

Notes

Abbreviations Used in Notes

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

RFKP	Robert F. Kennedy Papers, John F. Kennedy Library, Boston, MA
RRLR	<i>Race Relations Law Reporter</i>
SCLCP	Southern Christian Leadership Conference Papers (microfilm)
SCPC	Swarthmore College Peace Collection, Swarthmore, PA
SNCCP	Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee Papers, the Martin Luther King, Jr. Center for Nonviolent Social Change, Atlanta, GA
SRCP	Southern Regional Council Papers (microfilm)
TIRRCF	Tuskegee Institute Race Relations Clipping File (microfilm)
UMFRC	Freedom Rider Collection, University of Mississippi, Oxford, MS
USDJ/CRD	United States Department of Justice, Civil Rights Division Records, Record Group 60, U.S. National Archives II, College Park, MD
WHC	William Harbour Freedom Rider Collection, in possession of William Harbour, Atlanta, GA
WRLP	War Resisters League Papers, Swarthmore College Peace Collection, Swarthmore, PA

Introduction

1. Stokely Carmichael with Ekwueme Michael Thelwell, *Ready for Revolution: The Life and Struggles of Stokely Carmichael (Kwame Ture)* (New York: Scribner, 2003), 178.
2. Founded by ex-slaves in 1867, the First Baptist Church (Colored) of Montgomery boasted the largest black congregation in the United States during the 1910s. Following a devastating fire in 1910, the church was rebuilt under the leadership of the Reverend Andrew Jackson Stokes, who asked parishioners who could not afford to contribute to the rebuilding fund to contribute a brick every Sunday. Known locally as the “Brick-a-Day Church,” First Baptist was the Reverend Ralph Abernathy’s church from 1950 to 1961. See Barbara Carter, “A Brick Every Sunday,” *Reporter* 26 (September 20, 1961): 39–40; First Baptist Church, *This a Glorious Church: The Brick-a-Day Church* (Montgomery: First Baptist Church, 2001); Taylor Branch, *Parting the Waters: America in the King Years, 1954–63* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1988), 1–4; and Ralph David Abernathy, *And the Walls Came Tumbling Down: An Autobiography* (New York: Harper and Row, 1989), 82–83, 101–102, 118–119, 185–188. The organizers of the Freedom Rides never offered any public explanation for their choice of terminology, other than a brief comment in James Farmer, *Lay Bare the Heart: An Autobiography of the Civil Rights Movement* (New York: New American Library, 1985), 196. For an exposition of the evolving concept of “freedom” in American history, see David Hackett Fischer, *Liberty and Freedom* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004); and Eric Foner, *The Story of American Freedom* (New York: Norton, 1998). On freedom’s connection to the civil rights movement, see Richard H. King, *Civil Rights and the Idea of Freedom* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992). *Morgan v. Virginia*, 328 U.S. 373 (1946); *Boynton v. Virginia*, 364 U.S. 454 (1960).
3. On the philosophical, religious, and psychological motivations of nonviolent civil rights activists during the 1960s, see King, *Civil Rights and the Idea of Freedom*; James H. Laue, *Direct Action and Desegregation, 1960–1962: Toward a Theory of the Rationalization of Protest* (Brooklyn: Carlson, 1989); and David L. Chappell, *A Stone of Hope: Prophetic Religion and the Death of Jim Crow* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004). On the Freedom Riders’ moral and religious values, see David J. Mussatt, “Journey for Justice: A Religious Analysis of the Ethics of the 1961 Albany Freedom Ride” (Ph.D. thesis, Temple University, 2001); and Henry Louis Gerner, “A Study of the Freedom Riders with Particular Emphasis upon Three Dimensions, Dogmatism, Value-Oriented, Religiosity” (Th.D. thesis, Pacific School of Religion, 1963).
4. Michael Belknap, *Federal Law and Southern Order: Racial Violence and Constitutional Conflict in the Post-Brown South* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1987), 77–78. For a brief but insightful summary of the civil rights struggle and massive resistance during the period 1954–1961, see C. Vann Woodward, *The Strange Career of Jim Crow* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002), 149–173.
5. The phrase “with all deliberate speed” first appeared in the May 1955 school desegregation implementation ruling known as *Brown II*. See Richard Kluger, *Simple Justice: The History of Brown v. Board of Education and Black America’s Struggle for Equality* (New York: Random House, 1975), 714–747; James T. Patterson, *Brown v. Board of Education: A Civil Rights Milestone and Its Troubled Legacy* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001), 82–85; Michael J. Klarman, *From Jim Crow to Civil Rights: The Supreme Court and the Struggle for Racial Equality* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004), 256–258, 312–320; and Charles J. Ogletree Jr., *All Deliberate Speed: Reflections on the First Half Century of Brown v. Board of Education* (New York: Norton, 2004). Theodore H. White, *The Making of the President 1960* (New York: Atheneum, 1961); Richard Reeves, *President Kennedy: Profile of Power* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1993), 36 (quotation), 58–64; Carl M. Brauer, *John F. Kennedy and the Second Reconstruction* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1977), 35–36, 39, 75, 94–97, 126–127; Robert Dallek, *An Unfinished Life: John F. Kennedy, 1917–1963* (Boston: Little, Brown, 2003), 373–388; James W. Hilty, *Robert Kennedy: Brother Protector* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1997), 133–134, 151, 170–176, 289–306.
6. Reeves, *President Kennedy*, 63 (first quotation), 60 (second quotation). On Hesburgh and the U.S. Civil Rights Commission, see Theodore Hesburgh, *God, Country, Notre Dame* (New York: Doubleday,

- 1990); and Foster Rhea Dulles, *The Civil Rights Commission, 1957–1965* (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 1968).
7. Henry Hampton and Steve Fayer, *Voices of Freedom: An Oral History of the Civil Rights Movement from the 1950s through the 1980s* (New York: Vintage, 1990), 75 (quotation).
 8. On McCarthyism and anti-Communist hysteria during the 1950s, see Richard H. Rovere, *Senator Joe McCarthy* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1959); David M. Oshinsky, *A Conspiracy So Immense: The World of Joe McCarthy* (New York: Free Press, 1983); Ellen Schrecker, *Many Are the Crimes: McCarthyism in America* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1998); Stephen J. Whitfield, *The Culture of the Cold War* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1991); Richard M. Fried, *Nightmare in Red: The McCarthy Era in Perspective* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990); and David Cauter, *The Great Fear: The Anti-Communist Purge Under Truman and Eisenhower* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1978). On the Cold War's impact on the American civil rights struggle, see Mary L. Dudziak, *Cold War Civil Rights: Race and the Image of American Democracy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000); Thomas Borstelmann, *The Cold War and the Color Line: American Race Relations in the Global Arena* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2001); Jeff Woods, *Black Struggle, Red Scare: Segregation and Anti-Communism in the South, 1948–1968* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2004); George Lewis, *The White South and the Red Menace: Segregationists, Anticommunism, and Massive Resistance, 1945–1965* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2004); Gilbert Jonas, *Freedom's Sword* (New York: Routledge, 2005), 135–149; and Manfred Berg, "The Ticket to Freedom" (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2005), 116–139.
 9. George H. Gallup, *The Gallup Poll: Public Opinion, 1935–1971* (New York: Random House, 1971), vol. 3, 1723–1724.
 10. Robert Cook, "From Shiloh to Selma: The Impact of the Civil War Centennial on the Black Freedom Struggle in the United States, 1961–65," in *The Making of Martin Luther King and the Civil Rights Movement*, ed. Brian Ward and Tony Badger (New York: New York University Press, 1996), 131–146. On the South's "siege mentality," see Sheldon Hackney, "Southern Violence," *American Historical Review* 74 (February 1969): 924–925. On the mythology of the "tragic era," see Kenneth M. Stampp, "The Tragic Legend of Reconstruction," in *Reconstruction: An Anthology of Revisionist Writings*, ed. Kenneth M. Stampp and Leon F. Litwack (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1969), 3–21. On the concept of the Second Reconstruction, see Woodward, *Strange Career of Jim Crow*, 8–10, 122–147, 209–210; and Manning Marable, *Race, Reform, and Rebellion: The Second Reconstruction in Black America, 1945–1982* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 1984). Roy Wilkins with Tom Mathews, *Standing Fast: The Autobiography of Roy Wilkins* (New York: Viking Penguin, 1982), 283 (first quotation); Jonas, *Freedom's Sword*, 170–178; Berg, "The Ticket to Freedom," 166–177; Leslie Dunbar, interview by author, October 25, 2003 (second quotation); John Lewis with Michael D'Orso, *Walking with the Wind: A Memoir of the Movement* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1998), 113–114, 135.
 11. See Appendix: Roster of Freedom Riders.
 12. Brief accounts of the Freedom Rides written by academic historians include Howard Zinn, *SNCC: The New Abolitionists* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1965), 40–61; Brauer, *John F. Kennedy and the Second Reconstruction*, 98–112; August Meier and Elliott Rudwick, *CORE: A Study in the Civil Rights Movement* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1975), 135–158; Clayborne Carson, *In Struggle: SNCC and the Black Awakening of the 1960s* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1981), 31–44; Harvard Sitkoff, *The Struggle for Black Equality, 1954–1980* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1981), 97–114; Catherine A. Barnes, *Journey from Jim Crow: The Desegregation of Southern Transit* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1983), 157–175; Kenneth O'Reilly, "Racial Matters": *The FBI's Secret File on Black America, 1960–1972* (New York: Free Press, 1989), 81–97; Robert Weisbrot, *Freedom Bound: A History of America's Civil Rights Movement* (New York: Norton, 1990), 55–63; David R. Goldfield, *Black, White, and Southern: Race Relations and Southern Culture, 1940 to the Present* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1990), 124–130; Steven F. Lawson, *Running for Freedom: Civil Rights and Black Politics in America Since 1941* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1991), 80–81; John Dittmer, *Local People: The Struggle for Civil Rights in Mississippi* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1994), 90–99; John Morton Blum, *Years of Discord: American Politics and Society, 1961–1974* (New York: Norton, 1991), 69–71; David Farber, *The Age of Great Dreams: America in the 1960s* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1994), 79–82; Numan V. Bartley, *The New South 1945–1980* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1995), 306–312; Terry H. Anderson, *The Movement and the Sixties: Protest in America from Greensboro to Wounded Knee* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995), 51–56; James T. Patterson, *Grand Expectations: The United States, 1945–1974* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1996), 468–475; Glenn T. Eskew, *But for Birmingham: The Local and National Movements in the Civil Rights Struggle* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997), 153–165; John A. Salmond, "My Mind Set on Freedom": *A History of the Civil Rights Movement, 1954–1968* (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee, 1997), 87–94; Steven F. Lawson and Charles Payne, *Debating the Civil Rights Movement, 1945–1968* (Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, 1998), 20–22; Timothy B. Tyson, *Radio Free Dixie: Robert F. Williams and the Roots of Black Power* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1999), 244–249, 262–275; Andrew M. Manis, *A Fire You Can't Put Out: The Civil Rights Life of Birmingham's Reverend Fred Shuttlesworth* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1999), 262–280; John Hope Franklin and Alfred A. Moss Jr., *From Slavery to Freedom: A History of African Americans*, 8th ed. (New York: Knopf, 2000), 530–531; Maurice Isserman and Michael Kazin, *America Divided: The Civil War of the 1960s* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 34–36; Adam Fairclough, *Better Day Coming: Blacks and Equality, 1890–2000* (New York: Penguin, 2001), 252–256; James Oliver Horton and Lois E. Horton, *Hard Road to Freedom: A History of African America* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2001), 286–287, 290–291; J. Mills Thornton III, *Dividing Lines: Municipal Politics and the Struggle for Civil Rights in Montgomery, Birmingham, and Selma* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2002), 239–253 and passim; and Dallek, *An Unfinished Life*, 383–388. See also the recently

- completed and unpublished dissertation, Derek Catsam, “‘A Brave and Wonderful Thing’: The Freedom Rides and the Desegregation of Interstate Transport, 1941–1965” (Ph.D. thesis, Ohio University, 2003). Accounts by political scientists, sociologists, or legal scholars include Doug McAdam, *Political Process and the Development of Black Insurgency, 1930–1970* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982), 152, 165, 170–171, 176–177, 187–188; David J. Garrow, *Bearing the Cross: Martin Luther King, Jr., and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference* (New York: William Morrow, 1986), 154–180; Todd Gitlin, *The Sixties: Years of Hope, Days of Rage* (New York: Bantam, 1987), 136–142; Mark Stern, *Calculating Visions: Kennedy, Johnson, and Civil Rights* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1992), 58–62; Edward P. Morgan, *The Sixties Experience: Hard Lessons About Modern America* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1991), 51–55; Aldon D. Morris, *The Origins of the Civil Rights Movement: Black Communities Organizing for Change* (New York: Free Press, 1984), 231–236; Rhonda Lois Blumberg, *Civil Rights: The 1960s Freedom Struggle* (Boston: Twayne, 1984), 73–81; and Belknap, *Federal Law and Southern Order*, 77–88. The only extant book-length study of the Freedom Rides written by a social scientist is David Niven, *The Politics of Injustice: The Kennedys, the Freedom Rides, and the Electoral Consequences of a Moral Compromise* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2003), a provocative indictment of the Kennedy administration’s reluctance to support the Riders’ constitutional rights.
13. Branch, *Parting the Waters*; David Halberstam, *The Children* (New York: Random House, 1998); Diane McWhorter, *Carry Me Home: Birmingham, Alabama: The Climactic Battle of the Civil Rights Revolution* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2001). Other journalistic accounts include Anthony Lewis and *The New York Times*, *Portrait of a Decade: The Second American Revolution* (New York: Random House, 1964), 87–93; Milton Viorst, *Fire in the Streets: America in the 1960s* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1979), 140–160; Fred Powlledge, *Free at Last? The Civil Rights Movement and the People Who Made It* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1991), 253–308; Harry S. Ashmore, *Civil Rights and Wrongs: A Memoir of Race and Politics, 1944–1994* (New York: Pantheon, 1994), 146–148; Townsend Davis, *Weary Feet, Rested Souls: A Guided History of the Civil Rights Movement* (New York: Norton, 1998), 42–44, 58–60, 193–195, 213–215; Evan Thomas, *Robert Kennedy, His Life* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2000), 128–132; and Frye Gaillard, *Cradle of Freedom: Alabama and the Movement That Changed America* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2004), 73–112 and *passim*.
 14. On the 1960s as a turbulent era of protest, see Viorst, *Fire in the Streets*; Gitlin, *The Sixties*; Anderson, *The Movement and the Sixties*; Blum, *Years of Discord*; Farber, *The Age of Great Dreams*; Isserman and Kazin, *America Divided*; Morgan, *The Sixties Experience*; Patterson, *Grand Expectations*, 442–745; Allen J. Matusow, *The Unraveling of America: A History of Liberalism in the 1960s* (New York: Harper Torchbooks, 1984); James Miller, “Democracy Is in the Streets”: *From Port Huron to the Siege of Chicago* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1987); Maurice Isserman, *If I Had a Hammer: The Death of the Old Left and the Birth of the New Left* (New York: Basic Books, 1987); Morris Dickstein, *Gates of Eden: American Culture in the Sixties* (New York: Basic Books, 1977); Barbara L. Tischler, ed., *Sights on the Sixties* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1992); and Alexander Bloom and Wini Breines, eds., “Takin’ It to the Streets”: *A Sixties Reader* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995).
 15. On the colonial and nineteenth-century phases of what has become known as the “freedom struggle,” see Franklin and Moss, *From Slavery to Freedom*; Horton and Horton, *Hard Road to Freedom*; Vincent Harding, *There Is a River: The Black Struggle for Freedom in America* (New York: Harcourt Brace, 1981); Alice Felt Tyler, *Freedom’s Ferment* (New York: Harper and Row, 1962); James Brewer Stewart, *Holy Warriors: The Abolitionists and American Slavery* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1976); William McFeely, *Frederick Douglass* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1991); James Oliver Horton and Lois E. Horton, *In Hope of Liberty: Culture, Community and Protest Among Northern Free Blacks, 1700–1860* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997); Leon F. Litwack, *Been in the Storm So Long: The Aftermath of Slavery* (New York: Vintage, 1980); Eric Foner, *Reconstruction: America’s Unfinished Revolution, 1863–1877* (New York: Harper and Row, 1988); James M. McPherson, *The Abolitionist Legacy: From Reconstruction to the NAACP* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1975); and Steven Hahn, *A Nation Beneath Our Feet: Black Political Struggles in the Rural South from Slavery to the Great Migration* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2003). On the twentieth-century manifestations of the struggle prior to 1961, see Kluger, *Simple Justice*; Klarman, *From Jim Crow to Civil Rights*; Jonas, *Freedom’s Sword*; Woodward, *The Strange Career of Jim Crow*; Barnes, *Journey from Jim Crow*; August Meier, Elliott Rudwick, and Francis L. Broderick, eds., *Black Protest Thought in the Twentieth Century* (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1971); August Meier and Elliott Rudwick, “The Boycott Movement Against Jim Crow Streetcars in the South, 1900–1906,” *Journal of American History* 51 (March 1969): 756–775; Fairclough, *Better Day Coming*, 23–248; Robert J. Norrell, *The House I Live In: Race and the American Century* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), xi–186; Herbert Shapiro, *White Violence and Black Response: From Reconstruction to Montgomery* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1988); James Tracy, *Direct Action: Radical Pacifism from the Union Eight to the Chicago Seven* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1996), 1–118; Randy Roberts, *Papa Jack: Jack Johnson and the Era of White Hopes* (New York: Free Press, 1983); David Levering Lewis, *W.E.B. DuBois: Biography of a Race, 1919–1963* (New York: Henry Holt, 1993); David Levering Lewis, *W.E.B. DuBois: The Fight for Equality and the American Century, 1919–1963* (New York: Henry Holt, 2000); Martin B. Duberman, *Paul Robeson: A Biography* (New York: Knopf, 1988); Walter White, *A Man Called White* (New York: Viking, 1948); Raymond Wolters, *The New Negro on Campus: Black College Rebellions of the 1920s* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1975); James R. Grossman, *Land of Hope: Chicago, Black Southerners, and the Great Migration* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991); Harvard Sitkoff, *A New Deal for Blacks: The Emergence of Civil Rights as a National Issue* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1978); Vicki L. Crawford, Jacqueline Anne Rouse, and Barbara Woods, eds., *Women in the Civil*

- Rights Movement: Trailblazers and Torchbearers, 1941–1965* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1993); Lynne Olson, *Freedom's Daughters: The Unsung Heroines of the Civil Rights Movement from 1830 to 1970* (New York: Scribner, 2001); Linda O. McMurry, *To Keep the Waters Troubled: The Life of Ida B. Wells* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999); Kevin Boyle, *Arc of Justice: A Saga of Race, Civil Rights, and Murder in the Jazz Age* (New York: Henry Holt, 2004); Dan Carter, *Scottsboro: A Tragedy of the American South* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1979); Robin D. G. Kelley, *Hammer and Hoe: Alabama Communists During the Great Depression* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1990); Barbara Ransby, *Ella Baker and the Black Freedom Movement: A Radical Democratic Vision* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2003); Pauli Murray, *The Autobiography of a Black Activist, Feminist, Lawyer, Priest, and Poet* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1987); Juan Williams, *Thurgood Marshall: American Revolutionary* (New York: Times Books/Random House, 1998); Denton L. Watson, *Lion in the Lobby: Clarence Mitchell Jr.'s Struggle for the Passage of Civil Rights Laws* (New York: Morrow, 1990); Genna Rae McNeil, *Groundwork: Charles Hamilton Houston and the Struggle for Civil Rights* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1983); Gilbert Ware, *William Hastie: Grace Under Pressure* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1984); Robert L. Zangrando, *The NAACP Crusade Against Lynching, 1909–1950* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1980); Jacquelyn Dowd Hall, *Revolt Against Chivalry: Jesse Daniel Ames and the Southern Women's Campaign Against Lynching* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1979); Ben Green, *Before His Time: The Untold Story of Harry T. Moore* (New York: Free Press, 1999); Will Haygood, *King of the Cats: The Life and Times of Adam Clayton Powell* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1993); Linda Reed, *Simple Decency and Common Sense: The Southern Conference Movement, 1938–1963* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1991); Darlene Clark Hine, *Black Victory: The Rise and Fall of the White Primary in Texas* (Millwood, NJ: KTO Press, 1979); James Peck, *Freedom Ride* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1962); Farmer, *Lay Bare the Heart*; Dorothy B. Kaufman, *The First Freedom Ride: The Walter Bergman Story* (Detroit: ACLU Fund Press, 1989); Paula F. Pfeffer, *A. Philip Randolph, Pioneer of the Civil Rights Movement* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1990); Jervis A. Anderson, *A. Philip Randolph: A Biographical Portrait* (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1972); Herbert Garfinkel, *When Negroes March: The March on Washington Movement in the Organizational Politics for FEPC* (New York: Atheneum, 1969); John D'Emilio, *Lost Prophet: The Life and Times of Bayard Rustin* (New York: Free Press, 2003); Patricia Sullivan, *Days of Hope: Race and Democracy in the New Deal Era* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1996); Michael K. Honey, *Southern Labor and Black Civil Rights: Organizing Memphis Workers* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1993); Robert Rogers Korstad, *Civil Rights Unionism: Tobacco Workers and the Struggle for Democracy in the Mid-Twentieth-Century South* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2003); Thomas Kreuger, *And Promises to Keep: The Southern Conference for Human Welfare, 1938–1948* (Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 1967); Frank Adams with Myles Horton, *Unearthing Seeds of Fire: The Idea of Highlander* (Winston-Salem: John F. Blair, 1975); John Egerton, *Speak Now Against the Day: The Generation Before the Civil Rights Movement in the South* (New York: Knopf, 1994); Gail W. O'Brien, *The Color of the Law: Race, Violence, and Justice in the Post-World War II South* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1999); Glenn Feldman, ed., *Before Brown: Civil Rights and White Backlash in the Modern South* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2004); and Martha Biondi, *To Stand and Fight: The Civil Rights Movement in Postwar New York City* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2003). On Montgomery, see Martin Luther King Jr., *Stride Toward Freedom: The Montgomery Story* (New York: Harper and Row, 1958); Thornton, *Dividing Lines*, 1–140; Branch, *Parting the Waters*, 120–205; Garrow, *Bearing the Cross*, 11–90; and Stewart Burns, ed., *Daybreak of Freedom: The Montgomery Bus Boycott* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997). On Tallahassee, see Glenda Alice Rabby, *The Pain and the Promise: The Struggle for Civil Rights in Tallahassee, Florida* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1999), 1–80. On the sit-ins, see William Chafe, *Civilities and Civil Rights: Greensboro, North Carolina, and the Black Struggle for Freedom* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1980), 110–141; Morris, *Origins of the Civil Rights Movement*, 188–228; and Laue, *Direct Action and Desegregation*.
16. "The Significance of Emancipation in the West Indies," speech in Canandauga, New York, August 3, 1957, in John W. Blassingame, ed., *The Frederick Douglass Papers, Series One: Speeches, Debates, and Interviews*, vol. 3, 1855–63 (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1991), 204 (quotation).

