**Notes**

### Abbreviations Used in Notes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abbreviation</th>
<th>Description</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>APRP</td>
<td>A. Philip Randolph Papers, Library of Congress, Washington, DC</td>
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<tr>
<td>ARC</td>
<td>Amistad Research Center, Tulane University, New Orleans, LA</td>
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<td>BCP</td>
<td>Theophilus Eugene “Bull” Connor Papers, Department of Archives and Manuscripts, Birmingham Public Library, Birmingham, AL</td>
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<td>BMP</td>
<td>Burke Marshall Papers, John F. Kennedy Library, Boston, MA</td>
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<td>BPL</td>
<td>Department of Archives and Manuscripts, Birmingham Public Library, Birmingham, AL</td>
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<td>BRP</td>
<td>Bayard Rustin Papers (microfilm)</td>
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<td>BSCPP</td>
<td>Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters Papers, Library of Congress, Washington, DC</td>
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<tr>
<td>CCHP</td>
<td>Clarie Collins Harvey Papers, Amistad Research Center, Tulane University, New Orleans, LA</td>
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<tr>
<td>COREC</td>
<td>Congress of Racial Equality Collection, Swarthmore College Peace Collection, Swarthmore, PA</td>
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<tr>
<td>COREPA</td>
<td>Congress of Racial Equality Papers, Addendum, 1944–1968 (microfilm)</td>
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<tr>
<td>CUOHC</td>
<td>Columbia University Oral History Collection, New York, NY</td>
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<tr>
<td>FBI-FRI</td>
<td>FBI Case Files, Freedom Rider Investigation, Department of Archives and Manuscripts, Birmingham Public Library, Birmingham, AL</td>
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<tr>
<td>FORP</td>
<td>Fellowship of Reconciliation Papers, Swarthmore College Peace Collection, Swarthmore, PA</td>
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<tr>
<td>FUSC</td>
<td>Fisk University Special Collections, Nashville, TN</td>
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<tr>
<td>ICCR</td>
<td>Interstate Commerce Commission Records, Record Group 134, U.S. National Archives II, College Park, MD</td>
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<td>JFKL</td>
<td>John F. Kennedy Library, Boston, MA</td>
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<td>K MSP</td>
<td>Kelly Miller Smith Papers, Vanderbilt University, Nashville, TN</td>
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<td>KPA</td>
<td>Martin Luther King, Jr. Papers, the Martin Luther King, Jr., Center for Nonviolent Social Change, Atlanta, GA</td>
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<td>MLKP</td>
<td>Martin Luther King, Jr., Papers, Mugar Library, Boston University, Boston, MA</td>
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<td>MSCP</td>
<td>Mississippi State Sovereignty Commission Papers, Mississippi Department of Archives and History, Jackson, MS</td>
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<td>NAACPP</td>
<td>National Association for the Advancement of Colored People Papers, Library of Congress, Washington, DC</td>
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<td>NTP</td>
<td>Norman Thomas Papers, New York Public Library, New York, NY</td>
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<tr>
<td>RBOHC</td>
<td>Ralph Bunche Oral History Collection, Moorland-Spingarn Research Center, Howard University, Washington, DC</td>
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Introduction


11. See Appendix: Roster of Freedom Riders.


Chapter 1: You Don't Have to Ride Jim Crow

1. Bayard Rustin Files, box 51, FORP. The lyrics for "You Don't Have to Ride Jim Crow" were co-written by Bayard Rustin, Johnny Carr, Donald Coan, Doreen Curtis, and A. C. Thompson at the FOR/CORE-sponsored Interracial Workshop in Washington, D.C., on July 7, 1947. The music was an adaptation of the traditional Negro spiritual "There's No Hidin' Place Down Here." The epi-graph is the second stanza. See also the documentary film You Don't Have to Ride JIM CROW? (New Hampshire Public Television, 1995), produced and directed by Robin Washington.


4. Baltimore Afro-American, January 26, 1946; New York People’s Voice, June 15, 1946 (first quotation); Bacquie, Morgan, and Kirkaldy interviews; Morello, “The Freedom Rider a Nation Nearly Forgot” (second and third quotations). According to Morgan’s brother-in-law, James Pinney, Morgan’s mother, Ethel Amos, was a key supporter of her daughter’s fight for justice. “Irene’s mother deserves a lot of credit in this . . . ,” Finney told Virginia Gardner of the People’s Voice. “Her mother got to work and raised the money to make bond for Irene when she decided to appeal her conviction in the lower court.” Gardner added “at the time the elderly woman took up the cudgel in her daughter’s case, Irene had no attorney, no advisers.” New York People’s Voice, June 15, 1946.

5. “Opinion by Justice Herbert B. Gregory” and “Irene Morgan, Appellant vs. Commonwealth of Virginia—Brief of Appellee,” box II-B190, NAACP; Morello, “The Freedom Rider a Nation Nearly Forgot” Kirkaldy and Morgan interviews. In Virginia the official name of the state supreme court is the Supreme Court of Appeals of Virginia.


13. Morgan v. Virginia, 328 U.S. 373 (1946); Kluger, Simple Justice, 236–238; Klarman, From Jim Crow to Civil Rights, 217, 220–224; "Question Ducked," Time 47 (June 10, 1946): 23. Barnes, Journey from Jim Crow, 47, notes that "Chief Justice Harlan Fiske Stone had been prepared to dissent in Morgan. Because he died on April 22, 1946, before the decision was handed down, his views were not made public; but in conference, the Chief Justice had maintained that racial seating on buses was a predominantly local matter which the states could regulate."

14. Folder 1, box II-B190, NAACPP, contains numerous clippings, press releases, and congratulatory telegrams related to the Morgan decision. See also the clippings in reel 96, TIRRCF; and the Baltimore Afro-American, June 8–July 27, 1946.

15. "National Leaders Hail Supreme Court Decision on Jim Crow Buses," press release, typescript, June 10, 1946; and Telegram, Adam Clayton Powell to Walter White, June 6, 1946 (quotation), both in folder 1, box II-B190, NAACPP; Baltimore Afro-American, June 15, 1946 (McGehee quotation). An editorial in the Washington Post, June 10, 1946, noted that Rep. Powell "had introduced a bill to abolish Jim Crow practices in interstate transportation a year and a half ago." In the wake of the Brown decision, billboards calling for Warren's impeachment were a common sight along the major highways of the Deep South.

16. Telegram, Walter White to a long list of political and civil rights leaders, June 5, 1946 (quotation), folder 1, box II-B190, NAACPP; Chicago Defender, June 15, 1946 (Winborne, Coleman, Sparks, and Bailey quotations); Baton Rouge State-Times, June 4, 1946; Baltimore Afro-American, June 15, 1946 (Talmadge quotation); Barnes, Journey from Jim Crow, 50–51. On Talmadge's racial demagoguery, see William Anderson, The Wild Man from Sugar Creek: The Political Career of Eugene Talmadge (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1975).


18. Tushnet, Making Civil Rights Law, 75–76 (quotations); Barnes, Journey from Jim Crow, 62–65; Klarman, From Jim Crow to Civil Rights, 221–225; Robert L. Carter to Daniel E. Byrd, June 12, 1946, folder 1, box II-B190, NAACPP, expresses Carter's early suspicion that "the bus companies' rules and regulations requiring segregation, apart from state statutes, are not affected by the Morgan case. Where such rules are inaugurated, as we expect them to be, we will have to go to court in an attempt to have them set aside as being unreasonable and invalid." Robert L. Carter, interview by author, March 8, 2005.

19. Carter interview; Baltimore Afro-American, June 15, 1946 (quotation); "Virginia Goes A'Courtin' " claimed that Morgan was having "domestic problems" during the spring of 1946: "In April she left her service job and her husband who works as a maintenance man in one of Manhattan's less swanky apartment houses." New York People's Voice, June 15, 1946. At the time of the decision, she was employed as "a practical nurse for the children of Mr. and Mrs. Harold Wolff, writers, 70 Haven Ave." On Marshall's unshakable commitment to the NAACP's legal and constitutional civil rights strategy during the 1940s, see Tushnet, Making Civil Rights Law, 67–136; Williams, Thurgood Marshall, 145–166; and Kluger, Simple Justice, 214–314.


22. Robinson, Abraham Went Out, 3–118; Meier and Rudwick, CORE, 4–34; Anderson, Bayard Rustin, 61–77, 81–110; D’Emilio, Lost Prophet, 35–54; Farmer, Lay Bare the Heart, 70–161; Tracy, Direct Action, 20–29. See also Nat Hentoff, Peace Agitator: The Story of A. J. Muste (New York: Macmillan, 1963); Chatfield, For Peace and Justice; and Wittmer, Rebels Against War, 1–181.


26. Anderson, Bayard Rustin, 96–110, 111 (quotation); D’Emilio, Lost Prophet, 50–134; Levine, Bayard Rustin and the Civil Rights Movement, 27–28, 34–51; Moritz, Current Biography Yearbook 1967, 360–361; Rustin, Down the Line, ix–x, 5–52; Rustin interviews, CUOHC; Branch, Parting the Waters, 171–172; Fairclough, To Redeem the Soul of America, 24; Robinson, Abraham Went Out, 111–117; Viorst, Fire in the Streets, 208–210; Pfeffer, A. Philip Randolph, 62, 142, 150–168; Meier and Rudwick, CORE, 12–20, 34–50, 57, 64.

28. Farmer, Lay Bare the Heart, 33–65; James Farmer, interview by Ed Edwin, 1979, CUOHC.
29. Farmer, Lay Bare the Heart, 117–128, 129 (quotation); Farmer interview, CUOHC. In a 1970 inter-
view, Jim Peck stated: “I feel that Mr. Farmer’s only asset was that he was an effective public speaker.
. . . Therefore we needed somebody like Marvin Rich to really do the brain work, strategy, and basic
work required in running a national organization.” Peck interview, RBOHC. Following Farmer’s
death in 1999, an Associated Press wire service story emphasized the strange power of his voice:
“Diabetes stills the legs that had walked treacherous miles on the roads of the hostile South during
the Freedom Rides of the 1960s. But, oh, that voice! Right up to his final days, nothing had muted
the mighty, flowing baritone that helped mold and inspire the civil rights movement for one genera-
tion, then brought it back to life for college students of a later time.” St. Petersburg Times, July 11,
1999. See also Farmer’s interview in the documentary “Ain’t Scared of Your Jails.”
30. Farmer, Lay Bare the Heart, 129–133; Sullivan, Days of Hope, 150; John B. Kirby, “Race, Class, and
Politics: Ralph Bunche and Black Protest,” in Ralph Bunche: The Man and His Times, ed. Benjamin
Rivlin (New York: Holmes and Meier, 1990), 36–39; Pfeffer, A. Philip Randolph, 32–43; Anderson,
Bayard Rustin, 38; Official Proceedings of the Second National Negro Congress (Philadelphia: October 15–
17, 1937). See also Lawrence Wintner, “The National Negro Congress: A Reassessment,” American
Quarterly 22 (Fall 1970): 883–901.
31. Farmer, Lay Bare the Heart, 135 (first quotation), 71 (second quotation), 133–146; James Farmer,
interview by John Britton, September 28, 1968, RBOHC; Farmer interview, CUOHC; Tracy, Direct
Action, 22–23. On Howard Thurman, see Walter E. Fluker and Catherine Tumber, eds., A Strange
Freedom: The Best of Howard Thurman on Religious Experience and Public Life (Boston: Beacon, 1998);
Walter E. Fluker, They Looked for a City: A Comparative Analysis of the Ideal of Community in the Thought
of Howard Thurman and Martin Luther King, Jr. (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1989);
Luther E. Smith, Howard Thurman: The Mystic as Prophet (Richmond: Friends United Press, 1992);
and Alton B. Pollard III, Mysticism and Social Change: The Social Witness of Howard Thurman (New
York: Peter Lang, 1992).
32. Meier and Rudwick, CORE, 4–17, 18 (quotation); Farmer, Lay Bare the Heart, 67–116; Anderson,
Bayard Rustin, 93; D’Emilio, Lost Prophet, 50–54; Tracy, Direct Action, 22–27; George Houser, inter-
view by Katherine Shannon, September 11, 1967, RBOHC; Farmer interview, RBOHC; Farmer
interview, CUOHC.
33. Farmer, Lay Bare the Heart, 116 (quotation), 115–116, 149–161; Meier and Rudwick, CORE, 19–25,
42–44; Robinson, Abraham Went Out, 111–117; D’Emilio, Lost Prophet, 62–63; Houser interview,
RBOHC; Farmer interview, CUOHC; Rich interview; Anderson, Bayard Rustin, 93–95. On the diff-
culties and controversies surrounding the merger of pacifism, nonviolence, and civil rights activism
during the 1940s, see Kosek, “Richard Gregg, Mohandas Gandhi, and the Strategy of Nonviolence.”
1318–1320, 1336–1348; and Tracy, Direct Action, 26–75.
34. Farmer, Lay Bare the Heart, 165–166; Farmer interview, CUOHC; Rich and Carey interviews.
35. Houser interview, RBOHC; George M. Houser, “A Personal Retrospective on the 1947 Journey
of Reconciliation,” typescript of a paper given at Bluffton College, September 1992, box 1, COREC;
George M. Houser, “’Thy Brother’s Blood: Reminiscences of World War II,” Christian Century
112 (August 16, 1995): 774; Meier and Rudwick, CORE, 5–6, 16–21, 29, 34; D’Emilio, Lost Prophet,
36. Farmer, Lay Bare the Heart, 3–4 (quotations); Tracy, Direct Action, 22–23.
37. On the Isaac Woodard episode, see Egerton, Speak Now Against the Day, 362–363 (quotations); Barnes,
Journey from Jim Crow, 62; Sullivan, Days of Hope, 219; Crisis 53 (September 1946): 276; and Race
6–7.
The NAACP brought a civil suit against Atlantic Greyhound in an attempt to recover damages for
Woodard, but in November 1947 a Charleston, West Virginia, jury issued a verdict in favor of the
passenger refused to relinquish their seats on a crowded Georgia bus; although they avoided arrest
and Alton B. Pollard III, Mysticism and Social Change: The Social Witness of Howard Thurman (New
York: Peter Lang, 1992).
38. Houser, “A Personal Retrospective,” 5–6 (quotations); George M. Houser and Bayard Rustin, “Memor-
andum #2: Bus and Train Travel in the South,” box 20, FORP; Peak, Freedom Ride, 16; Meier and
Rudwick, CORE, 34; D’Emilio, Lost Prophet, 133–134; Tracy, Direct Action, 54–55; Grant, Ella Baker,
91–92; Marian B. Mollin, “The Limits of Egalitarianism: Radical Pacifism, Civil Rights, and the
Journey of Reconciliation,” Radical History Review 88 (Winter 2004): 113–138. See also Marian B.
Mollin, “Actions Louder than Words: Gender and Political Activism in the American Radical Paci-
conducted her own “freedom rides” on several occasions. In December 1942 she and a second black
passenger refused to relinquish their seats on a crowded Georgia bus; although they avoided arrest
and violence, both were subjected to threats and verbal abuse. Six months later, on May 4, 1943,
Baker successfully challenged Jim Crow dining car restrictions on a train from Mobile, Alabama,
to Jacksonville, Florida. However, when she traveled from Jacksonville to New York City on May 29,
a second challenge was foiled by two military policemen who drove her from the dining car, bruising
one of her legs in the process. With Thurgood Marshall’s help, she later filed a formal complaint
39. Robert L. Carter to Daniel E. Byrd, June 12, 1946; George Houser to Marian Perry, October 9,
1946; W. A. C. Hughes to Thurgood Marshall, July 8, 1946; Robert L. Carter, Memos to Walter

40. Thurgood Marshall to Dear Sir [members of NAACP Legal Committee], November 6, 1946, box II-B190, NAACP; New York Times, November 23, 1946 (quotation); Anderson, Bayard Rustin, 114–115; Carter interview. According to Rustin and Houser, Roy Wilkins, the assistant secretary who worked under executive secretary Walter White, was the only national NAACP leader to respond favorably to the proposed Journey of Reconciliation. D’Emilio, Lost Prophet, 134.


