

To the past and future children of the movement.









CLIK TIK







































16th STREET BAPTIST CHURCH WAS A HEADQUARTERS OF THE MOVEMENT IN BIRMINGHAM ...











UNLESS WE COULD GIVE ALL ITS CITIZENS A POLITICAL VOICE, ALABAMA WOULD CONTINUE TO ELECT PEOPLE LIKE WALLACE.





O SAY DOES THAT STAR-SPANGLED BANNER YET WAVE-

THE LAST YEAR ORGANIZING TO REGISTER BLACK VOTERS:

SELMA.

JANUARY 20, 2009.









MARCH: BOOK THREE

WRITTEN BY JOHN LEWIS & ANDREW AYDIN ART BY NATE POWELL













IN SELMA -- AND THROUGHOUT MOST OF THE SOUTH AT THAT TIME-- IT WAS ALMOST IMPOSSIBLE FOR AFRICAN-AMERICANS TO REGISTER TO VOTE.



IN DALLAS COUNTY, ONLY 2.1% OF AFRICAN-AMERICANS OF VOTING AGE WERE REGISTERED.





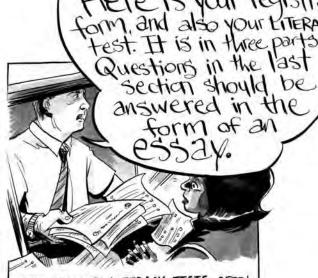


IN SOME PLACES AFRICAN-AMERICANS WERE ASKED TO COUNT THE NUMBER OF JELLY BEANS IN A JAR, OR THE NUMBER OF BUBBLES IN A BAR OF SOAP.



THE REGISTRAR OF NOTERS HELD ALL OF THE POWER, AND COULD DECIDE TO WAIVE, OR STRICTLY ENFORCE, ANY OF THE RULES, AT ANY TIME, FOR ANY REASON.





THIS INCLUDED LITERACY TESTS, OFTEN ONLY GIVEN TO BLACK APPLICANTS.





THEY WERE FILLED WITH QUESTIONS MEANT TO TRIP UP EVEN THE SMARTEST PERSON-BUT NOT EVERYONE HAD TO TAKE THEM.





EVEN IF A BLACK CITIZEN WERE ABLE TO REGISTER, THEIR NAME WOULD BE PRINTED IN THE LOCAL PAPER -- MAKING THEM A TARGET. THE WHITE CITIZENS COUNCIL COULD PRESSURE THEIR EMPLOYER TO FIRE THEM. THEIR HOUSE COULD BE BURNED DOWN BY THE KKK. OR WORSE.

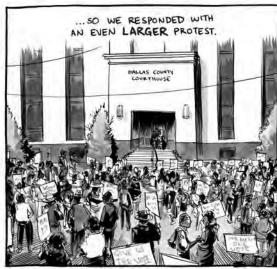
SEPTEMBER 24, 1963.

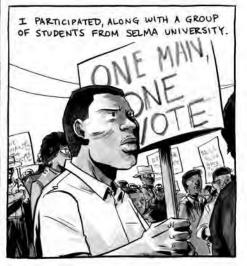
THE NEXT DEMONSTRATION IN FRONT OF THE DALLAS COUNTY COURTHOUSE RESULTED IN 30 ARRESTS ...























EVEN RENOWHED AUTHOR JAMES BALDWIN CAME WITH HIS BROTHER TO SUPPORT THOSE IN LINE.





































TO US, MAKING IT THROUGH THE ENTIRE DAY WITHOUT A MASS ARREST WAS PROGRESS. THOUGH ONLY A FEW PEOPLE WERE ABLE TO SEE THE REGISTRAR, WE FELT IT WAS A VICTORY.





MEANWHILE, DIANE'S IDEA FOR AN ALL-OUT ASSAULT DID NOT FADE AWAY. IT BEGAN TO TAKE SHAPE IN ANOTHER FORM, AND IN ANOTHER STATE:

MISSISSIPPI.

IT WAS LED BY BOB MOSES, WHO HAD SPENT THE LAST THREE YEARS IN THE STATE ORGANIZING SNCC CHAPTERS. HE WAS ALSO HEAD OF THE COUNCIL OF FEDERATED ORGANIZATIONS (COFO), A COALITION OF SNCC, SCLC, CORE, AND NAACP ACTIVISTS FOR COORDINATING VOTING RIGHTS EFFORTS.

MOSES WAS BECOMING INCREASINGLY WELL-KNOWN IN THE MOVEMENT. SMART AND GENTLE, HE AVOIDED THE SPOTLIGHT PARTLY AS A PERSONAL PHILOSOPHY--

-- AND PARTLY BECAUSE BEING TOO WELL-KNOWN IN MISSISSIPPI COULD BE DEADLY.





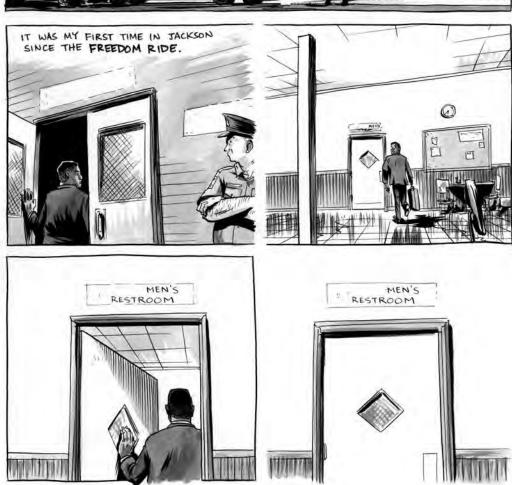
AS SNCC ORGANIZED THE EFFORT, WE GAVE IT A NAME:

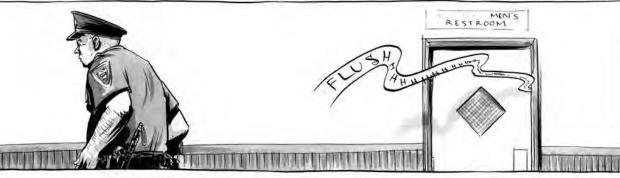
FREEDOM VOTE.

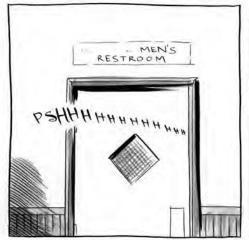
THE PLAN WAS TO STAGE OUR OWN ELECTION, WITH OUR OWN CANDIDATES. THIS WOULD GIVE BLACK WOMEN AND MEN A SENSE OF WHAT IT WAS LIKE TO ACTUALLY VOTE, AND DRAMATIZE THE EXCLUSION OF AFRICAN-AMERICANS FROM THE ELECTORAL PROCESS.

















NO PERSON REPRESENTED MORE TO WHAT SNCC WAS ATTEMPTING TO ACCOMPLISH IN MISSISSIPPI THAN A WOMAN NAMED FANNIE LOU HAMER.

SHE HEARD JAMES BEVEL SPEAK IN 1962, AND WAS SO MOVED THAT SHE WENT TO THE COURTHOUSE IN INDIANOLA TO ATTEMPT TO REGISTER TO VOTE.

WHEN WORD GOT AROUND ABOUT WHAT SHE TRIED TO DO, SHE WAS FIRED FROM HER JOB, ARRESTED, AND SEVERELY BEATEN.















--HERE IS A FLASH
FROM THE ASSOCIATED
PRESS IN DALLAS--

TWO PRIESTS WHO WERE WITH MR. KENNEDY SAY HE IS DEAT OF BULLET WOUNDS

THE SPEECH I GAVE THAT NIGHT BECAME A EULOGY FOR OUR SLAIN PRESIDENT.

WHEN I GOT HOME TO ATLANTA AFTER MY TRIP, I SPENT THE DAY ALONE IN MY APARTMENT, WATCHING PRESIDENT KENNEDY'S FUNERAL.





I KEPT THINKING ABOUT MEDGAR EVERS AND THE LITTLE GIRLS IN BIRMINGHAM. NOW, THE PRESIDENT WHO REPRESENTED SO MUCH **HOPE** FOR SO MANY PEOPLE HAD BEEN MURDERED.



FOR SO MANY MONTHS I'D KEPT MY EMOTIONS
BOTTLED UP TO BE STRONG FOR THOSE COUNTING
ON ME TO LEAD,





BUT THERE I WAS,

ALONE

IN THE DARK

WITH

IT

ALL.





