20, 2009.



10:22 AM,
SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 15, 1963.

YOUTH SUNDAY.

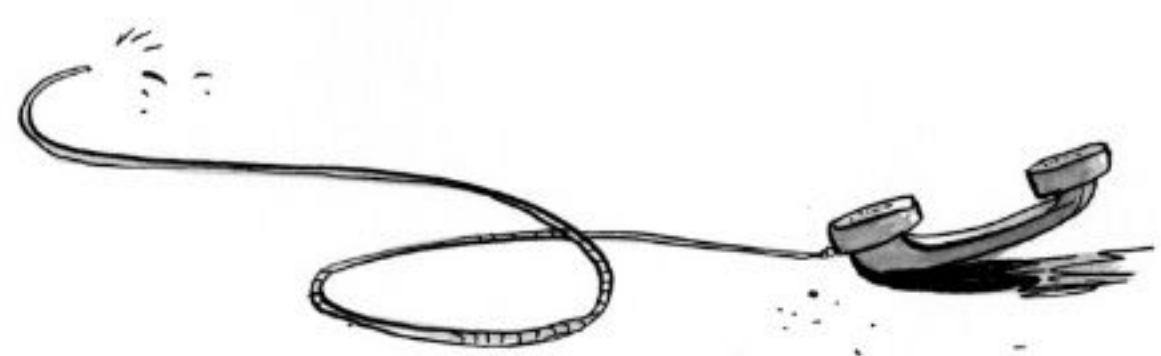
MINDFUL OF
THE SACRIFICES BORNE
BY OUR ANCESTORS.

STREET

TELEPHONE

SIXTEENTH STREET BAPTIST CHURCH--
BIRMINGHAM, AL.







ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I am deeply grateful to Andrew Aydin for all of his hard work. He had a vision, and he never gave up. I believe together we have created something truly meaningful. I want to thank Nate Powell for his unbelievable talent, kind spirit, and hard work. He is a wonderful collaborator. And I want to thank Chris Staros, Brett Warnock, Leigh Walton, Chris Ross, and everyone at Top Shelf for their openness, their support, and their powerful work.

John Lewis

I want to thank my Mom for the opportunities in my life that her hard work and sacrifice made possible. I am forever indebted to John Lewis for his remarkable life, his trust, his faith, and his friendship. I am in awe of Nate Powell's talent and grateful to work with him. I want to thank Sara for her patience and support, Vaughn for his guidance and friendship, and Dom for reminding me to have fun. I wish Jordan could see this. And thank you Mr. Parker, Mrs. Fuentes, Jacob Gillison, A.D., Professor Uchimura and all of the teachers and mentors that gave me the courage to walk this road.

Andrew Aydin

I'd like to dedicate my work on this book to the memory of Sarah Kirsch (1970–2012), whose compassion, humanity, vision, and talent deeply shaped the direction of my life from my early teenage years; to my wife Rachel, a true original and cranky do-gooder committed to helping those who need a hand; and to our amazing daughter Harper, in hopes of her growing into a world more humane, more considerate, more loving—a world she and her entire generation will inherit. Let's make the world worth it.

Nate Powell



**Dedicated to the memory of
John Seigenthaler
July 27th, 1927-July 11th, 2014**

Original Draft of SNCC Chairman John Lewis' Speech to the March

WE MARCH TODAY FOR JOBS AND FREEDOM, BUT WE HAVE NOTHING TO BE PROUD OF, for hundreds and thousands of our brothers are not here. They have no money for their transportation, for they are receiving starvation wages, or no wages at all.

In good conscience, we cannot support wholeheartedly the administration's civil rights bill, for it is too little and too late. There's not one thing in the bill that will protect our people from police brutality.

This bill will not protect young children and old women from police dogs and fire hoses, for engaging in peaceful demonstrations: This bill will not protect the citizens in Danville, Virginia, who must live in constant fear in a police state. This bill will not protect the hundreds of people who have been arrested on trumped-up charges. What about the three young men in Americus, Georgia, who face the death penalty for engaging in peaceful protest?

The voting section of this bill will not help thousands of black citizens who want to vote. It will not help the citizens of Mississippi, of Alabama and Georgia, who are qualified to vote but lack a sixth-grade education. "ONE MAN, ONE VOTE" is the African cry. It is ours, too. It must be ours.