43. Peck, Freedom Ride, 17; D’Emilio, Lost Prophet, 134–135; Houser, “A Personal Retrospective,” 6–7 (quotation); Carter interview. Rustin and Houser traveled together to Washington, D.C.; Richmond and Petersburg, Virginia; and Chapel Hill, Greensboro, Winston-Salem, and Asheville, North Carolina. Houser traveled alone to Nashville and Knoxville, Tennessee, and Louisville, Kentucky. Rustin and Houser, “Memorandum #2: Bus and Train Travel in the South”; Houser interview, RBOHC. During the scouting trip, Rustin and Houser met Floyd McKissick, a young black attorney practicing in Durham, North Carolina. The first black graduate of the University of North Carolina Law School, McKissick would later serve as CORE’s national chairman (1963–1966) and national director (1966–1968). On McKissick, see Meier and Rudwick, CORE, 293–294, 381, 396, 402–424.

44. Houser, “A Personal Retrospective,” 7–8; Rustin and Houser, “Memorandum #2: Bus and Train Travel in the South.”


46. Peck, Freedom Ride, 15–16 (quotations); Houser, “A Personal Retrospective,” 8; Anderson, Bayard Rustin, 116; Meier and Rudwick, CORE, 35–36; Tracy, Direct Action, 55.

47. Bayard Rustin and George Houser, You Don’t Have to Ride Jim Crow (Washington: Interracial Workshop, 1947). Copies of this pamphlet can be found in reel 25, CORE; and in the “George Houser Scrapbook—Journey of Reconciliation 1947,” box 2, COREC.


49. Ibid., 18 (quotation); “Log—Journey of Reconciliation,” April 9–23, 1947, typescript, Bayard Rustin Files, box 51, FORP. Wally Nelson maintained the log. Houser, “A Personal Retrospective,” 9; Pittsburgh Courier, April 5, 19, 1947. When interviewed by historian John D’Emilio a half century later, Bromley recalled: “Nobody knew what was going to happen. Everybody on this thing went into it with apprehension because they knew what could occur and what had occurred. . . . I wouldn’t say we were terror-stricken, but everybody was frightened.” D’Emilio, Lost Prophet, 135.

50. “Log—Journey of Reconciliation,” 1–2; Rustin and Houser, You Don’t Have to Ride Jim Crow, 1 (quotation); Rustin, Down the Line, 14; Houser, “A Personal Retrospective,” 9–10; Peck, Freedom Ride, 18; Anderson, Bayard Rustin, 117; D’Emilio, Lost Prophet, 136; Conrad Lynn, There Is a Fountain. (Westport, CT: Lawence Hill, 1979), 109 (quotation).

51. “Log—Journey of Reconciliation,” 2; Rustin and Houser, You Don’t Have to Ride Jim Crow, 1; Houser, “A Personal Retrospective,” 10 (quotation); Rustin, Down the Line, 14–15, 16 (quotation).

52. Rustin, Down the Line, 15 (first and second quotations); “Log—Journey of Reconciliation,” 2–4; Houser, “A Personal Retrospective,” 10–11; Anderson, Bayard Rustin, 117; D’Emilio, Lost Prophet, 136–137; Lynn, There Is a Fountain, 109–110, 111 (third quotation).


the Fellowship of Southern Churchmen’s role in the Journey of Reconciliation’s visit to Chapel Hill, see John Salman, “‘Flag-bearers for Integration and Justice’: Local Civil Rights Groups in the South, 1940–1954,” in Feldman, Before Brown, 227–235.


57. Rustin, Down the Line, 17 (first quotation); Peck, Freedom Ride, 21 (second and third quotations); Houser interview, RBOHC; “Log—Journey of Reconciliation,” 7; Pittsburgh Courier, April 19, 1947; Chapel Hill Daily Tar Heel, April 15–16, 1947; Evans interview; D’Emilio, Last Prophet, 139.

58. Peck, Freedom Ride, 22 (quotations)–23; “Log—Journey of Reconciliation,” 7; Rustin, Down the Line, 17; Pittsburgh Courier, April 19, 1947; Chapel Hill Daily Tar Heel, April 15–16, 1947; Evans interview; D’Emilio, Last Prophet, 139; Anderson, Bayard Rustin, 119, offers a detailed but largely inaccurate account of the pursuit.


60. Greensboro Daily News, April 18, 1947 (Jones quotations); Chapel Hill Daily Tar Heel, April 17–May 1 (McGirt quotation), 1947; Carolina Times, April 26, 1947; Evans interview. Houser, “A Personal Retrospective,” 13–14, notes: “I always had a guilt feeling about this incident because we left Charles Jones to face the wrath of the taxi drivers and others of their ilk in their Chapel Hill. He was already a marked man in the community because he was always on the cutting edge of racial and social issues (such as union organization) which divided the community.” Conservative editors and reporters in North Carolina often printed diatribes against Jones. See, for example, the editorial in the Charlotte News, April 17, 1947 (typescript copy in “George Houser Scrapbook—Journey of Reconciliation 1947”), which declared: “The town of Chapel Hill, N.C., has, for several years been affiliated with a ‘crank,’ a Presbyterian preacher named Charles M. Jones, who was brought there from Tennessee. He is the type of minister who, like the Holy Rollers and the sect which handles live snakes, interprets the Bible to suit his own warped ideas and he seems to be hipped upon the subject of social equality with Negroes. When, during the war, a Negro band was sent to Chapel Hill to furnish music for Navy preflight trainees, Mr. Jones invited students and professors from a Negro college at Durham, N.C., to a breakfast at his church. Four students and a professor accepted and each was seated at breakfast beside a white girl. . . . There are always a few crack-pot students in a university or college, but it is unusual for them to have the encouragement and support which they receive at Chapel Hill.” In 1953, conservative critics of Jones’s civil rights activism prompted a Presbyterian inquiry that led to his resignation from the Presbyterian ministry. See Ashby, Frank Porter Graham, 305–309; “Deplore Secrecy in the Jones Case,” Christian Century 70 (March 4, 1953): 245; “Presbyterian U.S. Commission Fires Chapel Hill Pastor,” Christian Century 70 (March 11, 1953): 277; Henry Ruark, “Orange Presbytery vs. Jones,” Christian Century 70 (March 18, 1953): 318–319; “Presbytery,” Time 63 (February 23, 1953): 53.


63. Peck, Freedom Ride, 24–26 (quotations); Rustin, Down the Line, 18; Houser, “A Personal Retrospective,” 16; Asheville Citizen, April 19, 1947; Pittsburgh Courier, April 26, 1947; Baltimore Afro-American, April 26, 1947; James Peck, “Not So Deep Are the Roots,” Crisis 54 (September 1947): 274. On Peck, see the Joe Felmet Papers, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill; and the FBI files on Felmet in the Journey of Reconciliation folder, box 20, FORP.

64. Peck, Freedom Ride, 26 (quotations); Rustin, Down the Line, 18; Curtiss Todd to Thurgood Marshall, April 19, 1947, Robert L. Carter to Curtiss Todd, April 23, 1947, box II-B184, NAACP.


69. Peck, Freedom Ride, 27 (quotations); “Log—Journey of Reconciliation,” 11; Rustin, Down the Line, 14. For a sampling of the press reaction to the Journey of Reconciliation, see “George Houser Scrap-
Chapter 2: Beside the Weary Road


2. In February 1948 the Council on Intolerance in America awarded two of its annual Thomas Jefferson Awards to Rustin and Houser. Rustin, Down the Line, 50 (quotation); 51–52; Anderson, Bayard Rustin, 123–124; Levine, Bayard Rustin and the Civil Rights Movement, 65–66; D’Emilio, Lost Prophet, 175–183; Meier and Rudwick, CORE, 38–71; Tracy, Direct Action, 56–75; Farmer, Lay Bare the Heart, 176; Robinson, Abraham Went Out, 116–117; “Discrimination in Interstate Transportation, April 1947–May 1955,” folder 40, reel 10, COREP; CORE-lator, October 1947–November 1954, reel 49, COREP; Peck, Freedom Ride, 27, 42 (quotation). On the evolving relationship between the Cold War, decolonization, and the civil rights struggle, see Dudziak, Cold War Civil Rights; and Borstelmann, The Cold War and the Color Line.


4. Meier and Rudwick, CORE, 75–76; Farmer, Lay Bare the Heart, 185–187; typescript by James R. Robinson, February 8, 1956, reel 30, COREP. For a brief biographical sketch of Carter, see John...

5. Meier and Rudwick, CORE, 76; Morris, Origins of the Civil Rights Movement, 135; CORE-lator, Spring 1956, reel 49 (quotations); typescript by James R. Robinson, August 20, 1956, reel 30; James Peck to Martin Luther King Jr., March 9, 1956 (first quotation); King to Peck, May 10, 1956, reel 39, all in COREP.


9. On Lillian Smith, see Loveland, Lillian Smith; Margaret Rose Gladney, ed., How Am I to Be Heard: The Letters of Lillian Smith (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1993); and Lillian Smith, Killers of the Dream (New York: Norton, 1949). Howell Raines, My Soul Is Rested: Movement Days in the Deep South Remembered (New York: G. P. Putnam’s Sons, 1977), 53; Swomley interview; John M. Swomley Jr. to Wilson Riles, February 21, 1956, box 16, FORP (first, second, and third quotations); Worthy interview; Garrow, Bearing the Cross, 66, 642 n46; Norman Thomas to Homer Jack, February 12, 1956, box 62, NTP (fourth quotation); Viorst, Fire in the Streets, 210–211 (fifth quotation); Anderson, Bayard Rustin, 183–186. Levine, Bayard Rustin and the Civil Rights Movement, 73–82; 263–265; 15–17; offers an alternative chronology and explanation of Rustin’s mission to Montgomery. Based largely on an interview with James Farmer, Levine argues that the idea for the trip came from Randolph, that Farmer suggested that Rustin would be the best person for the mission, and that Rustin may have visited Montgomery as early as December 1955. While many of the details related to Rustin’s trip to Montgomery are open to speculation, at this point Levine’s account does not appear to rest on solid evidence. The date of Lillian Smith’s correspondence with Rustin and King also remains a subject of speculation. See D’Emilio, Last Prophet, 227, which concludes that Smith did not write to King until after Rustin’s arrival in Montgomery in late February. See also Lillian Smith to Martin Luther King Jr., March 10, 1956, in Gladney, How Am I to Be Heard, 94.


11. Bayard Rustin, “Montgomery Diary,” Liberation 1 (April 1956): 7 (quotations); Worthy interview; Branch, Parting the Waters, 173–177; Garrow, Bearing the Cross, 67; Anderson, Bayard Rustin, 186; D’Emilio, Last Prophet, 228–229.

12. Rustin, “Montgomery Diary,” 7–10 (quotations); Rustin, “Report on Montgomery, Alabama”; Swomley interview; Glenn Smiley to John Swomley and Al Hassler, February 29, 1956, box 16, FORP; Branch, Parting the Waters, 177–180; Garrow, Bearing the Cross, 67–68; Raines, My Soul Is Rusted, 52–57; Farmer, Lay Bare the Heart, 187; Fairclough, To Redeem the Soul of America, 23–24; David L. Lewis, King: A Critical Biography (New York: Praeger, 1970), 41–42, 72; Anderson, Bayard Rustin, 187; D’Emilio, Last Prophet, 229–230. On the long-term relationship between Rustin and

13. Rustin, “Montgomery Diary,” 10; Swomley interview; Smiley to Riles, February 21, 1956, and Smiley to Swomley, February 29, 1956, both in box 16, FORP; Branch, Parting the Waters, 179–180; Farmer, Lay Bare the Heart, 187; Fairclough, To Redeem the Soul of America, 24; Garrow, Bearing the Cross, 68–69; Raines, My Soul Is Rested, 55; Robinson, Abrahm Went Out, 117; Anderson, Bayard Rustin, 193–194; D’Emilio, Last Prophet, 231–232; Tracy, Direct Action, 91–92. In a letter written in Birmingham on March 8, Rustin explained the Le Figaro and Manchester Guardian statement to King: “For the record, at no time did I say that I was a correspondent for either of these papers. I did say that I was writing articles which were to be submitted to them, and this is now in the process of being done.” Bayard Rustin to Martin Luther King Jr., March 8, 1956, box 5, MLKP. On the prevalence of anti-Communist hysteria in the South during the 1950s, see Woods, Black Struggle, Red Scare; and Lewis, White South and the Red Menace.


15. Swomley interview; Gleny Smiley, interview by Katherine M. Shannon, September 12, 1967, RBOHC; Smiley to Swomley (two letters), February 29, 1956.

16. Smiley to Swomley and Hassler, February 29, 1956, both in box 16, FORP; Branch, Parting the Waters, 179–180; Garrow, Bearing the Cross, 69, 642 n45; Farmer, Lay Bare the Heart, 187; Fairclough, To Redeem the Soul of America, 24; Robinson, Abrahm Went Out, 117; Raines, My Soul Is Rested, 55; Tracy, Direct Action, 94. Chappell, Inside Agitators, 59, incorrectly states that Smiley arrived in Montgomery on February 14. During his interview with Katherine Shannon in 1967, Smiley himself incorrectly recalled his arrival date as February 14. See also Levine, Bayard Rustin and the Civil Rights Movement, 64, 264 n9. On the Authorine Lucy episode, see Gaillard, Cradle of Freedom, 38–42; and E. Culpepper Clark, The Schoolhouse Door: Segregation’s Last Stand at the University of Alabama (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), 19–21, 37–113.