THERE HAD BEEN SEVERAL COMPLAINTS ABOUT WHITE VOLUNTEERS TRYING TO TAKE OVER. IT ALSO LEFT A NUMBER OF PEOPLE SORE THAT THE PRESS HAD FOCUSED MUCH OF THEIR ATTENTION ON THE WHITE WORKERS, OFTEN IDENTIFIED BY NAME, SHOWN WORKING ALONGSIDE NAMELESS BLACKS.

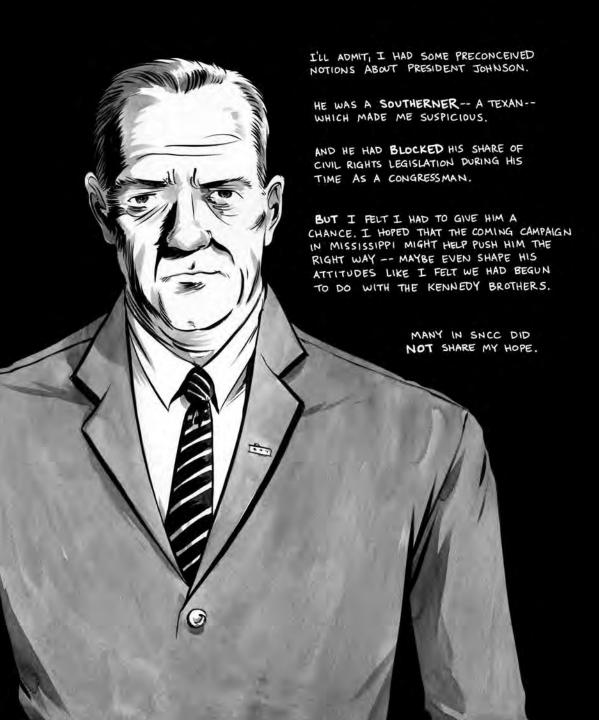


PRESIDENT JOHNSON MOVED QUICKLY ON HIS PROMISE TO PASS A CIVIL RIGHTS BILL. UNFORTUNATELY, THAT MEANT PRESSURING MANY CIVIL RIGHTS GROUPS, SNCC INCLUDED, TO HALT OUR PROTESTS AND DEMONSTRATIONS --

HE FELT OUR ACTIONS WERE MAKING IT HARDER FOR HIM TO WIN VOTES IN CONGRESS.

WE STRONGLY DISAGREED.

A State Market



DESPITE THE JOHNSON ADMINISTRATION'S PLEAS, WE DID NOT STOP OUR DEMONSTRATIONS.







WHAT SORT OF SENSE DID IT MAKE IF WE COULD OWN PART OF A COMPANY, BUT NOT BE SERVED BY IT?

















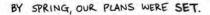








APRIL 16, 1964. WASHINGTON, DC.





IT WAS THE FIRST TIME I'D SEEN ROBERT KENNEDY SINCE HIS BROTHER'S DEATH.

NG POY MILKING AND TAMES EARMER

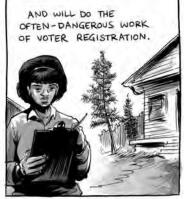
















THERE WILL BE CHALLENGES AT THE DEMOCRATIC CONVENTION IN AUGUST, AND WE WILL SEE WHETHER THE COUNTRY IS READY AND PREPARED TO ALLOW FULL REPRESENTATION IN CONGRESS.

THE FEDERAL
GOVERNMENT'S CHALLENGE
WILL COME EARLIER.

IT WILL COME AS IT IS COMING NOW, AND HAS BEEN!

IN THE BLACK BELT AREAS OF THE DEEP SOUTH .



















WORD OF THE THREE MISSING CIVIL RIGHTS WORKERS
QUICKLY REACHED THE STAFFERS AND VOLUNTEERS
STILL TRAINING IN OHIO.

THEY WERE IN SHOCK.

























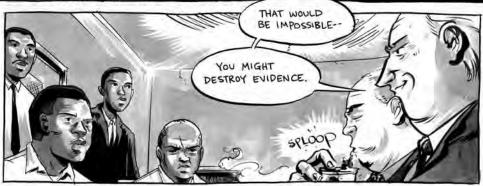






















BY THE TIME THE MEETING ENDED, I HAD NO DOUBT THAT THEY KNEW WHAT HAPPENED.







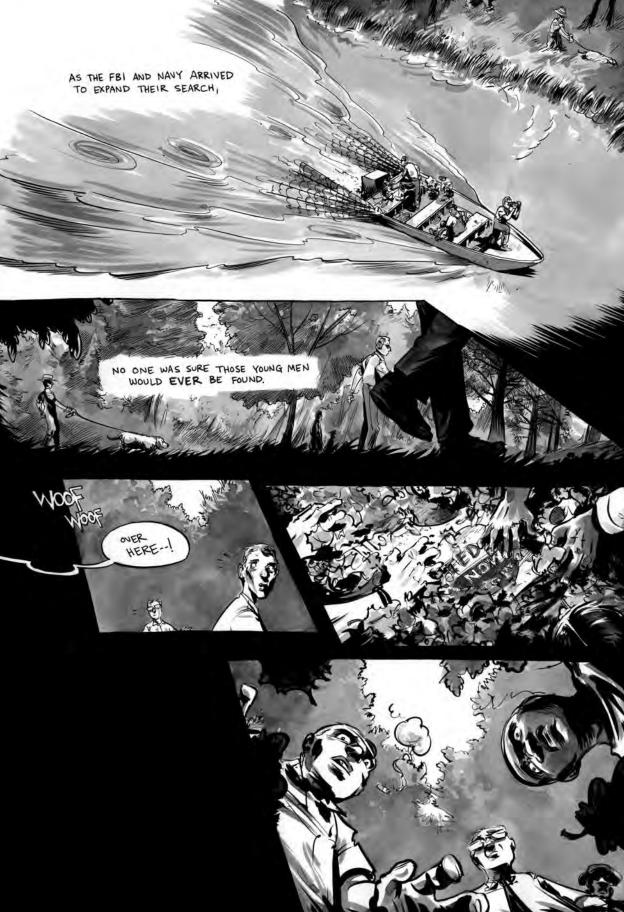




WE MADE A DIRECT APPEAL TO PRESIDENT JOHNSON AND ATTORNEY GENERAL ROBERT KENNEDY FOR INTERVENTION.









ON JULY 2, THE CIVIL RIGHTS ACT OF 1964 WAS SIGNED INTO LAW.

ON PAPER, PRESIDENT JOHNSON HAD MADE GOOD ON HIS PROMISE TO GET A STRONG BILL THROUGH THE CONGRESS-

IT BANNED DISCRIMINATION IN PLACES OF PUBLIC ACCOMMODATION.

IT FORBADE DISCRIMINATION IN HIRING PRACTICES BY BUSINESSES WITH MORE THAN 100 EMPLOYEES.

IT ENDED SEGREGATION IN PUBLIC SCHOOLS, LIBRARIES, AND PARKS.

BUT-- AS I HAD SAID AT THE MARCH ON WASHINGTON--IT DID NOT BAN "LITERACY TESTS" AND OTHER YOTING RESTRICTIONS.

I WAS INVITED TO ATTEND THE SIGNING CEREMONY, BUT I DECIDED TO STAY IN THE SOUTH. I FELT THAT WAS WHERE I BELONGED.

THE NEWS FROM WASHINGTON SEEMED SO FAR AWAY --

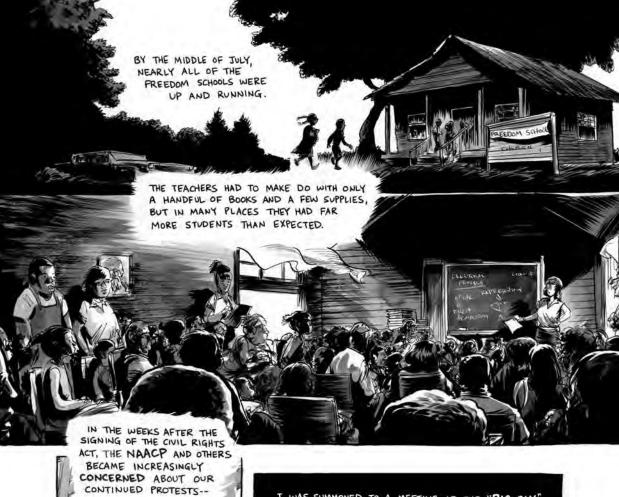














--AND WHAT THAT COULD MEAN FOR PRESIDENT JOHNSON'S CHANCES AMONG SOUTHERN VOTERS IN THE FALL ELECTION.