People have been forced to leave their homes because they dared to exercise their right to register to vote. What is there in this bill to ensure the equality of a maid who earns \$5 a week in the home of a family whose income is \$100,000 a year?

For the first time in one hundred years this nation is being awakened to the fact that segregation is evil and that it must be destroyed in all forms. Your presence today proves that you have been aroused to the point of action.

We are now involved in a serious revolution. This nation is still a place of cheap political leaders who build their careers on immoral compromises and ally themselves with open forms of political, economic and social exploitation. What political leader here can stand up and say, "My party is the party of principles?" The party of Kennedy is also the party of Eastland. The party of Javits is also the party of Goldwater. Where is *our* party?

In some parts of the South we work in the fields from sunup to sundown for \$12 a week. In Albany, Georgia, nine of our leaders have been indicted not by Dixiecrats but by the federal government for peaceful protest. But what did the federal government do when Albany's deputy sheriff beat attorney C. B. King and left him half dead? What did the federal government do when local police officials kicked and assaulted the pregnant wife of Slater King, and she lost her baby?

It seems to me that the Albany indictment is part of a conspiracy on the part of the federal government and local politicians in the interest of expediency.

I want to know, which side is the federal government on?

The revolution is at hand, and we must free ourselves of the chains of political and economic slavery.

The nonviolent revolution is saying, “We will not wait for the courts to act, for we have been waiting for hundreds of years. We will not wait for the President, the Justice Department, nor Congress, but we will take matters into our own hands and create a source of power, outside of any national structure, that could and would assure us a victory.”

To those who have said, “Be patient and wait,” we must say that “patience” is a dirty and nasty word. We cannot be patient, we do not want to be free gradually. We want our freedom, and we want it *now*. We cannot depend on any political party, for both the Democrats and the Republicans have betrayed the basic principles of the Declaration of Independence.

We all recognize the fact that if any radical social, political and economic changes are to take place in our society, the people, the masses, must bring them about. In the struggle, we must seek more than civil rights; we must work for the community of love, peace and true brotherhood. Our minds, souls and hearts cannot rest until freedom and justice exist for *all people*.

The revolution is a serious one. Mr. Kennedy is trying to take the revolution out of the streets and put it into the courts. Listen, Mr. Kennedy. Listen, Mr. Congressman. Listen, fellow citizens. The black masses are on the march for jobs and freedom, and we must say to the politicians that there won’t be a “cooling-off” period.

All of us must get in the revolution. Get in and stay in the streets of every city, every village and every hamlet of this nation until true freedom comes, until the revolution is complete. In the Delta of Mississippi, in southwest Georgia, in Alabama, Harlem, Chicago, Detroit, Philadelphia and all over this nation, the black masses are on the march!

We won’t stop now. All of the forces of Eastland, Barnett, Wallace and Thurmond won’t stop this revolution. The time will come when we will not confine our marching to Washington. We will march through the South, through the heart of Dixie, the way Sherman did. We shall pursue our own “scorched earth” policy and burn Jim Crow to the ground — nonviolently. We shall fragment the South into a thousand pieces and put them back together in the image of democracy. We will make the action of the past few months look petty. And I say to you, WAKE UP AMERICA!

We will not stop. If we do not get meaningful legislation out of this Congress, the time will come when we will not confine our marching to Washington. We will march through the South, through the streets of Jackson, through the streets of Danville, through the streets of Cambridge, through the streets of Birmingham. But we will march with the spirit of love and with the spirit of dignity that we have shown here today.

By the force of our demands, our determination and our numbers, we shall splinter the segregated South into a thousand pieces and put them back together in the image of God and democracy.

We must say, “Wake up, America. *Wake up!!!*” For we cannot stop, and we *will* not be patient.

ABOUT THE AUTHORS

JOHN LEWIS is the U.S. Representative for Georgia's fifth congressional district and an American icon widely known for his role in the civil rights movement.

As a student at American Baptist Theological Seminary in 1959, Lewis organized sit-in demonstrations at segregated lunch counters in Nashville, Tennessee. In 1961, he volunteered to participate in the Freedom Rides, which challenged segregation at interstate bus terminals across the South. He was beaten severely by angry mobs and arrested by police for challenging the injustice of "Jim Crow" segregation in the South.