17. Smiley, “Report from the South, Number 1”; Smiley interview, RBOHC; Smiley interview; Morris, Origins of the Civil Rights Movement, 157–162; Garrow, Bearing the Cross, 69–70, 72, 79; Branch, Parting the Waters, 180; Fairclough, To Redeem the Soul of America, 24–25; Chappell, Inside Agitators, 59–60; Anderson, Bayard Rustin, 191–192; Tracy, Direct Action, 94–95; Kosek, “Richard Gregg, Mohandas Gandhi, and the Strategy of Nonviolence,” 1344.

18. Smiley to Swomley and Hassler, February 29, 1956, box 16, FORP; Tracy, Direct Action, 95.

19. Smiley to Swomley, March 2, 1956, box 16, FORP.


22. Raines, My Soul Is Rested, 53 (Rustin quotations); Garrow, Bearing the Cross, 72–73 (first Smiley quotation); Fairclough, To Redeem the Soul of America, 25–26; Morris, Origins of the Civil Rights Move-ment, 159–160 (second Smiley quotation); Robinson, Abrahm Went Out, 117; Anderson, Bayard Rustin, 187–188; D’Emilio, Last Prophet, 230–231, 236–239, 245, 267, 395, 453; King, Stride Toward Freedom, 143, 150. See Keith D. Miller, Voice of Deliverance: The Language of Martin Luther King, Jr., and In Sounds (New York: Free Press, 1992), chapter 5, for a perceptive discussion of the origins and evolution of King’s ideas on nonviolence. See also Greg Moses, Resurrection of Conscience: Martin Luther King, Jr., and the Philosophy of Nonviolence (New York: Guilford Press, 1997); Marsh, The Beloved Community, 21–50; Chappell, A Stone of Hope, 44–63; Christopher B. Strain, Pure Fire: Self-Defense as Activism in the Civil Rights Era (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2005), 33–48; Harris Wofford,
27. A. Philip Randolph to Dear Friend, February 17, 1956, box B-186, NAACPP (quotation); “A Brief
Memo on In Friendship,” February 17, 1956 (first quotation); Walter Petersen, “Proceedings of
Minutes of the Atlanta Conference, May 12, 1956 (quotations), and Smiley, “Report from the South,
Number 2,” 3, both in box 16, ORP; Robinson, Abraham Went Out, 109–118; King, Stride Toward
Freedom, 77; Fairclough, To Redeem the Soul of America, 29; Garrow, Bearing the Cross, 75, 643 n50;
Anderson, Bayard Rustin, 194; D’Emilio, Last Prophet, 239.

22. Minutes of the Atlanta Conference, May 12, 1956 (quotations), and Smiley, “Report from the South,
Number 2,” 3, both in box 16, ORP; Robinson, Abraham Went Out, 109–118; King, Stride Toward
Freedom, 77; Fairclough, To Redeem the Soul of America, 29; Garrow, Bearing the Cross, 75, 643 n50;
Anderson, Bayard Rustin, 194; D’Emilio, Last Prophet, 239.

23. Norman Thomas to Martin Luther King Jr., March 23, 1956 (quotation), and Thomas to Homer
Jack, March 12, 1956, both in box 62, NTP; Garrow, Bearing the Cross, 69–70, 642 n45; Viorst, Fire
in the Streets, 210–211; Fairclough, To Redeem the Soul of America, 32. Morris Milgrim to Daniel
James, January 1, March 19, 1949; Norman Thomas to A. Philip Randolph, January 19, 1956; Randolph
to Thomas, January 23, 1956, all in Corres. Box, APRP. Robinson, Abraham Went Out, 111–117, 131;
similar concerns after he became involved with King in 1957: “If King had asked me to join him full-
time I suspect I would have gone, but already he was being plagued by offers of assistance from
people all over the world. Even the shrewd and intelligent help of Bayard Rustin verged on a kind of
manipulation I disliked. Steeped in Gandhian lore, with extraordinary personal experience in non-
violent pupil, Rustin seemed ever-present with advice, and sometimes acted as if King were a pre-
cious puppet whose symbolic actions were to be planned by a Gandhian high command.” Wofford,
Of Kennedys and Kings, 115.

24. A. Philip Randolph to Martin Luther King Jr., November 19, 1958, Corres. Box, APRP; Pfeffer, A.
Philip Randolph, 38 (first quotation), 62 (third quotation), 169–205; Thomas Sanction, “Something’s
Happened to the Negro,” New Republic 108 (February 8, 1943): 177, quoted in ibid., 64; Anderson,
A. Philip Randolph, 90, 105, 231, 250, 265–266, 274; Robinson, Abraham Went Out, 111–112; Branch,
Parting the Waters, 170–171; A. Philip Randolph to Nathaniel Cooper, February 13, 1953, and Coo-
per to Randolph, January 30, 1953, all in Corres. Box, APRP. On the March on Washington Movement,

25. Pfeffer, A. Philip Randolph, 23, 88, 172–174; Anderson, A. Philip Randolph, 177; Branch, Parting the
Waters, 121; Morris, Origins of the Civil Rights Movement, 158; Viorst, Fire in the Streets, 21–25, 30; A.
Philip Randolph to Dr. George D. Cannon, June 21, 1956, Corres. Box, APRP; A. Philip Randolph
to President Dwight D. Eisenhower, February 2, 1956, telegram, box 3, APRP; Warren Olney III to
A. Philip Randolph, February 8, 1956, box 15, BSCPP; A. Philip Randolph to George Meany, March
5, 1956, box 19, BSCPP.

26. “Memo on In Friendship,” February 17, 1956 (first quotation); Walter Petersen, “Proceedings of
Conference on Aid to Race Terror Victims,” January 5, 1956; Madison S. Jones to Roy Wilkins,
January 9, 1956, all in box B-186, NAACP. A. Philip Randolph to Eleanor Roosevelt, January 31,
1956, box 24, BSCPP; Norman Thomas to Roy Wilkins, A. Philip Randolph, et al., January 12,
1956, Corres. Box, APRP; Norman Thomas to A. Philip Randolph, March 8, 1956, box 2, APRP;
Fairclough, To Redeem the Soul of America, 29–32; Branch, Parting the Waters, 208–209, 231, 233, 330;
Anderson, Bayard Rustin, 195; D’Emilio, Last Prophet, 224–227; Garrow, Bearing the Cross, 84, 102–
103; David J. Garrow, The FBI and Martin Luther King, Jr.: From “Solo” to Memphis (New York:
remarkable career, see Ransby, Ella Baker and the Black Freedom Movement; Grant, Ella Baker;
Olson, Freedom’s Daughters, 132–150; Sharon Harley, “Ella Jo Baker,” in The Encyclopedia of Southern Cul-
ture, ed. Charles Reagan Wilson and William Ferris (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina
Struggle for Civil Rights (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), passim; Peggy Peterman, “A
Leader in the Struggle,” St. Petersburg Times, February 11, 1992 (second quotation); Viorst, Fire in
the Streets, 119–124; Carson, In Struggle, 19–31, 41–42, 70–71; and Gerda Lerner, “Developing Com-

27. A. Philip Randolph to Dear Friend, February 17, 1956, box B-186, NAACCP (quotation); “A Brief
Digest of the Activities of ‘In Friendship.’”
28. A. Philip Randolph to Ella Baker, March 7, 1956; Randolph to Rabbi Edward E. Klein, March 15, 1956; “A Brief Digest of the Activities of ‘In Friendship,’” all in box 2, APRP. Chicago Defender, June 2, 9, 1956 (quotation); Fairclough, To Redeem the Soul of America, 31–32; Garrow, The FBI and Martin Luther King, Jr., 26; Anderson, Bayard Rustin, 195–196; D’Emilio, Last Prophet, 240; Wilkins, Standing Fast, 235–236.

29. “A Brief Digest of the Activities of ‘In Friendship’”; Ella Baker to A. Philip Randolph, August 29, 1956; In Friendship, minutes of executive committee meetings, June 20 and July 19, 1956, Ella Baker to Cornelius J. Drew, October 9, 1956; Ella Baker to A. Philip Randolph, memorandum, January 1, 1957, all in box 2, APRP. Norman Thomas to A. Philip Randolph, August 26, 1956, Corres. Box, APRP, Ella Baker to Dear Friend, June 2, 1956, and In Friendship, “We Believe,” broadside, 1956 (quotation), both in box B-186, NAACP; Ransby, Ella Baker and the Black Freedom Movement, 165–168; Garrow, The FBI and Martin Luther King, Jr., 42; Garrow, Bearing the Cross, 103; Morris, Origins of the Civil Rights Movement, 116; Branch, Parting the Waters, 209, 216, 227, 231. The NAACP did provide strong support for the December 5 concert. See Cornelius Drew et al. to Mrs. Roy Wilkins, telegram, October 14, 1956; Ella Baker to Roy Wilkins, November 10, 1956; Roy Wilkins to Dear NAACP Member, November 23, 1956; Stanley Levison to Roy Wilkins, December 12, 1956, all in box B-186, NAACP; and Fairclough, To Redeem the Soul of America, 32, which probably overstates the degree of cooperation between the two organizations.


32. Branch, Parting the Waters, 199–206; Garrow, Bearing the Cross, 115–125; Miller, Martin Luther King, Jr., 69–82; Halberstam, The Children, 26–27; Farmer, Lay Bare the Heart, 193; Fairclough, To Redeem the Soul of America, 35; Grant, Ella Baker, 102–103; Ransby, Ella Baker and the Black Freedom Movement, 170–230; King, Stride Toward Freedom, 138–201; Fred Shuttlesworth, interview by author, February 2004; King begins his memoir of the boycott by describing the Alabama State Capitol, where “on February 18, on the steps of the portico, Jefferson Davis took his oath of office as President of the Confederate States. It is for this reason that Montgomery has been known across the years as the Cradle of the Confederacy.” See ibid., 1–2. On Montgomery in the aftermath of the boycott, see Thornton, Dividing Lines, 96–118. On Shuttlesworth, the ACMHR, and the Birmingham movement during the 1950s, see Thornton, Dividing Lines, 170–238; Eskew, But for Birmingham, 53–151; Manus, A Fire You Can’t Put Out, 68–252; McWhorter, Carry Me Home, 84–145; and Lewis W. Jones, “Fred L. Shuttlesworth, Indigenous Leader,” in Birmingham, Alabama, 1956–1963: The Black Struggle for Civil Rights, ed. David J. Garrow (Brooklyn: Carlson, 1989), 115–150.


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35. Carter interview; Garrow, 36. Fairclough 37. On the national culture of violence in the United States, see Hugh Davis Graham and Ted Robert Tyson, 39. Tyson," Law and History Review 9 (Spring 1991): 59–112. On NAACP fund-raising during the boycott, see Martin Luther King Jr. to Roy Wilkins, March 3, 1956; telegram, Roy Wilkins to NAACP Branches, February 23, 1956; memorandum, Glosier Current to NAACP Field Secretaries, February 23, 1956; Thurgood Marshall to Mr. Moon, February 23, 1956; Roy Wilkins to Martin Luther King Jr., March 8, 1956, all in box B-185, NAACP, Ruby Hurley to Lucille Black, February 13, 1956, and “News and Action,” April 1956, Southeast Regional Office of the NAACP, both in box H-213, NAACP; “Mass Rally and Prayer Hour on Alabama Bus Boycott,” 1956 Annual Report of the Chicago Branch, box H-108, NAACP, Roy Wilkins to Martin Luther King Jr., March 8, April 12, May 4, 1956, box B-191, NAACP, Morris, Origins of the Civil Rights Movement, 57; and Lewis, King, 71. On Marshall’s attitude toward the bus boycott and direct action, see Tushnet, Making Civil Rights Law, 305–306; and Michael D. D. Clark, Thurgood Marshall: Warrior at the Bar, Rebel on the Bench (New York: Birch Lane Press, 1992), 201–206. See also Harris Wofford Jr. to Thurgood Marshall, January 9, 1958, box 78, MLKP. On the vulnerability of the NAACP’s Southern branches, see Ruby Hurley,” 35–163. Even Hurley, perhaps the most passionate MIA supporter among NAACP officials, recognized that direct action had burdened the NAACP with unexpected and threatening complications. While she was “a bit encouraged by the emergence of the new Negro as evidenced in Montgomery,” she feared that Southern blacks were about to reap the whirlwind. “There is reason to believe that the South has hove,” she concluded, “and that after this storm has passed, the Fight for Freedom will be more easily won. In the meantime, we are convinced, unhappily, that the movement must be pressed before things get better.”

36. Fairclough, To Redeem the Soul of America, 32–55; Morris, Origins of the Civil Rights Movement, 174–178; Branch, Parting the Waters, 206–271; Garrow, Bearing the Cross, 83–125; Debbie Louis, And We Are Not Saved: A History of the Movement as People (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1970), 89–95; Laue, Direct Action and Desegregation, 71–74; Ransby, Ella Baker and the Black Freedom Movement, 170–189; Grant, Ella Baker, 102–107; Robnett, How Long? How Long? 88–89, 93–95; Anderson, Bayard Rustin, 197–219; Levine, Bayard, and the Civil Rights Movement, 91–103; Dr. Louis R. Harris, Freedom’s Sword (New York: Birch Lane Press, 1992), 201–206. See also Harris Wofford Jr. to Thurgood Marshall, January 9, 1958, box 78, MLKP. On the vulnerability of the NAACP’s Southern branches, see Ruby Hurley, “March 5, 1956—The Civil War of the 20th Century,” Annual Report of the Southeast Regional Office, December 1956, box H-213, NAACP, and Carter, A Matter of Law, 135–163. Even Hurley, perhaps the most passionate MIA supporter among NAACP officials, recognized that direct action had burdened the NAACP with unexpected and threatening implications. While she was “a bit encouraged by the emergence of the new Negro as evidenced in Montgomery,” she feared that Southern blacks were about to reap the whirlwind. “There is reason to believe that the South has hove,” she concluded, “and that after this storm has passed, the Fight for Freedom will be more easily won. In the meantime, we are convinced, unhappily, that things will be worse before they get better.”


39. Tyson, Radio Free Dixie, 214–217 (quotations); Liberation 4 (September, October 1959); Southern Patriot 18 (January 1960): 3; Strain, Pure Fire, 58–64. See also Clayborne Carson et al., eds., The Eyes on the Prize Civil Rights Reader (New York: Penguin, 1991), 110–113. On Braden, see Anne Braden, The
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41. Meier and Rudwick, CORE, 49, 77–83; Carey and Rich interviews.