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 epigraph 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.
2. *Baltimore Afro-American*, January 26, 1946; *New York People's Voice*, June 15, 1946; Aleah Bacquie (Irene Amos [Morgan] Kirkaldy's granddaughter), interview by author, October 9, 2003; Irene Amos [Morgan] Kirkaldy, interview by Sherwood Morgan, January 4, 2004; Sherwood Morgan, interview by author, January 3, 2004. Prior to emancipation in 1865, several generations of Irene Morgan's ancestors worked as slaves on the Tabb plantation in Gloucester County. Box II-B190, NAACP,

- contains numerous documents related to Irene Morgan and the 1946 Supreme Court decision *Morgan v. Virginia*. See especially “Opinion by Justice Herbert B. Gregory,” typescript, June 6, 1945; “Argument in Irene Morgan Case,” undated typescript; “Irene Morgan, Appellant vs. Commonwealth of Virginia—Brief of Appellee,” undated typescript; and “Virginia Goes A’Courtin’,” *Headlines and Pictures* (May 1946): 15. On the racial situation in Baltimore during the 1940s, see the papers of the Baltimore Branch of the NAACP, box C77, NAACPP; and the extensive coverage in the *Baltimore Afro-American*. For brief accounts of the Morgan incident, see Barnes, *Journey from Jim Crow*, 45; Kluger, *Simple Justice*, 237–238; Jack Greenberg, *Race Relations and American Law* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1959), 118–119; and Carol Morello, “The Freedom Rider a Nation Nearly Forgot,” *Washington Post*, July 30, 2000, A1, A16. On Gloucester County, see Federal Writers’ Project, *Virginia: A Guide to the Old Dominion* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1940), 455–459.
3. *Baltimore Afro-American*, January 26, 1946; Morello, “The Freedom Rider a Nation Nearly Forgot”; Bacquie, Kirkaldy, and Morgan interviews; Federal Writers’ Project, *Virginia*, 453.
 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 Finney, 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 that “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, NAACPP; 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.”
 6. Barnes, *Journey from Jim Crow*, 3–4, 10, 14, 18, 44–47; Spottswood Robinson, “Memorandum Covering Transportation Cases,” c. January 1945, box II-B190, NAACPP; Ray Stannard Baker, *Following the Color Line: American Negro Citizenship in the Progressive Era* (New York: Harper and Row, 1964), 31 (quotation); Gunnar Myrdal, *An American Dilemma: The Negro Problem and American Democracy* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1944), 635 (quotation); Jules Tygiel, *Baseball’s Great Experiment: Jackie Robinson and His Legacy* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1983), 59. The incident took place near Fort Hood, Texas, on July 6, 1944, ten days prior to Irene Morgan’s arrest. Although the military police and the base provost marshal sided with the bus driver who ordered Robinson to move, a military court ruled in Robinson’s favor in August 1944. On the special character of race relations and racial politics in mid-twentieth-century Virginia, see J. Douglas Smith, *Managing White Supremacy: Race, Politics, and Citizenship in Jim Crow Virginia* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2003). For a sense of the frequency of confrontations related to Jim Crow transit during the early and mid-1940s, see reels 67, 73, 77, 81, 87, 91, 95–96, and 100, TIRRCF.
 7. Barnes, *Journey from Jim Crow*, 16 (quotation), 2–19, 22–23; *Plessy v. Ferguson*, 163 U.S. 537 (1896); *Chiles v. Chesapeake and Ohio Railway Company*, 218 U.S. 71 (1910); *McCabe v. Archbishop, Topeka and Santa Fe Railway Company*, 235 U.S. 151 (1914). For an excellent summary of the *Plessy* decision, see Kluger, *Simple Justice*, 73–83.
 8. Barnes, *Journey from Jim Crow*, 1–2, 5–7, 14–44; Kluger, *Simple Justice*, 73, 77, 105–226, 238; “Argument in Irene Morgan Case,” NAACPP; *Hall v. DeCuir*, 95 U.S. 485 (1878); *Mitchell v. United States*, 313 U.S. 80 (1941). See also Joseph R. Palmore, “The Not-So-Strange Career of Interstate Jim Crow: Race, Transportation, and the Dormant Commerce Clause, 1878–1946,” *Virginia Law Review* 83 (November 1997): 1773–1817.
 9. Spottswood W. Robinson III to Thurgood Marshall, January 11, 1945, and Thurgood Marshall to Spottswood W. Robinson III, January 15, 1945, folder 1, box II-B190, NAACPP; Robinson, “Memorandum Covering Transportation Cases”; Barnes, *Journey from Jim Crow*, 44–45; Mark V. Tushnet, *Making Civil Rights Law: Thurgood Marshall and the Supreme Court, 1936–1961* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994), 72–73; Carl T. Rowan, *Dream Makers, Dream Breakers: The World of Justice Thurgood Marshall* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1993), 106; Williams, *Thurgood Marshall*, 145.
 10. *Irene Morgan v. Commonwealth of Virginia*, 184 Va. 24, in *Virginia Reports* 184 (Richmond, 1946), 39.
 11. “Argument in Irene Morgan Case”; “Irene Morgan, Appellant, vs. Commonwealth of Virginia—Brief of Appellee”; Richard E. Westbrook to Thurgood Marshall, June 15, 1945; Memorandum to Mr. Wilkins from Thurgood Marshall, November 28, 1945; Clifford Forster (ACLU) to Marian Perry, January 10, 1946; “Memorandum for Bulletin on Irene Morgan Case”; Earl B. Dickerson (National Bar Association) to Thurgood Marshall, February 5, 1946; “Virginia ‘Jim-Crow’ Law Argued Before Supreme Court: Decision Pending,” *NAACP Bulletin*, March 28, 1946, all in box II-B190, NAACPP. See also Barnes, *Journey from Jim Crow*, 45–46; Tushnet, *Making Civil Rights Law*, 73–75; Kluger, *Simple Justice*, 238 (quotation); Williams, *Thurgood Marshall*, 145–146; Carter, *A Matter of Law*, 61; and Rowan, *Dream Makers, Dream Breakers*, 106.
 12. *Smith v. Allwright*, 321 U.S. 649 (1944); Kluger, *Simple Justice*, 234–238, 237 (quotation); Tushnet, *Making Civil Rights Law*, 74–75, 99–115. On the Columbia, Tennessee, crisis, see O’Brien, *The Color of the Law*. On the significance of Jackie Robinson in the immediate postwar era, see Tygiel, *Baseball’s Great Experiment*; Arnold Rampersad, *Jackie Robinson: A Biography* (New York: Knopf, 1997); and Randy Roberts and James Olson, *Winning Is the Only Thing: Sports in America Since 1945* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1989), 25–45. For a perceptive analysis of the political context of the racial crosscurrents of the mid-1940s, see Sullivan, *Days of Hope*, 133–275; and Patricia Sullivan, “Southern

- Reformers, the New Deal, and the Movement's Foundation," in *New Directions in Civil Rights Studies*, ed. Armistead L. Robinson (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1991), 81–104. See also Egerton, *Speak Now Against the Day*, 330–532; and Norrell, *The House I Live In*, 138–144.
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, NAACP, 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, NAACP; *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, NAACP; *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).
 17. *Chicago Defender*, June 15, 1946; *Baltimore Afro-American*, June 15–July 27, 1946; Barnes, *Journey from Jim Crow*, 52–53, 62–65; Robert G. Dixon Jr., "Civil Rights in Transportation and the ICC," *George Washington Law Review* 31 (October 1962): 198–213.
 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, NAACP, 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.
 20. Williams, *Thurgood Marshall*, 167–169; Kluger, *Simple Justice*, 190–191; Wilkins, *Standing Fast*, 190, 205–206, 210–211; Carter interview. On the NAACP Youth Councils and other sources of direct action advocacy within the NAACP, see Ransby, *Ella Baker and the Black Freedom Movement*, 105–147; Joanne Grant, *Ella Baker: Freedom Bound* (New York: Wiley, 1998), 50–51, 93; and Adam Fairclough, *Race and Democracy: The Civil Rights Struggle in Louisiana, 1915–1972* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1995), xi–xx, 110–111, 272–283, 296, 407–408. On the NAACP and anti-Communism, see Wilson Record, *Race and Radicalism: The NAACP and the Communist Party in Conflict* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1964); Woods, *Black Struggle, Red Scare*, 9, 49, 53, 61–62, 138, 156–157; Tushnet, *Making Civil Rights Law*, 44–47; Kenneth R. Janken, "From Colonial Liberation to Cold War Liberalism: Walter White, the NAACP, and Foreign Affairs, 1941–1955," *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 21 (1998): 1074–1095; and Carol Anderson, *Eyes off the Prize: The United Nations and the African American Struggle for Human Rights, 1944–1955* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003).
 21. While there is no comprehensive study of radical civil rights activism during the 1930s and 1940s, there are a number of monographs that discuss the activities of individual activists and specific organizations. See especially Meier and Rudwick, *CORE*, 3–40; Jervis Anderson, *Bayard Rustin: Troubles I've Seen* (New York: HarperCollins, 1997), 3–149; Daniel Levine, *Bayard Rustin and the Civil Rights Movement* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2000); D'Emilio, *Lost Prophet*; Anderson, *A. Philip Randolph*; Pfeffer, *A. Philip Randolph*; Carter, *Scottsboro*; John A. Salmond, *A Southern Rebel: The Life and Times of Aubrey Williams, 1890–1965* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1983); John A. Salmond, *Southern Struggles: The Southern Labor Movement and the Civil Rights Struggle* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2004); Bruce Nelson, *Divided We Stand: American Workers and the Struggle for Black Equality* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001); Frank T. Adams, *James A. Dombrowski: An American Heretic, 1897–1983* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1992); Robert F. Martin, *Howard Kester and the Struggle for Social Justice in the South, 1904–1977* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1991); Honey, *Southern Labor and Black Civil Rights*; Anthony P. Dunbar, *Against the Grain: Southern Radicals and Prophets, 1929–1959* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1981); John M. Glen, *Higblander: No Ordinary School, 1932–1962* (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1988); Kreuger, *And Promises to Keep*; H. L. Mitchell, *Mean Things Happening in This Land* (Montclair, NJ: Allanheld, Osmun, 1979); Nell Irvin Painter, *The*

- Narrative of Hosea Hudson: His Life as a Negro Communist in the South* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1979); Kelley, *Hammer and Hoe*; Mark Naison, *Communists in Harlem During the Depression* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1981); Anne C. Loveland, *Lillian Smith: A Southerner Confronting the South* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1986); Patricia Sullivan, ed., *Freedom Writer: Virginia Foster Durr, Letters from the Civil Rights Years* (New York: Routledge, 2003); Sullivan, *Days of Hope*; and Egerton, *Speak Now Against the Day*. See also Jacquelyn Dowd Hall, "The Long Civil Rights Movement and the Political Uses of the Past," *Journal of American History* 91 (March 2005): 1233–1250; and Richard M. Dalfiume, "The 'Forgotten Years' of the Negro Revolution," *Journal of American History* 55 (June 1968): 90–106. On the evolution of nonviolence and the American peace movement, see Joseph Kip Kosek, "Richard Gregg, Mohandas Gandhi, and the Strategy of Nonviolence," *Journal of American History* 91 (March 2005): 1318–1348; Lawrence S. Wittner, *Rebels Against War: The American Peace Movement, 1941–1960* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1969); Tracy, *Direct Action*; Scott H. Bennett, *Radical Pacifism: The War Resisters League and Gandhian Nonviolence in America, 1915–1963* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 2003); Charles Chatfield, *For Peace and Justice: Pacifism in America, 1914–1941* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1971); Staughton Lynd, ed., *Nonviolence in America: A Documentary History* (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill, 1966); and Jo Ann O. Robinson, *Abraham Went Out: A Biography of A. J. Muste* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1981). On Gandhi, see Louis Fischer, *The Life of Mahatma Gandhi* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1951); Judith M. Brown, *Gandhi: Prisoner of Hope* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1989); and Stanley Wolpert, *Gandhi's Passion: The Life and Legacy of Mahatma Gandhi* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2001). On Gandhian and nonviolent philosophy, see Joan V. Bondurant, *Conquest of Violence: The Gandhian Philosophy of Conflict* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1965); Erik H. Erikson, *Gandhi's Truth: On the Origins of Militant Nonviolence* (New York: Norton, 1969); Richard B. Gregg, *The Power of Non-Violence* (Philadelphia: J. P. Lippincott, 1934); Mulford Q. Sibley, ed., *The Quiet Battle: Writings on the Theory and Practice of Non-Violent Resistance* (Garden City, NY: Anchor, 1963); and William Robert Miller, *Nonviolence: A Christian Interpretation* (New York: Schocken Books, 1966).
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 Wittner, *Rebels Against War*, 1–181.
 23. Anderson, *Bayard Rustin*, 114–124, 183–196, 224–235; D'Emilio, *Lost Prophet*, 133–140, 225–301, 319–325; Bayard Rustin, *Down the Line: The Collected Writings of Bayard Rustin* (Chicago: Quadrant Books, 1971), ix–61; Raymond Arsenault, "Bayard Rustin and the 'Miracle in Montgomery,'" in *A History of the African American People*, ed. James O. Horton and Lois E. Horton (Detroit: Wayne State University Press, 1997), 156–157; Peck, *Freedom Ride*; Farmer, *Lay Bare the Heart*, 2–32, 101–116, 165–166, 195–291; Meier and Rudwick, *CORE*, 4–19, 131–417.
 24. Anderson, *Bayard Rustin*, 6–95, 23 (first quotation); D'Emilio, *Lost Prophet*, 7–56; Levine, *Bayard Rustin and the Civil Rights Movement*, 7–29; Bayard Rustin interviews, 1984–1987, CUOHC; Charles Moritz, ed., *Current Biography Yearbook 1967* (New York: H. W. Wilson, 1967), 360; Branch, *Parting the Waters*, 168–171; Adam Fairclough, *To Redeem the Soul of America: The Southern Christian Leadership Conference and Martin Luther King, Jr.* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1987), 23–24; Robinson, *Abraham Went Out*, 111; Anderson, *A. Philip Randolph*, 249–274, 275 (second quotation), 280–281, 378–380; Pfeffer, *A. Philip Randolph*, 51–90; Viorst, *Fire in the Streets*, 200–208; Kosek, "Richard Gregg, Mohandas Gandhi, and the Strategy of Nonviolence," 1336–1343; Tracy, *Direct Action*, 28–29; Bayard Rustin, "The Negro and Non-Violence," *Fellowship* 8 (October 1942): 166–167 (third quotation); Rustin, *Down the Line*, ix–xv, 11. On Carl Rachlin, see Anderson, *Bayard Rustin*, 41–44, 157, 271; Meier and Rudwick, *CORE*, 143, 151, 168, 173, 180, 226, 271, 277, 283, 412; and *New York Times*, January 4, 2000 (obituary).
 25. Rustin, *Down the Line*, 6–7; D'Emilio, *Lost Prophet*, 46–47; Levine, *Bayard Rustin and the Civil Rights Movement*, 32–33; Tracy, *Direct Action*, 30–31. On Mayor Ben West, see Halberstam, *The Children*, 111–114, 127, 179, 188, 200, 210–213, 230–234, 719; and "Ain't Scared of Your Jails," episode 3 of the documentary film series *Eyes on the Prize: America's Civil Rights Years* (Boston: Blackside, 1986).
 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.
 27. *New York Times*, July 13, 1993 (obituary); James Peck, *Underdogs vs. Upperdogs* (Carterbury, NJ: n.p., 1969); James Peck, *We Who Would Not Kill* (New York: Lyle Stuart, 1958); Peck, *Freedom Ride*, 15, 38–39 (quotations); Meier and Rudwick, *CORE*, 35; James Peck, interview by James Mosby Jr., February 19, 1970, RBOHC; Marvin Rich, interview by author, January 24, 2003, May 4, 2005; Gordon Carey, interview by author, November 24, December 11, 2002; Nancy L. Roberts, *American Peace Writers, Editors, and Periodicals: A Dictionary* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1991), 221–222; Tracy, *Direct Action*, 37. On the National Maritime Union, see Bruce Nelson, *Workers on the Waterfront: Seamen, Longshoremen, and Unionism in the 1930s* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1988). On Baldwin and the ACLU, see Samuel Walker, *In Defense of American Liberties: A History of the ACLU* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990); Diane Garey, *Defending Everybody: A History of the American Civil Liberties Union* (New York: TV Books, 1998); and Peggy Lamson, *Roger Baldwin: Founder of the American Civil Liberties Union* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1976). On the activities of the War Resisters League, see Bennett, *Radical Pacifism*.

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 interview, 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 stilled 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 generation, 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*, 58; *Official Proceedings of the Second National Negro Congress* (Philadelphia: October 15–17, 1937). See also Lawrence Wittner, “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, interview 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 difficulties and controversies surrounding the merger of pacifism, nonviolence, and civil rights activism during the 1940s and 1950s, 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*, 50–55, 62, 64, 67, 76, 119, 125–126, 128, 131–134; Tracy, *Direct Action*, 20–21, 26, 28, 32, 36, 53–55.
36. Houser, “A Personal Retrospective,” 3–4 (quotations); Tracy, *Direct Action*, 54.
37. On the Isaac Woodard episode, see Egerton, *Speak Now Against the Day*, 362–363 (quotation); Barnes, *Journey from Jim Crow*, 62; Sullivan, *Days of Hope*, 219; *Crisis* 53 (September 1946): 276; and *Race Relations: A Monthly Summary of Events and Trends in Race Relations* 4 (August–September 1946): 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 bus company. On Wilson Head’s freedom ride, see Salmond, “*My Mind Set on Freedom*,” 3–4, 87, 149; John Hope Franklin, interview by author, February 9, 2005. The Richmond incident took place in July 1947, in the aftermath of the Journey of Reconciliation. Houser interview, RBOHC; Houser, “A Personal Retrospective,” 2–6; Anderson, *Bayard Rustin*, 114–116; Meier and Rudwick, *CORE*, 20, 34; Peck, *Freedom Ride*, 14–15; Rustin, *Down the Line*, 13; D’Emilio, *Lost Prophet*, 133–134; Robinson, *Abraham Went Out*, 113–114.
38. Houser, “A Personal Retrospective,” 5–6 (quotations); George M. Houser and Bayard Rustin, “Memorandum #2: Bus and Train Travel in the South,” box 20, FORP; Peck, *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 Pacifist Movement, 1942–1972” (Ph.D. thesis, University of Massachusetts, 2000). Baker had already 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 against the railway company. See Ransby, *Ella Baker and the Black Freedom Movement*, 124–127.
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

- White, July 26, September 26, 1946, all in box II-B190, NAACP. *Baltimore Afro-American*, June 26, July 6, 27, November 2, 1946; *Los Angeles Tribune*, September 21, 1946; *Kansas City Plaindealer*, September 20, 1946; *Chicago Defender*, August 17, November 30, 1946; *Oklahoma City Black Dispatch*, December 9, 1946; *Memphis World*, November 15, 1946; *Atlanta Daily World*, November 27, 1946; Houser, “A Personal Retrospective,” 6–8; Barnes, *Journey from Jim Crow*, 52–53, 62–63; Tushnet, *Making Civil Rights Law*, 74–76; Peck, *Freedom Ride*, 17; Meier and Rudwick, *CORE*, 34–35; Anderson, *Bayard Rustin*, 114–115. On the Fellowship of Southern Churchmen, see Robert F. Martin, “Critique of Southern Society and Vision of a New Order: The Fellowship of Southern Churchmen, 1934–1957,” *Church History* 52 (March 1983): 66–80; and Martin, *Howard Kester and the Struggle for Social Justice in the South, 1904–1977*.
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.
 41. Bayard Rustin, “Our Guest Column: Beyond the Courts,” *Louisiana Weekly*, January 4, 1947; Anderson, *Bayard Rustin*, 115–116.
 42. On Truman and the President’s Committee on Civil Rights, see John Hope Franklin, “A Half-Century of Presidential Race Initiatives: Some Reflections,” *Journal of Supreme Court History* 24 (1999): 227–230; William C. Berman, *The Politics of Civil Rights in the Truman Administration* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press, 1970); and Donald R. McCoy and Richard T. Ruetten, *Quest and Response: Minority Rights and the Truman Administration* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1973). See also President’s Committee on Civil Rights, *To Secure These Rights: The Report of the President’s Committee on Civil Rights* (Washington: GPO, 1947); and Steven Lawson, ed., *To Secure These Rights: The Report of Harry S. Truman’s Committee on Civil Rights* (New York: Bedford, 2003).
 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.”
 45. Rustin, *Down the Line*, 13–14; Houser, “A Personal Retrospective,” 7–8; Meier and Rudwick, *CORE*, 35; Anderson, *Bayard Rustin*, 116; D’Emilio, *Lost Prophet*, 135; Tracy, *Direct Action*, 55; *Boston Globe*, August 28, 1993, May 29, 2002; *New York Times*, November 18, 1995; *Los Angeles Times*, March 4, 2005.
 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, COREP; and in the “George Houser Scrapbook—Journey of Reconciliation 1947,” box 2, COREC.
 48. Peck, *Freedom Ride*, 16.
 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: Lawrence 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).
 53. Rustin, *Down the Line*, 16–17 (quotations); “Log—Journey of Reconciliation,” 5–6; Peck, *Freedom Ride*, 18–20; Houser, “A Personal Retrospective,” 11–12.
 54. “Log—Journey of Reconciliation,” 6–7; Houser, “A Personal Retrospective,” 12–14; Houser interview, RBOHC; Peck, *Freedom Ride*, 20–21; *Chapel Hill Daily Tar Heel*, April 16–19, 1947; W. McKee Evans, interview by author, February 18, 2005; Anderson, *Bayard Rustin*, 118; D’Emilio, *Lost Prophet*, 137–138; Egerton, *Speak Now Against the Day*, 422–423, 556–559. The “George Houser Scrapbook—Journey of Reconciliation 1947,” box 2, COREC, contains numerous clippings on the Chapel Hill incident. See especially *Greensboro Daily News*, April 15, 17–18, 1947; *Pittsburgh Courier*, April 19, 1947; and *Carolina Times*, April 26, 1947. On Frank Porter Graham, see Warren Ashby, *Frank Porter Graham: A Southern Liberal* (Winston-Salem: John F. Blair, 1980). On Nelle Morton and

- the Fellowship of Southern Churchmen's role in the Journey of Reconciliation's visit to Chapel Hill, see John Salmond, " 'Flag-bearers for Integration and Justice': Local Civil Rights Groups in the South, 1940–1954," in Feldman, *Before Brown*, 227–235.
55. Houser, "A Personal Retrospective," 12 (quotation); Peck, *Freedom Ride*, 20–21; *Pittsburgh Courier*, April 19, 1947.
 56. "Log—Journey of Reconciliation," 6 (quotations)—7; Houser interview, RBOHC; Peck, *Freedom Ride*, 21–22; Rustin, *Down the Line*, 17; Anderson, *Bayard Rustin*, 118; D'Emilio, *Lost Prophet*, 138; *New York Times*, April 14, 1947; *Chapel Hill Daily Tar Heel*, April 15–16, 1947.
 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, *Lost Prophet*, 139.
 58. Peck, *Freedom Ride*, 22 (quotation)—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, *Lost Prophet*, 139; Anderson, *Bayard Rustin*, 119, offers a detailed but largely inaccurate account of the pursuit.
 59. Peck, *Freedom Ride*, 23; *New York Times*, April 14, 1947; *Greensboro Daily News*, April 17, 1947 (first quotation); *Chicago Defender*, May 3, 1947 (second quotation); *Chapel Hill Daily Tar Heel*, April 15–18, 1947; Evans interview.
 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 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 Textile Times*, April 15, 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 saw a great opportunity. He began to invite Negroes to his church for ice cream socials and encouraged white girls to attend and have dates with the Negro men. Encouraged by the success of that effort, 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 Presbytery inquiry that led to his resignation from the Presbyterian ministry. See Ashby, *Frank Porter Grabam*, 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): 319–320; and "Pastor vs. Presbytery," *Time* 61 (February 23, 1953): 53.
 61. Peck, *Freedom Ride*, 23 (quotations); D'Emilio, *Lost Prophet*, 139. On Greensboro, see Federal Writers' Project, *North Carolina: A Guide to the Old North State* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1939), 203–213.
 62. Rustin, *Down the Line*, 18 (first and second quotations); "Log—Journey of Reconciliation," 8; Houser, "A Personal Retrospective," 14, 15 (third quotation).
 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 Felmet, 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, NAACPP.
 65. Homer A. Jack, "Journey of Reconciliation," *Common Ground* 8 (Autumn 1947): 22, 23 (quotation); Houser, "A Personal Retrospective," 14–15; Houser interview, RBOHC.
 66. Jack, "Journey of Reconciliation," 23–24 (quotations); Rustin, *Down the Line*, 19; Houser, "A Personal Retrospective," 15–16.
 67. Rustin, *Down the Line*, 19; Houser, "A Personal Retrospective," 15–16. In 1961 Worthy told ICC investigators: "It has been my practice, started as far back as 1944, that whenever I am traveling in the Southern part of the United States, to deliberately go into the white waiting room." Typescript, March 21, 1961, RD 56, box 9, Investigative Report Case Files Relating to Complaints Against Motor Carriers in Interstate Commerce, 1961–70 (hereafter cited as Investigative Report Case Files), ICCR.
 68. Jack, "Journey of Reconciliation," 24; Rustin, *Down the Line*, 19–21; Houser, "A Personal Retrospective," 16–17; Houser interview, RBOHC; Peck, "Not So Deep Are the Roots," 273, 274 (quotation); *Lynchburg News*, April 23–24, 28, 1947; *Lynchburg Advance*, April 29, 1947. "Log—Journey of Reconciliation," 9–11, provides a detailed summary of Houser's and Nelson's bus and train trip from Lynchburg, Virginia, to Washington, D.C.
 69. Peck, *Freedom Ride*, 27 (quotation); "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-