From 1963 to 1966, Lewis was Chairman of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC). As head of SNCC, Lewis became a nationally recognized figure, dubbed one of the "Big Six" leaders of the civil rights movement. At the age of 23, he was an architect of and a keynote speaker at the historic March on Washington in August 1963.

In 1964, John Lewis coordinated SNCC efforts to organize voter registration drives and community action programs during the Mississippi Freedom Summer. The following year, Lewis helped spearhead one of the most seminal moments of the civil rights movement. Together with Hosea Williams, another notable civil rights leader, John Lewis led over 600 peaceful, orderly protesters across the Edmund Pettus Bridge in Selma, Alabama on March 7, 1965. They intended to march from Selma to Montgomery to demonstrate the need for voting rights in the state. The marchers were attacked by Alabama state troopers in a brutal confrontation that became known as "Bloody Sunday." News broadcasts and photographs revealing the senseless cruelty of the segregated South helped hasten the passage of the Voting Rights Act of 1965.

Despite physical attacks, serious injuries, and more than 40 arrests, John Lewis remained a devoted advocate of the philosophy of nonviolence. After leaving SNCC in 1966, he continued to work for civil rights, first as Associate Director of the Field Foundation, then with the Southern Regional Council, where he became Executive Director of the Voter Education Project (VEP). In 1977, Lewis was appointed by President Jimmy Carter to direct more than 250,000 volunteers of ACTION, the federal volunteer agency.

In 1981, Lewis was elected to the Atlanta City Council. He was elected to the U.S. House of Representatives in November 1986 and represented Georgia's fifth district there ever since. In 2011 he was awarded the Medal of Freedom by President Barack Obama.

Lewis' 1998 memoir *Walking with the Wind: A Memoir of the Movement* won numerous honors, including the Robert F. Kennedy, Lillian Smith, and Anisfield-Wolf Book Awards. His subsequent book, *Across That Bridge: Life Lessons and a Vision for Change*, has won the NAACP Image Award.



Photo by Eric Etheridge



(From left to right): Nate Powell, Congressman John Lewis, Andrew Aydin.

Photo by Sandi Villarreal

ANDREW AYDIN, an Atlanta native, currently serves as Digital Director & Policy Advisor in the Washington, D.C., office of Rep. John Lewis. Following his master's thesis on the history and impact of the 1950s comic book *Martin Luther King & The Montgomery Story*, Aydin continues to publish and lecture about the history of comics in the civil rights movement.