42. Chafe, Civilities and Civil Rights, 98–141; Miles Wolff, Lunch at the Five and Ten: The Greensboro Sit-Ins, a Contemporary History (New York: Stein and Day, 1970); Morris, Origins of the Civil Rights Movement, 195–221; Sitkoff, Struggle for Black Equality, 61–83; Carson, In Struggle, 9–18; Meier and Rudwick, CORE, 98–106, 112; Peck, Freedom Ride, 61 (first quotation), 72–93, 117; Tracy, Direct Action, 117–118; Branch, Parting the Waters, 271–275; Farmer, Lay Bare the Heart, 191–192 (second quotation); Laut, Direct Action and Desegregation, 75–95; Fairclough, To Redeem the Soul of America, 55; Williams, Standing Fast, 267–271; Zinn, SNCC, 1–17, 20–22; Carter interview.

43. Carey interview; Meier and Rudwick, CORE, 101–102, 103 (quotation)–106; Morris, Origins of the Civil Rights Movement, 213–214.


Chapter 3: Hallelujah! I'm a-Travelin'!

1. Jerry Silverman, *Songs of Protest and Civil Rights* (New York: Chelsea House, 1992), 18–19. Composed by an anonymous “southern black farmer” in the immediate aftermath of the *Morgan v. Virginia* decision, “Hallelujah! I'm a-Travelin'” appeared in the magazine *People's Song* in September 1946. In 1961 the Freedom Riders revived the song, adding six new verses: “In 1954 our Supreme Court said, ‘Look aw-here Mr. jim crow, it’s time you were dead.’/ I’m paying my fare on the Greyhound Bus line, I’m ridin’ the front seat to Montgomery this time./ In Nashville, Tennessee, I can order a coke, And the waitress at Woolworth’s knows it’s no joke./ In old Fayette County, set off and remote, The polls are now open for Negroes to vote./ I walked in Montgomery, I sat in Tennessee, And now I’m ridin’ for equality./ I’m travelin’ to Mississippi on the Greyhound Bus line, Hallelujah, I’m ridin’ the front seat this time.” James Farmer can be heard singing several of these lines during an interview included in “Ain’t Scared of Your Jails,” episode 3 of *Eyes on the Prize I*. 


2. Farmer, *Lay Bare the Heart*, 195–196; Farmer interview, RBOHC; Raines, *My Soul Is Rested*, 109–110 (quotation); Carey and Rich interviews; Hampton and Fayer, *Voices of Freedom*, 74–75; *Baltimore Afro-American*, June 3, 10, 24, 1961; *Boynton v. Commonwealth of Virginia*, 364 U.S. 454 (1960); Barnes, *Journey from Jim Crow*, 145–151, 155–157; Branch, *Parting the Waters*, 390–391; Meier and Rudwick, *CORE*, 72, 135–136; Peck, *Freedom Ride*, 114–115; Lewis, *Walking with the Wind*, 137; McWhorter, *Carry Me Home*, 195; Olson, *Freedom’s Daughters*, 339–342. Boynton was the son of Amelia and Sam Boynton, two well-known Selma civil rights leaders who had been active in the local voting rights movement since the 1930s. See Gailard, *Cradle of Freedom*, 62–65, 222–223, 227, 379–381, 242–243, 245. On December 4, 1960, Gordon Carey discussed the implications of the *Boynton* decision in a memorandum that read: “This is a limited decision but it has wide implications. As in the past, CORE continues to urge all its members not to voluntarily accept segregation. This decision by the Supreme Court has not actually desegregated any restaurants. *The restaurants will only be desegregated when you use them.* Therefore, let it be the responsibility of every CORE member to enforce the decision of the Supreme Court. If you travel in an interracial group you should only use eating facilities in bus, train and airport terminals that are marked ‘white only’ if the terminal has any such signs. If you are Negro you should use only those facilities which are reserved for whites. If you are white you should only use those facilities which are reserved for Negroes. Only in this manner will the desegregation edict of the Supreme Court become a reality.” Gordon R. Carey to Local CORE groups, etc., December 7, 1960, box 23, MLKP. On January 21, during Farmer’s final week at the NAACP, the Savannah, Georgia, branch of the NAACP organized a series of “ride-ins” designed to challenge segregated seating practices on local buses. Although several white patrons objected to the “ride-ins”—including one man who threatened NAACP activist Carolyn Quilloin with a knife—there were no arrests. *Pittsburgh Courier*, February 4, 1961.


4. Minutes of CORE National Action Committee meeting, Lexington, Ky., February 11–12, 1961, reel 16, COREP; Tracy, *Direct Action*, 75, 118. CORE’s main policy-making body, the National Action Committee merged with the National Council to become the National Action Council in 1962. On Houser’s interest in Africa, see George Houser, *No One Can Stop the Rain: Glimpses of Africa’s Liberation Struggle* (New York: Pilgrim Press, 1989). On Rustin’s exile from the American civil rights movement in 1960–62, see D’Emilio, *Lost Prophet*, 288–325. Farmer, *Lay Bare the Heart*, 197 (first quotation); Gaither, Carey, and Worthy interviews; Thomas Gaither, reports, March and April 1961, reel 36, COREP; minutes of SNCC meeting, April 21–23, 1961, and “SNCC Launches Drive Against Travel Bias” from April 27, 1961, both in folder 2, box 7, SNCCP; *Student Voice* (April–May 1961): 44; Edward King to Chuck McDew, May 2, 1961, folder 7, box 8, SNCCP; Meier and Rudwick, *CORE*, 136 (third quotation); Peck, *Freedom Ride*, 115; Branch, *Parting the Waters*, 393, 417; *Baltimore Afro-American*, June 3, 1961 (fourth quotation). After the Freedom Riders were attacked in Montgomery, Worthy related his recent Alabama experiences in a letter to the *Afro-American*: “It could have been me, was my personal reaction to the savage beating of the ‘Freedom Riders’ in Montgomery. With shivers and shudders, my thoughts went back to January when I was traveling alone from Memphis to Tuskegee to Boston…. I promptly reported the episode to the indifferent local FBI offices and in the pages of the *AFRO*. A month and a half later, March 17, the FBI got around to interviewing me. No Federal action has resulted. Until this week, a realist would have expected none. On Feb. 1, I telephoned Arthur Schlesinger Jr., special White House assistant. On the basis of talks with colored and white integration leaders in both Birmingham and Montgomery, I warned him that the tensions there would explode at any moment. Mr. Schlesinger promised he would contact the Civil Rights Division of the Justice Department. But almost a month later when I spoke with the Civil Rights Division, there had been no call from the former professor.” See also the documents on Worthy’s Alabama experience in file RD 56, box 9, Investigative Report Case Files, ICCR; see especially Worthy’s eighteen-page statement of March 21, 1961.


6. Farmer, *Lay Bare the Heart*, 196–197; Peck, *Freedom Ride*, 115; Meier and Rudwick, *CORE*, 114–116, 136–137; Lewis, *Walking with the Wind*, 133–134. See national CORE office memoranda and correspondence for March–April 1961 in reel 25, COREP, especially the sample Freedom Ride application forms and “Freedom Ride, 1961–Participants,” April 26, 1961. See also CORE-lator, May 1961, and section 456, reel 44, COREP. Estimates of the total number of applications have varied widely. In an interview with Milton Viorst in the 1970s, Farmer “recalled receiving twenty-five or thirty applications.” At the other extreme, Simeon Booker, the *Jet* reporter who accompanied the Freedom Riders, claimed that the Riders were “selected from a field of more than three hundred throughout the country.” Farmer’s estimate is almost certainly more reliable than Booker’s. *Viorst, Fire in the*


12. Freedom Rider application, Edward Blankenheim, section 456, reel 44, COREP; “Freedom Ride, 1961–Participants”; Edward J. Blankenheim, “Freedom Ride,” unpublished memoir in author’s possession, 2001, 2 (quotation); Blankenheim interview; Ed Blankenheim, interview by Scott Simon, National Public Radio *Weekend Edition* broadcast, April 7, 2001; Cox interview; *Baltimore Afro-American*, May 20, 1961; Meier and Rudwick, CORE, 151; *San Francisco Chronicle*, October 3, 2004 (obituary); Hank Thomas, interview by author, April 5–6, 2001. According to Thomas, the affection for Blankenheim among the other Freedom Riders led to the quip “God sent us a carpenter from Arizona.” The fact that Blankenheim was a secular activist added a touch of irony to this Jesus-related reference. On McReynolds, see “Background Information on David McReynolds,” folder 8, box 23, SNCCP.


15. Freedom Rider application, Charles Person, section 456, reel 44, COREP, “Freedom Ride, 1961–Participants”; Person interview; Charleston News & Courier, May 10, 1961; Atlanta Journal-Constitution, May 10, 2001 (quotation); Thomas interview; Charles Person, remarks at “Ride to Freedom,” 40th anniversary celebration, Atlanta Convention Center, Atlanta, GA, May 11, 2001; Washington Post, May 5, 1961; Baltimore Afro-American, May 20, 1961; Birmingham News, May 18, 1961; Zinn, SNCC, 43; Branch, Parting the Waters, 419. The official color bar at Georgia Tech ended in May 1961 when the university offered admission to three black students. Pittsburgh Courier, May 20, 1961. Farmer, Lay Bare the Heart, 197, Lewis, Walking with the Wind, 137, and Branch, Parting the Waters, 412, omit Person from the list of original Freedom Riders. Because of this oversight, Hank Thomas and John Lewis are often mistakenly described as the youngest participants in the original Ride.


19. Lewis, Walking with the Wind, 138 (first quotation); Farmer, Lay Bare the Heart, 197–198 (second and third quotations); Rich, Blankenheim, and Cox interviews.

20. Farmer, Lay Bare the Heart, 198 (first quotation); Carey and Cox (second quotation) interviews; Lewis, Walking with the Wind, 138; Rainses, My Soul Is Rested, 110–111; Viorst, Fire in the Streets, 141–142; McDonald interview, RBOHC; Thomas and Moody interview.

21. Lewis, Walking with the Wind, 139–140 (first quotation); Farmer, Lay Bare the Heart, 198–199 (second quotation); Blankenheim, Carey, Cox (Wilkins quotation); Dietrich, Lewis, and Rich interviews; Rainses, My Soul Is Rested, 111 (fourth quotation); Carmichael, Ready for Revolution, 182. On Chennault, see Martha Byrd, Chennault: Giving Wings to the Tiger (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1987); and Daniel Ford, Flying Tigers: Claire Chennault and the American Volunteer Group (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1991). The celebration of the fortieth anniversary of the Freedom Rides opened on May 10, 2001, with a commemorative Chinese buffet dinner at the Washington Court Hotel, a few blocks from the site of the “Last Supper” of 1961.

22. Washington Evening Star, May 4, 1961; Washington Post, May 5, 1961; Farmer, Lay Bare the Heart, 199; Rainses, My Soul Is Rested, 110; Lewis, Walking with the Wind, 139–140; Viorst, Fire in the Streets, 142–143; Halberstam, The Children, 250–251; Branch, Parting the Waters, 412–413 (quotation); Wofford, Of Kennedys and Kings, 151; Schlesinger, Robert Kennedy and His Times, 295; Reeves, President Kennedy, 123–124; Gordon R. Carey to Paul Bennett (Chair, Washington CORE), March 16, 1961, and Frances and Walter Bergman to CORE friends (hereinafter cited as Bergman letter), May 9, 1961, both in reel 25, COREP; Gordon R. Carey to Edward Blankenheim, April 25, 1961, reel 44, COREP; James Farmer, interview by John F. Stewart, March 10, 1967, JFKL; John Seigenthaler, interview by Ronald J. Grele, February 21–23, 1966, JFKL; John Seigenthaler, interview by author, February 13, 2004; Burke Marshall, interview by Robert Wright, February 27, 1970, RBOHC; Theodore Gaffney, interview by author, October 12, 2004 (first and second quotations); Moses Newsom, interview by author, March 2, 2002; Walter Fauntroy, interview by author, June 5, 2004;

23. Peck, *Freedom Ride*, 116; Jim Peck, “Freedom Ride,” CORE-lator (May 1961): 2; Raines, *My Soul Is Rested*, 111; Lewis, *Walking with the Wind*, 140; Lewis and Person interviews; Farmer, *Lay Bare the Heart*, 199; Branch, *Parting the Waters*, 413; McDonald interview, RBOHC. Halberstam, *The Children*, 235, mistakenly claims that the Riders stopped in Charlottesville, Virginia, and that Person was arrested there for trying to desegregate a shoe shine stand. The Freedom Ride did not pass through Charlottesville, but an incident similar to the one described by Halberstam did occur several days later in Charlotte, North Carolina. On Fredericksburg, see Ronald E. Shibley, “Fredericksburg, Va.,” in Roller and Twyman, *The Encyclopedia of Southern History*, 488; and Federal Writers’ Project, *Virginia*, 216–226. Most of the Riders, especially those from the South, did not find the Jim Crow signs in Fredericksburg shocking, but at least two—Frances and Walter Bergman—were shaken by this blatant declaration of *de jure* segregation. “We were jolted out of our dream of a peaceful and beautiful world,” they recalled several days later, “to find that even this close to the capital restrooms were labeled . . . *White Men, Colored Men, etc.*” Bergman letter.


30. Peck, Freedom Ride, 118; Peck, “Freedom Ride,” 2; Twyman and Roller, Encyclopedia of Southern History, 1075–1076; Federal Writers’ Project, North Carolina, 376–378; Cox interview. The local newspaper, the Salisbury Evening Post, ran Associated Press stories on the Freedom Ride on May 9, 10, and 11, but made no mention of the stop in Salisbury.


35. Sunner Daily Item, May 10–12, 1961; Baltimore Afro-American, May 20, 27, 1961; Cox, Blankenheim, and Newson interviews; Mac Frances Moultrie Howard, interview by author, April 28, 2005; James


40. Gordon Carey to Martin Luther King Jr., March 31, 1961; Gordon Carey to Dora E. McDonald (King’s secretary), April 18, 1961; Gordon Carey to Martin Luther King Jr., telegram, May 8, 1961, all in box 52A, MLKP, Atlanta Constitution, May 13–15, 1961; Farmer, Lay Bare the Heart, 200 (first quotation); Branch, Parting the Waters, 416–417 (second quotation); Raines, My Soul Is Rested, 111–112; Walker interview, RBOHC; Peck, Freedom Ride, 123–124; Garrow, Bearing the Cross, 155–156; Blankenheim, “Freedom Ride,” 5; Fairclough, To Redeem the Soul of America, 77; Halberstam, The Children, 258–259; Lewis, Walking with the Wind, 144; Still, “A Bus Ride Through Mississippi,” 23; Blankenheim, Carey, Newsom, Person, Thomas, and Wyatt Tee Walker interviews.
41. Farmer, *Lay Bare the Heart*, 200–201 (quotations); Blankenheim, Newson, Person, and Thomas interviews.