- book—Journey of Reconciliation 1947,” box 2, COREC. On the public reaction to and press coverage of Jackie Robinson’s first month as a Major League ballplayer, see Tygiel, *Baseball’s Great Experiment*, 174–200, and reel 102, TIRRCF.
70. *Baltimore Afro-American*, April 26, 1947.
 71. Rustin, *Down the Line*, 22–25; Jack, “Journey of Reconciliation,” 26 (last quotation).
 72. Rustin, *Down the Line*, 21–22; Peck, “Not So Deep Are the Roots,” 282; Jack, “Journey of Reconciliation,” 24; Houser, “A Personal Retrospective,” 17; *Pittsburgh Courier*, May 3, 1947; *Knoxville News-Sentinel*, May 21, 1947; *Lynchburg Advance*, April 29, 1947; Workers Defense League, “Bus Companies Urged to Obey Supreme Court Ruling Outlawing Jimcrow,” press release, typescript, May 6, 1947; “Group Finds Bus Companies Evading Supreme Court’s Anti-Jim Crow Ruling,” FOR press release, typescript, April 28, 1947, both in Bayard Rustin Files, box 51, FORP.
 73. Peck, “Not So Deep Are the Roots,” 274 (first quotation); *New York Times*, May 22, 1947; *Long Island Daily Press*, May 21, 1947; Anderson, *Bayard Rustin*, 122 (second quotation); D’Emilio, *Lost Prophet*, 168; “Chapel Hill Judge Sentences Rustin and Roodenko,” *Fellowship* 13 (July 1947); C. Jerry Gates to Roy Wilkins, May 27, 1947, and C. Jerry Gates to Thurgood Marshall, May 27, 1947, box II-B184, NAACP; *Call*, July 2, 1947 (third quotation).
 74. *Durham Morning Herald*, March 18, 1948; *Chicago Defender*, March 27, 1948; *Pittsburgh Courier*, March 27, 1948; *Asheville Times*, December 14, 1948; *State of North Carolina v. Johnson et al.* (1949), Orange County, NC 723; “Carolina Journey Members Lose North Carolina Appeal,” *Fellowship* 15 (February 1949): 20; “Background Statement on the North Carolina Case,” typescript, February 1949, reel 3, BRP; Bayard Rustin to C. Jerry Gates, May 13, June 5, 1947, reel 44, COREP. C. Jerry Gates to Roy Wilkins, May 27, 1947; C. Jerry Gates to Robert L. Carter, June 16, 1947; Robert L. Carter to C. Jerry Gates, July 25, 1947; Robert L. Carter to George Houser, August 12, 1947, all in box II-B184, NAACP. Robert L. Carter to George Houser, February 8, 1949, in “Journey of Reconciliation, 1949, Chapel Hill Case” folder, reel 44, COREP; Anderson, *Bayard Rustin*, 122, 123 (quotation); D’Emilio, *Lost Prophet*, 168–169. The Virginia Supreme Court later overturned Lee’s conviction. See *Norvell Lee v. Commonwealth of Virginia* (1949), record 3558; and Martin A. Martin to George Houser, October 12, 1949, reel 44, COREP.
 75. C. E. Boulware to George Houser, January 18, 1949; Robert L. Carter to George Houser, February 8, 1949; minutes of FOR/CORE Legal Committee meeting, February 11, 1949; George Houser to Nelle Norton, February 12, 1949; Conrad Lynn to Andrew Johnson, February 14, 1949; Andrew Johnson to George Houser, March 12, 1949 (first quotation); FOR press release, typescript, March 20, 1949, all in “Journey of Reconciliation, 1949, Chapel Hill Case” folder, reel 44, COREP. George Houser to Dear Fellows, November 13, 1948, and George Houser to Bayard Rustin, November 20, 1948, reel 3, BRP; Anderson, *Bayard Rustin*, 123, 130–134; D’Emilio, *Lost Prophet*, 164–165; “Negro Acclaimed at Home and Abroad Sentenced to North Carolina Road Gang,” FOR/CORE press release, typescript, March 9, 1949, Bayard Rustin Files, box 51, FORP (second quotation); Carter interview.
 76. Rustin, *Down the Line*, 26–49, 29 (quotation); Anderson, *Bayard Rustin*, 135–136; D’Emilio, *Lost Prophet*, 170; Levine, *Bayard Rustin and the Civil Rights Movement*, 61–65. See also the correspondence and clippings (including the *New York Post* series) in reel 3, BRP; and the reports and correspondence in the Roxboro Prison Report folders, Bayard Rustin Files, box 51, FORP.
 77. Houser, “A Personal Retrospective,” 17–21; Peck, *Freedom Ride*, 27; Bayard Rustin, “From Freedom Ride to Ballot Box: The Changing Strategies of Black Struggle,” typescript of lecture delivered as part of the William Radner Lecture Series, Columbia University, October 9–11, 1973, section 31, reel 18, BRP; Anderson, *Bayard Rustin*, 123; Meier and Rudwick, *CORE*, 38–39; Barnes, *Journey from Jim Crow*, 60–65; Levine, *Bayard Rustin and the Civil Rights Movement*, 64–67; D’Emilio, *Lost Prophet*, 170; Tracy, *Direct Action*, 56.

Chapter 2: Beside the Weary Road

1. *The Hymnbook* (Atlanta: Presbyterian Church in the United States, 1955), 160.
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*, 65–69; 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*.
3. Meier and Rudwick, *CORE*, 69–75; Morris, *Origins of the Civil Rights Movement*, 128–130. George M. Houser to Thurgood Marshall, March 10, 1954; James Peck to Maurice McCrackin, n.d.; Robert L. Carter to Billie Ames, October 22, 1954 (quotation); Ames to Carter, October 26, 1954, all in reel 10, COREP. *CORE-lator*, October–November 1954, February 1955, Spring 1955, Fall 1955, reel 49, COREP; Rich interview. On the broader evolution of the American nonviolent movement in the period 1952–1955, see Tracy, *Direct Action*, 77–90.
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

- McCormally, "Profile of a Man with a Job," *Hutchinson (Kansas) News-Herald*, July 29, 1956, clipping in reel 31, COREP. On the origins and early weeks of the Montgomery Bus Boycott, see Martin Luther King Jr., *Stride Toward Freedom* (New York: Harper and Row, 1958), 10–126; Jo Ann Robinson, *The Montgomery Bus Boycott and the Women Who Started It* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1987); Rosa Parks, *My Story* (New York: Dial, 1992), 108–150; Thornton, *Dividing Lines*, 20–88; Garrow, *Bearing the Cross*, 11–65; Branch, *Parting the Waters*, 128–185; Burns, *Daybreak of Freedom*; Morris, *Origins of the Civil Rights Movement*, 40–63; and Charles Marsh, *The Beloved Community: How Faith Shapes Social Justice, from the Civil Rights Movement to Today* (New York: Basic Books, 2005), 20–38.
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.
 6. Glenn Smiley, "The Miracle of Montgomery," typescript, 1956, box 16, FORP; Farmer, *Lay Bare the Heart*, 186–188 (quotations); Morris, *Origins of the Civil Rights Movement*, 128–138; Barnes, *Journey from Jim Crow*, 161; Meier and Rudwick, *CORE*, 76, 78; *CORE-lator*, February 1957, Spring 1958, Fall 1958, February 1959, reel 49, COREP; Rich interview.
 7. On the shifting nature of American politics and society in the 1950s, see Stephen J. Whitfield, *The Culture of the Cold War*; Charles C. Alexander, *Holding the Line: The Eisenhower Era, 1952–1961* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1975); Eric F. Goldman, *The Crucial Decade—and After: America, 1945–1960* (New York: Vintage, 1960); John Patrick Diggins, *The Proud Decades: America in War and Peace, 1941–1960* (New York: Norton, 1988); William O'Neill, *American High: The Years of Confidence, 1945–1960* (New York: Free Press, 1986); David Halberstam, *The Fifties* (New York: Villard, 1993); Patterson, *Grand Expectations*; and Elaine Tyler May, *Homeward Bound: American Families in the Cold War Era* (New York: Basic Books, 1988). For a provocative interpretation of the South in the 1950s, see Pete Daniel, *Lost Revolutions: The South in the 1950s* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2000).
 8. John Swomley, interview by author, November 8, 1985; William Worthy, interview by author, May 10, 2001; D'Emilio, *Lost Prophet*, 67–71, 114–116, 170–224; Anderson, *Bayard Rustin*, 140–179; Levine, *Bayard Rustin and the Civil Rights Movement*, 70–75; Viorst, *Fire in the Streets*, 210; Branch, *Parting the Waters*, 168, 172–173; Garrow, *Bearing the Cross*, 66; Tracy, *Direct Action*, 81–82, 91; Kosek, "Richard Gregg, Mohandas Gandhi, and the Strategy of Nonviolence," 1343–1344. On the presumed connection between homosexuality and security risks during the 1950s and 1960s, see David K. Johnson, *The Lavender Scare: The Cold War Persecution of Gays and Lesbians in the Federal Government* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2004).
 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*, 78–82, 263–265, n5–13, 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, *Lost 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, March 10, 1956, in Gladney, *How Am I to Be Heard*, 94.
 10. Swomley interview; John Swomley to Glenn Smiley, February 29, 1956, box 16, FORP; War Resisters League Executive Committee Minutes, February 20, 1956, Series B, box 1, WRLP; Farmer interview, CUOHC; Raines, *My Soul Is Rested*, 53–54; Anderson, *Bayard Rustin*, 187; Viorst, *Fire in the Streets*, 210–211; Farmer, *Lay Bare the Heart*, 186–187; Garrow, *Bearing the Cross*, 66–67; Robinson, *Abramam Went Out*, 117; Pfeffer, *A. Philip Randolph*, 173–174; Bayard Rustin, "Report on Montgomery, Alabama" (New York: War Resisters League, March 21, 1956), copy in Bayard Rustin Files, box 51, FORP; Fairclough, *To Redeem the Soul of America*, 24; Worthy interview. On Worthy, see Meier and Rudwick, *CORE*, 35, 40, 45–46; Pfeffer, *A. Philip Randolph*, 149–150, 155–156, 161, 166–167; Raines, *My Soul Is Rested*, 53; *Who's Who Among Black Americans, 1990–1991* (Detroit: Gale Research, 1991), 1408; and *New York Times*, July 8, 1950, June 23, 1955, September 9, December 26, 1956, February 4, April 30, 1957, September 21, 1960, October 12, 1962, March 4, November 22, 1964.
 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, *Lost 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 Rested*, 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, *Lost Prophet*, 229–230. On the long-term relationship between Rustin and

- King, see Anderson, *Bayard Rustin*, 197–308; D’Emilio, *Lost Prophet*, 235–241, 266–269, 298–300, 359, 365, 371–374, 394–396, 405–406, 453–460; and Viorst, *Fire in the Streets*, 210–231.
13. Rustin, “Montgomery Diary,” 10; Swomley interview; Swomley to Riles, February 21, 1956, and Smiley to Swomley and Hassler, 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, *Abraham Went Out*, 117; Anderson, *Bayard Rustin*, 189–193; D’Emilio, *Lost 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*.
 14. Swomley interview; Glenn Smiley, interview by Katherine M. Shannon, September 12, 1967, RBOHC; Frank Wilkinson, interview by author, March 23, 1993. “Data Sheet: Rev. Glenn E. Smiley,” 1958 typescript; “Proposal for Race Relations Work in the South,” typescript, February 13, 1956; Smiley, “Report from the South, Number 1,” February 29, 1956; Al Hassler to Smiley, November 4, 1955; Smiley to Dear Friend, December 5, 1955; Swomley to To Whom it May Concern, February 8, 1956, all in box 16, FORP. D’Emilio, *Lost Prophet*, 40, 47–48, 174, 191, 200, 204, 226, 231–234, 245; Tracy, *Direct Action*, 88–92; Branch, *Parting the Waters*, 180; Garrow, *Bearing the Cross*, 68; Morris, *Origins of the Civil Rights Movement*, 62, 157, 159–160; David L. Chappell, *Inside Agitators: White Southerners in the Civil Rights Movement* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1994), 58–59; Anderson, *Bayard Rustin*, 191.
 15. Swomley interview; Smiley interview, RBOHC; Swomley to Smiley (two letters), February 29, 1956 (quotation), Swomley to Smiley, March 1, 1956, and Smiley to Swomley, March 2, 1956, all in box 16, FORP; Anderson, *Bayard Rustin*, 190–193; D’Emilio, *Lost Prophet*, 234–243; 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, *Abraham 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*, 84, 264 n9. On the Autherine Lucy episode, see Gaillard, *Cradle of Freedom*, 38–42; and E. Culppeper Clark, *The Schoolhouse Door: Segregation’s Last Stand at the University of Alabama* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), 19–21, 37–113.
 16. Smiley, “Report from the South, Number 1”; Smiley interview, RBOHC; Swomley 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.
 17. Smiley to Swomley and Hassler, February 29, 1956, box 16, FORP; Tracy, *Direct Action*, 95.
 18. Smiley to Swomley, March 2, 1956, box 16, FORP.
 19. Smiley interview, RBOHC; Morris, *Origins of the Civil Rights Movement*, 159–162, 166; Branch, *Parting the Waters*, 180; Garrow, *Bearing the Cross*, 70, 72; Chappell, *Inside Agitators*, 59–60, 240–241 n. 24; William Miller, *Martin Luther King, Jr.: His Life, Martyrdom, and Meaning for the World* (New York: Avon, 1968), 57–58, 60, 63; *Washington Afro-American*, March 20, 1956; “Four Hundred Clergymen Express Support for Montgomery Pastors,” typescript press release, March 18, 1956, reel 39, COREP (first and second quotations). Smiley, “Report from the South, Number 1”; Smiley, “Report from the South, Number 2,” August 15, 1956; Smiley to the Editor of the *Lungerville* (Arizona) *News*, March 9, 1956; Smiley to George C. Hardin, April 6, 1956; Smiley, memorandum to Paul Macy et al., April 7, 1956; Smiley to John Swomley, April 7, 1956 (third quotation); Smiley to Swomley (2 letters), April 10, 1956; Smiley to Rev. Matthew M. McCollum, n.d.; Smiley to Swomley, April 12, 1956; “Proposal for Race Relations Work in the South”; Smiley, “The Miracle of Montgomery,” typescript, 1956; Smiley to Martin Luther King Jr., April 13, 1956; Martin Luther King Jr. to Smiley, July 5, 1956; Robert Graetz to Alfred Hassler, May 15, 1957, all in box 16, FORP. Smiley to Martin Luther King Jr., June 1, 1956, box 5, MLKP. On Graetz’s role in the boycott, see Robert S. Graetz, *A White Preacher’s Memoir: The Montgomery Bus Boycott* (Montgomery: Black Belt Press, 1998); and Chappell, *Inside Agitators*, 56–58, 61.
 20. Bayard Rustin, “Notes of a Conference . . .,” reel 3, BRP; Garrow, *Bearing the Cross*, 72–73; Robinson, *Abraham Went Out*, 117; Raines, *My Soul Is Rested*, 54–57; Viorst, *Fire in the Streets*, 211; Fairclough, *To Redeem the Soul of America*, 25–26; Martin Luther King Jr., “Our Struggle,” *Liberation* 1 (April 1956), 3–6; Anderson, *Bayard Rustin*, 193–194; D’Emilio, *Lost Prophet*, 238–239.
 21. 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 Movement*, 159–160 (second Smiley quotation); Robinson, *Abraham Went Out*, 117; Anderson, *Bayard Rustin*, 187–188; D’Emilio, *Lost 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 Its Sources* (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, *Revolution 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,

- Of Kennedys and Kings: Making Sense of the Sixties* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1992), 103ff.; Lewis, *King*, 29–40, 72, 85–111; and Miller, *Martin Luther King, Jr.*, 29–31, 63, 82, 90, 298–299, and passim. King's own account of his "Pilgrimage to Nonviolence" in *Stride Toward Freedom*, 66–88, raises more questions than it answers and must be used with caution. Kosek, "Richard Gregg, Mohandas Gandhi, and the Strategy of Nonviolence," 1343–1348, notes the influence of Richard Gregg's classic study of Gandhian philosophy, *The Power of Non-Violence*, on King's evolving conception of nonviolent direct action. As Kosek points out, "Gregg's ideas and sometimes his language appear in King's own explanation of his philosophy. King stressed the militant, aggressive qualities of nonviolence, as Gregg had" (1345). On the diffusion of Gandhian ideas among black Americans, see Sudarshan Kapur, *Raising Up a Prophet: The African American Encounter with Gandhi* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1992). See also Charles Chatfield, ed., *The Americanization of Gandhi: Images of the Mahatma* (New York: Garland, 1976). On the desegregation of Montgomery's buses and the integrated bus ride of December 21, 1956, see King, *Stride Toward Freedom*, 147–151; Thornton, *Dividing Lines*, 93–96; and Chappell, *Inside Agitators*, 60–61.
22. Minutes of the Atlanta Conference, May 12, 1956 (quotations), and Smiley, "Report from the South, Number 2," 3, both in box 16, FORP; 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, *Lost 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; Pfeffer, *A. Philip Randolph*, 66, 142, 150–152, 165–166, 203–205. Harris Wofford expressed 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 action, Rustin seemed ever-present with advice, and sometimes acted as if King were a precious 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*, 58 (first quotation), 62 (third quotation), 169–205; Thomas Sancton, "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, 279; Robinson, *Abraham Went Out*, 111–112; Branch, *Parting the Waters*, 170–171; A. Philip Randolph to Nathaniel Cooper, February 13, 1953, and Cooper to Randolph, January 30, 1953, February 14, 1953, all in Corres. Box, APRP. On the March on Washington Movement, see Pfeffer, *A. Philip Randolph*, 45–132; Anderson, *A. Philip Randolph*, 249–261, and Garfinkel, *When Negroes March*.
 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, *Lost 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: Norton, 1981), 26, 40–44; Morris, *Origins of the Civil Rights Movement*, 83. For a discussion of Baker's 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 Culture*, ed. Charles Reagan Wilson and William Ferris (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1989), 1570–1571; Belinda Robnett, *How Long? How Long? African-American Women in the 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 Community Leadership: Ella Baker," in *Black Women in White America: A Documentary History*, ed. Gerda Lerner (New York: Vintage Books, 1973), 352. See also the transcript of a June 19, 1968, interview with Baker, RBOHC. There is no general history of In Friendship, but see Eugene P. Walker, "A History of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, 1955–1965: The Evolution of a Southern Strategy for Social Change" (Ph.D. thesis, Duke University, 1978); Ransby, *Ella Baker and the Black Freedom Movement*, 161–178, 195, 302; and "A Brief Digest of the Activities of 'In Friendship,'" March 6, 1957, box 2, APRP.
 27. A. Philip Randolph to Dear Friend, February 17, 1956, box B-186, NAACP (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, *Lost 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, NAACPP; 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, NAACPP; and Fairclough, *To Redeem the Soul of America*, 32, which probably overstates the degree of cooperation between the two organizations.
30. Wilkins, *Standing Fast*, 237–238; Pfeffer, *A. Philip Randolph*, 174–176 (quotation); "Map, 'State of Race' Confab for D.C.," *Jet* 9 (April 19, 1956): 3; "73 Negro Leaders in D.C. Session Seek Immediate Meeting with Ike," *Jet* 9 (May 10, 1956): 4–5. A. Philip Randolph to President Dwight D. Eisenhower, May 8, 1956, box 3, APRP. On Randolph's complicated and often frustrating relationship with Wilkins, see Randolph to Wilkins, March 16, 1956; Wilkins to Randolph, September 22, 1958; Randolph to Wilkins, October 6, 1958, all in box 30, BSCPP; Anderson, *A. Philip Randolph*, 319–324, 348; Pfeffer, *A. Philip Randolph*, 190–205; and Wilkins, *Standing Fast*, passim. On the Dixie Manifesto, also known as the "Southern Manifesto" or "Declaration of Constitutional Principles," see Numan V. Bartley, *The Rise of Massive Resistance: Race and Politics in the South During the 1950s* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1969), 116–117; *Congressional Record*, 84th Congress, 2d Session (March 12, 1956), 3948, 4004; Brooks Hays, *A Southern Moderate Speaks* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1959), 89; Tony Badger, "The Forerunner of Our Opposition: Arkansas and the Southern Manifesto of 1956," *Arkansas Historical Quarterly* 56 (1999): 353–360; and Tony Badger, "The White Reaction to *Brown*: Arkansas, the Southern Manifesto, and Massive Resistance," in *Understanding the Little Rock Crisis*, ed. Elizabeth Jacoway and Fred C. Williams (Fayetteville: University of Arkansas Press, 1999), 83–97.
31. Barnes, *Journey from Jim Crow*, 121–131; King, *Stride Toward Freedom*, 157–180; Burns, *Daybreak of Freedom*, 270–273, 299–347; Thornton, *Dividing Lines*, 93; Klarman, *From Jim Crow to Civil Rights*, 266–267, 372, 377–378, 392; *Browder v. Gayle*, 142 F. Supp. 707 (M.D. Ala. 1956); *Browder v. Gayle*, 1 RRLR 678 (1956); *Gayle v. Browder*, 352 U.S. 903 (1956).
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*, 158–201; Fred Shuttlesworth, interview by author, February 19, June 6, 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; Manis, *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.
33. On the rise of massive resistance in the late 1950s, see Bartley, *The Rise of Massive Resistance*, 170–292; Francis M. Wilhoit, *The Politics of Massive Resistance* (New York: George Braziller, 1973); Neil R. McMillen, *The Citizens' Council: Organized Resistance to the Second Reconstruction, 1944–1964* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1971); Belknap, *Federal Law and Southern Order*, 27–69; Patterson, *Brown v. Board of Education*, 86–117; Woods, *Black Struggle, Red Scare*, 49–142; Thornton, *Dividing Lines*, 96–118; John Bartlow Martin, *The Deep South Says "Never"* (New York: Ballantine Books, 1957); and Harry S. Ashmore, *An Epitaph for Dixie* (New York: Norton, 1958). See also the important collection of essays in Clive Webb, ed., *Massive Resistance: Southern Opposition to the Second Reconstruction* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005). The term "massive resistance" originated in Virginia. See James W. Ely Jr., *The Crisis of Conservative Virginia: The Byrd Organization and the Politics of Massive Resistance* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1976); and Benjamin Muse, *Virginia's Massive Resistance* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1961).
34. On Eisenhower and civil rights during the late 1950s, see Robert F. Burk, *The Eisenhower Administration and Black Civil Rights* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1984), 151–266; Kenneth O'Reilly, *Nixon's Piano: Presidents and Racial Politics from Washington to Clinton* (New York: Free Press, 1995), 165–187; Kluger, *Simple Justice*, 650–651, 657–665, 715, 726–727, 753–754, 774; J. W. Anderson, *Eisenhower, Brownell, and Congress: The Tangled Origins of the Civil Rights Bill of 1956–57* (University: University of Alabama Press, 1964); Herbert Brownell, *Advising Ike* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1993); Maxwell Rabb, interview by Steven Lawson, October 6, 1970, CUOHC; E. Frederic Morrow, *Black Man in the White House: A Diary of the Eisenhower Years by the Administrative Officer for*