IN MISSISSIPPI THAT SUMMER WE SUFFERED MORE THAN 1000 ARRESTS,







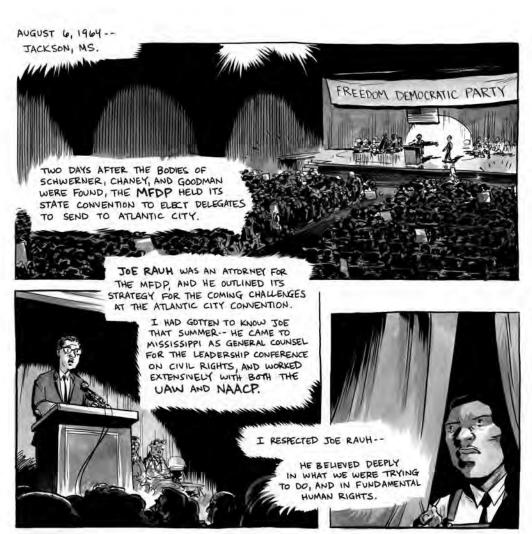


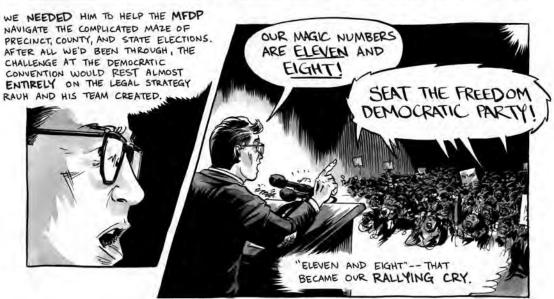














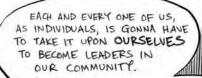


I SPOKE THAT DAY.

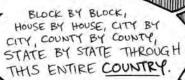








TAKING OUR BLACK BROTHERS BY THE HAND



HOLDING OUR HANDS UP HIGH , TELLIN' THEM THAT IF THEY'RE NOT READY FOR US, TOO BAD, BABY,



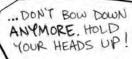
CAUSE WE'RE COMING ANYWAY, YOU SEE.

THE BEST THING THAT WE CAN DO FOR MR. CHANEY, FOR MICKEY SCHWERNER, FOR ANDREW GOODMAN, IS TO STAND UP AND DEMAND OUR RIGHTS.

ALL THESE PEOPLE WHO AREN'T REGISTERED VOTERS SHOULD BE IN LINE IN THE MORNING, DEMANDING TO BECOME A REGISTERED VOTER -- DEMAND!

SAY, "BABY,

I'M HERE."



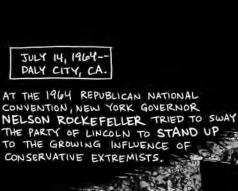












IT IS ESSENTIAL THAT THIS
CONVENTION REPUDIATE, HERE AND NOW,
ANY DOCTRINAIRE, MILITANT MINORITY-WHETHER COMMUNIST, KU KLUX KLAN,
OR BIRCHER-- WHICH WOULD

SUBVERT THIS PARTY TO PURPOSES ALIEN TO THE VERY BASIC TENETS WHICH GAVE THIS PARTY BIRTH.

PRECISELY ONE YEAR AGO
TODAY ON JULY 14, 1963, I ISSUED
A STATEMENT WHEREIN I
WARNED THAT:

"THE REPUBLICAN PARTY IS
IN REAL DANGER OF SUBVERSION
BY A RADICAL, WELL-FINANCED,
AND HIGHLY DISCIPLINED
MINORITY.

AT THE TIME, I POINTED OUT THAT THE PURPOSES OF THIS MINORITY WERE:

"WHOLLY ALIEN TO
THE SOUND AND HONEST
CONSERVATISM THAT HAS
FIRMLY BASED THE REPUBLICAN
PARTY IN THE BEST OF
A CENTURY'S TRADITIONS, E

B0000

"WHOLLY ALIEN TO
THE SOUND AND HONEST
REPUBLICAN LIBERALISM
THAT HAS KEPT THE PARTY
ABREAST OF HUMAN
NEEDS IN A
CHANGING WORLD.

"WHOLLY ALIEN TO THE BROAD MIDDLE COURSE THAT ACCOMODATES THE MAINSTREAM OF REPUBLICAN PRINCIPLES."





OUR SOLE CONCERN MUST BE
THE PUTURE WELL-BEING OF AMERICA,
AND OF FREEDOM AND RESPECT
FOR HUMAN DIGNITY--

THE PRESERVATION AND
ENHANCEMENT OF THESE PRINCIPLES
UPON WHICH THIS NATION HAS
ACHIEVED ITS GREATNESS.

THE REPUBLICAN PARTY NOMINATED
BARRY GOLDWATER -- A SENATOR FROM
ARIZONA WHO HAD VOTED AGAINST THE
CIVIL RIGHTS ACT -- FOR PRESIDENT.

THOSE WHO SEEK ABSOLUTE POWER -EVEN THOUGH THEY SEEK IT TO DO
WHAT THEY REGARD AS GOOD -- ARE
SIMPLY DEMANDING THE RIGHT TO
ENFORCE THEIR OWN VERSION
OF HEAVEN ON EARTH.

AND LET ME REMIND OT THEY ARE THE VERY OF

AND LET ME REMIND YOU THEY ARE THE VERY ONES WHO CREATE THE MOST HELLISH TYRANNIES

ABSOLUTE POWER DOES CORRUPT, AND THOSE WHO SEEK IT MUST BE SUSPECT AND MUST BE OPPOSED.

THEIR MISTAKEN COURSE STEMS FROM FALSE NOTIONS OF EQUALITY, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN.

AS OUR FOUNDING FATHERS
UNDERSTOOD IT, LEADS TO LIBERTY
AND TO THE EMANCIPATION
OF CREATIVE DIFFERENCES.

RKANSAS

THE WAY

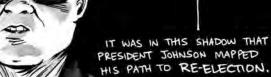
WRONGLY UNDERSTOOD -AS IT HAS BEEN SO TRAGICALLY
IN OUR TIME -- IT LEADS FIRST
TO CONFORMITY, AND THEN
TO DESPOTISM.

GOLDWATER PRESIDENT

GOLDWATER'S ACCEPTANCE SPEECH SIGNALED A DANGEROUS SHIFT IN THE REPUBLICAN PARTY.

I WOULD REMIND YOU THAT EXTREMISM IN THE DEFENSE OF LIBERTY IS NO VICE-

AND LET ME REMIND
YOU, ALSO, THAT MODERATION
IN THE PURSUIT OF JUSTICE
IS NO VIRTUE.







WE EVEN BROUGHT A BURNED-OUT CAR TO REPRESENT THE ONE DRIVEN BY GOODMAN, SCHWERNER, AND CHANEY.



AARON HENRY AND REV. ED KING, WHOSE TESTIMONY APPEALED TO THE MORAL CONSCIOUSNESS

OF THE COMMITTEE MEMBERS.











MY NAME IS
MRS. FANNIE LOU HAMER--

I LIVE AT 626 EAST LAFAYETTE STREET; RULEVILLE, MISSISSIPPI; SUNFLOWER COUNTY -- THE HOME OF SENATOR JAMES O. EASTLAND AND SENATOR STENNIS.















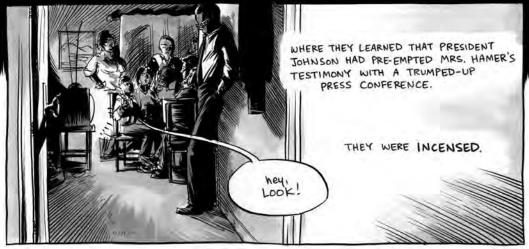


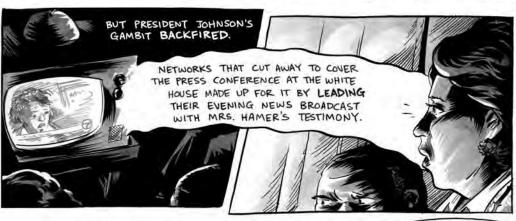






















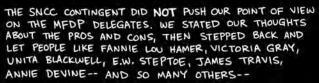
FINALLY, A MEETING WAS CALLED TO DISCUSS A PROPOSAL.