**Chapter 4: Alabama Bound**

1. In 1964 Chuck Berry, one of America’s most popular black rock ’n’ roll stars, released “Promised Land,” a song with lyrics that recalled the 1961 CORE Freedom Ride. In Berry’s version, the trip to the “Promised Land” begins in Norfolk, Virginia, and ends in Los Angeles, California. While the song does not mention the Freedom Rides by name, the third stanza (the epigraph) provides a direct link to the Freedom Riders’ troubles in Alabama. As the historian Brian Ward has written, “It is hard to imagine that Berry’s black audience did not hear echoes of these incidents [the assaults on Freedom Riders in Anniston and Birmingham, Alabama]” in this stanza. The song also begins with two stanzas that describe a route roughly similar to the CORE Freedom Ride: “I left my home in Norfolk, Virginia,/ My soul is rested in Carolina,/ On across Caroline./ Stopped in Charlotte and bypassed Rock Hill,/ And we never was a minute late./ We was ninety miles out of Atlanta by sundown,/ Rollin’ cross the Georgia state.” Brian Ward, *Chuck Berry: The Autobiography* (New York: Hammond Books, 1987), 216–217.

2. Farmer, *Lay Bare the Heart*, 201; Peck, *Freedom Ride*, 124; Shuttleworth, Blankenheim, and Carey interviews; McWhorter, *Carry Me Home*, 202; Manis, *A Fire You Can’t Put Out*, 262–263; Branch, *Parting the Waters*, 417, 420; Meier and Rudwick, CORE, 137. According to Powledge, *Free at Last?*, 255: “Everybody was in good spirits except the highly conspicuous photographer from the Georgia Bureau of Investigation who always showed up on such occasions, trying unsuccessfully to assume the protective coloration of the press.”


 Hughes, “Freedom Ride Report,” 1 (quotation); Peck, *Freedom Ride*, 125; Sprayberry, “‘Town Among the Trees,’” 229–232; Thornton, *Dividing Lines*, 246; *Anniston Star*, May 15, 1961. See also folder 111.3.1.6.1, FBI-FRI.


 *The Informant*, 235–236; Blankenheim interview.


 Hughes, “Freedom Ride Report,” 2; Blankenheim and Newson interviews.


 Booker and Gaffney, “Eyewitness Report,” 16 (quotations); Booker, “Alabama Mob Ambush Bus,” 13–14; *Nashville Tennessean*, May 15, 1961; Booker, *Black Man’s America*, 2–3; Kaufman, *The First Freedom Ride*, 154–155; Peck, *Freedom Ride*, 126; James Peck, Herman K. Harris, Isaac Reynolds, Charles A. Person, and Dr. Walter Bergman, interviews by FBI, May 18, 1961, FBI-FRI; Frances Bergman, interview by FBI, May 17, 1961, FBI-FRI; Branch, *Parting the Waters*, 419; May, *The Informant*, 31–33; Thornton, *Dividing Lines*, 247; McWhorter, *Carry Me Home*, 204. For a time, no one appreciated the severity of Bergman’s injuries, but ten days after the attack, he suffered a stroke. Four months later, after entering the hospital for an appendectomy, he suffered a heart attack. At that point doctors discovered that he had incurred serious brain damage during the May beating. Confined to a wheelchair for the remainder of his life, he nonetheless lived to the age of one hundred. He died on September 29, 1999. In 1982, with the help of the Michigan affiliate of the ACLU, he filed a successful lawsuit against the FBI, which, according to Federal District Judge Richard A. Enslen, had advance information that could have prevented Bergman’s beating. Although Bergman’s lawyers asked for $2 million in damages, Judge Enslen restricted the award to $35,000, ruling that the appendectomy was, in all likelihood, partially responsible for Bergman’s crippled condition. New


20. Kaufman, The First Freedom Ride, 146–203 (Appendix C); O’Reilly, “Racial Matters,” 79–89; McWhorter, Carry Me Home, 190–194, 198, 201–205. Rowe, My Undercover Years with the Ku Klux Klan, 38–50; May, The Informant, 29–31. For the details of FBI operations related to the Freedom Rides, see the voluminous correspondence in FBI-FRI.

21. Kaufman, The First Freedom Ride, 153–170; O’Reilly, “Racial Matters,” 84–88; Thornton, Dividing Lines, 247; Branch, Parting the Waters, 420–421; Rowe, My Undercover Years with the Ku Klux Klan, 42 (quotation), 40–42. In his memoir Rowe claims that “nearly 1,000” men were running and walking toward the station, but all other accounts suggest that this number represents a gross exaggeration. The actual number was probably between one hundred and two hundred. Among others, William A. Nunnelley, a young reporter at the Birmingham Post-Herald in 1961 who later wrote a biography of Bull Connor, has questioned the overall reliability of Rowe’s account. See Nunnelley, Bull Connor, 106–109.


24. Peck interview, FBI-FRI (first quotation); Peck, Freedom Ride, 127–128 (second quotation); May, The Informant, 36; Branch, Parting the Waters, 421; McWhorter, Carry Me Home, 206; Person interview.


27. Reynolds and Mary Spicer interviews, FBI-FRI; George E. Webb, interview by FBI, May 25, 1961, and John W. Bloomer, interview by FBI, May 19, 1961, both in FBI-FRI; Rowe, My Undercover Years with the Ku Klux Klan, 43 (quotation). In Rowe’s memoir, Self is identified with the pseudonym Abe Turner. Gary Thomas Rowe folders, box 9, Birmingham Police Surveillance Files, BPL; May, The Informant, 36–41; McWhorter, Carry Me Home, 207, 614; Smith, Events Leading Up to My Death, 271. According to one deposition given by Rowe, Self yelled: “Your fifteen minutes is up. All goddamn hell is going to break loose. Get these guys out of here. The police are coming.” On Self’s role in the Freedom Ride, see the voluminous correspondence in FBI-FRI.

Freedom Riders folders, box 5, and Gary Thomas Rowe folders, box 9, Birmingham Police Surveillance Files, BPL; Brian Ward, Radio and the Struggle for Civil Rights in the South (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2004), 201; Peck, Freedom Ride, 128; Booker and Gaffney, “Eyewitness Report,” 18; Booker, Black Man’s America, 5; Branch, Parting the Waters, 422; McWhorter, Carry Me Home, 207–208; Thornton, Dividing Lines, 248–249; Eskew, But for Birmingham, 157.

Peck, Freedom Ride, 128–129; Birmingham Post-Herald, May 15, 1961; Rowe, My Undercover Years with the Ku Klux Klan, 43–44; Peck and Walter Bergman interviews, FBI-FRI; Thornton, Dividing Lines, 248; McWhorter, Carry Me Home, 207; May, The Informant, 37; Smith, Events Leading Up to My Death, 271–272 (quotations); McWhorter, Carry Me Home, 183–187, 207–209 (last quotation); Reynolds interview, FBI-FRI.

Smith, Events Leading Up to My Death, 272; McWhorter, Carry Me Home, 209 (first quotation); Peck, Freedom Ride, 128–129; Manis, A Fire You Can’t Put Out, 264, 266 (quotations); Gaffney, Howard, Person, and Shuttlesworth interviews; Shuttlesworth interview, RBOHC; Branch, Parting the Waters, 422.


Peck, Freedom Ride, 129–130; Shuttlesworth interview, Shuttlesworth interview, RBOHC; Police Report, J. E. LeGrand and M. A. Jones to Jamie Moore, May 16, 1961, folder 24, box 9, BCP, Manis, A Fire You Can’t Put Out, 267 (quotation); Booker and Gaffney, “Eyewitness Report,” 20, notes that “some Negro families hesitated to board the white members because of the increasing tension—and the Rev. Mr. Shuttlesworth kept four in his own home.” Two of the white Riders spent the night at the home of Lola Hendricks, Shuttlesworth’s secretary. Years later, she told the journalist Frye Gaillard: “They were white. I never did get their names. They were upset, terrified. They had no idea what was going to happen to them.” Gaillard, Cradle of Freedom, 84.

Branch, Parting the Waters, 423; Cook, The Segregationists, 132 (quotation); Seigenthaler interview. Booker’s account in Black Man’s America, 5, does not mention the call to the Justice Department, but it does mention two other calls: “Once at the minister’s house, I called the New York office of CORE and my home in Washington.”


Wofford, Of Kennedys and Kings, 152; O’Reilly, “Racial Matters”, 49–123; Kaufman, The First Freedom Ride, 159–202; Navasky, Kennedy Justice, 6–14, 23–29, 41–43, 96–101, 106–108; Reeves, President Kennedy, 127; Schlesinger, Robert Kennedy and His Times, 291–293; Thomas, Robert Kennedy, 109, 115–119; Guthman, We Band of Brothers, 104, 167; Branch, Parting the Waters, 413; Seigenthaler and Hersh interviews. Despite bureau denials, Rowe insisted that FBI agents were present at the Trailways station during the riot, and that some even captured what happened on movie film. McWhorter, Carry Me Home, 213–215.


New York Times, May 15, 1961; Washington Post, May 15, 1961; Farmer, Lay Bare the Heart, 203 (quotation); Peck, Freedom Ride, 133–135; Branch, Parting the Waters, 418, 425. Part of Schakne’s report can be seen in the documentary “Ain’t Scared of Your Jails.”
41. Carey, Cox, and Rich interviews; Raines, My Soul Is Rested, 112; Farmer, Lay Bare the Heart, 201; Nashville Tennessean, May 16, 1961. In his memoir Farmer makes no specific mention of a formal order or decision to cancel the remainder of the Freedom Ride; nor does he reveal when or how the decision, official or unofficial, was made. John Lewis (Walking with the Wind, 147) recalls that he and his SNCC colleagues in Nashville received word of Farmer’s decision on Monday morning, May 15. All other sources, however, suggest that the decision was made later in the day, after the Freedom Riders arrived at the Birmingham Greyhound terminal and were stymied in their efforts to board a bus to Montgomery. According to Ed Blankenheim, the decision to end the Ride came during an emergency meeting held at the Birmingham airport on Monday evening. Blankenheim interview.

42. Peck, Freedom Ride, 130 (quotation); Blankenheim, Carey, Cox, Gaffney, Howard, Newson, and Shuttlesworth interviews; Baltimore Afro-American, May 27, 1961; Booker and Gaffney, “Eyewitness Report,” 13; Perkins, “My 291 Days with CORE,” 15. Suffering from smoke inhalation, Moultrie flew to Columbia, South Carolina, on May 15, and then went on to Sumter, where she spent several days in a small private clinic. During the summer of 1961 she returned home to Dillon but soon moved on to Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, where she found work as a nurse’s aide at a Methodist hospital. In the fall of 1961 she joined the Philadelphia chapter of CORE and spoke to a radio audience and a local church congregation on her Freedom Rider experiences, but her active involvement with the Freedom Rides ended in Birmingham. She did not return to Morris College but did receive an education degree from Cheyney State University in Pennsylvania. She later earned a master’s degree in education at Temple University and taught special education in the public schools of Wilmington, Delaware, for twenty-five years, retiring in 1990. Howard interview.

43. Birmingham Post-Herald, May 15, 1961 (quotation); Shuttlesworth and Blankenheim interviews; McWhorter, Carry Me Home, 213–215; Branch, Parting the Waters, 425. For an extended analysis of the rapidly evolving political climate in Birmingham in the early 1960s, see Eskew, But for Birmingham, 153–192; Thornton, Dividing Lines, 231–370, and McWhorter, Carry Me Home, 149–300. 

44. Booker, Blankenheim, Gaffney, “Eyewitness Report,” 20 (first quotation); Seigenthaler and Shuttlesworth interviews; Seigenthaler and Shuttlesworth interviews, RBOHC; Police Intelligence Report, May 16, 1961, box 9, BCP; Manis, A Fire You Can’t Put Out, 268; Branch, Parting the Waters, 426 (second quotation).

45. John Patterson, interview by John Stewart, May 26, 1967, JFKL; Seigenthaler interview; Nashville Tennessean, May 16, 1961; Branch, Parting the Waters, 426; McWhorter, Carry Me Home, 216; Raines, My Soul Is Rested, 114, 304–311; Wofford, Of Kennedys and Kings, 152–155; Reeves, President Kennedy, 124; Schlesinger, Robert Kennedy and His Times, 296. See also the documentary “Ain’t Scared of Your Jails.”

46. Shuttlesworth interview, RBOHC; Shuttlesworth, Carey, and Blankenheim interviews; Montgomery Advertiser, May 16, 1961 (quotation); Peck, Freedom Ride, 130; Booker, Black Man’s America, 200; Booker and Gaffney, “Eyewitness Report,” 20; Manis, A Fire You Can’t Put Out, 268; Branch, Parting the Waters, 427.


48. Manis, A Fire You Can’t Put Out, 269 (quotation); Shuttlesworth interview; Shuttlesworth interview, RBOHC; Booker and Gaffney, “Eyewitness Report,” 20; Police Intelligence Report, May 16, 1961, BCP; “Kennedy’s Call to B’ham” transcript, May 15, 1961, General Correspondence, box 10, RFKP; McWhorter, Carry Me Home, 216.

49. “Kennedy’s Call to B’ham” (quotations); Schlesinger, Robert Kennedy and His Times, 296; James Farmer and James Patterson statements, documentary “Ain’t Scared of Your Jails”; W. E. Jones to A. H. Walter, May 15, 22, 1961, file RD 195, box 20, Investigative Report Case Files, ICCR; Branch, Parting the Waters, 426; Manis, A Fire You Can’t Put Out, 269; McWhorter, Carry Me Home, 216.


51. Peck, Freedom Ride, 131; Peck, “Freedom Ride,” 1–4; Booker and Gaffney, “Eyewitness Report,” 20; Blankenheim, “Freedom Ride,” 10–11; Blankenheim, Carey, Cox, Gaffney, Newsom, and Shuttlesworth interviews; Reeves, President Kennedy, 124; Manis, A Fire You Can’t Put Out, 270; Branch, Parting the Waters, 428; Peck, Freedom Ride, 131 (quotation); McWhorter, Carry Me Home, 217.

52. Booker and Gaffney, “Eyewitness Report,” 20; Booker, Black Man’s America, 201; Blankenheim, “Freedom Ride,” 11–12; Blankenheim, Carey, Cox, Gaffney, Newsom, and Shuttlesworth interviews; Reeves, President Kennedy, 124; Manis, A Fire You Can’t Put Out, 270; Branch, Parting the Waters, 428; Peck, Freedom Ride, 131 (quotation); McWhorter, Carry Me Home, 217.