- Special Projects, the White House, 1955–1961* (New York: Coward-McCann, 1963); E. Frederic Morrow Diary Transcript, box 1, E. Frederic Morrow Papers, Dwight David Eisenhower Library, Abilene, KS; Belknap, *Federal Law and Southern Order*, 34–52; Branch, *Parting the Waters*, 180–183, 212–213, 223–224, 233–237; Garrow, *Bearing the Cross*, 119, 130; Wilkins, *Standing Fast*, 212–213, 229–269; and Brauer, *John F. Kennedy and the Second Reconstruction*, 1–8. On Eisenhower and the Little Rock crisis, see Bartley, *The Rise of Massive Resistance*, 251–269; Dudziak, *Cold War Civil Rights*, 115–151; Jacoway and Williams, *Understanding the Little Rock Crisis*; and John A. Kirk, *Redefining the Color Line: Black Activism in Little Rock, Arkansas, 1940–1970* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2002), 106–138. On the 1957 Civil Rights Act, see Robert A. Caro, *Master of the Senate: The Years of Lyndon Johnson* (New York: Random House, 2002), 831–1012; and Anderson, *Eisenhower, Brownell, and Congress*.
35. Carter interview; Garrow, *Bearing the Cross*, 97–105, 121–124, 134–137; Branch, *Parting the Waters*, 186, 197–199, 297–298; Fairclough, *To Redeem the Soul of America*, 32–35, 64–65; Farmer, *Lay Bare the Heart*, 178, 188, 189 (first quotation), 190–193; Wilkins, *Standing Fast*, 228–229, 237 (second quotation), 238–271; Jonas, *Freedom's Sword*, 161–166; Ransby, *Ella Baker and the Black Freedom Movement*, 170–238; Robert Jerome Glennon, “The Role of Law in the Civil Rights Movement: The Montgomery Bus Boycott, 1955–1957,” *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, Gloster 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. Davis and Hunter R. 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, “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 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 Negroes . . . in the South have little patience left,” 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.”
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*, 197–212; Levine, *Bayard Rustin and the Civil Rights Movement*, 91–103; D’Emilio, *Lost Prophet*, 245–248, 262–277; Shuttlesworth interview. On C. K. Steele and the Tallahassee movement during the 1950s, see Rabby, *The Pain and the Promise*, 1–108; and Gregory B. Padgett, “The Tallahassee Bus Boycott,” in Samuel C. Hyde Jr., *Sunbelt Revolution: The Historical Progression of the Civil Rights Movement in the Gulf South, 1866–2000* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2003), 190–209. On Kelly Miller Smith and the founding and evolution of the NCLC, see Smith’s fragmentary unpublished manuscript, “Pursuit of a Dream,” folders 7 and 8, box 28; and the NCLC materials in boxes 74–76, all in KMSP.
37. On the national culture of violence in the United States, see Hugh Davis Graham and Ted Robert Gurr, *The History of Violence in America: Historical and Comparative Perspectives* (New York: Praeger, 1969); Richard Slotkin, *Regeneration Through Violence: The Myth of the American Frontier, 1600–1860* (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 1973); and Richard Slotkin, *Gunfighter Nation: The Myth of the Frontier in Twentieth-Century America* (New York: Atheneum, 1992). On the South’s special proclivity for violence, see Hackney, “Southern Violence,” 906–925 (first quotation); H. C. Brearley, “The Pattern of Violence,” in *Culture in the South*, ed. W. T. Couch (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1934), 678–692; Raymond Gastil, “Homicide and a Regional Culture of Violence,” *American Sociological Review* 36 (June 1971): 412–427; John Hope Franklin, *The Militant South, 1800–1861* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1956); Dickson D. Bruce, *Violence and Culture in the Antebellum South* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1979); John Shelton Reed, *The Enduring South: Subcultural Persistence in Mass Society* (Lexington, MA: Heath, 1972), 45–55; Tyson, *Radio Free Dixie*, 1–89, 205 (second quotation); Timothy B. Tyson, *Blood Done Sign My Name: A True Story* (New York: Crown, 2004); and Ransby, *Ella Baker and the Black Freedom Movement*, 193–194, 211–212. On the historical connections between violence, self-defense, and civil rights activism prior to 1963, see Strain, *Pure Fire*, 1–77.
38. Tyson, *Radio Free Dixie*, 71–165, 122 (first quotation), 149 (second quotation); Strain, *Pure Fire*, 51–58. See also Robert F. Williams, *Negroes with Guns* (Chicago: Third World Press, 1973).
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*

- Wall Between* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1959); Catherine Fosl, *Subversive Southerner: Anne Braden and the Struggle for Racial Justice in the Cold War South* (New York: Palgrave, 2002); Olson, *Freedom's Daughters*, 173–181; and Ransby, *Ella Baker and the Black Freedom Movement*, 231–237.
40. Morris, *Origins of the Civil Rights Movement*, 188–196; Meier and Rudwick, *CORE*, 77–98; Sitkoff, *Struggle for Racial Equality*, 57–60; Peck, *Freedom Ride*, 61–71; Carey and Rich interviews; Patricia Stephens Due, interview by author, April 27, 2002; D'Emilio, *Lost Prophet*, 290. See also reels 31, 38, 39, 43, and the 1957–59 issues of *CORE-lator* in reel 49, COREP; and Kristin M. Anderson-Bricker, “Making a Movement: The Meaning of Community in the Congress of Racial Equality, 1958–1968” (Ph.D. thesis, Syracuse University, 1997). On Miami CORE, see Susan Bodan and James R. Robinson, *1959 Miami Interracial Action Institute: Summary and Evaluation* (New York: CORE, 1960), 1–11; Gordon R. Carey, “Action Institute Aids Miami CORE,” *CORE-lator* 78 (Fall 1959): 1–3; Raymond A. Mohl, “‘South of the South?’ Jews, Blacks, and the Civil Rights Movement in Miami, 1945–1960,” *Journal of American Ethnic History* 18 (Winter 1999): 3–26; and Raymond A. Mohl, *South of the South: Jewish Activists and the Civil Rights Movement in Miami, 1945–1960* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2004), 53–58, 147–194. On the formation and evolution of the CORE chapter in Tallahassee in 1959, see Rabby, *The Pain and the Promise*, 81–87; Tananarive Due and Patricia Stephens Due, *Freedom in the Family: A Mother-Daughter Memoir of the Fight for Civil Rights* (New York: Ballantine, 2003), 96–105; and reel 19, COREP. On the use of direct action as a means of advancing issues other than civil rights during these years, see Tracy, *Direct Action*, 99–117.
 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); Louis, *And We Are Not Saved*, 98–103; Laue, *Direct Action and Desegregation*, 75–95; Fairclough, *To Redeem the Soul of America*, 55; Wilkins, *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.
 44. Miscellaneous materials on April 15–17, 1960, conference at Shaw University, folder 1, box 25, SNCCP; “1960 Nashville Sit-Ins,” commemorative issue, *Tennessee Tribune*, February 12–18, 2004, 3D (first quotation); Matthew Walker Jr., interview by author, November 8, 2004; Carson, *In Struggle*, 19–22, 23 (second quotation), 24; Zinn, *SNCC*, 1–34; Cheryl Lynn Greenberg, ed., *A Circle of Trust: Remembering SNCC* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1998), 18–38; Garrow, *Bearing the Cross*, 120–121, 131–134; Meier and Rudwick, *CORE*, 105; Fairclough, *To Redeem the Soul of America*, 58–64; Ransby, *Ella Baker and the Black Freedom Movement*, 239–247; Grant, *Ella Baker*, 105–131; Olson, *Freedom's Daughters*, 148–150; Lewis, *Walking with the Wind*, 114 (third quotation); Ella Baker, “Bigger than a Hamburger,” *Southern Patriot* 18 (May 1960): 4; Constance Curry et al., *Deep in Our Hearts: Nine White Women in the Freedom Movement* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2000), 107, 345–346; Marsh, *The Beloved Community*, 88. On Lawson, see Halberstam, *The Children*, 11–106, 122–125, 214–226; Branch, *Parting the Waters*, 204–205, 259–299; Chappell, *A Stone of Hope*, 67–71; Greenberg, ed., *A Circle of Trust*, 19, 33–36, 47, 236; Morris, *Origins of the Civil Rights Movement*, 162–163; and Farmer, *Lay Bare the Heart*, 193. On the uproar surrounding Lawson's expulsion, see Paul Conkin, *Gone with the Ivy: A Biography of Vanderbilt University* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1985), 547–580; *Nashville Tennessean*, March 3–June 6, 1960; Ray Waddle, “Days of Thunder: The Lawson Affair,” *Vanderbilt Magazine* 83 (Fall 2002): 35–43; Morgan Jackson Wills, “Walking the Edge: Vanderbilt University and the Sit-In Crisis of 1960” (senior thesis, Princeton University, 1990); and the special sit-in edition of the Vanderbilt Divinity School student newspaper *Prospectus* 83 (March 16, 1960), the *Vanderbilt Hustler*, March 4, 11, and 25, 1960, and other materials in the Lawson Case vertical file, Vanderbilt University Special Collection. On the Nashville student movement and the sit-ins of 1960, see Halberstam, *The Children*, 90–234; Lewis, *Walking with the Wind*, 68–117; Linda T. Wynn, “The Dawning of a New Day: The Nashville Sit-Ins, February 13–May 10, 1960,” *Tennessee Historical Quarterly* (Spring 1991): 42–54; Sandra A. Taylor, “The Nashville Sit-In Movement, 1960” (M.A. thesis, Fisk University, 1972); David Sumner, “The Local Press and the Nashville Student Movement” (Ph.D. thesis, University of Tennessee, 1989); Paul LaPrad, “Nashville: A Community Struggle,” in Peck, *Freedom Ride*, 82–88; and the Nashville Community Relations Conference *Report* (1960), copy in Student Sit-In Movement vertical file, FUSC. See also the documentary films “Ain't Scared of Your Jails,” episode 3 of *Eyes on the Prize I: Sit-In* (NBC White Paper, 1960); *Anatomy of a Demonstration* (CBS Television, 1960); and *Nashville: We Were Warriors* (excerpted from *A Force More Powerful: A Century of Nonviolent Conflict*, PBS television series, 2000), all available for viewing in the Civil Rights Room at the Nashville Public Library.
 45. Carson, *In Struggle*, 25, 26 (quotation), 27–31; Grant, *Ella Baker*, 131–137; Farmer, *Lay Bare the Heart*, 192–193; Lewis, *Walking with the Wind*, 124–125; Zinn, *SNCC*, 1 (quotation), 34–35; Benjamin Elton Cox, interview by author, April 5–6, May 8, 2001, May 9, November 7, 2004. See also the first issue of the SNCC newspaper, *The Student Voice* (June 1960). On the rising tide of student activism in the early 1960s, see Gitlin, *The Sixties*; Miller, *Democracy Is in the Streets*; Isserman, *If I Had a Hammer*; Anderson, *The Movement and the Sixties*, 3–130; Irwin Unger, *The Movement: A History of the American New Left, 1959–1972* (New York: Harper and Row, 1974); and W. J. Rorabaugh, *Berkeley at War: The 1960s* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989). On the earlier student movement of the 1930s, see Ralph S. Brax, *The First Student Movement: Student Activism in the United States*

- During the 1930s* (Port Washington, NY: Kennikat Press, 1981); and Robert Cohen, *When the Old Left Was Young: Student Radicals and America's First Mass Student Movement, 1929–1941* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993).
46. Meier and Rudwick, *CORE*, 104–117, 107 (first quotation); Lewis, *Walking with the Wind*, 113 (second quotation); Patricia Stephens, “Tallahassee: Through Jail to Freedom,” in Peck, *Freedom Ride*, 73–79; Due interview; Due and Due, *Freedom in the Family*, 4, 69–82, 94–98; Rabby, *The Pain and the Promise*, 5–6, 81–89, 105–106, 116–120, 133–139, 148, 183.
 47. Peck, *Freedom Ride*, 94–95 (quotation), 96–113; Meier and Rudwick, *CORE*, 104, 113–119, 136; Branch, *Parting the Waters*, 392–393; Zinn, *SNCC*, 23–24, 38–39, 41; Tom Gaither, interview by author, November 9–11, 2001; James K. Davis and Glenda Gaither Davis, interview by author, May 12, 2001; Charles Jones, interview by author, May 12, 2001; J. Charles Jones, “Timeline—Rock Hill and Charlotte Sit-ins,” 2 (www.crmvet.org/info/rockhill.htm); *Rock Hill Evening Herald*, February–March, 1961, January 29, 2001. See also Gaither’s reports and correspondence in folder 249, reel 36, COREP.
 48. Meier and Rudwick, *CORE*, 112 (quotation), 113–114; Bernard Lafayette, interview by author, April 6, May 11, 2001, June 9–10, 2004; Carey, Due, and Gaither interviews; Mohl, “‘South of the South?’” 21–22; Due and Due, *Freedom in the Family*, 98–99, 101–104. See also the correspondence related to the institute in reel 19, COREP; Joseph Perkins, “My 219 Days with CORE,” August 24, 1961, section 260, reel 39, COREP; Richard Haley, interview by Robert Wright, August 12, 1969, RBOHC; Richard Haley, interview by Kim Lacy Rogers, April 25, May 9, 1979, ARC.
 49. *New Orleans Times-Picayune*, September 10–12, 1960; *Atlanta Constitution*, October 20–29, 1960; Meier and Rudwick, *CORE*, 114–116; *CORE-lator*, Fall 1960, box 49, COREP; Dave Dennis, interview by author, May 11–12, 2001; Ed Blankenheim, interview by author, April 6, May 11, 2001, May 7, 2004; Gaither and Cox interviews; Branch, *Parting the Waters*, 345–350, 351 (second quotation), 352–361; Carson, *In Struggle*, 27–28, 29 (first quotation), 30; Anne Braden, “Student Protest Movement Taking Permanent Form,” *Southern Patriot* 18 (October 1960): 4; Anne Braden, “Student Movement: New Phase,” *Southern Patriot* 18 (November 1960): 4; “SNCC Conference,” *Student Voice* (October 1960): 1; minutes, SNCC staff meeting, November 25–27, 1960, box 7, SNCCP; Zinn, *SNCC*, 18–19; Greenberg, *A Circle of Trust*, 4–5, 34–36, 39–40, 45–47, 68–70, 189, 257; Chuck McDew, interview by Katherine Shannon, August 24, 1967, RBOHC; Fairclough, *To Redeem the Soul of America*, 73; Arthur M. Schlesinger Jr., *Robert Kennedy and His Times* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1978), 216.
 50. Wofford, *Of Kennedys and Kings*, 11–28; *New York Times*, October 20–29, 1960; Branch, *Parting the Waters*, 306–308, 313–314, 318–319, 341–342, 345–360, 361 (quotation), 362–378; Brauer, *John F. Kennedy and the Second Reconstruction*, 35–59; Stern, *Calculating Visions*, 33–39; Lawson, *Running for Freedom*, 54–55, 75–79; Niven, *The Politics of Injustice*, 21–23; Dallek, *An Unfinished Life*, 268–269, 291–295; Hilty, *Robert Kennedy*, 169–175; Fairclough, *To Redeem the Soul of America*, 73–75; Halberstam, *The Children*, 252–254; Garrow, *Bearing the Cross*, 83–84, 113, 138–149; Carson, *In Struggle*, 29; Schlesinger, *Robert Kennedy and His Times*, 216–218; Reeves, *President Kennedy*, 62; Martin Luther King, Jr., interview by Berl Bernhard, March 9, 1964, JFKL; Harris Wofford, interview by Larry Hackman, May 22, 1968, February 3, 1969, JFKL. See also the transcripts of the 1988 interviews of Louis Martin, Parren Mitchell, Samuel D. Proctor, Sargent Shriver, Franklin Williams, and Harris Wofford, all by Anthony Shriver, filed under “Kennedy’s Call to King,” JFKL. Theodore C. Sorensen, *Kennedy* (New York: Harper and Row, 1965), 33, relates the story of “Kennedy’s reaction to the news that Negro leader Martin Luther King’s father had announced his support—after the Senator’s phone call to Mrs. King—stating he had previously planned to vote against Kennedy on religious grounds”: “‘That was a hell of an intolerant statement, wasn’t it?’ said Kennedy. ‘Imagine Martin Luther King having a father like that.’ Then a pause, a grin, and a final word: ‘Well, we all have fathers, don’t we?’”
 51. Brauer, *John F. Kennedy and the Second Reconstruction*, 1–60; Stern, *Calculating Visions*, 9–39; O’Reilly, *Nixon’s Piano*, 189–199; Branch, *Parting the Waters*, 379–384; Wilkins, *Standing Fast*, 272–282; Dudziak, *Cold War Civil Rights*, 152–157; Lewis, *Walking with the Wind*, 129; Fairclough, *To Redeem the Soul of America*, 76; Niven, *The Politics of Injustice*, 8–24, 16 (quotation); Dallek, *An Unfinished Life*, 330–332; John Doar, interview by author, June 8, 2005.
 52. Farmer, *Lay Bare the Heart*, 193–195 (quotations); Meier and Rudwick, *CORE*, 127–131; Rich, Carey, and Carter interviews.

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 Songs* in September 1946. In 1961 the Freedom Riders revived the song, adding six new verses: “In 1954 our Supreme Court said, ‘Look a-here Mr. jim crow, it’s time you were dead./ I’m paying my fare on the Greyhound Bus line, I’m riding 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 riding 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; *Boynnton 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 Gaillard, *Cradle of Freedom*, 62–65, 222–223, 227, 230–231, 242–243, 245. On December 4, 1960, Gordon Carey discussed the implications of the *Boynnton* 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.
3. Thomas Gaither, Field Report from Rock Hill, September 29–October 1, 1960, and Thomas Gaither to Gordon Carey, January 20, 1961, both in reel 36, COREP; Gaither and Carey interviews; Thomas Gaither, *Jailed-In*, and James Farmer to Edward King, telegram, February 7, 1961, both in folder 3, box 8, SNCCP; Peck, *Freedom Ride*, 99–113; Meier and Rudwick, *CORE*, 117–119, 136; *Rock Hill Evening Herald*, January 31–February 21, 1961, January 29, March 18, 2001; *New York Times*, February 1–2, 13, 20–21, 1961; *Baltimore Afro-American*, February 21, 1961; Branch, *Parting the Waters*, 391–394; Jones interview; Raines, *My Soul Is Rested*, 109 (quotation); Carson, *In Struggle*, 31–33, 39–40; Zinn, *SNCC*, 38–39; Cynthia Griggs Fleming, *Soon We Will Not Cry: The Liberation of Ruby Doris Smith Robinson* (London: Rowman and Littlefield, 1998), 72–77; Charles Sherrod, interview by Bret Eynon, May 12, 1985, CUOHC; Olson, *Freedom's Daughters*, 158, 160, 212; Halberstam, *The Children*, 267–268; Jones, “Timeline–Rock Hill and Charlotte Sit-ins,” 4–5.
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,” (second quotation) both in folder 2, box 7, SNCCP; *Student Voice* (April–May 1961): 44; Ed 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.
5. Carey and Rich interviews. On the “Little Freedom Ride,” see *CORE-lator* 88 (April 1961): 4; and memorandum, Gordon Carey to CORE Groups, National Officers, May 1, 1961, box 52A, MLKP (quotation).
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*

- Streets*, 141; Simeon Booker, *Black Man's America* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1964), 199; Carey and Rich interviews. On Smith and Aaron, see Kim Lacy Rogers, *Righteous Lives: Narratives of the New Orleans Civil Rights Movement* (New York: New York University Press, 1993), 111–149, 184–186, 195, 205–206; Anderson-Bricker, “Making a Movement,” 1–2, 262, 265–266, 269, 346–347; Freedom Rider applications, Julia Aaron and Jerome Smith, section 456, reel 44, COREP; section 268, reel 37, COREP; and Jerome Smith, interview by Kim Lacy Rogers, July 9, 26, 1988, ARC.
7. Freedom Rider application, Genevieve Hughes, section 456, reel 44, COREP; “Freedom Ride, 1961–Participants”; Blankenheim, Cox, and Rich interviews; Farmer, *Lay Bare the Heart*, 197; Lewis, *Walking with the Wind*, 137, 139 (first quotation); *Baltimore Afro-American*, May 20, 1961 (second quotation); *Denver Post*, October 30, 1961; Meier and Rudwick, *CORE*, 113, 136, 152, 164, 183, 186, 189, 207, 227, 229; Anderson-Bricker, “Making a Movement,” 46–57. In late 1960 and early 1961 Hughes conducted CORE fieldwork in Ohio, New York, Kentucky, Pennsylvania, Maryland, the District of Columbia, and Virginia. She became CORE’s Western field secretary in late 1961. By 1963 she was no longer a member of the CORE staff, but she remained an active participant in the Berkeley, California, CORE chapter. On Hughes’s activities as a CORE field secretary, see sections 254–255, reel 36, COREP.
 8. Freedom Rider application, Joseph P. Perkins Jr., section 456, reel 44, COREP; “Freedom Ride, 1961–Participants”; Meier and Rudwick, *CORE*, 113, 120–121, 136, 152; Blankenheim, Carey, Rich, and Lafayette interviews; Farmer, *Lay Bare the Heart*, 197; *Baltimore Afro-American*, May 20, 1961 (quotation). Lewis, *Walking with the Wind*, 137, misidentifies Perkins as a student at the University of Kentucky. On Perkins’s activities as a CORE field secretary, see section 260, reel 37, COREP.
 9. Freedom Rider application, Walter and Frances Bergman, section 456, reel 44, COREP; “Freedom Ride, 1961–Participants”; Kaufman, *The First Freedom Ride*, 10–83; *Baltimore Afro-American*, May 20, 1961; Meier and Rudwick, *CORE*, 137; Lewis, *Walking with the Wind*, 139; *New York Times*, October 10, 1999 (obituary); Howard Simon, interview by author, December 2, 1999; William Goodman, interview by author, June 13, 2005.
 10. Freedom Rider application, Albert Bigelow, section 456, reel 44, COREP; “Freedom Ride, 1961–Participants”; Albert Bigelow, *The Voyage of the Golden Rule: An Experiment with Truth* (New York: Doubleday, 1959); Albert Bigelow, “Why I Am Sailing into the Pacific Bomb-Test Area,” *Liberation* 2 (February 1958): 4–6; James Peck, “Jail Is Our Home Port,” William Huntington, “If You Feel Like It,” and A. J. Muste, “Follow the Golden Rule,” all in *Liberation* 3 (June 1958): 4–8; Norman Cousins, “The Men of the Golden Rule,” *Saturday Review* 41 (May 17, 1958): 24; Wittner, *Rebels Against War*, 246–250; Tracy, *Direct Action*, 99–105, 109; Hentoff, *Peace Agitator*, 151–155; Robinson, *Abraham Went Out*, 164; Peck, *Freedom Ride*, 119; Farmer, *Lay Bare the Heart*, 197, 203; Lewis, *Walking with the Wind*, 136; *Baltimore Afro-American*, May 20, 1961; Blankenheim and Carey interviews. For an obituary, see *New York Times*, October 8, 1993. On the CNVA, see Neil H. Katz, “Radical Pacifism and the Contemporary American Peace Movement: The Committee for Nonviolent Action, 1957–1967” (Ph.D. thesis, University of Maryland, 1974). Jim Peck participated in the *Golden Rule*’s voyage of June 4, 1958, but he did not serve time in jail because, unlike Bigelow and the rest of the crew, he was not a repeat offender with respect to violation of a federal injunction prohibiting the voyage. See Tracy, *Direct Action*, 103.
 11. Freedom Rider application, Jimmy McDonald, section 456, reel 44, COREP; “Freedom Ride, 1961–Participants”; Jimmy McDonald, interview by James Mosby Jr., November 5, 1969, RBOHC (quotations); Jimmy McDonald, “A Freedom Rider Speaks His Mind,” *Freedomways* 1 (Summer 1961): 158–162, rpt. in *Freedomways Reader: Propbets in Their Own Country*, ed. Esther Cooper Jackson (Boulder, CO: Westview Press, 2000), 59–64; *Baltimore Afro-American*, May 20, 1961; Lewis, *Walking with the Wind*, 137–138; Carey, Rich, and Blankenheim interviews; Peck, *Freedom Ride*, 120, refers to McDonald as “our group’s chief singer.” Although the details of his family background and early life are sketchy, McDonald sometimes identified himself as a onetime resident of Accomack County, Virginia. *Montgomery Advertiser*, May 5, 1961. For an obituary, see *Chicago Sun-Times*, July 16, 2000; and *Atlanta Constitution*, July 16, 2000.
 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.
 13. Freedom Rider application, John H. Moody Jr., section 456, reel 44, COREP; “Freedom Ride, 1961–Participants”; John Moody, interview by author, May 10–11, November 8–9, 2001; Hank Thomas and John Moody, interview by author, May 11, 2001; John Moody, remarks at “Ride to Freedom,” 40th anniversary celebration, Atlanta Convention Center, Atlanta, GA, May 11, 2001; Doug Miller, “The Forgotten Freedom Rider,” *Columbia Flier*, April 14, 1994; Halberstam, *The Children*, 249; Branch, *Parting the Waters*, 470. On NAG, see Zinn, *SNCC*, 56; Carson, *In Struggle*, 30, 72, 83–84, 103–104, 162–163, 252; and Anderson-Bricker, “Making a Movement,” 48–50. The organization was formed in the spring of 1960. Jane Stembridge to Henry Thomas, August 29, 1960, folder 24, box 10, SNCCP; Joan Trumpauer Mulholland, interview by author, November 8–9, 2001; Paul Dietrich, interview by author, July 8, 2005; Dion Diamond, interview by author, July 13, 2005.