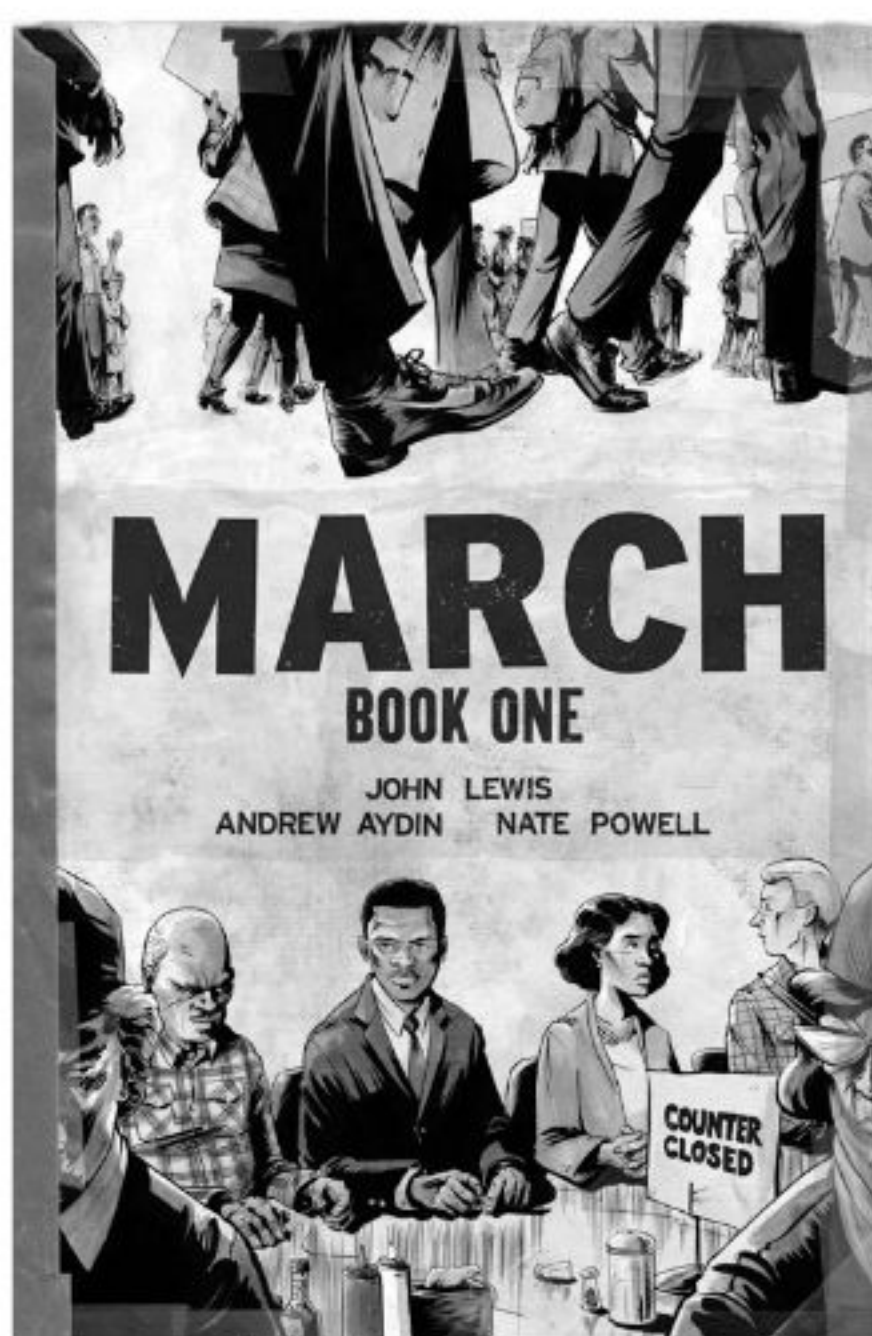
Previously, he served as Communications Director and Press Secretary during Rep. Lewis' 2008 and 2010 re-election campaigns, as District Aide to Rep. John Larson (D-CT), and as Special Assistant to Connecticut Lt. Governor Kevin Sullivan. Aydin is a graduate of the Lovett School in Atlanta, Trinity College in Hartford, and Georgetown University in Washington, D.C. For more information, visit www.andrewaydin.com.

NATE POWELL is a *New York Times* best-selling graphic novelist born in Little Rock, Arkansas, in 1978. He began self-publishing at age 14, and graduated from School of Visual Arts in 2000.

His work includes *Any Empire*, *Swallow Me Whole* (Eisner and Ignatz Award winner and *LA Times* Book Prize finalist), *The Silence of Our Friends*, *The Year of the Beasts*, and Rick Riordan's *The Lost Hero*, earning a total 4 YALSA Great Graphic Novels for Teens selections and nominations for 8 Eisners and 3 Harvey Awards. In 2011, Powell discussed his work at the United Nations alongside some of the world's foremost writers of young adult fiction.

In addition to the *March* trilogy and the collection *You Don't Say*, Powell is currently writing and drawing his next book, *Cover*, slated for release in 2017. He lives in Bloomington, Indiana. You can find Powell's work at www.seemybrotherdance.org.

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—*The Boston Globe*

“A powerful tale of courage and principle igniting sweeping social change, told by a strong-minded, uniquely qualified eyewitness...The heroism of those who sat and marched...comes through with vivid, inspiring clarity.”

—*Kirkus Reviews* (starred review)

“Lewis’s remarkable life has been skillfully translated into graphics...Segregation’s insult to personhood comes across here with a visual, visceral punch. This version of Lewis’s life story belongs in libraries to teach readers about the heroes of America.”

—*Library Journal* (starred review)

“*March* provides a potent reminder that the sit-ins, far from being casually assembled, were well-coordinated, disciplined events informed by a rigorous philosophy...likely to prove inspirational to readers for years to come.”

—*Barnes and Noble Review*

“Powell’s drawings in *March* combine the epic sweep of history with the intimate personal details of memoir, and bring Lewis’s story to life in a way that feels entirely unfamiliar. *March* is shaping up to be a major work of history and graphic literature.”

—*Slate*

“In a new graphic memoir, the civil rights leader shows youth how to get in trouble—good trouble.”

—*In These Times*



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