AS WE GATHERED, RUMORS SWIRLED THAT A "FIX" HAD BEEN ACCEPTED, UNDERCUTTING THE MFDP'S POSITION FROM THE OUTSET -- IT WAS "TAKE IT OR LEAVE IT."

THE COMMITTEE PROPOSED TO BAN SEGREGATED DELEGATIONS IN THE FUTURE --





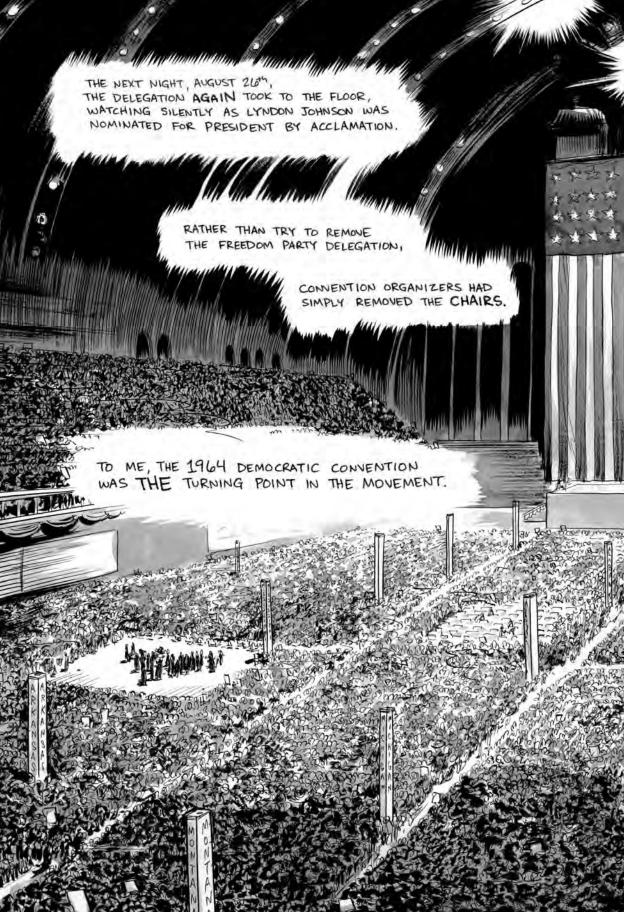


SPEAK FOR THEMSELVES AND ULTIMATELY DECIDE FOR THEMSELVES.

WHEN THE VOTE WAS TAKEN, ALL 68 MFDP DELEGATES UNANIMOUSLY REJECTED THE PROPOSAL.







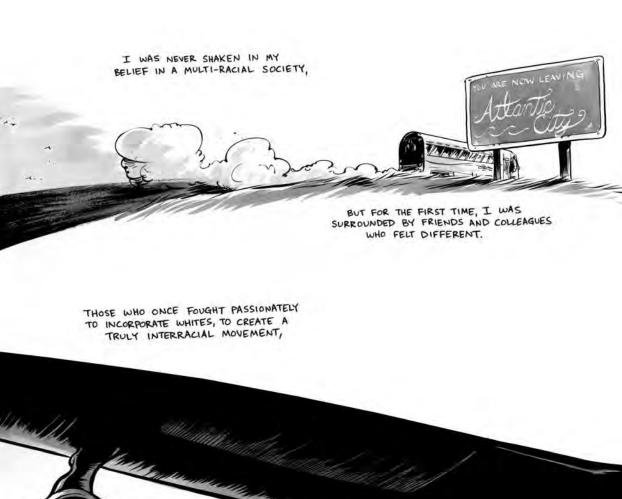


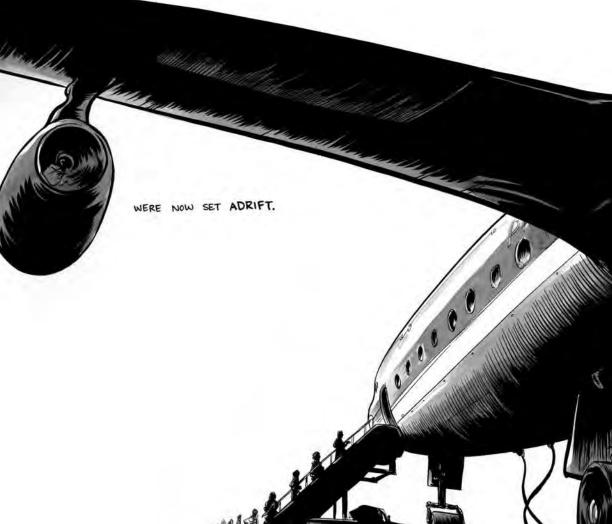


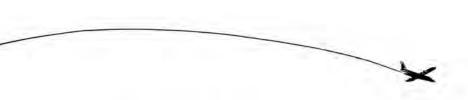
WHEN THE DUST SETTLED, MANY "WHITE LIBERALS" WERE SEEN AS VILLAINS --

AND YOU HEARD THOSE WHO URGED COMPROMISE CALLED "DOUBLE-CROSSER" OR "UNCLE TOM."









SNCC WAS FALLING APART.

WE WERE BURNED OUT.

HARRY BELAFONTE, A LONGTIME SNCC SUPPORTER, COULD SEE THE STRAIN TAKING ITS TOLL AND WANTED TO HELP.



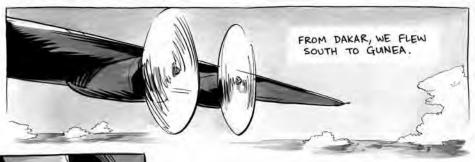




HEARING THAT WORD OVER AND OVER, I BEGAN TO UNDERSTAND MORE DEEPLY THAN EVER HOW WE ARE ALL CONNECTED IN THE UNENDING QUEST TO BE FREE.





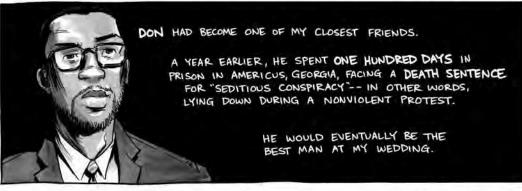


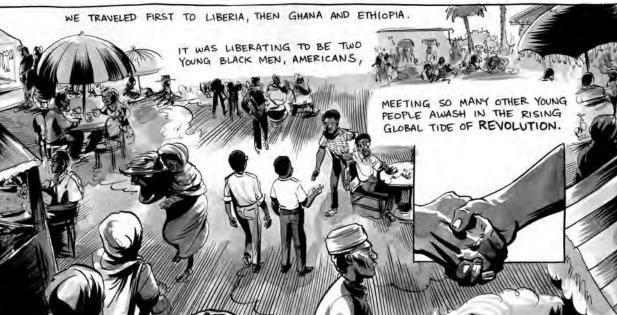


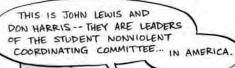












THE YOUNG PEOPLE WE MET WERE VERY ASTUTE, AND FAR MORE RADICAL THAN THOSE OF US IN SNCC.





LOOK, YOU GUYS MIGHT BE REALLY DOING SOMETHING.

BUT IF YOU'RE TO THE RIGHT OF MALCOLM, YOU MIGHT AS WELL START PACKING NOW, BECAUSE NO ONE WILL LISTEN TO YOU.



IT WAS EYE-OPENING.



ON OUR WAY FROM ETHIOPIA TO ZAMBIA, OUR PLANE HAD MECHANICAL TROUBLE AND WE WERE FORCED TO LAND IN KENYA.









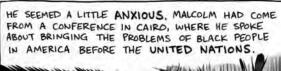








EARLIER THAT YEAR, MALCOLM HAD SPLIT FROM ELIJAH MUHAMMAD'S NATION OF ISLAM.





HE SAID WE HAVE TO IDENTIFY WITH THE PEOPLE OF AFRICA,













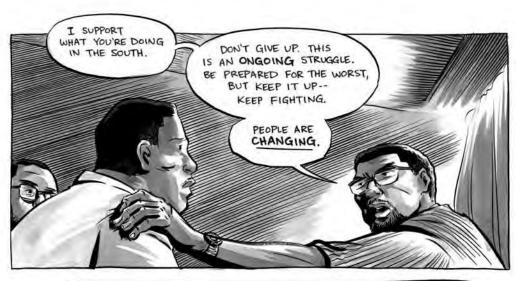
MALCOLM TALKED ABOUT THE NEED TO SHIFT OUR FOCUS FROM RACE TO CLASS, BOTH AMONG ONE ANOTHER AND BETWEEN OURSELVES AND THE WHITE COMMUNITY.