14. Freedom Rider application, Henry James Thomas, section 456, reel 44, COREP; Thomas interview; Thomas and Moody interview; Diamond and Dietrich interviews; *Washington Post*, May 5, 1961; *New Orleans Times-Picayune*, July 21, 1991, April 7, 2001; *Baltimore Afro-American*, May 20, 1961; *Atlanta Constitution*, May 10, 2001 (quotation); Hank Thomas profile, typescript, folder 24, box 10, SNCCP; Halberstam, *The Children*, 215–216, 249, 255, 574; Lewis, *Walking with the Wind*, 137; Carson, *In Struggle*, 33, 38; Peck, *Freedom Ride*, 121–122; Branch, *Parting the Waters*, 412; Farmer, *Lay Bare the Heart*, 24, 197, mistakenly describes Thomas as a senior.
15. Freedom Rider application, Charles Person, section 456, reel 44, COREP; “Freedom Ride, 1961–Participants”; Charles Person, interview by author, May 11–12, 2001; 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.
16. Freedom Rider application, B. Elton Cox, section 456, reel 44, COREP; “Freedom Ride 1961–Participants”; Cox interview; Benjamin Elton Cox, interview by Scott Simon, National Public Radio *Weekend Edition* broadcast, April 7, 2001; Thomas interview; Bernard Lafayette and Hank Thomas, interview by author, April 6, 2001; *Baltimore Afro-American*, May 20, 1961; Farmer, *Lay Bare the Heart*, 197, 200; Meier and Rudwick, *CORE*, 151–152; Lewis, *Walking with the Wind*, 137, 139. Cox served as a CORE field representative from the fall of 1961 to the summer of 1964. See section 244, reel 36, COREP. Cox stressed the religious implications of segregation in a statement to an Associated Press reporter just prior to leaving Washington on the Freedom Ride: “I believe we cannot expect to live in a segregated society, be buried by a segregated mortician in a segregated cemetery, and then live eternally in an integrated heaven.” *Montgomery Advertiser*, May 5, 1961.
17. Freedom Rider application, John R. Lewis, section 456, reel 44, COREP; “Freedom Ride 1961–Participants”; John Lewis, interview by author, January 31, 2001; Lewis interview, RBOHC; Lewis, *Walking with the Wind*, 11–134, 90 (first quotation), 108 (second quotation); Halberstam, *The Children*, 66–72, 238–249; Meier and Rudwick, *CORE*, 116, 136 (third quotation); Peck, *Freedom Ride*, 119; Branch, *Parting the Waters*, 261–264, 278–280, 379–380, 394–395, 411–412; Carson, *In Struggle*, 21–24, 33; Raines, *My Soul Is Rested*, 71–74, 97–100; Zinn, *SNCC*, 5, 8, 19. On the early development of the Nashville student movement and its relationship with the NCLC, see the 1958–1960 NCLC meeting minutes in folders 22 and 23, box 76, KMSP. See especially Jim Lawson’s comments on the relationship in the minutes for November 3, 1960. On the activities of Lewis and the Nashville student movement in early 1961, see the biweekly student newsletter *Voice of the Movement* 1, nos. 1–7 (February–May 1961), copies in folder 8, box 76, KMSP.
18. Lewis, *Walking with the Wind*, 87–88, 96–97, 132 (first quotation), 133–136; Lafayette interview (second quotation); Halberstam, *The Children*, 246 (third quotation), 247–249; Gaillard, *Crucible of Freedom*, 75–76; Branch, *Parting the Waters*, 412; Lewis and Shuttlesworth interviews; Bernard Lafayette, remarks at “Ride to Freedom,” 40th anniversary celebration, Atlanta Civic Center, Atlanta, GA, May 11, 2001. Lafayette’s paternal grandfather was a French-speaking cigarworker who migrated to Tampa from Cuba in the 1880s. On Ybor City, see Gary R. Mormino and George Pozzetta, *The Immigrant World of Ybor City: Italians and Their Latin Neighbors in Tampa, 1885–1985* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1987).
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; Raines, *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; Raines, *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; Raines, *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 Newson, interview by author, March 2, 2002; Walter Fauntroy, interview by author, June 5, 2004;

- Rich, Carey, Lewis, Cox, Blankenheim, and Thomas interviews; *Montgomery Advertiser*, May 5, 1961 (Farmer quotations). See also Simeon Booker, “How Atty.-Gen. Kennedy Plans to Aid Dixie Negroes,” *Jet* 19 (April 20, 1961): 12–15; Simeon Booker and Theodore Gaffney, “Eyewitness Report on Dixie ‘Freedom Ride’—Jet Team Braves Mob Action 4 Times Within 2-Day Period,” *Jet* 19 (June 1, 1961): 14–21; and Booker, *Black Man’s America*, 1–8, 199–201. On Devree, see Bill Mobley, “Writer on Bus Trip Tells of Her Escape,” *Birmingham Post-Herald*, May 15, 1961; and Charlotte Devree, “The Young Negro Rebels,” *Harper’s* 223 (October 1961): 133–138. A graduate of Sarah Lawrence College, Devree had contributed articles to *Look* and the *New York Times Magazine*. Her husband, Howard Devree, was a noted New York art critic. For Newson’s coverage of the second week of the Ride, see the *Washington Afro-American*, May 13, 1961; and the *Baltimore Afro-American*, May 20, 27, June 3, 1961.
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*, 255, mistakenly claims that the Riders stopped in Charlottesville, Virginia, and that Person was arrested there for trying to desegregate a shoeshine 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 Tyman, *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.
 24. Lewis, *Walking with the Wind*, 140 (first quotation); Bergman letter; Lewis, Blankenheim, and Cox interviews; Peck, *Freedom Ride*, 116 (second quotation); Peck, “Freedom Ride,” 2; Farmer, *Lay Bare the Heart*, 199; Perkins, “My 219 Days with CORE,” 14; Meier and Rudwick, *CORE*, 136; Gaither, reports, March and April 1961, and “Freedom Ride Itinerary,” typescript, April 24, 1961, both in reel 25, COREP; Larry A. Still, “A Bus Ride Through Mississippi,” *Ebony* 16 (August 1961): 22; Charlotte Devree, “The Young Negro Rebels,” 134 (third quotation); Sherrrod interview, CUOHC; Federal Writers’ Project, *Virginia*, 283–300.
 25. Lewis, *Walking with the Wind*, 140–141 (quotation), mistakenly places Walker in Petersburg on May 5. Wyatt Tee Walker, interview by author, December 22, 2003; Wyatt Tee Walker, interview by John Britton, October 11, 1967, RBOHC; Grady Wilson Powell Sr., interview by author, December 17, 2003; Margaret Crowder, interview by author, December 17, 2003; Barnes, *Journey from Jim Crow*, 143–144; Lewis, Blankenheim, and Cox interviews; Thomas Gaither, field report from Petersburg, September 18–21, 1960, and memorandum to Gordon Carey on trip to Virginia, North Carolina, and South Carolina, c. December 1960, both in section 249, reel 36, COREP; Gordon Carey to Martin Luther King Jr., March 31, 1961, box 52A, MLKP; Meier and Rudwick, *CORE*, 86, 112; Branch, *Parting the Waters*, 285–286, 413; Garrow, *Bearing the Cross*, 124–125, 131, 136–137, 140–141; Fairclough, *To Redeem the Soul of America*, 67; “Freedom Rider Itinerary”; Still, “A Bus Ride Through Mississippi,” 22; Perkins, “My 219 Days with CORE,” 14. Petersburg hosted an SCLC “Institute on Nonviolence” in July 1960. See reel 3, SCLCP. In the spring and summer of 1961, the Reverend Milton A. Reid of Petersburg served as president of the Virginia Christian Leadership Conference. *Baltimore Afro-American*, June 3, 1961. On Petersburg, see U. S. Department of Commerce, *County and City Data Book 1956* (Washington: GPO, 1957), table 4; Roller and Tyman, *Encyclopedia of Southern History*, 970; Federal Writers’ Project, *Virginia*, 273–282, and James G. Scott and Edward A. Wyatt, *Petersburg’s Story* (Petersburg: Titmus Optical, 1960).
 26. Peck, *Freedom Ride*, 116; Peck, “Freedom Ride,” 2; Branch, *Parting the Waters*, 413; Lewis, *Walking with the Wind*, 141; Blankenheim and Cox interviews; James Scheffer, *The Race: The Uncensored Story of How America Beat Russia to the Moon* (New York: Doubleday, 1999), 139–144; *New York Times*, May 5–12, 1961; Federal Writers’ Project, *Virginia*, 398. On the civil rights struggle in Farmville and Prince Edward County, see Amy E. Murrell, “Standing Steady: Toward an Understanding of the Prince Edward School Crisis, 1959–1964” (MA thesis, University of Virginia, 1996; Barbara L. LaJaunie, “A Question of Legitimacy: the *Farmville Herald* and the *Brown Decision*” (Ph.D. thesis, University of Kentucky, 1998); Robert F. Pace, ed., *Two Hundred Years in the Heart of Virginia: Perspectives on Farmville’s History* (Farmville: Longwood College Foundation, 1998); and Kluger, *Simple Justice*, 451–507.
 27. Peck, *Freedom Ride*, 116–117 (first quotation); Peck, “Freedom Ride,” 2; Perkins, “My 291 Days with CORE,” 14; Bergman letter (second quotation); Cox (third quotation), Blankenheim, and Lewis interviews; Virgil Wood, interview by author, March 1, 2002; Meier and Rudwick, *CORE*, 119; U.S. Department of Commerce, *County and City Data Book 1956*, table 4. On the March 1961 SCLC “Institute on Nonviolence,” see reel 3, SCLCP. On Lynchburg, see Roller and Tyman, *Encyclopedia of Southern History*, 762; P. L. Scruggs, *History of Lynchburg, 1786–1946* (Lynchburg: J. P. Bell, 1973); Darrell Laurant, *A City unto Itself: Lynchburg, Virginia in the Twentieth Century* (n.p.: D. Laurant, 1997); and Federal Writers’ Project, *Virginia*, 264–272. On race and civil rights in Lynchburg, see Steven E. Tripp, *Yankee Town, Southern City: Race and Class Relations in Civil War Lynchburg* (New York: New York University Press, 1997); Henry W. Powell, *Witness to Civil Rights History: The Essays and Autobiography of Henry W. Powell* (Hastings, NY: Patrick Cooney, 2000); and Georgia R. W. Barksdale, *Lest We Forget: Remember the Pioneers, Lynchburg Early Civil Rights Movement, 1960–1963* (Lynchburg: privately printed, 1999).

28. Blankenheim interview; Blankenheim, "Freedom Ride," 3; Perkins, "My 291 Days with CORE," 14; *Baltimore Afro-American*, May 20, 1961; Peck, *Freedom Ride*, 117 (quotation); Peck, "Freedom Ride," 2; Branch, *Parting the Waters*, 413, 822, 834. On Danville, see Roller and Twyman, *Encyclopedia of Southern History*, 329; Federal Writers' Project, *Virginia*, 597–599; W. Thomas Mainwaring, "Community in Danville, Virginia, 1880–1963" (Ph.D. thesis, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, 1988); and Jane E. Dailey, "Deference and Violence in the Postbellum Urban South: Manners and Massacres in Danville, Virginia," *Journal of Southern History* 63 (August 1991): 554–590. Danville was the scene of major SCLC demonstrations in the summer and fall of 1963. See Fairclough, *To Redeem the Soul of America*, 145–147, 161; James W. Ely Jr., "Negro Demonstrations and the Law: Danville as a Test Case," *Vanderbilt Law Review* 25 (October 1974): 931–943; Sally Belfrage, "Danville on Trial," *New Republic* 49 (November 2, 1963): 11–12; and Peggy Thompson, "A Visit to Danville," *Progressive* 27 (November 1963): 28.
29. Peck, *Freedom Ride*, 117 (first and second quotations), 118; Peck, "Freedom Ride," 2; Perkins, "My 291 Days with CORE," 14; *Baltimore Afro-American*, May 20, 1961; *Greensboro Daily News*, May 7, 8 (Farmer quotations), 1961; *Winston-Salem Journal*, May 8, 1961; *Raleigh News and Observer*, May 7, 1961; Chafe, *Civilities and Civil Rights*, 57–141, 155–156; Meier and Rudwick, *CORE*, 136; Gaither reports, March and April 1961; Cox, Lewis, and Newson interviews.
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.
31. Federal Writers' Project, *North Carolina*, 158–168; Peck, *Freedom Ride*, 118 (first quotation); Peck, "Freedom Ride," 2; Perkins, "My 291 Days with CORE," 14–15; *Charlotte Observer*, May 9, 1961, May 6, 2001; *Charlotte News*, May 8–10, 1961; *Washington Afro-American*, May 13, 1961; *Baltimore Afro-American*, May 20, 27, 1961; *Salisbury Saturday Evening Post*, May 9, 1961; *Sumter Daily Item*, May 10–11, 1961; *Rock Hill Evening Herald*, May 10–11, 1961; Lewis, *Walking with the Wind*, 141; Halberstam, *The Children*, 255; Raines, ed., *My Soul Is Rested*, 111; Blankenheim, "Freedom Ride," 3 (second quotation); Person, Blankenheim, and Newson interviews; Simeon Booker, "Alabama Mob Ambush Bus, Beat Biracial Group and Burn Bus," *Jet* 20 (May 25, 1961): 14; Booker and Gaffney, "Eyewitness Report on Dixie 'Freedom Ride,'" 14; Jones, "Timeline—Rock Hill and Charlotte Sit-ins," 1–8. A decade later, Charlotte and surrounding Mecklenburg County became the backdrop of a precedent-setting legal struggle over the use of county-wide busing for the purpose of school desegregation. In *Swann v. Charlotte-Mecklenburg Board of Education*, 402 U.S. 1 (1971), the U.S. Supreme Court unanimously upheld federal district judge James B. McMillan's county-wide busing order. See Bernard Schwartz, *Swann's Way: The School Busing Case and the Supreme Court* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986).
32. James Farmer, "Jail-Inners Resume Struggle," *CORE-lator* (April 1961): 3–4; Gaither reports, March and April 1961; Gaither interview; *Rock Hill Evening Herald*, May 10–11, 1961, January 29, March 18, 2001; *Baltimore Afro-American*, May 27, 1961; *Charlotte Observer*, May 6, 2001; Peck, *Freedom Ride*, 118; Peck, "Freedom Ride," 2; Perkins, "My 291 Days with CORE," 15; Lewis, *Walking with the Wind*, 141 (quotation); Jones, "Timeline—Rock Hill and Charlotte Sit-ins," 1–8. On Tillman, Blease, and Smith, see Francis Butler Simkins, *Pitchfork Ben Tillman: South Carolinian* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1944); David Carlton, *Mill and Town in South Carolina, 1880–1920* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1982); Stephen Kantrowitz, *Ben Tillman and the Reconstruction of White Supremacy* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2000); Bryant Simon, *Fabric of Defeat: The Politics of South Carolina Millhands, 1910–1948* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998); Ronald D. Burnside, "The Governorship of Coleman L. Blease of South Carolina, 1911–1915" (Ph.D. thesis, Indiana University, 1963); and W. J. Cash, *The Mind of the South* (New York: Knopf, 1941), 250–259. On Rock Hill, see Federal Writers' Project, *South Carolina: A Guide to the Palmetto State* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1941), 253–257.
33. Lewis, *Walking with the Wind*, 142 (first and second quotations), 143–144; Lewis and Newson interviews; *Charlotte Observer*, May 10–11, 1961, May 6, 2001; *Rock Hill Evening Herald*, May 10, 1961; *Washington Afro-American*, May 13, 1961; *Baltimore Afro-American*, May 20, 1961; *Salisbury Evening Post*, May 10, 1961; *High Point Enterprise*, May 10, 1961; *Pittsburgh Courier*, May 20, 1961; Farmer, *Lay Bare the Heart*, 199; Peck, *Freedom Ride*, 118–120 (third and fourth quotations); Peck, "Freedom Ride," 2; Perkins, "My 291 Days with CORE," 15; Blankenheim, "Freedom Ride," 4; Branch, *Parting the Waters*, 415–416; Halberstam, *The Children*, 255–257; Raines, *My Soul Is Rested*, 111; Viorst, *Fire in the Streets*, 143–144; Still, "A Bus Ride Through Mississippi," 22; Federal Writers' Project, *South Carolina*, 315 (fifth quotation). See also the interviews of Moses Newson, James Farmer, Hank Thomas, and John Lewis in the documentary film *Down Freedom's Main Line* (Washington: George Washington University Institute for Historical Documentary Filmmaking, 1998).
34. Federal Writers' Project, *South Carolina*, 316–317; U.S. Department of Commerce, *County and City Data Book 1961* (Washington: GPO, 1961), table 4; *New York Times*, May 10–11, 1961; *Sumter Daily Item*, May 11–12, 1961; *Rock Hill Evening Herald*, May 11, 1961; *Charlotte Observer*, May 6, 2001; Peck, *Freedom Ride*, 120–122 (first and second quotations); Peck, "Freedom Ride," 2; Perkins, "My 291 Days with CORE," 15; *Baltimore Afro-American*, May 20, 1961 (third quotation); *Atlanta Constitution*, May 10, 2001 (fourth quotation); Blankenheim, "Freedom Ride," 4–5; Thomas interview. Halberstam, *The Children*, 257–258, provides a detailed description of Thomas's ordeal but mistakenly identifies the location as Rock Hill.
35. *Sumter Daily Item*, May 10–12, 1961; *Baltimore Afro-American*, May 20, 27, 1961; Cox, Blankenheim, and Newson interviews; Mae Frances Moultrie Howard, interview by author, April 28, 2005; James

- Farmer to Mae Frances Moultrie, February 27, 1961; Edward B. King Jr. to Mae Moultrie, March 9, 1961, and Gordon Carey to Max Moultrie, April 4, 1961, letters in author's possession; Ivor Moore, interview by author, September 18, 2005. Peck, *Freedom Ride*, 122–123; Peck, "Freedom Ride," 2; Perkins, "My 291 Days with CORE," 15; "Freedom Ride Itinerary"; Freedom Rider applications, Mae Frances Moultrie, Ivor Moore, Herman K. Harris, and Isaac Reynolds, section 456, reel 44, COREP; Isaac Reynolds, interview by James Mosby Jr., November 5, 1969, RBOHC; *New Orleans Times-Picayune*, March 1, 1998 (Reynolds's obituary); Meier and Rudwick, *CORE*, 106, 116–117, 137, 219, 357; Powledge, *Free at Last?* 256; *Birmingham Post-Herald*, May 15, 1961; *Montgomery Advertiser*, May 15, 1961; Still, "A Bus Ride Through Mississippi," 23; James T. McCain: *A Quiet Hero* (Sumter: n.p., 2002), commemorative pamphlet in author's possession. On Sumter, see Federal Writers' Project, *South Carolina*, 265–267. On the legal tangle precipitated by the Morris College sit-ins, see *Charlotte Observer*, March 3, 1961.
36. *New York Times*, May 7 (Kennedy quotations), 10, 11, 1961; *Atlanta Constitution*, May 8, 1961 (McGill quotation); *Baltimore Afro-American*, May 20, 1961; *Pittsburgh Courier*, May 20, 1961; Edwin O. Guthman, *We Band of Brothers* (New York: Harper and Row, 1971), 159–165; Schlesinger, *Robert Kennedy and His Times*, 293–294; Thomas, *Robert Kennedy*, 127; Branch, *Parting the Waters*, 414–415; Wofford, *Of Kennedys and Kings*, 150–151 (NAACP quotation); Brauer, *John F. Kennedy and the Second Reconstruction*, 95–98; Seigenthaler interview; Eugene Patterson, interview by author, February 14, 2004. On Vandiver, see Harold P. Henderson, *Ernest Vandiver: Governor of Georgia* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2000). On Charlayne Hunter, who went on to become a successful public television commentator, see Charlayne Hunter-Gault, *In My Place* (New York: Farrar Straus Giroux, 1992); Calvin Trillin, *An Education in Georgia: The Integration of Charlayne Hunter and Hamilton Holmes* (New York: Viking, 1963); and Robert A. Pratt, *We Shall Not Be Moved: The Desegregation of the University of Georgia* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2002). See also Eugene Patterson, "The Long Road Back to Georgia," in *The Changing South of Gene Patterson: Journalism and Civil Rights, 1960–1968*, ed. Roy Peter Clark and Raymond Arsenault (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2002), 255–263.
 37. On the political and social history of Edgefield, see Orville Vernon Burton, *In My Father's House Are Many Mansions: Family and Community in Edgefield, South Carolina* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1985); Drew Gilpin Faust, *James Henry Hammond and the Old South: A Design for Mastery* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1982); Fox Butterfield, *All God's Children: The Basket Family and the American Tradition of Violence* (New York: Knopf, 1995); Simkins, *Pitchfork Ben Tillman*; Kantrowicz, *Ben Tillman and the Reconstruction of White Supremacy*; Nadine Cohodas, *Strom Thurmond and the Politics of Southern Change* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1993); and Jack Bass, *Of Strom: An Unauthorized Biography of Strom Thurmond* (Atlanta: Longstreet, 1998).
 38. Peck, *Freedom Ride*, 123 (quotations); Peck, "Freedom Ride," 2–3; Farmer, *Lay Bare the Heart*, 200; Blankenheim, "Freedom Ride," 5; *Augusta Chronicle*, May 6–13, 1961; *Pittsburgh Courier*, June 3, 1961; Still, "A Bus Ride Through Mississippi," 23; Eugene Patterson interview; Stephen G. N. Tuck, *Beyond Atlanta: The Struggle for Racial Equality in Georgia, 1940–1980* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2001), 30, 36, 39, 51–52, 65, 80, 85, 108–109, 145–147, 204, 210, 234–235. On Augusta, see Roller and Twyman, *The Encyclopedia of Southern History*, 90; Numan V. Bartley, *The Creation of Modern Georgia* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1983), 131–136, 162–163, 196; J. William Harris, *Plain Folk and Gentry in a Slave Society: White Liberty and Black Slavery in Augusta's Hinterlands* (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 1985); Richard H. L. German, "The Queen City of the Savannah: Augusta, Georgia During the Urban Progressive Era, 1890–1917" (Ph.D. thesis, University of Florida, 1971); and Edward Cashin, *The Story of Augusta* (Augusta: Richmond County Board of Education, 1980). See also Donald L. Grant, *The Way It Was in the South: The Black Experience in Georgia* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2001); Paul Bolster, "Civil Rights Movement in Twentieth-Century Georgia" (Ph.D. thesis, University of Georgia, 1972); and Joseph Yates Garrison, "The Augusta Black Community Since World War II" (M.A. thesis, University of Miami, 1971).
 39. Peck, *Freedom Ride*, 123–124 (quotations); Peck, "Freedom Ride," 3; Hunter-Gault, *In My Place*; Ralph McGill, *The South and the Southerner* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1963), 289–291; Harold H. Martin, *Ralph McGill, Reporter* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1973), 174–180; Fairclough, *To Redeem the Soul of America*, 73–75; Bartley, *The Creation of Modern Georgia*, 193–206; Barbara B. Clowse, *Ralph McGill: A Biography* (Macon: Mercer University Press, 1998); Leonard Ray Teel, *Ralph Emerson McGill: Voice of the Southern Conscience* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 2001); Jeff Roche, *Restructured Resistance: The Sibley Commission and the Politics of Desegregation in Georgia* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1998); Ronald Bayor, *Race and the Shaping of Twentieth-Century Atlanta* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1996); Tuck, *Beyond Atlanta*; Grant, *The Way It Was in the South*; and Eugene Patterson interview. For a series of discussions on Atlanta's struggle with desegregation in 1960 and 1961, see the periodic editorials of publisher Ralph McGill and the daily columns of editor Eugene Patterson in the *Atlanta Constitution*, 1960–1961. For a sampling of Patterson's columns, see Clark and Arsenault, *The Changing South of Gene Patterson*, 46–87.
 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, Newson, Person, Thomas, and Wyatt Tee Walker interviews.