53. Seigenthaler interview; Seigenthaler interviews, JFKL; Seigenthaler interview, RBOHC; Reeves, President Kennedy, 124 (quotations); Branch, Parting the Waters, 428.
Chapter 5: Get on Board, Little Children


10. Blankenheim and Barrett interviews; Seigenthaler interview, RBOHC; Branch, *Parting the Waters*, 429–430 (first quotation); Halberstam, *The Children*, 274–277, 286 (second quotation), 287; Lewis, *Walking with the Wind*, 149; Lafayette and Zwerg interviews; Olson, *Freedom’s Daughters*, 185; Gaillard, *Cruelty of Freedom*, 86–87, 90. Born a few days apart in 1927, Barrett and Seigenthaler were fellow Roman Catholics and high school classmates at a Nashville parochial school.


12. Branch, Parting the Waters, 430 (quotations); Olson, Freedom’s Daughters, 184–185; Halberstam, The Children, 283. Shuttlesworth interview; Shuttlesworth interviews, RBOHC; Eskew, But for Birmingham, 161; Manis, A Fire You Can’t Put Out, 271; McWhorter, Carry Me Home, 220, claims that Nash first called Shuttlesworth on Monday night. Shuttlesworth, while unable to recall the exact number and timing of the calls from Nash, remembers the directness of her manner, noting: “She was as calculating as a butcher cutting meat.” Shuttlesworth interview.


17. Louis Oberdorfer, interview by Roberta Greene, February 5, 12, 1970, JFKL; McWhorter, Carry Me Home, 221–222 (quotation); Guthman, We Band of Brothers, 168–169.


19. Birmingham News, May 18, 1961 (first and third quotations), May 19, 1961; Montgomery Advertiser, May 19, 1961; McWhorter, Carry Me Home, 221, 225 (second quotation), 227; Manis, A Fire You
Notes to Pages 197–206

Can’t Put Out, 272–273; Fairclough, To Redeem the Soul of America, 78–79; Shuttlesworth interview. On Wednesday, May 17, the NCLC executive board voted to send Rollins to Birmingham as an official observer. NCLC minutes, May 17 and 20, 1961, folder 24, box 75, KMSP. On Arthur Shores, see Raines, My Soul Is Rested, 348–351; and Eskew, But for Birmingham, 61–62, 324. On Joseph Lowery, see Raines, My Soul Is Rested, 66–70. Originally involved with CORE as a field secretary in Norfolk, Len Holt went on to handle several important civil rights cases in Danville, Virginia, and in Mississippi during the mid-1960s. See Zinn, SNCC, 34, 180; Meier and Rudwick, CORE, 120; and Len Holt, The Senator That Didn’t End (London: Heineken, 1966).


Marshall interview, JFKL; Patterson interview, JFKL; Robert F. Kennedy and Burke Marshall, interview by Anthony Lewis, December 4, 1964, JFKL; Montgomery Advertiser, May 20, 1961; Baltimore Afro-American, May 27, 1961; Guthman, We Band of Brothers, 170; Branch, Parting the Waters, 441; Gaillard, Crucible of Freedom, 96; Niven, The Politics of Justice, 70; Reeves, President Kennedy, 128; Navasky, Kennedy Justice, 21; Dallek, An Unfinished Life, 385.

Seigenthaler interview; Seigenthaler interview, RBOHC; Patterson interview, JFKL; Marshall interview, JFKL; Halberstam, The Children, 299–304; Gaillard, Crucible of Freedom, 96–97; Niven, The Politics of Justice, 71–73; Branch, Parting the Waters, 441–442; Schlesinger, Robert Kennedy and His Times, 296; On Mann, see Powledge, Free at Last? 263, 267–271. Formerly Southeast Greyhound, Greenslit’s division took the name of Southern Greyhound on January 1, 1961. File RD 34, box 6, Investigative Report Case Files, ICCCR.

Montgomery Advertiser, June 2–5, 12, 1956, May 20, 1961; Nashville Tennessean, May 20, 1961; Baltimore Afro-American, May 27, 1961; Branch, Parting the Waters, 442–443; Powledge, Free at Last? 259. As state attorney general in 1956, Patterson asked Judge Jones to grant a temporary injunction outlawing the NAACP in Alabama. Jones complied, initiating years of legal wrangling over the state organization’s right to exist. The temporary injunction remained in effect until December 1961, when Jones substituted a permanent injunction. The permanent injunction was finally vacated in October 1964. Thornton, Dividing Lines, 91, 120, 197, 608 n108; Carter, A Matter of Law, 149–155; Gaillard, Crucible of Freedom, 126.
Chapter 6: If You Miss Me from the Back of the Bus

1. Silverman, Songs of Protest and Civil Rights, 10–11. The second stanza of this popular freedom song was a slight but significant variation of the first: "If you miss me from the front of the bus, and you can't find me nowhere, come on up to the driver's seat, I'll be drivin' up there. I'll be drivin' up there, come on up to the driver's seat, I'll be drivin' up there."


Seigenthaler interview; Seigenthaler interview, RBOHC; Seigenthaler interviews, JFKL; Patterson interview, JFKL; Life 50 (May 26, 1961): 24–25; Hallerstam, The Children, 320–321; Thornton, Dividing Lines, 121; Guthman, We Band of Brothers, 171; Branch, Parting the Waters, 449; Barnard, Outside the Magic Circle, 298 (third quotation); Powledge, Free at Last? 263, 267 (fourth quotation); Hampton and Fayer, Voices of Freedom, 90.

12. Seigenthaler interview; Seigenthaler interview, RBOHC (quotations); Seigenthaler interview, JFKL; Kennedy interview, JFKL; Marshall interview, JKL; Patterson interview, JFKL; New York Times, May 21, 1961; Montgomery Advertiser, May 21, 1961; Birmingham News, May 21, 1961; Nashville Tennessean, May 22, 1961; Guthman, We Band of Brothers, 172; Branch, Parting the Waters, 451; Niven, The Politics of Injustice, 81–82; Hallerstam, The Children, 312; McWhorter, Carry Me Home, 231; Schlesinger, Robert Kennedy and His Times, 297; Thomas, Robert Kennedy, 129–130; Hilty, Robert Kennedy, 323. On Seigenthaler's displeasure with the FBI agents who stood by and watched as he was being beaten, see O'Reilly, "Racial Matters," 90–92. Two of Seigenthaler's Nashville friends, George Barrett and the Reverend Will Campbell, visited him in his hospital room on Sunday afternoon. They flew to Montgomery on a private plane and returned to Nashville before dawn, unaware of the developing situation at the First Baptist Church. Barrett interview. On Mann's moderate views on civil rights and the Freedom Riders, see Powledge, Free at Last? 269–271.


14. Memorandum, summary of telephone conversation between Attorney General Robert Kennedy and Governor John Patterson, May 20, 1961, 7:30 p.m., box 10, RFKP (quotations); Marshall interview, JFKL; Patterson interview, JFKL; Raines, My Soul Is Rested, 309–311; Schlesinger, Robert Kennedy and His Times, 298; Brauer, John F. Kennedy and the Second Reconstruction, 102. See also Powledge, Free at Last? 266–271.

15. New York Times, May 21, 1961 (quotations); Birmingham News, May 21, 1961; Montgomery Advertiser, May 21, 1961; Patterson interview, JFKL; Manis, A Fire You Can't Put Out, 275. See also John Patterson interview, May 21, 1961, box 10, RFKP.


18. Farmer, Lay Bare the Heart, 204 (quotation); Carey, Rich, and Wyatt Tee Walker interviews; Wyatt Tee Walker interview, RBOHC; Branch, Parting the Waters, 452; Lewis, Walking with the Wind, 166; Hallerstam, The Children, 327.


20. Marshall interview, JFKL; Doar interview; Nashville Tennessean, May 22, 1961; Hilty, Robert Kennedy, 323; Branch, Parting the Waters, 452; Bass, Taming the Storm, 179; Kennedy, Judge Frank M. Johnson, Jr., 15. Doar wrote the introduction to Kennedy's biography of Johnson.


22. Lewis, Walking with the Wind, 161–162; Nash, Lafayette, Harbour, Shuttlesworth, and Wyatt Tee Walker interviews; Patterson interview, JFKL; Collins interview, Southern Exposure, 38; Branch, Parting the Waters, 453–454. Both Barbee and Zwerg remained in the hospital for five days before returning to Nashville. At the request of Zwerg's parents, a minister and family friend flew to Montgomery to convince him to abandon his movement activities and return to Wisconsin. Despite heavy pressure and the knowledge that his father had suffered a mild heart attack in the aftermath of the Montgomery riot and that his mother was on the verge of a nervous breakdown, Zwerg returned to Fisk to take his final exams and planned to remain in Nashville as a movement volunteer during the summer.
However, his injuries—which included a concussion, three broken ribs, and lower vertebral damage—proved to be more serious than he or the doctors in Montgomery realized, and he returned home to Appleton, Wisconsin, in early June. Despite his parents' misgivings, Zwerg was hailed as a local hero in Appleton, and the Beloit College faculty passed a resolution praising him as a "courageous witness in defense of Christian principles and basic human liberties." After his graduation from Beloit, Zwerg became a minister in the United Church of Christ. He left the ministry in 1975. Zwerg interview; Mary R. Zwerg to Robert F. Kennedy, May 20, 1961; box 10, RFKP; Jet (June 8, 1961) 51; NCLC Minutes, July 15, 1961, folder 24, box 5, KMSIP; Blake, Children of the Movement, 25–36; Dwight Lewis, "Rides Marked a Milestone in History of Hate," Nashville Tennessean, May 13, 2001, 21A. Barbree remained active in the Nashville Movement but never fully recovered from the head injuries he sustained during the Montgomery beating. In the spring of 1964 he participated in sit-ins at Morrison's Cafeteria in Nashville that provoked violent resistance from local white supremacists. Following the Morrison's sit-ins, he was arrested along with Fred Leonard, Lester McKinnie, and others. Nashville Tennessean, February 13, 2004. Harbour, Lafayette, and Lewis interviews.

23. "The South and the Freedom Riders: Crisis in Civil Rights," Time 77 (June 2, 1961): 14 (quotations); Montgomery Advertiser, May 22, 1961; Lewis, Walking with the Wind, 162; Branch, Parting the Waters, 454–456; Viorst, Fire in the Streets, 154; Powellde, Free at Last? 265, 267, 269–270; Reeves, President Kennedy, 129–130; Patterson interview, JFKL; Orrick interview, JFKL.


25. Branch, Parting the Waters, 455, 457 (first quotation); 458; Viorst, Fire in the Streets, 154–155 (second quotation); Shuttlesworth and Lafayette interviews; Manis, A Fire You Can't Put Out, 276–277; Lewis, Walking with the Wind, 162–163; Farmer, Lay Bare the Heart, 204–205; Raines, My Soul Is Rested, 122–123; Hampton and Fayer, Voices of Freedom, 91; McWhorter, Carry Me Home, 232–233; Fairclough, To Redeem the Soul of America, 79.

26. Barnard, Outside the Magic Circle, 299–301 (first quotation). The original owner of the Buick was Aubrey Williams, the former director of the National Youth Administration and a close friend of the Durr's. Branch, Parting the Waters, 458 (second quotation); 459; New York Times, May 22, 1961; Pittsburgh Courier, May 27, June 3, 1961; Montgomery Advertiser, May 22, 1961; Birmingham Post-Herald, May 22, 1961; Marshall interview, JFKL; Oberdorfer interview, JFKL; Guthman, We Band of Brothers, 173; McWhorter, Carry Me Home, 233; Manis, A Fire You Can't Put Out, 277–278; Garrow, Bearing the Cross, 158; Reeves, President Kennedy, 130; Thomas, Robert Kennedy, 130; Niven, The Politics of Injustice, 92–93.


28. Farmer, Lay Bare the Heart, 205 (first quotation); Branch, Parting the Waters, 459–460 (second and third quotations); Lewis, Walking with the Wind, 163; Marshall interview, JFKL; Kennedy and Marshall interview, JFKL; Schlesinger, Robert Kennedy and His Times, 297–298; Hilty, Robert Kennedy, 324–325; Thomas, Robert Kennedy, 130–131; Garrow, Bearing the Cross, 158; Olson, Freedom's Daughters, 188; Manis, A Fire You Can't Put Out, 278; Niven, The Politics of Injustice, 87; Telephone Log, May 15–25, 1961, box 10, RFKP. See also Fred Shuttlesworth's response to the suggested "cooling off" in Shuttlesworth, "Cool Off? . . . For What? The Mob Must Not Win," Pittsburgh Courier, June 3, 1961, 2.

29. Farmer, Lay Bare the Heart, 295–206 (quotations); Olson, Freedom's Daughters, 188–189; McWhorter, Carry Me Home, 233; Halberstam, The Children, 327–328; Lafayette, Nash, and Wyatt Tee Walker interviews.

30. Lewis, Walking with the Wind, 163 (quotation); New York Times, May 22, 1961; Montgomery Advertiser, May 22, 1961; Shuttlesworth and Lafayette interviews; Collins interview, Southern Exposure, 38; Branch, Parting the Waters, 460–461; Farmer, Lay Bare the Heart, 206; Niven, The Politics of Injustice, 88–90; Fleming, Soon We Will Not Cry, 84; Hampton and Fayer, Voices of Freedom, 92. "Asking for Trouble—and Getting It: The Ride for Rights," Life 50 (June 2, 1961): 48–49, includes several revealing photographs of the scene in the sanctuary. See also the newsreel footage used in "Ain't Scared of Your Jails."

31. Birmingham Post-Herald, May 22, 1961 (first quotation); typescript, Robert Kennedy statement called to UPI, May 21, 1961, box 10, RFKP; Robert F. Kennedy interviews, 1964–1967; JFKL; Marshall interview, JFKL; Doar interview; Branch, Parting the Waters, 461; Schlesinger, Robert Kennedy and His Times, 298; Reeves, President Kennedy, 130; Hilty, Robert Kennedy, 325; Powellde, Free at Last? 265, 269 (second quotation); Birmingham News, May 22, 1961; Christian Science Monitor, May 22, 1961.

32. Lafayette and Shuttlesworth interviews; Marshall interview, JFKL; Orrick interview, JFKL; Montgomery Advertiser, May 22, 1961; Birmingham News, May 22, 1961; Walker interview, RBHOC; Manis, A Fire You Can't Put Out, 278 (first quotation); Powellde, Free at Last? 269; Fairclough, To Redeem the Soul of America, 79–80; New York Times, May 22, 1961 (second quotation); Branch, Parting the Waters, 461–462; Halberstam, The Children, 329–330; Raines, My Soul Is Rested, 309–310; Viorst, Fire in the Streets, 155; Reeves, President Kennedy, 130; Thomas, Robert Kennedy, 131; Hilty, Robert Kennedy, 325.
33. A draft of the prepared text of King’s May 21, 1961, speech is on file in the KPA. Nash, “Inside the Sit-Ins and Freedom Rides,” 55 (first quotation); Garrow, Bearing the Cross, 157 (first and third King quotations), 158; Wofford, Of Kennedys and Kings, 154 (second King quotation); Birmingham News, May 22, 1961 (first King quotation); New York Times, May 22, 1961; Montgomery Advertiser, May 22, 1961; Pittsburgh Courier, May 27, June 3, 1961; Lafayette, Shuttlesworth, Harbour, Moody, and Lewis interviews; Lewis, Walking with the Wind, 164; Branch, Parting the Waters, 462–463; McWhorter, Carry Me Home, 234; Manis, A Fire You Can’t Put Out, 278, documentary “Ain’t Scared of Your Jails” (Shuttlesworth quotation); Farmer, Lay Bare the Heart, 206 (Farmer quotation); Collins interview, Southern Exposure, 38.