HE SAID HE BELIEVED THAT WAS THE ROOT OF OUR PROBLEMS, NOT JUST IN AMERICA,

BUT ALL OVER THE WORLD.







THERE ARE PEOPLE
ALL OVER THE WORLD
SUPPORTING YOU.



I HAD NO WAY OF KNOWING THEN, BUT THAT WAS THE LAST TIME I WOULD SEE MALCOLM ALIVE.





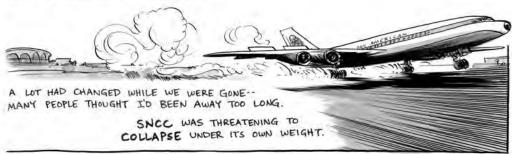


AS THE SUN SET BEHIND THE PYRAMIDS, WE RODE IN SILENCE.

I COULDN'T HELP BUT FEEL LONELY, EVEN A LITTLE SAD, AT THE THOUGHT OF WHAT AWAITED US BACK IN AMERICA.

ANNOUNCED THAT ROBERT KENNEDY HAD WON THE SENATE SEAT IN NEW YORK.

AFTER 72 DAYS OF TRAVELS, WE RETURNED HOME ON NOVEMBER 22nd.









JUST BEFORE I GOT BACK, SNCC HELD A STAFF RETREAT IN WAVELAND, MISSISSIPPI, TO ADDRESS SOME OF THESE CHALLENGES.



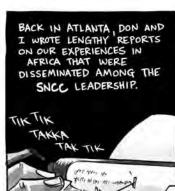
AS MORE AND MORE WOMEN JOINED THE
MOVEMENT, THE QUESTION OF GENDER

AS MORE AND MORE WOMEN JOINED THE
MOVEMENT, THE QUESTION OF GENDER

ANY CHALLENGE WITHIN SNCC.









IT MATTERS NOT WHETHER IT IS IN ANGOLA, MOZAMBIQUE, SOUTHWEST AFRICA, OR MISSISSIPPI, ALABAMA, GEORGIA, AND HARLEM, U.S.A.--

NESHOBA COUNTY

THE STRUGGLE

IT IS THE STRUGGLE AGAINST A VICIOUS AND EVIL SYSTEM THAT IS CONTROLLED AND KEPT IN ORDER FOR, AND BY, A FEW WHITE MEN THROUGHOUT THE WORLD.

ON DECEMBER 4", WORD CAME THAT SHERIFF RAINEY, DEPUTY PRICE, AND 19
OTHER MEN WERE ARRESTED IN CONNECTION WITH THE MISSISSIPPI MURDERS.

AT A HEARING SIX DAYS LATER, JUDGE HAROLD COX--



-- THE SAME JUDGE WHO EARLIER CALLED US "A BUNCH OF CHIMPANZEES"--



FRANKLY, A LOT OF MY COLLEAGUES RESENTED ME.

I COULD FEEL SNCC BECOMING MORE AND MORE ISOLATED FROM THE MOVEMENT.



WHEN I GOT BACK FROM THE TRIP.



I DECIDED TO WRITE A
LETTER TO THE ENTIRE
MEMBERSHIP, ADDRESSING
MANY OF THE RUMORS
I'D HEARD. I WASN'T
PANICKING,





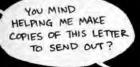
I TRIED TO ADDRESS THE RUMORS AS DIRECTLY AS POSSIBLE, DISPEL ANY NOTION THAT I MIGHT BE **LEAVING** AS CHAIRMAN, AND LAY OUT MY PLAN FOR VISITING ALL THE SNCC-LED PROJECTS OVER THE NEXT FEW WEEKS.



I'VE ALWAYS SEEN MYSELF AS A DOER,



AND IN MOMENTS LIKE THAT





THE ONLY THING THAT MADE SENSE TO ME WAS TO KEEP MOVING.

> RIGHT ON. WHO WE SENDING IT TO?







SO I WENT ON THE ROAD FOR THE NEXT SEVERAL WEEKS, UNTIL I FOUND MYSELF BACK IN THE HEART OF DALLAS COUNTY, ALABAMA...

SELMA.

AS SIGNIFICANT AS IT WAS, THE CIVIL RIGHTS ACT OF 1964 MADE NO PROVISION TO ENSURE THE RIGHTS OF AFRICAN-AMERICANS TO REGISTER TO VOTE. IN MORE THAN TWO YEARS OF SNCC-LED WORK ORGANIZING AND PROTESTING IN SELMA, WE REGISTERED FEWER THAN 100 NEW VOTERS.

AND THANKS TO JUDGE HARE'S INJUNCTION AGAINST PUBLIC GATHERINGS, SNCC'S OPERATION IN SELMA HAD GROUND TO A HALT.

DR. KING MET WITH PRESIDENT JOHNSON IN DECEMBER, SHORTLY AFTER RECEIVING THE NOBEL PEACE PRIZE. THEY DISCUSSED THE NEED FOR A VOTING RIGHTS ACT, BUT PRESIDENT JOHNSON SAID IT WAS IMPOSSIBLE. THE VOTES IN CONGRESS WERE SIMPLY NOT THERE.

JOHNSON SAID, IN EFFECT:

IF YOU WANT A VOTING RIGHTS ACT, MAKE ME DO IT.

WHEN DR. KING RETURNED TO ATLANTA, HE ACCEPTED AN INVITATION FROM AN ORGANIZATION CALLED THE DALLAS COUNTY IMPROVEMENT ASSOCIATION, REQUESTING SCLC TO HELP THE PEOPLE OF SELMA.



ON DECEMBER 28, 1964, DR. KING CONVENED A MEETING OF THE GROUPS ORGANIZING IN SELMA TO PRESENT A PLAN:

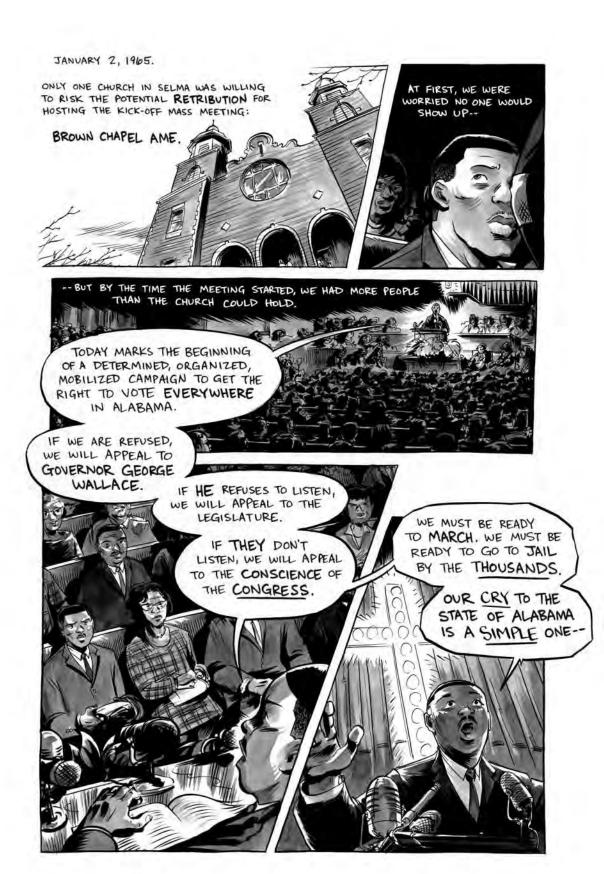


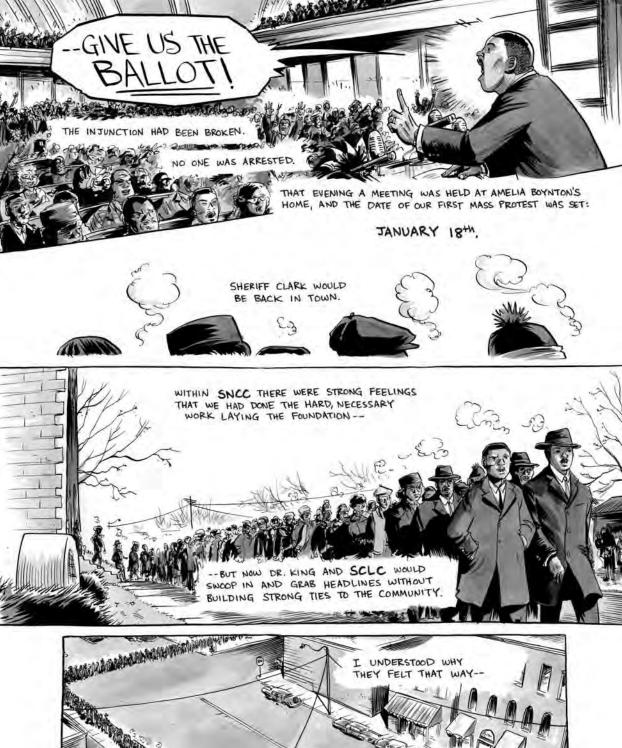




WE CHOSE TO LAUNCH OUR CAMPAIGN ON JANUARY 2nd BECAUSE SHERIFF CLARK WAS GOING TO BE OUT OF TOWN ATTENDING THE ORANGE BOWL, AND CHIEF BAKER HAD SAID HE WOULD NOT ENFORCE JUDGE HARE'S INJUNCTION FORBIDDING GATHERINGS OF MORE THAN THREE PEOPLE.