41. Farmer, *Lay Bare the Heart*, 200 (quotations); Blankenheim, Newson, Person, and Thomas interviews.
42. Farmer, *Lay Bare the Heart*, 200–201 (quotations); Raines, *My Soul Is Rested*, 112; Blankenheim, Cox, Newson, Person, and Thomas interviews; Branch, *Parting the Waters*, 417; Viorst, *Fire in the Streets*, 144; Booker, “Alabama Mob Ambush Bus,” 12; Perkins, “My 291 Days with CORE,” 15.
43. Lewis, *Walking with the Wind*, 144 (quotation); Cox, Lafayette, and Lewis interviews; Diane Nash, interview by author, April 6–7, 2001; *Voice of the Movement* 1 (May 20, 1961): 1; Branch, *Parting the Waters*, 424–425. Halberstam, *The Children*, 265–266, mistakenly claims that Lewis was still in Philadelphia on Sunday, May 14.
44. Kaufman, *The First Freedom Ride*, 157–166 (quotations); Thornton, *Dividing Lines*, 167, 240–242; McWhorter, *Carry Me Home*, 131, 161–168, 177–198; O’Reilly, “Racial Matters,” 79–90; Gary Thomas Rowe Jr., *My Undercover Years with the Ku Klux Klan* (New York: Bantam, 1976), 1–40; Gary May, *The Informant: The FBI, the Ku Klux Klan, and the Murder of Viola Liuzzo* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005), 1–29; Eskew, *But for Birmingham*, 85–119, 156–157; William A. Nunnally, *Bull Connor* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1991), 85–108. See also the voluminous FBI correspondence in the following files available through the Freedom of Information Act: FBI–CORE Files; FBI–Walter and Frances Bergman Freedom Rider Files; and FBI–Alabama Freedom Rider Files. All are available at FBI-FRI (in the Birmingham Public Library). See especially Memoranda on Information from G. Thomas Rowe, April 24, and May 4, 10, 12, 1961; SAC Birmingham to FBI Director, April 19, 24, and May 5, 9, 10, 12, 1961; FBI Director to SAC Atlanta, April 24, 1961; FBI Director to SAC Birmingham, May 10, 1961, all in FBI-FRI. On Shelton and the competing Klan organizations of the early 1960s, see James Graham Cook, *The Segregationists* (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1962), 117–147.
45. Memoranda on Rowe, May 4, 10, 12, 1961; SAC Birmingham to FBI Director, May 5, 9, 10, 12, 13, 1961; FBI Director to SAC Birmingham, May 10, 1961; SAC Birmingham to FBI Director and SAC Mobile, May 14, 1961, all in FBI-FRI. Kaufman, *The First Freedom Ride*, 162–163 (quotations); Thornton, *Dividing Lines*, 243–245; McWhorter, *Carry Me Home*, 162, 194; O’Reilly, “Racial Matters,” 83, 89–90; Wofford, *Of Kennedys and Kings*, 151–152; Branch, *Parting the Waters*, 420; Halberstam, *The Children*, 321–322; May, *The Informant*, 29–31; Burke Marshall, interview in documentary “Ain’t Scared of Your Jails”; Burton Hersh, interview by author, April 26, 2005. See also U.S. Department of Justice, *The FBI, the Department of Justice, and Gary Thomas Rowe, Jr.: Task Force Report on Gary Thomas Rowe, Jr.* (Washington: GPO, 1979), 54–55, for an evaluation of the FBI’s failure to share information with other government agencies prior to the Klan assaults on Freedom Riders in Alabama.
46. Kaufman, *The First Freedom Ride*, 164 (quotations), 165–167; McWhorter, *Carry Me Home*, 194–199, 203; Thornton, *Dividing Lines*, 245–246, 643–644; May, *The Informant*, 28–29. SAC Birmingham to FBI Director, May 15–18, 20–21, 1961; SAC Birmingham to FBI Director and SAC Mobile, May 14–15, 1961; SA Barrett G. Kemp to SAC Thomas Jenkins, May 15, 17, 24, 1961, all in FBI-FRI.

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./ California on my mind./ Straddled that Greyhound./ rode him past Raleigh./ 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, *Just My Soul Responding: Rhythm and Blues, Black Consciousness, and Race Relations* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), 213–214. Berry wrote *Promised Land* in 1962, while he was living and working at a federal medical facility in Springfield, Missouri. Chuck Berry, *Chuck Berry: The Autobiography* (New York: Hammond Books, 1987), 216–217.
2. Farmer, *Lay Bare the Heart*, 201; Peck, *Freedom Ride*, 124; Shuttlesworth, 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.”
3. Genevieve Hughes, “Freedom Ride Report,” May 15, 1961, section 116, reel 25, COREP; W. E. Jones (Greyhound Vice-President) to A. H. Walter (ICC), May 15, 1961, file RD 195, box 20, Investigative Report Case Files, ICCR; Perkins, “My 291 Days with CORE”; Blankenheim, Newson, and Thomas interviews; *Baltimore Afro-American*, May 27, 1961; *Birmingham Post-Herald*, May 15, 1961; *Birmingham News*, May 15, 1961; Kaufman, *The First Freedom Ride*, Appendix C, 152; Branch, *Parting the Waters*, 417. Halberstam, *The Children*, 258–260, 263, claims that there were also two FBI agents on board the bus, but there is no corroborating evidence of their presence; in all likelihood, the two “agents” described by Hank Thomas in a 1990s interview were actually Cowling and Sims. O’Reilly, “Racial Matters,” 83, notes that the FBI had advance information related to the attack in Anniston,

- which it forwarded to the Anniston police on May 13. On the surveillance activities of Eli Cowling, see Powledge, *Free at Last?* 255, 269–270. On Anniston, see Roller and Twyman, *The Encyclopedia of Southern History*, 47; Gary S. Sprayberry, “‘Town Among the Trees’: Paternalism, Class, and Civil Rights in Anniston, Alabama, 1872 to Present” (Ph.D. thesis, University of Alabama, 2003); Robert Entire, ed., *Anniston, Alabama, Centennial, 1883–1983* (Anniston: Higginbotham, 1983); Grace Hooten Gates, *The Model City of the New South: Anniston, Alabama, 1872–1900* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1978); Kimberly O’Dell, *Anniston* (Charleston: Arcadia, 2000); Phil Noble, *Beyond the Burning Bus: The Civil Rights Revolution in a Southern Town* (Montgomery: New South Books, 2003); and Wayne Flynt, *Poor but Proud: Alabama’s Poor Whites* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1989), passim. See also the *Anniston Star*, May–June 1961. Anne Braden, the noted Louisville, Kentucky, civil rights activist, grew up in Anniston from the age of seven until adulthood (1931–1946). See Fosl, *Subversive Southerner*, 15–71.
4. 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.
 5. Folder 111.3.1.6.1, FBI-FRI; Halberstam, *The Children*, 261 (quotation); Sprayberry, “‘Town Among the Trees,’” 232. Chappell owned an upholstery shop in Anniston. Southern Greyhound’s semi-official account of the Anniston episode contains no suggestion of O. T. Jones’s complicity. See W. E. Jones to A. H. Walter, May 15 and 22, 1961, file RD 195, box 20, Investigative Report Case Files, ICCR.
 6. Folders 111.3.1.6.1, 111.3.1.6.2, and 111.3.1.6.3, FBI-FRI; Sprayberry, “‘Town Among the Trees,’” 232–233 (first and second quotations); Hughes, “Freedom Ride Report,” 1 (third quotation); Blankenheim and Newson interviews; Bill Mobley, “Writer on Bus Trip Tells of Her Escape,” *Birmingham Post-Herald*, May 15, 1961; *Baltimore Afro-American*, May 27, 1961; *Anniston Star*, May 15, 1961; *Montgomery Advertiser*, May 15, 1961; Halberstam, *The Children*, 260–261; Branch, *Parting the Waters*, 417–418.
 7. Hughes, “Freedom Ride Report,” 1 (quotations); Mobley, “Writer on Bus Trip Tells of Her Escape”; Kaufman, *The First Freedom Ride*, 152–153; Peck, *Freedom Ride*, 125; Halberstam, *The Children*, 262; McWhorter, *Carry Me Home*, 203; Sprayberry, “‘Town Among the Trees,’” 234–236; *Anniston Star*, May 15, 1961; Folder 111.3.1.6.1, FBI-FRI.
 8. Thomas interview; Peck, *Freedom Ride*, 125; Halberstam, *The Children*, 262–263 (quotations); folders 111.3.1.6.1, and 111.3.6.3, FBI-FRI; Gaillard, *Cradle of Freedom*, 81. See also Howell Raines’s interview with Hank Thomas in Raines, *My Soul Is Rested*, 113–115.
 9. Hughes, “Freedom Ride Report,” 2; Blankenheim and Howard interviews; Blankenheim, “Freedom Ride,” 6 (quotation); Perkins, “My 291 Days with CORE,” 15; Halberstam, *The Children*, 264; Peck, *Freedom Ride*, 125–126; Powledge, *Free at Last?* 255, 269–270; McWhorter, *Carry Me Home*, 203; *Anniston Star*, May 15, 1961; *Nashville Tennessean*, May 15, 1961; folders 111.3.1.6.1, 111.3.1.6.3, and 111.3.1.7.2, FBI-FRI. In 1991 Janie Miller attended a Freedom Rider reunion in Jackson, Mississippi. *Atlanta Constitution*, July 21, 1991.
 10. Hughes, “Freedom Ride Report,” 2.
 11. Halberstam, *The Children*, 264; Raines, *My Soul Is Rested*, 114–115; Sprayberry, “‘Town Among the Trees,’” 237–238; Blankenheim interview.
 12. Hughes, “Freedom Ride Report,” 2; Perkins, “My 291 Days with CORE,” 15; Manis, *A Fire You Can’t Put Out*, 264 (quotation); Fred Shuttlesworth, interview by James Mosby, September 1968, RBOHC; Raines, *My Soul Is Rested*, 115; Branch, *Parting the Waters*, 423; Blankenheim, Newson, and Shuttlesworth interviews; Gaillard, *Cradle of Freedom*, 82–84.
 13. Hughes, “Freedom Ride Report,” 2; Raines, *My Soul Is Rested*, 115; Blankenheim and Newson interviews; Gaillard, *Cradle of Freedom*, 83–84 (quotation).
 14. Hughes, “Freedom Ride Report,” 2; Blankenheim and Newson interviews.
 15. Booker and Gaffney, “Eyewitness Report,” 14 (quotation); Booker, *Black Man’s America*, 1; Gaffney interview; Kaufman, *The First Freedom Ride*, 153–154.
 16. Kaufman, *The First Freedom Ride*, 154.
 17. *Ibid.*; Peck, *Freedom Ride*, 126; Booker, “Alabama Mob Ambush Bus,” 13–14; Booker and Gaffney, “Eyewitness Report,” 14 (quotation); Booker, *Black Man’s America*, 1–2; John Olan Patterson interview by FBI, May 17, 1961, FBI-FRI; Branch, *Parting the Waters*, 419; Thornton, *Dividing Lines*, 246–247; May, *The Informant*, 31–33.
 18. 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*, 33–34; 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. Enslin, had advance information that could have prevented Bergman’s beating. Although Bergman’s lawyers asked for \$2 million in damages, Judge Enslin restricted the award to \$35,000, ruling that the appendectomy was, in all likelihood, partially responsible for Bergman’s crippled condition. *New*

- York Times*, October 10, 1999; *Bergman v. U.S.*, 551 F. Supp. 407, 565 F. Supp. 1353, 579 F. Supp. 911; Kaufman, *The First Freedom Ride*, 146–203 (Appendix C); Simon and Goodman interviews. See also *Peck v. U.S.*, 470 F. Supp. 1003, 514 F. Supp. 210, 522 F. Supp. 245 (1979).
19. Booker and Gaffney, “Eyewitness Report,” 16–18 (quotations); Booker, *Black Man’s America*, 3; Kaufman, *The First Freedom Ride*, 155; Peck, *Freedom Ride*, 126–127; *Bergman v. U.S.*; Peck, Harris, Reynolds, Person, Patterson, Frances Bergman, and Walter Bergman interviews, FBI-FRI; Mary Spicer, interview by FBI, May 25, 1961, FBI-FRI; Branch, *Parting the Waters*, 419–420; Thornton, *Dividing Lines*, 247; McWhorter, *Carry Me Home*, 204; May, *The Informant*, 32–34.
 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*, 155–170; 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. Nunnelle, 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 Nunnelle, *Bull Connor*, 106–109.
 22. Kaufman, *The First Freedom Ride*, 155–156 (second quotation); Rowe, *My Undercover Years with the Ku Klux Klan*, 41; SAC Birmingham to Director J. Edgar Hoover, May 15, 1961, FBI-FRI; Edward Fields File, box 3, and National States Rights Party File, box 7, Birmingham Police Surveillance Files, BPL. On the extremist activities of Fields, Stoner, and the National States Rights Party, which was founded in Jefferson, Indiana, in 1958, see Peter Applebome, *Dixie Rising: How the South Is Shaping American Values, Politics, and Culture* (San Diego: Harcourt Brace, 1996), 46–52, 112–113; Carter, *Politics of Rage*, 164–167; Raines, *My Soul Is Rested*, 167–171; and Cook, *The Segregationists*, 136–137, 167–186. See also Stoner’s monthly newspaper, *The Thunderbolt: The White Man’s Viewpoint* (1961–1963); and Melissa Fay Greene, *The Temple Bombing* (Reading, MA: Addison-Wesley, 1996). McWhorter, *Carry Me Home*, 200–203 (Cook quotation), 204–205; Manis, *A Fire You Can’t Put Out*, 255, 263; Eskew, *But for Birmingham*, 150, 157; Harrison Salisbury, “Fear and Hatred Grip Birmingham,” *New York Times*, April 12, 1960 (first quotation); Branch, *Parting the Waters*, 420; Jonathan Bass, *Blessed Are the Peacemakers: Martin Luther King Jr., Eight White Religious Leaders, and the “Letter from Birmingham Jail”* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2001), 36–37, 92–94. Smith and his camera crew filmed Shuttlesworth and others during a May 13 mass meeting. See the transcript of *CBS Reports: Who Speaks for Birmingham?* May 18, 1961, BPL; Howard K. Smith, *Events Leading Up to My Death: The Life of a Twentieth-Century Reporter* (New York: St. Martin’s, 1996). O’Reilly, “Racial Matters,” 87–88, claims that Fields “threatened to shoot any FBI agent he caught snooping around.” Moore, with Connor’s approval, spent Mother’s Day 1961 in his hometown of Albertville, Alabama, where he attended a Decoration Day ceremony at the Alder Spring Cemetery. Nunnelle, *Bull Connor*, 98.
 23. Nunnelle, *Bull Connor*, 93–99, 104–109; Kaufman, *The First Freedom Ride*, 160–167; McWhorter, *Carry Me Home*, 73–75, 129–141, 192–199, 205; Thornton, *Dividing Lines*, 179–186, 200–247; Gaillard, *Cradle of Freedom*, 91; Manis, *A Fire You Can’t Put Out*, 246–255, 265–266; Eskew, *But for Birmingham*, 53–151; Branch, *Parting the Waters*, 420; O’Reilly, “Racial Matters,” 86, 88–89. See also *United States v. United States Klans, Knights of Ku Klux Klan, Inc.*, et al., 194 F. Supp. 897 (M. D. Ala 1961).
 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.
 25. Peck, *Freedom Ride*, 128; Booker and Gaffney, “Eyewitness Report,” 18; Booker, *Black Man’s America*, 4–5; *Birmingham Post-Herald*, May 15, 1961; *Birmingham News*, May 15, 1961; Rowe, *My Undercover Years with the Ku Klux Klan*, 43 (first quotation); Smith, *Events Leading Up to My Death*, 271; May, *The Informant*, 36 (second quotation); Person and Peck interviews, FBI-FRI; Jesse Oliver Faggard, interview by FBI, May 16, 1961, and John H. Thompson, interview by FBI, May 26, 1962, both in FBI-FRI; McWhorter, *Carry Me Home*, 206–207; Thornton, *Dividing Lines*, 247–248; Nunnelle, *Bull Connor*, 97–98, 104.
 26. Moore, Harris, Frances Bergman, and Walter Bergman interviews, FBI-FRI; Moore interview, Booker and Gaffney, “Eyewitness Report,” 18–19; Booker, *Black Man’s America*, 5; Kaufman, *The First Freedom Ride*, 4–5; Branch, *Parting the Waters*, 421–422; May, *The Informant*, 36–37.
 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 Trailways station riot, see Thornton, *Dividing Lines*, 247–248.
 28. Rowe, *My Undercover Years with the Ku Klux Klan*, 43 (quotation), 44–50; May, *The Informant*, 38–47. Langston’s photograph was later nominated for a Pulitzer Prize. *Birmingham Post-Herald*, May 15, 1961. SAC Birmingham to FBI Director, May 14, 17, 1961; Clancy Lake, interview by FBI, May 15, 1961; Thomas E. Langston, interview by FBI, May 21, 1961; Julian A. “Bud” Gordon, interview by FBI, May 16, 19, 1961; Thomas Lankford, interview by FBI, May 19, 20, 1961, all 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.
29. 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.
 30. 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.
 31. *Birmingham News*, May 15, 1961; Peck, *Freedom Ride*, 129–130; Manis, *A Fire You Can’t Put Out*, 267; Branch, *Parting the Waters*, 423–424 (quotation).
 32. *Montgomery Advertiser*, May 15, 1961; *Nashville Tennessean*, May 15, 1961; Booker and Gaffney, “Eyewitness Report,” 19–20; Booker, *Black Man’s America*, 5; Branch, *Parting the Waters*, 423; Manis, *A Fire You Can’t Put Out*, 266–267 (quotations); “A Great Thing,” *Southern Patriot* 19 (June 1961): 4; Shuttlesworth, Blankenheim, and Cox interviews.
 33. 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.
 34. 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 home, I called the New York office of CORE and my home in Washington.”
 35. Wofford, *Of Kennedys and Kings*, 135 (quotation), 151; Seigenthaler interview; John Seigenthaler, interview by Robert Campbell, July 10, 1968, RBOHC; George E. Barrett, interview by author, November 8, 2004; Brauer, *John F. Kennedy and the Second Reconstruction*, 83, 277–278; Reeves, *President Kennedy*, 124; Stern, *Calculating Visions*, 35; Schlesinger, *Robert Kennedy and His Times*, 238, 240, 289–297; Thomas, *Robert Kennedy*, 84; Guthman, *We Band of Brothers*, 58, 70, 81–82, 100, 160. See also John Seigenthaler, “Civil Rights in the Trenches,” in *The Kennedy Presidency: Seventeen Intimate Perspectives of John F. Kennedy*, ed. Kenneth W. Thompson (Portraits of American Presidents, vol. 4) (Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 1985); and the multiple interviews of Seigenthaler located at JFKL: by William A. Geohegan, July 22, 1964; by Larry J. Hackman (for the Robert F. Kennedy Oral History Program), June 5, July 1, 1970; by Ronald J. Grele, February 21–23, 1966.
 36. Wofford, *Of Kennedy and Kings*, 153 (quotations), 134–177; Branch, *Parting the Waters*, 397–411; Niven, *The Politics of Injustice*, 24–38; Stern, *Calculating Visions*, 35, 40–62; Reeves, *President Kennedy*, 59–64; Dallek, *An Unfinished Life*, 382–384; Seigenthaler, “Civil Rights in the Trenches”; Brauer, *John F. Kennedy and the Second Reconstruction*, 1–98; Victor Navasky, *Kennedy Justice* (New York: Atheneum, 1971), 14–23; Schlesinger, *Robert Kennedy and His Times*, 286–367; Guthman, *We Band of Brothers*, 108–136; Belknap, *Federal Law and Southern Order*, 70–105; Burke Marshall, *Federalism and Civil Rights* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1964); Seigenthaler and Doar interviews; Farmer interview, JFKL, 1, 5–6; Lee C. White, interview by Milton Gwirtzman, May 26, 1964, JFKL, 66–67, 73–74; Martin Luther King Jr. interview, JFKL, 3–4, 15–17; Burke Marshall, interview by Larry J. Hackman, January 19–20, 1970, JFKL, 1–93; Burke Marshall, interview by Louis Oberdorfer, May 29, 1964, JFKL, 1–61, 86; Wofford interview, JFKL, 44, 51, 61, 66–67, 124, 134–135. See also May 1961 folder, box 1; folder 2, box 4; and Misc. Clippings 1961–62, box 14, BMP; and Civil Rights: Alabama folders, box 10, RFKP. On Doar, see John Doar Records, boxes 1 and 2, USDJ/CRD; and “Ubiquitous Rights Aide, John Michael Doar,” *New York Times*, September 3, 1963.
 37. Wofford, *Of Kennedy 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.
 38. Lewis, *Walking with the Wind*, 146 (first quotation); Wofford, *Of Kennedys and Kings*, 152 (second and third quotations); Smith, *Events Leading Up to My Death*, 271–272; *New York Times*, May 15, 1961; McWhorter, *Carry Me Home*, 183–187, 209.
 39. On the public reaction to the Till murder, see Stephen J. Whitfield, *A Death in the Delta: The Story of Emmett Till* (New York: Free Press, 1988).
 40. *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, *Black Man's America*, 200; Booker and 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.
47. *New York Times*, May 16, 1961; *Washington Post*, May 16, 1961; *Montgomery Advertiser*, May 16, 1961; *Nashville Tennessean*, May 16, 1961; Booker and Gaffney, "Eyewitness Report," 20; documentary "Ain't Scared of Your Jails"; Patterson interview, JFKL; Shuttlesworth interview; Shuttlesworth interview, RBOHC; Branch, *Parting the Waters*, 427; Manis, *A Fire You Can't Put Out*, 268, 269 (quotations).
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, RFPK; 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.
50. *Birmingham News*, May 15, 1961 (quotation); Branch, *Parting the Waters*, 425–427; Manis, *A Fire You Can't Put Out*, 267–268. On Connor's periodic battles with the Birmingham business community prior to May 1961, see Nunnelley, *Bull Connor*, 13–85. Thornton, *Dividing Lines*, 156, argues persuasively that, despite the apparent conflicts between Connor and the Birmingham business community, from 1937 on "the source of Connor's subsequent political strength was in fact his ability to link white employers' and employees' fears into a single political response." For a general survey of the complex relationship between Southern business leaders and resistance to desegregation, see Elizabeth Jacoway and David Colburn, eds., *Southern Businessmen and Desegregation* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1982). See especially the chapter by Robert Corley, "In Search of Racial Harmony: Birmingham Business Leaders and Desegregation, 1950–1963," 170–190.
51. Peck, *Freedom Ride*, 131; Peck, "Freedom Ride," 1–4; Booker and Gaffney, "Eyewitness Report," 20; Blankenheim, "Freedom Ride," 10–11; Blankenheim, Carey, Cox, Newson, Seigenthaler, and Shuttlesworth interviews; Seigenthaler interview, RBOHC; *Montgomery Advertiser*, May 16, 1961; *New York Times*, May 16, 1961; *Washington Post*, May 16, 1961; Branch, *Parting the Waters*, 427; Manis, *A Fire You Can't Put Out*, 269–270.
52. Booker and Gaffney, "Eyewitness Report," 20; Booker, *Black Man's America*, 201; Blankenheim, "Freedom Ride," 11–12; Blankenheim, Carey, Cox, Gaffney, Newson, 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.