35. Telephone Log, May 15–25, 1961, box 10, RFKP; Patterson interview, JFKL (first quotation); Marshall interview, JFKL; Guthman, We Band of Brothers, 178 (second and fourth quotations); Raines, My Soul Is Rested, 309 (third quotation); Schlesinger, Robert Kennedy and His Times, 297–298; Hilty, Robert Kennedy, 326.

36. Zinn, SNCC, 50 (first quotation); Barnard, Outside the Magic Circle, 301 (second quotation); Orrick interview, JFKL (Orrick and Graham quotations); Montgomery Advertiser, May 22, 1961; Pittsburgh Courier, June 3, 1961; Branch, Parting the Waters, 464–465; Lewis, Walking with the Wind, 164–165; Schlesinger, Robert Kennedy and His Times, 298–299; Guthman, We Band of Brothers, 175; Halberstam, The Children, 330; McWhorter, Carry Me Home, 235; Viorst, Fire in the Streets, 155; Garrow, Bearing the Cross, 158; Farmer, Lay Bare the Heart, 206; Lafayette, Lewis, and Shuttlesworth interviews. Manis, A Fire You Can’t Put Out, 279, notes Shuttlesworth’s wry comment to an ACHMR mass meeting on Monday evening, May 22: “When I left church this morning, Pat’s marshals carried me home.” During the evacuation of the church on Monday morning, SNCC leader Ed King told Baltimore Afro-American reporter Samuel Hoskins: “It was a church meeting, but it appeared to me as if we were in a war.” Baltimore Afro-American, June 3, 1961. See also Edward B. King Jr. to Maurice C. Clifford, May 26, 1961, folder 7, box 8, SNCCP.


Powell, a black medical student at Nashville's Meharry College of Medicine, made a special trip to Atlanta to convince King to become a Freedom Rider. Based on an interview with Powell, Halberstam's account does not give the exact date of the trip to Atlanta but suggests that it took place over dinner at King's home on Sunday, "a few days" before the May 22 meeting at Harris's house. The only possible date for the trip is May 20, the day of the Montgomery bus station riot, but Nash recalls no such trip on that day. However, she does recall phone conversations earlier in the week during which she broached the idea of King becoming a Freedom Rider. Nash interview.


43. Marshall interview, JFKL (first quotation); Niven, Politics of Injustice, 102–103; Jackson Clarion-Ledger, May 24, 1961; Montgomery Advertiser, May 24, 1961 (Patterson quotation).

44. Atlanta Journal, May 23, 1961; Branch, Parting the Waters, 468 (quotation); Lewis, Walking with the Wind, 167–168; Halberstam, The Children, 332; Nashville Tennessean, May 24, 1961; Diamond interview.

45. Branch, Parting the Waters, 470; Lewis, Walking with the Wind, 168; Dennis, Lafayette, Diamond, Dieterich, Moody, and Matthew Walker Jr. interviews; Nashville Tennessean, May 24, 1961 (quotation).

46. Lafayette, Thomas, Moody, and Dennis interviews; Lewis, Walking with the Wind, 167 (first quotation); Still, "A Bus Ride Through Mississippi," 21 (second quotation).


Chapter 7: Freedom's Coming and It Won't Be Long


9. Raines, My Soul Is Rested, 125 (first quotation); Farmer, Lay Bare the Heart, 6–7; Holloway, “Travel Notes from a Deep South Tourist,” 6; Lewis, Walking with the Wind, 169 (second quotation); Marshall interview, JFKL; Telephone Log, May 24, 1961, box 10, RFKP; Jackson Clarion-Ledger, May 25, 1961; Zinn, SNCC, 51–52; Thomas, Robert Kennedy, 131–132; Brauer, John F. Kennedy and the Second Reconstruction, 107. A partial transcript of the King-Kennedy telephone conversation appears in Guthman, We Band of Brothers, 154–155; Schlesinger, Robert Kennedy and His Times, 299–300; Wofford, Of Kennedys and Kings, 153; Branch, Parting the Waters, 475; Hilty, Robert Kennedy, 328; and Garrow, Bearing the Cross, 159–160.

10. Wofford, Of Kennedys and Kings, 156 (quotations); Branch, Parting the Waters, 475–476; Coffin, Once to Every Man, 157–160; Goldstein, William Sloane Coffin, Jr., 118–119; Coffin and Maguire interviews; Maguire interview, UMFR; Clyde Carter, interview by author and Meeghan Kane, August 10, 2005. Maguire had known King since 1951, when they had shared a room during a weekend seminar at Crozer Seminary in Philadelphia. San Bernardino County Sun, January 18, 1987.


17. Written by James Clayton, the story in the May 26, 1961 issue of the *Washington Post* does not identify the speaker as Robert Kennedy, and Navasky, *Kennedy Justice*, 206, reprints the story without any attempt to identify the speaker. However, the conclusion of Branch, *Parting the Waters*, 476, that the unidentified Justice Department spokesman in the story was Kennedy is highly plausible. Jackson Clarion-Ledger, May 26, 1961; *New York Times*, May 26, 1961 (Eastland quotations). The *Times* story also quoted Peck, who, while speaking at a CORE rally at the Concord Baptist Church in Brooklyn, refuted Eastland’s accusations: “I am opposed to all kinds of dictatorship, Communist or fascist.” See also Peck, *Freedom Ride*, 136–137.


19. *Jackson State-Times*, May 26, 1961 (first quotation); *New York Times*, May 26, 1961 (remaining quotations); *Baltimore Afro-American*, June 3, 1961; *Pittsburgh Courier*, June 10, 1961; Branch, *Parting the Waters*, 476–477; Meier and Rudwick, CORE, 139. The CORE office was flooded with Freedom Rider applications in the weeks following the initial Mississippi arrests. See sections 441–443, reel 43, COREP.


22. Clyde Carter, Coffin, and Maguire interviews; Maguire interview, UMFRC; Coffin, Once to Every Man, 161–162; Goldstein, William Sloan Coffin, Jr., 120–121; Coffin, “Why Yale Chaplain Rode,” 54 (quotation); Montgomery Advertiser, May 27, 1961 (quotations); New York Times, May 27–28, 1961; Atlanta Constitution, May 27, 1961; Birmingham News, May 28, 1961. The Montgomery Advertiser reported George Smith’s claim that the hunger strike began when a guard denied Abernathy “permission to telephone his wife.”


27. New York Times, May 28 (first quotation), 29 (second quotation), 1961; Baltimore Afro-American, June 10, 1961; Revelso, The Wall Street Journal editorial reprinted in the Jackson Daily News, May 27, 1961. Sharply critical of the Kennedy administration, the editorial declared: “In this particular case the trouble was deliberately provoked. The so-called freedom riders went looking for trouble, in one of the most likely parts of the South, and they found it. The local and state authorities failed, in the beginning at least, in their duties to prevent violence and maintain law and order. That was said to require Federal intervention, and perhaps it did. But the present Administration sometimes seems almost as zealous in this matter as some of the agitators. It seems to believe that by fast, firm action it can clear up this whole question of segregation in the near future. If that is indeed the view at the Justice Department, we fear it is an illusion.”


Chapter 8: Make Me a Captive, Lord

1. *The Hymnbook* (Atlanta: Presbyterian Church in the United States, 1955), 308. The lyrics of this traditional “nonviolent” hymn were written by George Matheson in 1890.

USDJ/CRD; Reverend Robert E. Hughes (Alabama Council on Human Relations executive director) to ICC, May 19, 1961, RD 195, box 20, Investigative Report Case Files, ICCR; and Robert W. Ginnane (Office of the General Counsel), memorandum to ICC Commissioners, June 16, 1961, box 1, Correspondence and Unnumbered Cases Relating to Complaints, 1961–69, ICCR.


25. Lewis, Walking with the Wind, 170 (first quotation); Farmer, Lay Bare the Heart, 22; Oshinsky, “Worse than Slavery,” 1, 234 (second and third quotations); Peck, Freedom Ride, 147–152; Carmichael, Ready for Revolution, 201–203; Meier and Rudwick, CORE, 141; Branch, Parting the Waters, 483; Jackson Daily News, June 14, 16, 18, 1961; New York Times, June 16, 1961; Lafayette interview. See also Zinn, SNCC, 54–57; and Farmer, Lay Bare the Heart, 22–32.

26. Lewis, Walking with the Wind, 171 (first quotation); Peck, Freedom Ride, 147–148 (Sullivan quotation); Carmichael, Ready for Revolution, 201–203 (quotations); Branch, Parting the Waters, 483–484; Oshinsky, “Worse than Slavery,” 234–235; Farmer, Lay Bare the Heart, 22 (quotation); 23, Baltimore Afro-American, July 15, 1961; Freedom Rider application, Terry Sullivan, section 441, reel 43, COREP; Jesse Harris, typescript, June 24, 1961, section 116, reel 25, COREP.


31. Carson, In Struggle, 40; Branch, Parting the Waters, 481; Lewis, Walking with the Wind, 181; Meier and Rudwick, CORE, 127; Brauer, John F. Kennedy and the Second Reconstruction, 221; Thomas, Robert Kennedy, 179; Carmichael, Ready for Revolution, 222–224. See also Wolfford, Of Kennedys and Kings, 125–126.


UMFRC; Eugene Patterson interview. Leonard later (1973–1994) worked as a reporter and editor at the *St. Petersburg Times*, *The Palm Beach Post*, *The Miami Herald*, and the *Tallahassee Democrat*.


38. On the Parker lynching, see Smed, *Blood Justice*.


Chapter 9: Ain’t Gonna Let No Jail House Turn Me ’Round


3. *Jackson Daily News*, June 1, 6, 10, 16 (first Pegler quotation); *Jackson Clarion-Ledger*, June 1–16, July 6, 16, 30, 1961. Myers was a high school and college track-and-field athlete attending Central State College on an athletic scholarship. One of the few white students at Central State, he was raised in a working-class family in Noblesville, Indiana. Myers interview. See also the voluminous records of surveillance and investigation for the year 1961 in MSCP.


12. Green, “Freedom Rider Diary—Forty Years Later,” 7 (quotations); Green interview.

13. Hampton and Fayer, *Voices of Freedom*, 94–95 (quotations); Farmer, *Lay Bare the Heart*, 27 (second part of Bevel quotation); Lewis, *Washing with the Wind*, 173; Peck, *Freedom Ride*, 149; Zinn, SNCC, 40, 54–57; Oshinsky, *Worse than Slavery*, 235–236; Carmichael, *Ready for Revolution*, 199, 205; Branch,


15. Farmer, Lay Bare the Heart, 29–30 (quotations); Carmichael, Ready for Revolution, 210; Jackson Clarion-Ledger, July 5, 1961.


17. Montreal Gazette, July 1, 1961 (first quotation); Audain and Mulholland interviews; Audain interview, UMFRG; Jackson Clarion-Ledger, July 5, 1961 (second and fourth quotations); Jackson Daily News, July 3 (third quotation), 5, 1961; Silver, “Diary of a Freedom Rider,” passim; Farmer, Lay Bare the Heart, 30–31; Pittsburgh Courier, July 8, 1961.

18. Jackson Clarion-Ledger, July 4 (first quotation), 6, 7, 8 (third quotation), 9, 11, 1961; Jackson Daily News, July 3, 5, 6 (second quotation), 7, 10–11, 1961; New York Times, July 4, 7, 1961; Aelony, Baum, Davidov, Morton, and O’Connor interviews A complaint letter from O’Connor’s parents to Minnesota attorney general Walter Mondale helped trigger the investigation, but O’Connor posted bond and returned to Minnesota just prior to Brooks’s and Casey’s arrival in Mississippi.


21. Silver, “Diary of a Freedom Rider,” 41–48 (quotations); Silver and Myers interviews; Schultz, Going South, 39–43; Pauline Knight, “Notes from Prison,” Southern Patriot 19 (September 1961): 1; Hirschfeld online interview, Jewish Women’s Archive.


24. Farmer, Lay Bare the Heart, 208 (quotations); Rich and Carey interviews. Farmer’s decision to remain in Parchman brought him new respect among the student activists of SNCC. Jim Forman, Nashville notes, July 29, 1961, box 55, SNCCP.


26. Farmer, Lay Bare the Heart, 210–212; Rich and Carey interviews; New York Times, June 20, July 11, 1961; Birmingham News, June 14, 1961; “Before the ICC, Docket No. MC-C-3358 . . . ” box 1, Burke Marshall Records, USDJ/CRD; General File 1, folder 4, box 1, Investigative Report Case Files, ICCR; Chuck Mc Dixew to ICC Director, July 24, 1961, folder 9, box 8, SNCCP; “Injustice Will Tire First.”


32. Dittmer, Local People, 117–118; Gaither interview.


37. New York Times, July 20, 23, 24 (quotations), 1961; Jackson Daily News, July 19–21, 1961; Jackson Clarion-Ledger, July 19–21, 1961. Thomas and the other four Riders ended their Freedom Ride in Little Rock on July 24, a little more than a week after Cox’s group had been arrested. But the second group of Little Rock Freedom Riders encountered no resistance and ate without incident at both the Union bus terminal and the Little Rock airport restaurant before flying back to New York. The only negative incident in Arkansas occurred in Stuttgart, where they were denied service at a bus station lunch counter and where, according to Thomas, the bus driver “made a desperate attempt to leave us—we had to run out to catch it.” “Core Riders Served in Little Rock,” SNCC press release, July 24, 1961, folder 3, box 8, SNCCP; Thomas and Shanken interviews.