AS THE CHAIRMAN OF SNCC AND A MEMBER OF SCLC'S BOARD, I WAS CAUGHT IN THE MIDDLE.





















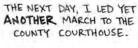














IN WASHINGTON, IT WAS INAUGURATION
DAY. THE NATION'S POLITICAL
ESTABLISHMENT GATHERED AT THE
CAPITOL TO SWEAR IN JOHNSON
TO HIS FIRST FULL PRESIDENTIAL
TERM, BUT IT

COULDN'T
HAVE
SEEMED

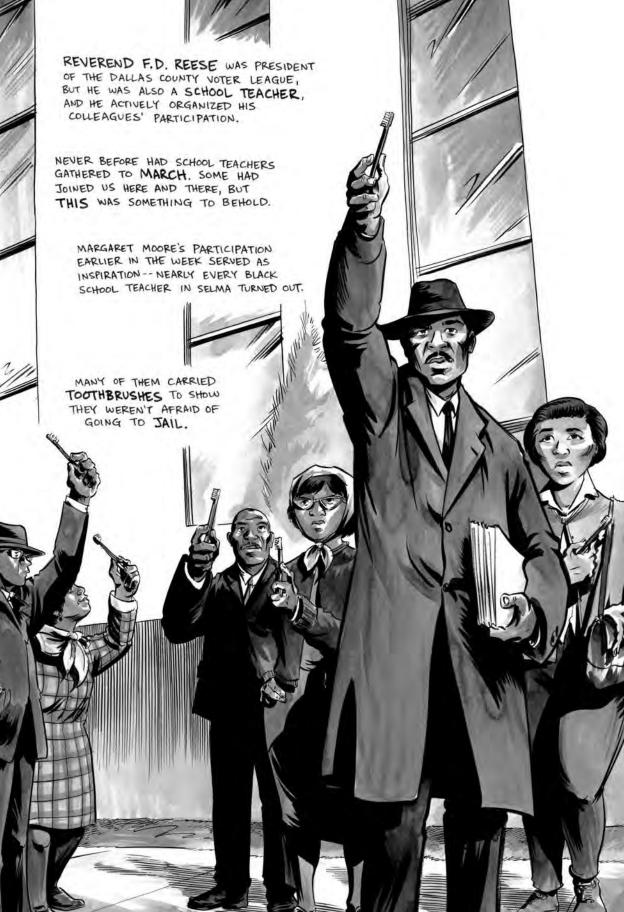


































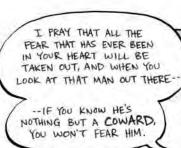
BACK IN SELMA, DESPITE HEADLINES GENERATED BY SHERIFF CLARK'S BRUTALITY, THE MOVEMENT CONTINUED TO LOSE STEAM.

BY THE END OF THE MONTH, FEWER THAN 60 PEOPLE HAD EVEN BEEN ALLOWED INTO THE COURTHOUSE TO ATTEMPT TO REGISTER--

AND EVERY SINGLE ONE OF THEM WAS REJECTED.







THEY FUNCTION IN MOBS-THAT'S A COWARD. THEY PUT ON A SHEET SO YOU WON'T KNOW WHO THEY ARE-THAT'S A COWARD.





I AM 100 PERCENT FOR ANY EFFORT PUT FORTH BY BLACK PEOPLE IN THIS COUNTRY TO HAVE ACCESS TO THE BALLOT.

AND I FRANKLY BELIEVE THAT, SINCE THE BALLOT IS OUR RIGHT, WE ARE WITHIN THAT RIGHT TO USE WHATEVER MEANS NECESSARY TO SECURE THOSE RIGHTS.



PEOPLE WOULD DO WELL TO LISTEN TO DR. KING AND GIVE HIM WHAT HE'S ASKING FOR—AND GIVE IT TO HIM FAST—BEFORE SOME OTHER FACTIONS COME ALONG AND TRY TO DO IT ANOTHER WAY.

WHAT HE'S ASKING FOR IS RIGHT.

ARE YOU SAYING THAT NONVIOLENCE OUGHT TO BE ABANDONED HERE IN SELM

DR. KING AND HIS
FOLLOWERS ARE VERY INTELLIGENTLY
TRYING TO IMPRESS THE PEOPLE OF
THIS AREA THAT THEY SHOULD GIVE
THE BLACK MAN THE RIGHT TO VOTE.

NOW, IF THOSE PEOPLE ARE NOT INTELLIGENT ENOUGH THEMSELVES TO RECOGNIZE WHAT THEY CONSIDER AN INTELLIGENT APPROACH--

--THEN I THINK THE
INTELLIGENCE OF THE BLACK
PEOPLE IN THIS AREA WILL
COMPEL THEM TO DEVISE
ANOTHER METHOD THAT
WILL GET RESULTS.





THE NEXT DAY, DR. KING WAS RELEASED FROM JAIL, AND I FLEW BACK FROM CALIFORNIA TO JOIN HIM.



WE GREETED A DELEGATION OF CONGRESSMEN WHO HAD COME TO SELMA TO SEE FOR THEMSELVES WHAT WAS HAPPENING.













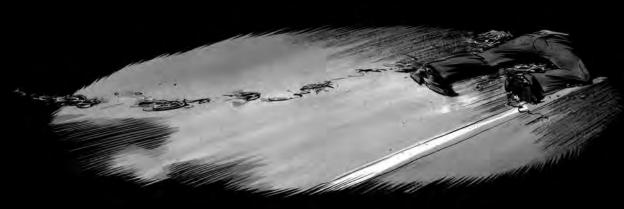








ANOTHER HALF HOUR PASSED BEFORE LOCAL POLICE TOOK HIM TO THE COUNTY INFIRMARY.



I RECEIVED WORD THE NEXT DAY THAT JIMMIE LEE JACKSON WAS CRITICALLY WOUNDED, BUT STILL ALIVE.

HIS SHOOTING WEIGHED HEAVILY ON US ALL --



TWO DAYS LATER -- MY BIRTHDAY -- I WAS ON MY WAY TO GEORGIA TO HELP WITH SNCC VOTER REGISTRATION EFFORTS THERE.







THE ACTOR AND ACTIVIST OSSIE DAVIS DELIVERED HIS EULOGY. LAST YEAR, FROM AFRICA, HE WROTE THESE WORDS TO A FRIEND: "My journey is almost ended, and I have a much broader scope than when I started out, which I believe will add new life and dimension to our struggle for freedom, honor, and dignity in the states. "I am writing these things so that you will know for a FACT the tremendous sympathy and support we have among the African states for our human rights struggle











WE BURIED JIMMIE LEE JACKSON THAT DAY,

BUT THE IDEA FOR THE SELMA-TO-MONTGOMERY MARCH WAS BORN.

WE HELD PLANNING MEETINGS AND DISCUSSIONS FOR THE NEXT FOUR DAYS.



I DISAGREED.



IT WAS ONE OF THE MOST DIFFICULT DECISIONS I HAD EVER DEALT WITH SINCE BECOMING CHAIRMAN.

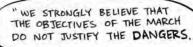
THE PEOPLE OF SELMA WERE HURTING.

THEY NEEDED TO MARCH.