54. Police Intelligence Report, May 16, 1961, BCP; Shuttlesworth interview; Branch, *Parting the Waters*, 428–429; Manis, *A Fire You Can't Put Out*, 270; Eskew, *But for Birmingham*, 159–160.
55. Blankenheim, Carey, Cox, Gaffney, Newson, and Seigenthaler interviews; Seigenthaler interviews, JFKL; Seigenthaler interview, RBOHC; Peck, *Freedom Ride*, 132; Blankenheim, “Freedom Ride,” 11–12 (first quotation); Booker and Gaffney, “Eyewitness Report,” 20–21 (second quotation); Booker, *Black Man's America*, 201; *Nashville Tennessean*, May 16, 1961; Perkins, “My 291 Days with CORE,” 15; Branch, *Parting the Waters*, 429; Halberstam, *The Children*, 285 (third quotation), 286; Gaillard, *Crucible of Freedom*, 85–86.
56. Seigenthaler interview by Grele, JFKL; Seigenthaler interview, RBOHC; Blankenheim, Carey, Cox, Newson, and Seigenthaler interviews; Peck, *Freedom Ride*, 132; Halberstam, *The Children*, 286; *New Orleans Times-Picayune*, May 16–17, 1961; Gaillard, *Crucible of Freedom*, 86. Schlesinger, *Robert Kennedy and His Times*, 295, notes that Seigenthaler “ran into Barry Goldwater” while disembarking at the New Orleans airport, prompting the conservative U.S. senator from Arizona to comment: “This is horrible. Just horrible. Never should have happened. I'm glad you're with them.”

Chapter 5: Get on Board, Little Children

1. Silverman, *Songs of Protest and Civil Rights*, 58–59, presents this version of the chorus and fourth verse of the popular 1960s freedom song “Get on Board, Little Children,” an adaptation of the antebellum Underground Railroad anthem “The Gospel Train.” The chorus and best-known verse of the original spiritual is: “The Gospel train is coming, I hear it just at hand./ I hear the car wheels moving, And rumbling thro' the land./ Get on board, children, Get on board.” James Haskins, *Black Music in America* (New York: Harper Trophy, 1987), 7.
2. Blankenheim, Carey, Cox, Rich, and Seigenthaler interviews; Sandra Nixon, interview by author, November 8, 2001; Farmer, *Lay Bare the Heart*, 203–204; Peck, *Freedom Ride*, 133–134; *New Orleans Times-Picayune*, May 17, 1961 (quotations); *New York Times*, May 16, 1961; Baltimore *Afro-American*, May 27, 1961. On New Orleans CORE, see Rogers, *Righteous Lives*; Anderson-Bricker, “Making a Movement,” 226–420; and section 351, reel 39, COREP. On the Castles, see Rogers, *Righteous Lives*, 10, 68, 92–93, 110–117, 123–127, 130, 136–146, 170, 175–178, 205; Fairclough, *Race and Democracy*, 10, 272, 279, 289, 295–298; Meier and Rudwick, *CORE*, 116, 169, 344–345, 395, 401–402; Doris Jean Castle Scott, interview by Kim Lacy Rogers, January 19, 1989, ARC; Oretha Castle Haley, interview by James Mosby Jr., May 26, 1970, RBOHC; Oretha Castle Haley, interview by Kim Lacy Rogers, November 27, 1978, ARC; Richard Haley interview, RBOHC; and Richard Haley interview, ARC. Oretha Castle later married CORE field secretary Richard Haley. For an assessment of the strengths and weaknesses of American nonviolent direct action in the 1960s, see Tracy, *Direct Action*, 99–153.
3. Lewis, *Walking with the Wind*, 67–147; Halberstam, *The Children*, 11–266; Branch, *Parting the Waters*, 259–280; Robert Moses, “Foreword,” in Ken Light, *Delta Time: Mississippi Photographs by Ken Light* (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1995), xiv (quotation). On nonviolence and the black student movement of the early 1960s, see Laue, *Direct Action and Desegregation*; Zinn, *SNCC*, 220–224; Carson, *In Struggle*, 2–33; Greenberg, *A Circle of Trust*, 4, 10, 19–24; Marsh, *The Beloved Community*, 87–124; and Chappell, *A Stone of Hope*, 67–86.
4. Nash, Lewis, and Lafayette interviews; Lewis, *Walking with the Wind*, 144–147; Branch, *Parting the Waters*, 424–425; Halberstam, *The Children*, 270; Olson, *Freedom's Daughters*, 184. Bevel was temporary chairman of the central committee, which rotated leaders every few weeks.
5. Lewis, *Walking with the Wind*, 147 (quotation); Branch, *Parting the Waters*, 425, 428; Lewis, Lafayette, and Nash interviews; Jim Zwerg, interview by author, September 12, 2004; Jim Zwerg, 1961 Nashville Movement log, May 15, 1961, in Zwerg's possession.
6. Lewis, *Walking with the Wind*, 70–71, 87, 91–92 (quotations), 149; Halberstam, *The Children*, 94–102, 435–443; Branch, *Parting the Waters*, 263–264; Olson, *Freedom's Daughters*, 151–160; Lafayette interview.
7. Olson, *Freedom's Daughters*, 151–161; Lafayette and Nash interviews; Diane Nash, remarks at “The Freedom Riders: A 40-Year Retrospective,” Tulane–Cambridge Atlantic World Conference, Tulane University, New Orleans, Louisiana, April 7, 2001; Lewis, *Walking with the Wind*, 91–95, 110–111, 114–116, 142; Halberstam, *The Children*, 3–10, 59–63, 143–148, 234–237, 267–269; Branch, *Parting the Waters*, 279–280, 295, 345; *Nashville Banner*, November 3, 1960, April 13, 1961; *Nashville Tennessean*, February 9, 1961; NCLC minutes, March 11, April 5, May 3, 1961, folder 24, box 75, KMSP; *Voice of the Movement* 1:4–5 (April 14, 21, 1961).
8. Farmer, *Lay Bare the Heart*, 203 (quotations); Lewis, *Walking with the Wind*, 146, 148 (second quotation); Branch, *Parting the Waters*, 428; Olson, *Freedom's Daughters*, 184; Nash and Zwerg interviews; Halberstam, *The Children*, 282–283.
9. Lewis, *Walking with the Wind*, 147 (quotation), 149; Lafayette and Zwerg interviews; Zwerg, Nashville Movement log, May 15, 1961.
10. Seigenthaler 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, *Crucible 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.
11. Seigenthaler, Barrett, Lafayette, and Zwerg interviews; Zwerg, Nashville Movement log, May 16, 1961; NCLC minutes, May 17–18, 1961, folder 24, box 75, KMSP; Branch, *Parting the Waters*, 430;

- Halberstam, *The Children*, 274–278; Lewis, *Walking with the Wind*, 149 (first quotation); Gaillard, *Crucible of Freedom*, 90–91; Rip Patton, remarks delivered at the 40th Anniversary of the Freedom Rides commemorative luncheon, Atlanta, GA, May 11, 2001, (second quotation). On Vivian, see Halberstam, *The Children*, 51, 56–58, 162, 200, 212, 230; Hampton and Fayer, *Voices of Freedom*, 59–60, 65–66, 660; and Lewis, *Walking with the Wind*, 108, 115–116. See also C. T. Vivian, *Black Power and the American Myth* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1970).
12. Branch, *Parting the Waters*, 430 (quotations); Olson, *Freedom's Daughters*, 184–185; Halberstam, *The Children*, 283; Shuttlesworth interview; Shuttlesworth interview, 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.
 13. Lewis, *Walking with the Wind*, 149, lists the original ten Nashville Freedom Riders but misidentifies Charles Butler as Charles Butt; Roster of Freedom Riders Arrested in Jackson, Mississippi, Groups 1–6, May 24–June 2, 1961, MSCP; Lewis, Lafayette, and Zwerg interviews; William Harbour, interview by author, July 10, 2004; Catherine Burks Brooks, interview by author, May 11–12, 2001; Zwerg, Nashville Movement log, March–May 1961; Branch, *Parting the Waters*, 430–431; Halberstam, *The Children*, 278–282; Zinn, *SNCC*, 47–49, 127; James Forman, *The Making of Black Revolutionaries: A Personal Account* (New York: Macmillan, 1972), 147–157; John Blake, *Children of the Movement* (Chicago: Lawrence Hill Books, 2004), 3–14, 25–36.
 14. Shuttlesworth interview, RBOHC; Shuttlesworth, Lafayette, Harbour, and Zwerg interviews; Zwerg, Nashville Movement log, May 15–16, 1961; McWhorter, *Carry Me Home*, 220 (first quotation); Halberstam, *The Children*, 283; Lewis, *Walking with the Wind*, 149 (second quotation); Manis, *A Fire You Can't Put Out*, 271; Branch, *Parting the Waters*, 431; Gaillard, *Crucible of Freedom*, 90–91; Olson, *Freedom's Daughters*, 185; Zinn, *SNCC*, 44–45; Carson, *In Struggle*, 34; Diane Nash, “Inside the Sit-ins and Freedom Rides: Testimony of a Southern Student,” in *The New Negro*, ed. Mathew H. Ahmann (New York: Biblo and Tannen, 1969), 53 (third quotation); Forman, *The Making of Black Revolutionaries*, 151 (fourth quotation).
 15. Lewis, *Walking with the Wind*, 151–153 (quotations); Nash, “Inside the Sit-ins and Freedom Rides,” 53–54; *Nashville Tennessean*, May 18, 1961; McWhorter, *Carry Me Home*, 220–221; Branch, *Parting the Waters*, 431–433; Gaillard, *Crucible of Freedom*, 91–93; Manis, *A Fire You Can't Put Out*, 271–272; Eskew, *But for Birmingham*, 161; Viorst, *Fire in the Streets*, 149–150; Nunnelley, *Bull Connor*, 101–102; Halberstam, *The Children*, 289–294, offers an unreliable account that incorrectly claims that Connor himself intercepted the bus at the city limits; Brooks, Shuttlesworth, Harbour, and Zwerg interviews; Lucretia Collins, interview by James Forman, June 1961, in *Southern Exposure* 9 (Spring 1981): 35; Forman, *The Making of Black Revolutionaries*, 150–151; *Birmingham News*, May 17 (Patterson quotation), 18, 1961; *Montgomery Advertiser*, May 17–18, 1961; *Baltimore Afro-American*, May 27, 1961; *New York Times*, May 17, 1961. Although some sources suggest that McCollum overslept, she actually woke up early enough to pick up Zwerg at Fisk and join him for breakfast before driving on to the terminal. Zwerg, Nashville Movement log, May 17, 1961; Zwerg interview. On the birth and early development of the Ku Klux Klan in Pulaski, see Allen W. Trelease, *White Terror: The Ku Klux Klan Conspiracy and Southern Reconstruction* (New York: Harper and Row, 1971), 3–35. On the Klansmen arrests and subsequent trials, see McWhorter, *Carry Me Home*, 218–220, 247; May, *The Informant*, 43–44, 46–47, and the various FBI interviews with the Faggards, Dove, and other beating suspects and witnesses conducted on May 17, 20, 23, and 26, 1961, FBI-FRI.
 16. Carey, Blankenheim, Cox, and Newson interviews; Jerome Smith, interview by author, November 10, 2001; “Violence Follows the Freedom Riders in Alabama,” CORE pamphlet, c. May 19, 1961, box 52A, MLKP; *Baltimore Afro-American*, May 27, 1961 (quotations); *New Orleans Times-Picayune*, May 18, 1961 (Cox quotation); Peck, *Freedom Ride*, 133. On May 18 Joe Perkins accompanied Genevieve Hughes to Washington, where she was admitted to Georgetown Hospital. Perkins, “My 291 Days with CORE,” 15; Genevieve Hughes to Gordon Carey, May 31, 1961, section 254, reel 36, COREP. On Davis’s long career as a civil rights activist, see Fairclough, *Race and Democracy*, 55–56, 65, 211–212, 272, 275, 281; Rogers, *Righteous Lives*, 10, 22, 39–40, 66–67, 78, 90–93, 109, 132, 155–156, 205; and Fairclough, *To Redeem the Soul of America*, 42. In 1958 Davis served as second vice president of SCLC before being replaced by the Reverend Joseph Lowery of Mobile, Alabama.
 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.
 18. Marshall interview, JFKL; Patterson interview, JFKL; Seigenthaler interview; Seigenthaler interview, RBOHC; Halberstam, *The Children*, 293–294 (quotation); Branch, *Parting the Waters*, 433–436; Niven, *The Politics of Injustice*, 68–70; Guthman, *We Band of Brothers*, 168–169; Wofford, *Of Kennedys and Kings*, 153; Reeves, *President Kennedy*, 125–128. On Johnson, see Tinsley E. Yarbrough, *Judge Frank Johnson and Human Rights in Alabama* (University: University of Alabama Press, 1981); Robert F. Kennedy Jr., *Judge Frank M. Johnson, Jr.* (New York: G. P. Putnam’s Sons, 1978); and Jack Bass, *Taming the Storm: The Life and Times of Frank M. Johnson and the South’s Fight over Civil Rights* (New York: Doubleday, 1992). On the ironies of Kennedy’s feud with his former ally John Patterson, see Drew Pearson’s column, “Behind Mobs in Alabama,” *Nashville Tennessean*, May 24, 1961. On the Kennedy administration’s decision to use federal marshals in Alabama, see folder 1, “Montgomery–Use of Marshals–1961,” box 1, files of W. Wilson White, assistant attorney general, Civil Rights Division, 1958–1959, USDJ/CRD.
 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*

- 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 Summer That Didn't End* (London: Heinemann, 1966).
20. *Who Speaks for Birmingham?* May 18, 1961, transcript, *CBS Reports*, BPL (quotations); McWhorter, *Carry Me Home*, 223–226; *Montgomery Advertiser*, May 20, 1961; A. M. Sperber, *Murrow: His Life and Times* (New York: Freundlich, 1986), 615–618, 641–642. The flap over the Birmingham broadcast led to Smith's firing by CBS executives in the fall of 1961. See Robert Lewis Shayon, "Why Did Howard K. Smith Leave?" *Saturday Review* 44 (November 18, 1961): 37; and Smith, *Events Leading Up to My Death*, 268–276. On the ideological transformation of John Temple Graves, who died of heart failure during a pro-segregation luncheon speech in Mobile the day after the broadcast, see Egerton, *Speak Now Against the Day*, 465, 492–493, 499, 521; Richard H. King, *A Southern Renaissance: The Cultural Awakening of the American South, 1930–1955* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1980), 12–13, 150, 180, 243, 249; and William D. Barnard, *Dixiecrats and Democrats: Alabama Politics, 1942–1950* (University of Alabama Press, 1974), 34, 38–39, 42–47, 51, 55, 118.
 21. *Birmingham News*, May 19, 1961 (first, second, fourth, and seventh quotations); *Montgomery Advertiser*, May 20, 1961; *Nashville Tennessean*, May 20, 1961; *Baltimore Afro-American*, May 27, 1961; Lewis, *Walking with the Wind*, 153–155 (third, sixth, and eighth quotations); Harbour, Brooks (fifth quotation), Lewis, and Zwerg interviews; Collins interview, *Southern Exposure*, 35; James Forman, Freedom Rider interview notes, folder 24, box 55, SNCCP; Manis, *A Fire You Can't Put Out*, 273; Viorst, *Fire in the Streets*, 150 (ninth, tenth, and eleventh quotations); Branch, *Parting the Waters*, 436–438; McWhorter, *Carry Me Home*, 225–226; Gaillard, *Crucible of Freedom*, 93–95; Raines, *My Soul Is Rested*, 117–119; Olson, *Freedom's Daughters*, 185; Nunnelley, *Bull Connor*, 102–103; Halberstam, *The Children*, 294–297; Powledge, *Free at Last?* 259–260.
 22. Kwame Leo Lillard, interview by author, May 11, 2001. Lillard later spent four years (1991–1995) as a Nashville city councilman. Forman, Freedom Rider interview notes, SNCCP; Brooks, Lafayette, Harbour, and Zwerg interviews; Collins interview, *Southern Exposure*, 35–36; *Baltimore Afro-American*, May 27, 1961; Lewis, *Walking with the Wind*, 155 (quotation); Raines, *My Soul Is Rested*, 119; Nash, "Inside the Sit-ins and Freedom Rides," 53–54; Branch, *Parting the Waters*, 438–440; McWhorter, *Carry Me Home*, 226; Olson, *Freedom's Daughters*, 160, 185–186; Viorst, *Fire in the Streets*, 150–151; Halberstam, *The Children*, 297–298, 305; Powledge, *Free At Last?* 258–259. On Smith as a Freedom Rider, see Fleming, *Soon We Will Not Cry*, 72–85; and Zinn, *SNCC*, 44–46. The seven Tennessee State Riders in the second wave were Carl Bush, Rudolph Graham, Patricia Jenkins, Frederick Leonard, William Mitchell Jr., Etta Simpson, and Clarence M. Wright. *Nashville Tennessean*, May 20, 1961.
 23. Seigenthaler interview; Seigenthaler interview, RBOHC; Patterson interview, JFKL; Marshall interview, JFKL; Collins interview, *Southern Exposure*, 36; *Baltimore Afro-American*, May 27, 1961; Raines, *My Soul Is Rested*, 304–311; Branch, *Parting the Waters*, 436; McWhorter, *Carry Me Home*, 225–226; Halberstam, *The Children*, 299; Gaillard, *Crucible of Freedom*, 93 (quotation). Centered in Cape Town and Johannesburg, the South African arrests began on May 18. The withdrawal from the Commonwealth was scheduled for May 31. *New York Times*, May 19, 1961; *Nashville Tennessean*, May 19, 1961. On the developing crisis in South Africa in 1961, see Nelson Mandela, *Long Walk to Freedom: The Autobiography of Nelson Mandela* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1994), 224–250.
 24. Lewis, *Walking with the Wind*, 155–156 (quotations); *Birmingham News*, May 20, 1961; *Baltimore Afro-American*, May 27, 1961; *Montgomery Advertiser*, May 20, 1961; Lafayette, Harbour, Shuttlesworth, Zwerg, and Brooks interviews; Shuttlesworth interview, RBOHC; Collins interview, *Southern Exposure*, 36; Branch, *Parting the Waters*, 440; Gaillard, *Crucible of Freedom*, 95–96; McWhorter, *Carry Me Home*, 226–227; Manis, *A Fire You Can't Put Out*, 273; Nunnelley, *Bull Connor*, 103; Halberstam, *The Children*, 305–308; Powledge, *Free At Last?* 260–261.
 25. 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 Injustice*, 70; Reeves, *President Kennedy*, 128; Navasky, *Kennedy Justice*, 21; Dallek, *An Unfinished Life*, 385.
 26. 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 Injustice*, 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, ICCR.
 27. *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.

28. Manis, *A Fire You Can't Put Out*, 273–274 (quotations); Shuttlesworth interview, RBOHC; Shuttlesworth and Seigenthaler interviews. See also phone logs for May 19, 1961, box 8, BMP; Powledge, *Free at Last?* 280–281, offers a slightly different version of the Shuttlesworth-Kennedy conversation. In his interview with Powledge, Shuttlesworth suggested that Kennedy had tried to convince him and the Freedom Riders to travel all the way to New Orleans by bus, without an overnight stop in Jackson, Mississippi.
29. Seigenthaler interview, RBOHC (second quotation); Seigenthaler, Doar, Shuttlesworth, Lafayette, Zwerg, Brooks, and Harbour interviews; Collins interview, *Southern Exposure*, 36–37; *New York Herald Tribune*, May 21, 1961; Grant, *Black Protest*, 318, 322–323. The dispatcher was J. T. Duncan, and the Teamsters official was Joe C. Morgan, president of Local 1314, Amalgamated Street, Electric Railway, and Motorcoach Employees of America. Both men accompanied the Freedom Riders to Montgomery. Powledge, *Free at Last?* 261; Branch, *Parting the Waters*, 443 (first quotation), 444; Raines, *My Soul Is Rested*, 119–120; Lewis, *Walking with the Wind*, 154; Viorst, *Fire in the Streets*, 151–152; Manis, *A Fire You Can't Put Out*, 273, 274 (third quotation), 275; Wofford, *Of Kennedys and Kings*, 154 (fourth quotation); Halberstam, *The Children*, 302, 306–308; Fleming, *Soon We Will Not Cry*, 82–83; Zinn, *SNCC*, 44–46; Schlesinger, *Robert Kennedy and His Times*, 296; Guthman, *We Band of Brothers*, 170; Kennedy and Marshall interview, JFKL; Marshall interview, JFKL; *Nashville Tennessean*, May 21, 1961. See also the materials in file RD 195, box 20, Investigative Report Case Files, ICCR. In an interview with Fred Powledge, Shuttlesworth advanced the theory that he was arrested because Robert Kennedy had asked Jamie Moore to do so. The reason, according to Shuttlesworth, was “to keep me from being killed.” Powledge, *Free at Last?* 281. Many accounts—including those by Schlesinger, Branch, Lewis, and Guthman—confuse some of the events of May 20 with those of May 15. In particular, the famous phone conversation between Robert Kennedy and George Cruik, during which Kennedy refers to “Mr. Greyhound,” took place on Monday afternoon, May 15, not on Saturday morning, May 20. One source of confusion was Cruik’s testimony before Judge Frank Johnson on May 31, 1961. Although the hearing pertained to the events of May 20, Cruik, without ever expressly saying so, related details of his May 15 conversation with Robert Kennedy. See *Montgomery Advertiser*, June 1, 1961; *Birmingham Post-Herald*, June 1, 1961; “Kennedy’s Call to B’ham,” transcript, May 15, 1961, box 10, RFKP; and “Untold Story of the ‘Freedom Rides,’” *U.S. News and World Report* 51 (October 23, 1961): 76–79.