40. New York Times, July 23 (quotations), 28, 1961. On Cox’s appointment and controversial tenure as a federal judge, see Bass, Unlikely Heroes, 164–167; Navasky, Kennedy Justice, 245, 247–252; Wolford, Of Kennedys and Kings, 168–169; Niven, The Politics of Injustice, 10, 109, 213, 236; and Dallek, An Unfinished Life, 494–495. The former college roommate of Senator Eastland, Cox reportedly received the appointment after the Kennedys and Eastland worked out a deal that facilitated Thurgood Marshall’s appointment to a Federal judgeship. According to the journalist Robert Sherrill, Eastland approached Robert Kennedy in a Capitol corridor and said: “Tell your brother that if he will give me Harold Cox I will give him the nigger.” Navasky, Kennedy Justice, 251–252. After considerable deliberation, John Kennedy appointed Marshall to the U.S. Second Circuit Court of Appeals in August 1961. According to the Times-Picayune: “The nomination was carefully timed. The Kennedy brothers, anticipating opposition, nominated Marshall a week before the Senate Judiciary Committee was to go out of session for the rest of the year, not leaving the committee time to act. Thus the president was able to give Marshall a recess appointment, allowing the new judge to be in place until Congress could recon-
Chapter 10: Woke Up This Morning with My Mind on Freedom

1. Based on the traditional gospel song “I Woke Up This Morning with My Mind on Jesus,” the words to “Woke Up This Morning with My Mind on Freedom” were written in the Hinds County Jail during the summer of 1961 by Robert Wesby, a thirty-three-year-old black minister from Aurora, Illinois. Wesby was arrested in Jackson on June 8. Roster of Freedom Riders, Group 11, June 8, 1961, MSCP. By late summer “Woke Up This Morning with My Mind on Freedom” was a popular movement song, especially in McComb, Mississippi, where it became the unofficial anthem of the local voter registration drive. Silverman, Songs of Protest and Civil Rights, 50–52. Later affiliated with the Reverend Jesse Jackson’s Operation PUSH, Wesby was beaten to death in his church in July 1988. See New York Times, July 24, 1988.

2. Jackson Daily News, July 16, 1961 (quotations). In the Daily News, the Mulligan story ran under the headline “Non-Violent War—AP Story Tells Nation About Freedom Riders” and was preceded by the following explanation: “The Associated Press dispatch has been sent out to every (AP) member newspaper across the country for use in today’s papers. It is the story of the Freedom Riders and Jackson as it will be told perhaps to more people than have read about the ‘non-violent war’ before.” Despite this effort, press coverage of the Freedom Rides declined in July. See the July issues of the New York Times, the Washington Post, the Washington Evening Star, the Chicago Tribune, the Atlanta Constitution, and the Los Angeles Times. This was less true of black newspapers such as the Chicago Defender, the Pittsburgh Courier, and the Baltimore Afro-American.


10. Farmer, Lay Bare the Heart, 211 (quotations); Rich, Carey, and Gaither interviews; James Farmer to CORE Chapters and Officers, August 2, 1961, reel 25, COREP. See the correspondence on the


Chapter 11: Oh, Freedom


44. Jackson Clarion-Ledger, August 29, 1961 (quotation); Gaither, Moody, and Matthew Walker Jr. interviews; Moody interview, UMFRC.


Chapter 11: Oh, Freedom

1. Silverman, *Songs of Protest and Civil Rights*, 44–45. The song was adapted from the traditional spiritual “Oh, Freedom.”


6. Dittmer, Local People, 108; Zinn, SNCC, 69–70 (quotation); Forman, The Making of Black Revolutionaries, 229–230; Branch, Parting the Waters, 501–504; Carson, In Struggle, 48; Kansas City Star, September 7, 1961; Jet 20 (September 21, 1961); Britt interview, RBOHC.

7. Jackson Clarion-Ledger, September 6–8, 1961; Jackson Daily News, September 5–8, 1961; Baltimore Afro-American, September 16, 23, 1961; Aelony interview; Aelony interview, UMFR; Armstrong interview; Armstrong interview, UMFR; section 441, reel 43, COREP.


11. Arraignment correspondence (August 15–October 10, 1961), section 445, reel 44, COREP.


17. Arraignment correspondence (August 15–October 10, 1961), section 445, reel 44, COREP.

18. Memos to Department Heads, September 17, 1961 (quotation); New York Times, September 17, 1961; Shuttlesworth, Coffin, Maguire, and Wyatt Tee Walker interviews; Maguire interview, UMFR; Manis, A Fire You Can't Put Out, 287; Coffin, Once to Every Man, 169.


22. Farmer, Lay Bare the Heart, 211–212 (quotations); Meier and Rudwick, CORE, 142–143; Barnes, Journey from Jim Crow, 174; Rich interview; minutes of National Action Committee meetings, September 8, October 27, 1961, section 5, reel 16, COREP, “NAACP Legal Defense Fund to Defend Jackson Riders,” NAACP press release, November 2, 1961, folder 19, box 77, KMS. On the burden of the bond payments, see the memoranda and documents in sections 444 and 450, reel 44, COREP. In the weeks preceding and following Marshall's departure from the NAACP Legal and Educational Defense Fund, the organization was racked with controversy over the choice of his successor. When Marshall made sure that the position went to the white attorney Jack Greenberg instead of Robert Carter or Constance Baker Motley, there were hard feelings. See Williams, Thurgood Marshall, 294–295; and Carter, A Matter of Law, 136–170.

23. New York Times, September 23, 1961 (first quotation); Meier and Rudwick, CORE, 143 (second quotation); Carey interview; “Washington Project” memorandum, September 1961, reel 47, COREP;
CORE press release, September 5, 1961, reel 31, COREP; Barnes, *Journey from Jim Crow*, 175 (third quotation).


22. *New York Times*, September 24, 1961 (first quotation). Reporters and editors for the three white newspapers published in Jackson, Mississippi—the Daily News, the Clarion-Ledger, and the State-Times—made only passing mention of the ICC order during the week following the ruling. On September 23 the *Birmingham News* ran a story under the headline “State Officials Flay Mix Edict,” and the *Montgomery Advertiser* carried a front-page story with the title “ICC Orders Interstate Bus, Terminal Mixing.” But neither paper offered much in the way of editorial comment on the order. For a limited survey of the black press reaction to the order, see the various clippings in reel 191, TIRRCF. *Baltimor Afro-American*, September 30, October 7, 1961; Farmer, *The Problem of Justice*, 120–121; Wofford, *Of Kennedys and Kings*, 157. On CORE’s dealings with the ICC, see the correspondence and testing forms in section 497, reel 46, COREP.

23. Rich and Carey interviews; Farmer, *Lay Bare the Heart*, 213; Niven, *The Politics of Injustice*, 120–121; Wofford, *Of Kennedys and Kings*, 157. On CORE’s dealings with the ICC, see the correspondence and testing forms in section 497, reel 46, COREP.


35. Meier and Rudwick, CORE, 143; Carey and Rich interviews; CORE-lator (December 1961): 1–2; CORE testing forms and related documents, section 497, reel 46, COREP. See especially the November 7 memorandum from CORE to the Justice Department and the ICC, “Preliminary Report Compliance with ICC Regulations,” and the “Confidential Report: Bus Terminal Survey,” issued November 6. See also the scattered material on the tests in sections 448, 450–452, reel 44, COREP.


37. “Preliminary Report: Compliance with ICC Regulations”; “Confidential Report: Bus Terminal Survey”; New York Times, November 5, 12 (first quotation), 1961; Baltimore Afro-American, November 11, 1961; Memphis Commercial Appeal, November 2, 1961; New Orleans Times-Picayune, November 2, 1961 (second quotation); Jackson Daily News, November 4, 1961; Barnes, Journey from Jim Crow, 180. See the list of ICC actions in folder 1, box 1, Investigative Report Case Files, ICCR. See also files 144-01-40-10 (Grenada), 144-101-41-36 (Meridian), 144-101-41-28 (Vicksburg), and 144-01-41-22 (Jackson), USDJ/CRD.

38. Rich and Carey interviews; New York Times, November 3, 5, 1961; Birmingham News, November 9, 11, 1961; Baltimore Afro-American, November 11, 1961. The reporter was James Free, Washington correspondent for the Birmingham News. Barnes, Journey from Jim Crow, 180, 267. By the end of 1961 the Justice Department had filed seven requests for court orders to enjoin noncompliance. The seven communities involved were Greenwood and McComb, Mississippi; Alexandria, Baton Rouge, Monroe, and Rushton, Louisiana; and Birmingham, Alabama. See folder 1, box 1, and RD 110, box 15, Investigative Report Case Files, ICCR; and files 144-101-33-4 (Monroe), 144-101-33-5 (Alexandria), 144-101-33-8 (Rushton), 144-101-32-10 (Baton Rouge), 144-101-40-5 (Greenwood), 144-101-41-20 (McComb), and 144-101-1-10 (Birmingham), USDJ/CRD.

39. Romano, “No Diplomatic Immunity,” 568–574, 571 (quotation); Baltimore Sun, October 20, 1961; Washington Evening Star, October 20, 1961; New York Times, October 29, November 9, 11, 1961; Baltimore Afro-American, October 28, November 4, 11, 1961; “Halfway Home to Equality on Highway 40,” Life 51 (November 16, 1961): 6; Route 40 Campaign correspondence and test results, sections 496–497, Reel 46, COREP. On the activities of Baltimore CORE in 1961, see sections 48–49, reel 21, COREP. Meier and Rudwick, CORE, 162, point out that student activists in Baltimore, organized as the Baltimore Civic Interest Group “felt that CORE had sold out by accepting even this compromise.” To fend off such criticism, “CORE hastily rectified the maneuver which had been mobilized for the Freedom Ride to ‘Project Baltimore.’ For three successive Saturdays in November and December, hundreds of demonstrators, mainly northeastern college students, tested and picketed Baltimore restaurants—all to no avail.” On Hobson and Washington CORE, see section 24, reel 19, COREP, and Anderson-Bricker, “Making a Movement,” 23–202.

40. On the relationship between the Kennedy brothers, Robert Kennedy’s policies on civil rights enforcement, and the political pressures exerted on the Justice Department during the Kennedy administration, see Navasky, Kennedy Justice; Niven, The Politics of Injustice; Hilty, Robert Kennedy; Schlesinger, Robert Kennedy and His Times, 239–391, 584–602; Thomas, Robert Kennedy, 109–280; Wofford, Of Kennedys and Kings, 124–151, 160–177; Guthman, We Band of Brothers, 88–90, 95–107, 176–182; Russell L. Riley, The Presidency and the Politics of Racial Inequality (New York: Columbia University Press, 1999), 207–219; and Sorensen, Kennedy, 267–269. Marshall and Robert Kennedy...


42. New York Times, December 4 (first and second quotations), 5, 7, 10, 23, 1961; Doar and Gaither interviews; Dittmer, Local People, 66; Branch, Parting the Waters, 560 (third quotation); Niven, The Politics of Injustice, 121; Hayden, Reunion, 61.


46. Jackson Daily News, December 6, 17–20, 1961; Jackson Clarion-Ledger, December 15 (first quotation), 17, 19, 1961; New York Times, December 17, 19, 23 (second quotation), 1961. On the continuing effort to enforce the ICC order in Jackson, see folder 1, box 1, Investigative Report Case Files, ICCR; and the legal briefs for U.S. and ICC v. City of Jackson and Mayor Allen Thompson (No. 19,794, Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals), folder 3, box 1, Correspondence and Unnumbered Cases, ICCR.
Epilogue: Glory Bound

1. This often-quoted verse became a Freedom Rider anthem in 1961. Freedom Rides exhibit text, National Archives and Records Administration. See also the Mississippi case files in 144–101, 144–103, 144–104, USDJ/CRD.

2. McWhorter, Carry Me Home, 236.


5. Dittmer, Local People, 122–124; Meier and Rudwick, CORE, 144, 166; Branch, Parting the Waters, 578, 633–638; Zinn, SNCC, 79–80; Payne, I’ve Got the Light of Freedom, 128–131; Carson, In Struggle, 79–80; Garrow, Bearing the Cross, 194, Gaither and Lafayette interviews.


7. SNCC press release, April 30, 1962, box 38, SNCCP (quotation); SCEF press release, May 21, 1962, box 10, SNCCP; Student Voice, June 1962; Jackson Advocate, May 12, 1962; Garrow, Bearing the Cross, 197, 202; Branch, Parting the Waters, 634–639; Zinn, SNCC, 80–81; Dittmer, Local People, 123–124.


15. New York Times, January 6, March 27, July 27, 1962; Lewis Portrait of a Decade, 141–146; Zinn, SNCC, 133–139; Garrow, Bearing the Cross, 190–198; Lewis, King, 155–160; Fairclough, To Redeem the Soul of America, 91–100; Carson, In Struggle, 60; Branch, Parting the Waters, 620 (quotation), 630, 636–640; Pat Watters, Down to New: Reflections on the Southern Civil Rights Movement (New York: Pantheon, 1971), 164–168; Powledge, Free at Last? 373–376; Tuck, Beyond Atlanta, 165–166; Student Voice, April 1962; SNCC press releases, March 22, June 26, 1962, box 34, SNCCP; Charles Jones statement, typescript, January 18, 1962, box 95, SNCCP; RD 128, box 16, Investigative Report Case Files, ICCR.


22. McWhorter, Carry Me Home, 325–454; Branch, Parting the Waters, 703–802; Fairclough, To Redeem the Soul of America, 114–140; Lewis, King, 171–209; Garrow, Bearing the Cross, 231–271; Eskew, But for Birmingham, 210–340; Thornton, Dividing Lines, 290–379; Powledge, Free at Last? 496–519. On King’s Birmingham jail letter, see Bass, Blessed Are the Peacemakers.


25. Harbour interview (quotation); Brooks, Lewis, and Maguire interviews.


31. Niven, The Politics of Injustice, 5, 6 (quotations), 36–38, 205–206; Sitkoff, Struggle for Black Equality, 106 (quotation); Dittmer, Local People, 169 (quotation); Marshall and Robert Kennedy interviews,


40. Laue, *Direct Action and Desegregation*, 109–111, and Appendices A–E (275–328), which present a long list of activists interviewed by Laue in 1960 and 1962, the questions asked during the interviews, and a tabulation of results. John Lewis, remarks at the 40th Anniversary of the Freedom Rides luncheon, Atlanta, Georgia, May 11, 2001 (first quotation); Lewis, remarks at the Birmingham Civil Rights Institute, Birmingham, Alabama, May 12, 2001 (second quotation).


53. The 40th Anniversary Ride to Freedom, 1961–2001, program in author’s possession; John Lewis, remarks at the Birmingham Civil Rights Institute, May 12, 2001 (quotation); John Lewis, Hank Thomas remarks, May 10, 2001, Washington Court Hotel, Washington, DC; Freedom Rider remarks, May 11, 2001, Atlanta Civic Center, Atlanta, GA; Atlanta Journal-Constitution, May 10, 2001; Boston Globe, May 22, 2001; Brooks, Davis and Davis, Lewis, Lillard, Moody, Thomas, and Zwerg interviews; Blake, Children of the Movement, 36; Niven, The Politics of Injustice, 207–208. The two historians conducting interviews were the author and Clayborne Carson of Stanford University. On the evolution and persistence of the “beloved community” ideal, see Marsh, The Beloved Community, a generally insightful analysis but one that curiously overlooks the Freedom Rides and significant individuals such as James Lawson, James Bevel, Bernard Lafayette, and Bayard Rustin.