BUT I WAS ALONE IN MY BELIEF AMONG MY SNCC COLLEAGUES.







CONSEQUENTLY, THE STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE WILL ONLY LIVE UP TO THOSE MINIMAL COMMITMENTS ...



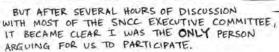
TO PROVIDE RADIOS AND CARS, DOCTORS AND NURSES,

SNCC WOULD HAVE NOTHING TO DO WITH THIS MARCH --









I'M A NATIVE ALABAMAN-I GREW UP THERE.

I FEEL A DEEP KINSHIP WITH THE PEOPLE THERE ON A LOT OF LEVELS.

YOU KNOW, I'VE BEEN TO SELMA MANY, MANY TIMES, I'VE BEEN ARRESTED THERE.

> I'VE BEEN JAILED THERE.



IF THESE PEOPLE WANT TO MARCH, I'M GOING TO MARCH WITH THEM.

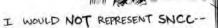


YOU DECIDE WHAT YOU WANT TO DO,

BUT I'M GOING TO MARCH.

AND THAT WAS THAT.

IT WAS DECIDED THAT, IF I WERE TO PARTICIPATE IN THE MARCH FROM SELMA TO MONTGOMERY,









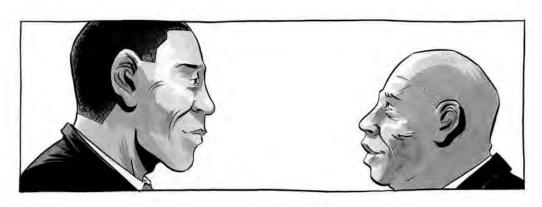
























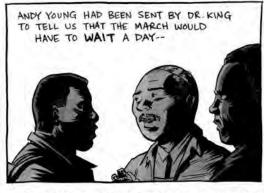












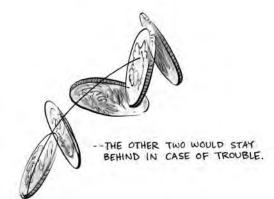
HE'D MISSED TOO MANY PREACHING COMMITMENTS AT HIS CHURCH IN ATLANTA, WHERE HIS FATHER WAS ILL AND NEEDED HIM TO TAKE HIS





SEEING THAT THE MARCH COULD NOT
BE STOPPED, ANDY CALLED DR. KINGT
IN ATLANTA. DR. KING TOLD ANDY TO
CHOOSE AMONG THEM-- ANDY, HOSEA,
OR BEVEL-- TO JOIN ME AS CO-LEADER
OF THE MARCH.

ONE WOULD MARCH --

































I THOUGHT I WAS GOING TO DIE.







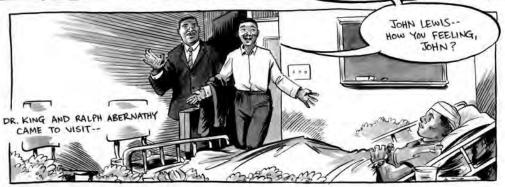


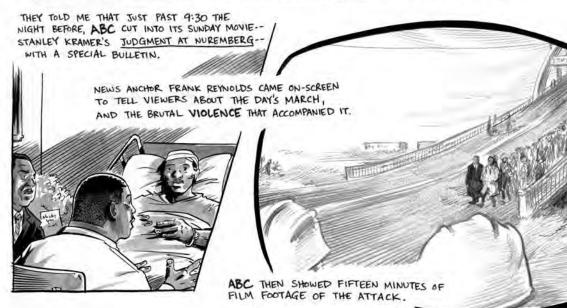














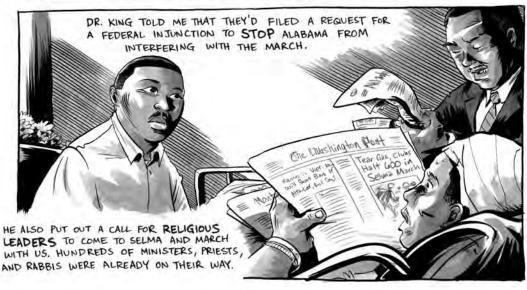




MARCH 7, 1965 IN SELMA, ALABAMA QUICKLY BECAME KNOWN AS

BLOODY SUNDAY.









I DON'T KNOW WHAT IT WAS,

BUT AFTER EVERYONE HAD LEFT AND I WAS THERE, ALONE --

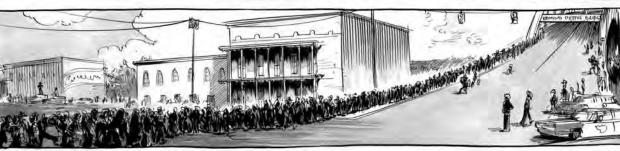
I FELT SO RESTLESS, SO CUT-OFF FROM ALL THAT I KNEW WAS HAPPENING OUTSIDE OF THE HOSPITAL.

I WAS IN A LOT OF PAIN.

I EVEN STARTED IMAGINING SOMEONE SLIPPING INTO MY ROOM H2 INIZ OT ME





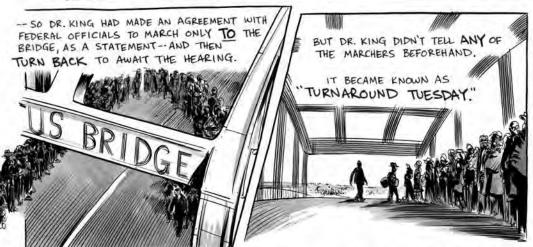






















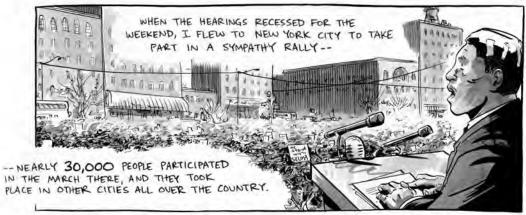
THE HEARINGS WENT ON FOR SEVERAL DAYS, AND MORE THAN A DOZEN WITNESSES WERE CALLED --



THE ATTACK, AND EVEN COLONEL AL LINGO OF THE ALABAMA STATE TROOPERS.



THOUGH LINGO DIDN'T COME OUT AND SAY IT THAT DAY, IT WAS EASY TO INFER THAT THE STATE TROOPERS' ORDERS HAD COME DIRECTLY FROM GEORGE WALLACE.





ACROSS THE STREET, GEORGE WALLACE MET WITH PRESIDENT JOHNSON IN AN ATTEMPT TO CONVINCE HIM TO STOP THE SELMA MARCH.



























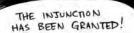
I'M NOT SATISFIED AS LONG
AS THE NEGRO SEES LIFE AS A LONG
AND EMPTY CORRIDOR WITH A
"NO EXIT" SIGN AT THE END-







THE JUDGE HAS ISSUED HIS RULING --



THE MARCH FROM SELMA TO MONTGOMERY WILL BE ALLOWED.

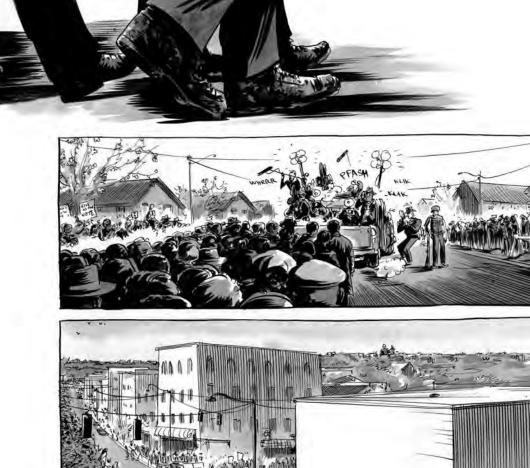
THE MARCH WAS SET:

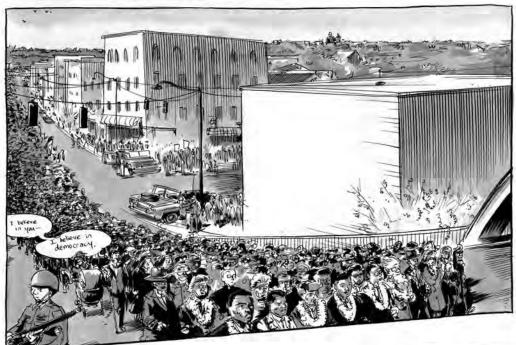
MARCH ZIST, EXACTLY TWO WEEKS AFTER BLOODY SUNDAY.

MARCH 21st ... SELMA, ALABAMA.













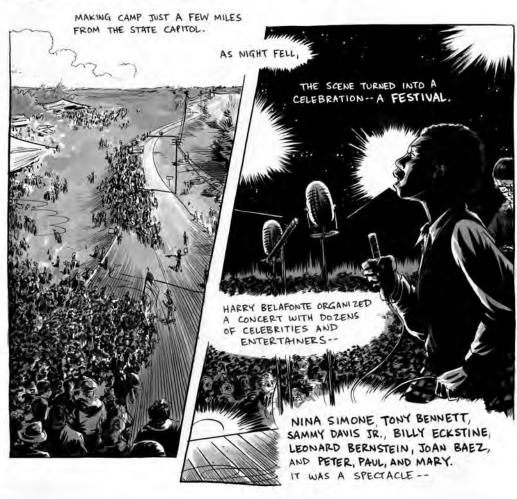










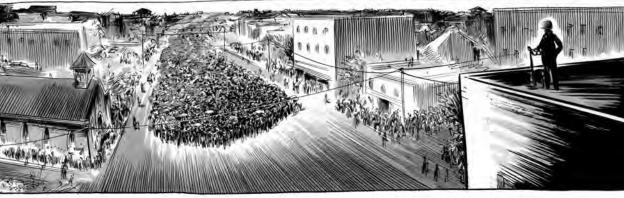




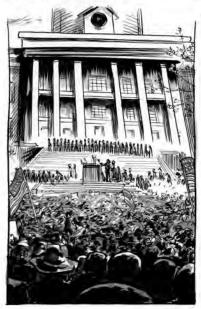
MARCH 25th MONTGOMERY, ALABAMA





















NONE OF IT STOPPED.

VIOLA LIUZZO WAS A 39-YEAR-OLD MOTHER FROM DETROIT WHO HAD COME TO ALABAMA AFTER BLOODY SUNDAY.

AFTER THE RALLY AT THE CAPITOL, SHE AND LEROY MOTON, A 19-YEAR-OLD ACTIVIST FROM DALLAS COUNTY, BEGAN SHUTTLING VOLUNTEERS BACK TO SELMA.

ON THEIR WAY BACK TO MONTGOMERY TO PICK UP ANOTHER CARLOAD OF VOLUNTEERS, THEY REALIZED THEY WERE BEING FOLLOWED.

THE PURSUERS PULLED UP ALONGSIDE LIUZZO'S DRIVER-SIDE WINDOW

AND FIRED A SINGLE SHOT INTO HER HEAD, KILLING HER.



FOUR AND A HALF MONTHS AFTER THAT DAY, ON AUGUST 6th,

AFTER A LONG JOURNEY THROUGH BOTH HOUSES OF CONGRESS,

THE 1965 VOTING RIGHTS ACT WAS SIGNED INTO LAW BY PRESIDENT LYNDON JOHNSON.









THAT DAY WAS THE END OF A VERY LONG ROAD.















ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I am deeply grateful to Andrew Aydin and Nate Powell for their hard work, persistence, and commitment to making it real, making it plain, and telling the whole truth. I am also grateful to Leigh Walton for his work editing this book. And I want to thank IDW and Top Shelf for their openness, their support, and their powerful work.

John Lewis

I will forever be indebted to my mom for the opportunities in my life that her hard work and sacrifice made possible. I am more than grateful to John Lewis, whose trust, faith, and friendship have filled my life with purpose. I am in awe of Nate Powell's talent and grateful to have worked with him. I am deeply appreciative of 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. Frazier, 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 daughters, Harper and Everly, in hopes of their growing into a world more humane, more considerate, more loving — a world they and their entire generation will inherit. Let's make the world worth it.

Nate Powell



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



Photo by Eric Etheridge

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 has represented Georgia's fifth district there ever since. In 2011 he was awarded the Medal of Freedom by President Barack Obama.

Lewis's 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, won the NAACP Image Award.



(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. After learning that his boss had been inspired as a young man by the 1950s comic book *Martin Luther King & The Montgomery Story*, Aydin conceived the *March* series and collaborated with Rep. Lewis to write it, while also composing a master's thesis on the history and impact of *The Montgomery Story*. Today, he continues to write comics and lecture about the history of comics in the civil rights movement.

Previously, he served as Communications Director and Press Secretary during Rep. Lewis's 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. Visit www.andrewaydin.com for more information.

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 You Don't Say, Any Empire, Swallow Me Whole, The Silence of Our Friends, The Year of the Beasts, and Rick Riordan's The Lost Hero. Powell's comics have received such honors as the Eisner Award, two Ignatz Awards, four YALSA Great Graphic Novels for Teens selections, and a Los Angeles Times Book Prize finalist selection.

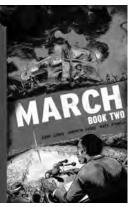
In addition to *March*, Powell has spoken about his work at the United Nations and created animated illustrations for SPLC's documentary *Selma: The Bridge to the Ballot*.

Powell is currently writing and drawing his next book, *Cover*, and drawing *Two Dead* with writer Van Jansen. He lives in Bloomington, Indiana. Visit Nate's website at www.seemybrotherdance.org for more information.

PRAISE FOR THE MARCH TRILOGY



March: Book One 128 pages, \$14.95 (US) ISBN: 978-1-60309-300-2



March: Book Two 192 pages, \$19.95 (US) ISBN: 978-1-60309-400-9



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"Congressman John Lewis has been a resounding moral voice in the quest for equality for more than 50 years, and I'm so pleased that he is sharing his memories of the Civil Rights Movement with America's young leaders. In *March*, he brings a whole new generation with him across the Edmund Pettus Bridge, from a past of clenched fists into a future of outstretched hands."

-President Bill Clinton

"With March, Congressman John Lewis takes us behind the scenes of some of the most pivotal moments of the Civil Rights Movement. In graphic novel form, his first-hand account makes these historic events both accessible and relevant to an entire new generation of Americans."

— LeVar Burton

"March is one of the most important graphic novels ever created—an extraordinary presentation of an extraordinary life, and proof that young people can change the world. I'm stunned by the power of these comics, and grateful that Congressman Lewis's story will enlighten and inspire future generations of readers and leaders."

— Raina Telgemeier

"There is perhaps no more important modern book to be stocked in American school libraries than March."

— The Washington Post

"Essential reading...March is a moving and important achievement...the story of a true American superhero."

—USA Today

- "Brave acts of civil disobedience...[give] March its educational value even as Powell's drawings give Lewis's crisp narration an emotional power." —The New York Times "Superbly told history." —Publishers Weekly (starred review) "Powell captures the danger and tension in stunning cinematic spreads, which dramatically complement Lewis's powerful story...The story of the civil rights movement is a triumphant one, but Lewis's account is full of nuance and personal struggle, both of which impart an empowering human element to an often mythologized period of history...this is a must-read." — Booklist (starred review) "An astonishingly accomplished graphic memoir that brings to life a vivid portrait of the civil rights era, Lewis's extraordinary history and accomplishments, and the movement he helped
 - lead...Its power, accessibility and artistry destine it for awards, and a well-deserved place at the pinnacle of the comics canon." -NPR
 - "March provides a potent reminder that the sit-ins, far from being casually assembled, were wellcoordinated, disciplined events informed by a rigorous philosophy...Likely to prove inspirational to readers for years to come." -Barnes and Noble Review
 - "A riveting chronicle of Lewis's extraordinary life...it powerfully illustrates how much perseverance is needed to achieve fundamental social change." —O, The Oprah Magazine
 - "March offers a poignant portrait of an iconic figure that both entertains and edifies, and deserves to be placed alongside other historical graphic memoirs like Persepolis and Maus."
 - —Entertainment Weekly
 - "The civil rights movement can seem to some like a distant memory... John Lewis refreshes our memories in dramatic fashion." —The Chicago Tribune
 - "When a graphic novel tries to interest young readers in an important topic, it often feels forced. Not so with the exhilarating March...Powerful words and pictures." —The Boston Globe
 - "This memoir puts a human face on a struggle that many students will primarily know from textbooks... Visually stunning, the black-and-white illustrations convey the emotions of this turbulent time...This insider's view of the civil rights movement should be required reading for —School Library Journal (starred review) young and old; not to be missed."
 - "A powerful tale of courage and principle igniting sweeping social change, told by a strongminded, 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)
 - "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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Art by Nate Powell

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