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, I’ll be drivin’ up there,/ Come on up to the driver’s seat, I’ll be drivin’ up there.”
2. Lewis, *Walking with the Wind*, 157–158 (quotations); Lewis interview, documentary, “Ain’t Scared of Your Jails”; Hampton and Fayer, *Voices of Freedom*, 86, 88; *Baltimore Afro-American*, May 27, 1961; Collins interview, *Southern Exposure*, 37; Seigenthaler, Doar, Harbour, Lafayette, and Zwerg interviews; *Birmingham News*, May 21, 1961; *New York Herald Tribune*, May 21, 1961; Grant, *Black Protest*, 318–320; Branch, *Parting the Waters*, 444; McWhorter, *Carry Me Home*, 228; Halberstam, *The Children*, 308–309; Viorst, *Fire in the Streets*, 152; Fleming, *Soon We Will Not Cry*, 83.
3. Lewis, *Walking with the Wind*, 157–158 (quotations); Lewis interview, documentary, “Ain’t Scared of Your Jails”; Seigenthaler interview, RBOHC; Seigenthaler interviews, JFKL; Seigenthaler, Doar, Lafayette, Harbour, and Brooks interviews; Patterson interview, JFKL; Marshall interview, JFKL; Collins interview, *Southern Exposure*, 37; Hampton and Fayer, *Voices of Freedom*, 87–89; *Nashville Tennessean*, May 21–22, 1961; *Baltimore Afro-American*, May 27, June 3, 1961; *Pittsburgh Courier*, May 27, 1961; *New York Times*, May 21, 1961; *New York Herald Tribune*, May 21, 1961; Grant, *Black Protest*, 318–321; *Birmingham News*, May 21, 29, June 1, 1961; *Montgomery Advertiser*, May 21, 1961; *Montgomery Alabama Journal*, May 20–21, 1961; Branch, *Parting the Waters*, 444–446; Halberstam, *The Children*, 309–311; McWhorter, *Carry Me Home*, 228; Guthman, *We Band of Brothers*, 170–171; Viorst, *Fire in the Streets*, 152; Powledge, *Free at Last?* 262, 267; Niven, *The Politics of Injustice*, 76–78; Garrow, *Bearing the Cross*, 157; Zinn, *SNCC*, 47; Fleming, *Soon We Will Not Cry*, 83. For an eyewitness account by Ritter, see *Life* 50 (May 26, 1961): 24–25. On the involvement of Montgomery Klansmen in the Birmingham riot, see SA Barrett Kemp to SA Thomas Jenkins, May 15, 1961, FBI-FRI. On Henley, see *Montgomery Advertiser*, June 3, 8, 1961; *Birmingham Post-Herald*, June 8, 1961; Thornton, *Dividing Lines*, 119, 503, 616–617; and *Lewis v. Greyhound Corporation*, 199 F. Supp. 210; and *U.S. v. U.S. Klans*, 194 F. Supp. 892. Sullivan’s libel suit ultimately resulted in a landmark 1964 United States Supreme Court decision affirming the First Amendment right to criticize public officials in the press and belatedly closing the book on the 1798 Sedition Act. See Anthony Lewis, *Make No Law: The Sullivan Case and the First Amendment* (New York: Random House, 1991); and *New York Times v. Sullivan*, 376 U.S. 254.
4. *Birmingham News*, May 21, 29, 1961; *Montgomery Advertiser*, May 21, 30, 1961; *Baltimore Afro-American*, May 27, June 3, 1961; *Nashville Tennessean*, May 21–22, 1961; Frederick Leonard interview, documentary, “Ain’t Scared of Your Jails”; Hampton and Fayer, *Voices of Freedom*, 87–88; Lafayette and Brooks interviews; Collins interview, *Southern Exposure*, 37–38; *New York Times*, May 21, 1961; Lewis, *Walking with the Wind*, 159; Zinn, *SNCC*, 47–48; Fleming, *Soon We Will Not Cry*, 83; Branch, *Parting the Waters*, 445–446; Halberstam, *The Children*, 311, 316; McWhorter, *Carry Me Home*, 228; Hollinger

- Barnard, ed., *Outside the Magic Circle: The Autobiography of Virginia Foster Durr* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1985), 297. On Wilbur and Hermann, see *Christian Science Monitor*, May 25, 1961; *Louisville Times*, May 22, 1961; and Susan Wilbur's personal account, "Waiting Crowd but No Police," *Nashville Tennessean*, May 22, 1961, 1–2.
5. Seigenthaler interview; Seigenthaler interviews, JFKL (quotations); Seigenthaler interview, RBOHC; Seigenthaler interview, documentary, "Ain't Scared of Your Jails"; Hampton and Fayer, *Voices of Freedom*, 87, 89–90; Patterson interview, JFKL; *Nashville Tennessean*, May 21–22, 1961; *New York Times*, May 21, 1961; *Montgomery Advertiser*, May 21, 1961; *Baltimore Afro-American*, June 3, 1961; Lewis, *Walking with the Wind*, 160; Halberstam, *The Children*, 316–317; Branch, *Parting the Waters*, 447–448; Guthman, *We Band of Brothers*, 171; Niven, *The Politics of Injustice*, 78–79; Navasky, *Kennedy Justice*, 22; O'Reilly, "Racial Matters," 90–91.
 6. *Birmingham News*, May 21, 1961 (first quotation); *Baltimore Afro-American*, May 27, June 3, 1961; *Pittsburgh Courier*, May 27, June 3, 1961; Hampton and Fayer, *Voices of Freedom*, 87–88 (second and sixth quotations); Collins interview, *Southern Exposure*, 38 (third quotation); Nash, "Inside the Sit-Ins and Freedom Rides," 58 (fourth quotation); Lewis, *Walking with the Wind*, 159–160 (fifth quotation); Lafayette (seventh quotation), Harbour, and Zwerg interviews; *Montgomery Advertiser*, May 21, 1961; *New York Times*, May 21, 1961; *New York Herald Tribune*, May 21, 1961; *Birmingham Post-Herald*, June 9, 1961; Branch, *Parting the Waters*, 448; Niven, *The Politics of Injustice*, 76–77, 80; Gaillard, *Crucible of Freedom*, 98–99; Thornton, *Dividing Lines*, 120, 616; Viorst, *Fire in the Streets*, 152; Halberstam, *The Children*, 311–312; Fleming, *Soon We Will Not Cry*, 83–84; Zinn, *SNCC*, 48. See also the trial transcripts of *Lewis v. Greyhound Corporation*, 199 F. Supp. 210; and *U.S. v. U.S. Klans*, 194 F. Supp. 892, both located at Federal Records Center, East Point, GA.
 7. *Birmingham News*, May 20 (quotations), 21, 1961; *Montgomery Advertiser*, May 21, 1961; *Baltimore Afro-American*, May 27, 1961; *Nashville Tennessean*, May 21, 1961; Patterson interview, JFKL; Halberstam, *The Children*, 312–313; Branch, *Parting the Waters*, 448; Lewis, *Walking with the Wind*, 160; Gaillard, *Crucible of Freedom*, 100; Barnard, *Outside the Magic Circle*, 298; Powlledge, *Free at Last?*, 263, 267, 270; Hampton and Fayer, *Voices of Freedom*, 88–89; Nash, "Inside the Sit-Ins and Freedom Rides," 58. Atkins was the son-in-law of Charles Meriwether, a close friend of John Patterson's who had facilitated Patterson's political endorsement of John Kennedy in 1960. In early 1961 Kennedy acknowledged Patterson's support in the 1960 campaign by appointing Meriwether as a director of the Export-Import Bank. A political conservative and staunch segregationist, Meriwether received confirmation from the Senate over the strong objections of liberal senators such as William Proxmire of Wisconsin, Wayne Morse of Oregon, and Jacob Javits of New York. At Kennedy's request, Meriwether flew to Montgomery on May 19 to meet with Patterson in an effort to convince the governor to cooperate with federal officials during the Freedom Rider crisis. Meriwether spent several hours with Patterson on May 20 and 21 but reportedly made little progress. According to the syndicated columnist Drew Pearson, the Kennedys' relationship with Meriwether was laced with irony, considering Meriwether's long-standing connections to Robert Shelton and other Alabama Klansmen. In a May 24 column, Pearson described Meriwether as "the No. 1 politico of Alabama who used to walk through the Alabama capitol with his arm around Bob Shelton, imperial wizard of the Ku Klux Klan." *Nashville Tennessean*, May 24, 1961; Thornton, *Dividing Lines*, 120–123; Niven, *The Politics of Injustice*, 68–69; *New York Times*, May 24, 1961.
 8. Guthman, *We Band of Brothers*, 171 (first quotation); Doar interview, JFKL; Branch, *Parting the Waters*, 447; Powlledge, *Free at Last?* 277; McWhorter, *Carry Me Home*, 230; O'Reilly, "Racial Matters," 90–91; Virginia Durr to Burke Marshall, c. May 15, 1961, box 1, BMP (second quotation); Sullivan, *Freedom Writer*, 248–251, 264–265; Gaillard, *Crucible of Freedom*, 100–101; Barnard, *Outside the Magic Circle*, 296–299. On Clifford Durr, see John A. Salmund, *The Conscience of a Lawyer: Clifford J. Durr and American Civil Liberties, 1899–1975* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1990). On Mitford's experiences in Montgomery, see Jessica Mitford, *Poison Penmanship: The Gentle Art of Muckraking* (New York: Vintage, 1980), 70–78. Zellner's father was a liberal Methodist minister who had once belonged to the Ku Klux Klan. Zellner himself had experienced a liberal transformation while writing a college term paper on the Montgomery Improvement Association. Marsh, *The Beloved Community*, 91, 98; Bob Zellner, "Notes of a Native Son," *Southern Exposure* 9 (Spring 1981): 48–49.
 9. *Montgomery Advertiser*, May 21, June 1–2, 1961; *Nashville Tennessean*, May 21, 1961; *Birmingham News*, May 21, 1961 (quotation); *Pittsburgh Courier*, May 27, 1961; *Baltimore Afro-American*, May 27, 1961; *New York Times*, May 21, 1961; Barnard, *Outside the Magic Circle*, 296–299; Thornton, *Dividing Lines*, 121; Lewis, *Walking with the Wind*, 160–161; Halberstam, *The Children*, 319; Guthman, *We Band of Brothers*, 171; Branch, *Parting the Waters*, 448; McWhorter, *Carry Me Home*, 229; Zwerg interview. Clifford Durr later represented the Gaches in court. See Virginia Durr to Burke Marshall, June 4, 1961, box 1, BMP; Sullivan, *Freedom Writer*, 252, 256, 258–259; *Baltimore Afro-American*, June 10, 1961; and "Montgomery After the Mob," *Southern Patriot* 19 (September 1, 1961): 1, 4.
 10. Brooks interview; *New York Times*, May 21, 1961; Collins interview, *Southern Exposure*, 38; Wilbur, "Waiting Crowd but No Police," 2; *Nashville Tennessean*, May 22, 1961; Branch, *Parting the Waters*, 449–450; Lewis, *Walking with the Wind*, 161; Niven, *The Politics of Injustice*, 80. Hazel Gregory, secretary of the Montgomery Improvement Association, and the Reverend H. T. Palmer, an MIA chaplain and associate pastor at First Baptist Church, were at the station and tried to help Barbee, Zwerg, and others escape from the mob. *Baltimore Afro-American*, May 27, June 3, 1961.
 11. Lewis, *Walking with the Wind*, 161 (first quotation); *Birmingham News*, May 21, 1961 (second quotation); *New York Times*, May 21, 1961; *Montgomery Advertiser*, May 30, 1961; *Pittsburgh Courier*, May 27, June 3, 1961; *Baltimore Afro-American*, May 27, 1961; *Nashville Tennessean*, May 22, 1961;

- Seigenthaler interview; Seigenthaler interview, RBOHC; Seigenthaler interviews, JFKL; Patterson interview, JFKL; *Life* 50 (May 26, 1961): 24–25; Halberstam, *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, JFKL; 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; Halberstam, *The Children*, 321; 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 dark, 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.
 13. Alabama split its eleven electoral votes in the 1960 presidential election. Five votes were cast for Kennedy, and the other six, cast by "unpledged" Democratic electors, went to Senator Harry Flood Byrd of Virginia, as did all eight of Mississippi's and one of Oklahoma's electoral votes. Richard M. Scammon, *America Votes 5: A Handbook of Contemporary American Election Statistics, 1962* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1964), 17; *New York Times*, May 21, 1961 (quotations); *Pittsburgh Courier*, June 3, 1961; *Birmingham Post-Herald*, May 22, 1961; *Nashville Tennessean*, May 22, 1961; Marshall interview, JFKL; W. Wilson White files, folder 1, box 1, USDJ/CRD; Branch, *Parting the Waters*, 451; Halberstam, *The Children*, 314–319, 323–324; Thomas, *Robert Kennedy*, 129; Hilty, *Robert Kennedy*, 323; Niven, *The Politics of Injustice*, 83–84; Thornton, *Dividing Lines*, 121–122; Zinn, *SNCC*, 49–50.
 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 (quotation); *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 to John F. Kennedy, May 21, 1961, box 10, RFKP.
 16. *Birmingham News*, May 21, 1961 (quotations); *Birmingham Post-Herald*, May 22, 1961; *New York Times*, May 21–22, 1961; *Montgomery Advertiser*, May 21, 1961; *Baltimore Afro-American*, May 27, June 3, 1961; *Pittsburgh Courier*, June 3, 1961; Lafayette, Zwerg, Harbour, and Wyatt Tee Walker interviews; Wyatt Tee Walker interview, RBOHC; Collins interview, *Southern Exposure*, 38; Branch, *Parting the Waters*, 449–450; Lewis, *Walking with the Wind*, 161; Olson, *Freedom's Daughters*, 187–188.
 17. Carey, Lafayette, Harbour, Lillard, Moody, Nash, Rich, and Thomas interviews; Nash, "Inside the Sit-Ins and Freedom Rides," 54–55; *Nashville Tennessean*, May 21–22, 1961; *Pittsburgh Courier*, June 3, 1961; Lewis, *Walking with the Wind*, 161; Branch, *Parting the Waters*, 450, 452; Manis, *A Fire You Can't Put Out*, 276; Powledge, *Free at Last?* 262; Halberstam, *The Children*, 325–326; Hampton and Fayer, *Voices of Freedom*, 82; Carmichael, *Ready for Revolution*, 186–187.
 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; Halberstam, *The Children*, 327.
 19. Viorst, *Fire in the Streets*, 153–154 (quotation); Marshall interview, JFKL; Wofford interview, JFKL; William H. Orrick Jr., interview by Larry Hackman, April 13, 1970, JFKL; Seigenthaler interview; *Montgomery Advertiser*, May 22, 1961; *Birmingham News*, May 21, 1961; *Birmingham Post-Herald*, May 22, 1961; *New York Times*, May 22, 1961, April 18, 2002; McWhorter, *Carry Me Home*, 231; Branch, *Parting the Waters*, 452; Thomas, *Robert Kennedy*, 129–130; Hilty, *Robert Kennedy*, 324; Raines, *My Soul Is Rested*, 309–310; Powledge, *Free at Last?* 267–268, 270; Reeves, *President Kennedy*, 129; Wofford, *Of Kennedys and Kings*, 63, 92–94, 154, 169; Niven, *The Politics of Injustice*, 83.
 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.
 21. *Birmingham Post-Herald*, May 22, 1961 (quotations); *New York Times*, May 22, 1961; *Christian Science Monitor*, May 22, 1961; *Montgomery Advertiser*, May 22, 1961; *Nashville Tennessean*, May 22, 1961; Patterson interview, JFKL; McWhorter, *Carry Me Home*, 232; Branch, *Parting the Waters*, 453–454; Guthman, *We Band of Brothers*, 172–173; Schlesinger, *Robert Kennedy and His Times*, 297; Raines, *My Soul Is Rested*, 310; Powledge, *Free at Last?* 264–265.
 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 vertebrate 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* 20 (June 8, 1961): 51; NCLC Minutes, July 15, 1961, folder 24, box 75, KMSP; Blake, *Children of the Movement*, 25–36; Dwight Lewis, “Rides Marked a Milestone in History of Hate,” *Nashville Tennessean*, May 13, 2001, 21A. Barbee 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; Powledge, *Free at Last?* 265, 267, 269–270; Reeves, *President Kennedy*, 129–130; Patterson interview, JFKL; Orrick interview, JFKL.
 24. Lewis, *Walking with the Wind*, 162 (quotation); Moody, Lafayette, Harbour, and Shuttlesworth interviews; Collins interview, *Southern Exposure*, 38; *New York Times*, May 22, 1961; Halberstam, *The Children*, 326–327; Branch, *Parting the Waters*, 455–456; Garrow, *Bearing the Cross*, 157–158; Barnard, *Outside the Magic Circle*, 299–300; Mitford, *Poison Penmanship*, 73–76; Sullivan, *Freedom Writer*, 251.
 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 Durrs’. 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.
 27. *New York Times*, May 22, 1961 (first quotation); Lewis, *Walking with the Wind*, 163 (second quotation); *Christian Science Monitor*, May 22, 1961; Lafayette interview; Collins interview, *Southern Exposure*, 38; Hampton and Fayer, *Voices of Freedom*, 92; “The South and the Freedom Riders,” 14; Halberstam, *The Children*, 329; Branch, *Parting the Waters*, 459; Manis, *A Fire You Can’t Put Out*, 278. According to a *Pittsburgh Courier* correspondent on the scene, support for nonviolent restraint was waning among Montgomery blacks in 1961. See “Montgomery’s Negroes ‘Tired’ of Being Kicked,” *Pittsburgh Courier*, June 3, 1961.
 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; Powledge, *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, RBOHC; Manis, *A Fire You Can’t Put Out*, 278 (first quotation); Powledge, *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 (fourth 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.
34. *Birmingham News*, May 22 (first quotation), June 3, 1961; Lewis, *Walking with the Wind*, 164 (second quotation); Telephone Log, May 15–25, 1961, box 10, RFKP; Marshall interview, JFKL; Orrick interview, JFKL; Lafayette and Shuttlesworth interviews; *Birmingham Post-Herald*, May 22, 1961; *New York Times*, May 22, 1961; *Montgomery Advertiser*, May 22, 1961; Edwin O. Guthman and Jeffrey Shulman, eds., *Robert Kennedy in His Own Words: The Unpublished Recollections of the Kennedy Years* (New York: Bantam, 1988), 89; Branch, *Parting the Waters*, 463–464; Abernathy, *And the Walls Came Tumbling Down*, 618; Guthman, *We Band of Brothers*, 173, 177–178 (third quotation); McWhorter, *Carry Me Home*, 234–235 (fourth quotation); Niven, *The Politics of Injustice*, 94; Reeves, *President Kennedy*, 130–131; Schlesinger, *Robert Kennedy and His Times*, 298; Hilty, *Robert Kennedy*, 325–326; Brauer, *John F. Kennedy and the Second Reconstruction*, 103; Wofford, *Of Kennedys and Kings*, 154. Thomas, *Robert Kennedy*, 131, notes that "Kennedy apparently garbled an obscure Boston Irish expression 'as tight as Kelsey's nuts,' meaning cheap."
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.
37. *New York Times*, May 22, 1961 (quotations); *New York Herald Tribune*, May 22, 1961; *Washington Post*, May 22, 1961; *Washington Evening Star*, May 22, 1961; *Chicago Tribune*, May 22, 1961; *Los Angeles Times*, May 22, 1961; *Boston Globe*, May 22, 1961; *Montgomery Advertiser*, May 22, 1961; *Birmingham Post-Herald*, May 22, 1961; *Atlanta Constitution*, May 22, 1961; *St. Petersburg Times*, May 22, 1961; *Miami Herald*, May 22, 1961; *New Orleans Times-Picayune*, May 22, 1961; *Nashville Tennessean*, May 22, 1961; Branch, *Parting the Waters*, 465; Brauer, *John F. Kennedy and the Second Reconstruction*, 103–104; Niven, *The Politics of Injustice*, 95–97; Hilty, *Robert Kennedy*, 326. See also the May 1961 press clippings in reels 189 and 190, TIRRCF.
38. *Montgomery Advertiser*, May 22–24, 1961 (quotations); *Montgomery Alabama Journal*, May 22–24, 1961; *Birmingham News*, May 22–23, 1961; *Birmingham Post-Herald*, May 23, 1961; Thornton, *Dividing Lines*, 123–127; Branch, *Parting the Waters*, 465–466; "Folsom Call," typescript, May 22, 1961, and Montgomery Chamber of Commerce to Robert F. Kennedy, May 22, 1961, both in box 10, RFKP.
39. *Montgomery Advertiser*, May 23, 1961 (quotations); *Birmingham Post-Herald*, May 23, 1961; *Birmingham News*, May 22, 1961.
40. *Birmingham Post-Herald*, May 23, 1961 (first quotation); *Montgomery Advertiser*, May 23, 1961; *Birmingham News*, May 23, 1961; Navasky, *Kennedy Justice*, 14, 20–24 (second quotation); Branch, *Parting the Waters*, 468–469; Powell, *Free at Last? 277*; McWhorter, *Carry Me Home*, 198, 212–213, 236–237 (third quotation); O'Reilly, "Racial Matters," 84–93; Garrow, *The FBI and Martin Luther King, Jr.*, 23–25 and passim; May, *The Informant*, 49–53; Richard Gid Powers, *Secrecy and Power: The Life of J. Edgar Hoover* (New York: Free Press, 1987), 368–369; see also the voluminous correspondence related to FBI activities during the period May 14–22, 1961 in FBI-FRI.
41. Lewis, *Walking with the Wind*, 165–167 (quotations); Branch, *Parting the Waters*, 466–468; Raines, *My Soul Is Rested*, 123; Farmer, *Lay Bare the Heart*, 206–207; Lafayette, Harbour, Diamond, Dietrich, Lewis, Brooks, Moody, Nash, Thomas, Dennis, Wyatt Tee Walker, and Matthew Walker Jr. interviews; *Baltimore Afro-American*, May 27, 1961; Edward B. King Jr. to Henry Thomas, May 19, 1961, folder 7, box 8, SNCCP. Of the two Tennessee State students remaining in Montgomery, only Collins had participated in the Nashville-to-Montgomery Freedom Ride. The second Tennessee State student, Ernest "Rip" Patton, joined the Riders in Montgomery on May 23. Patton remarks, May 11, 2001. *Birmingham Post-Herald*, May 22, 1961; *Birmingham News*, May 22, 1961; *Nashville Tennessean*, May 20–22, 1961; McWhorter, *Carry Me Home*, 238; Fairclough, *To Redeem the Soul of America*, 80; Garrow, *Bearing the Cross*, 159; Viorst, *Fire in the Streets*, 156; Peter J. Ling, *Martin Luther King, Jr.* (London: Routledge, 2002), 80–81; Lewis, *King*, 133–134 (Williams quotation); Tyson, *Radio Free Dixie*, 246. Halberstam, *The Children*, 270–273, 325, 331–332, claims that Nash and Rodney

- 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.
42. *Jackson Daily News*, May 23, 1961 (first quotation); *Jackson Clarion-Ledger*, May 24, 1961 (second quotation); Ross R. Barnett, interview by Dennis O'Brien, May 6, 1969, JFKL. On Barnett (1898–1988), see Dennis J. Mitchell, "Ross Barnett," in *The Encyclopedia of Southern Culture*, ed. Charles Reagan Wilson and William Ferris (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1989), 1182; Robert Sherrill, *Gothic Politics in the Deep South* (New York: Grossman, 1968), 2–4, 174–186, 203–212; and Erle Johnston, *I Rolled With Ross: A Political Portrait* (Baton Rouge: Moran Publishing, 1980). Born in Standing Pine, Mississippi, in 1898, Barnett was the tenth and youngest child of a Civil War veteran.
 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, Dietrich, 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).
 47. Ross Barnett to Robert F. Kennedy, May 23, 1961; telephone conversation between Ross Barnett and Robert F. Kennedy, typescript, May 23, 1961; and telephone conversation between Burke Marshall and Attorney General Patterson of Mississippi, typescript, May 22, 1961, all in box 10, RFKP. On the contacts between Marshall and Patterson, see also box 19, BMP. Branch, *Parting the Waters*, 470 (first quotation); *Jackson Daily News*, May 22, 1961 (second quotation); *New Orleans Times-Picayune*, June 11, 1961; *Baltimore Afro-American*, June 3, 1961; Niven, *Politics of Injustice*, 103–104; Hilty, *Robert Kennedy*, 326–327; Schlesinger, *Robert Kennedy and His Times*, 299 (third and fourth quotations); Marshall interview, JFKL (fifth quotation); Robert F. Kennedy interview, JFKL; Barnett interview, JFKL. On Eastland, see Sherrill, *Gothic Politics in the Deep South*, 174–215.
 48. Marshall interview, JFKL; Robert F. Kennedy interview, JFKL; Doar and Seigenthaler interviews; Niven, *The Politics of Injustice*, 4–5, 104; Hilty, *Robert Kennedy*, 329; James M. McPherson, *Crossroads of Freedom: Antietam* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002). On the Lincoln/Kennedy comparison, see "Compendium of Curious Coincidences; Parallels in the Lives and Deaths of Abraham Lincoln and John F. Kennedy," *Time* 84 (August 21, 1964): 19; Simeon Booker, "How JFK Surpassed Abraham Lincoln," *Ebony* 19 (February 1964): 25–28+; and M. Quigley, "Carl Sandburg Tells How He Thinks Great Emancipator Would Have Reacted to Today's Touchy Race Problems," *Ebony* 18 (September 1963): 158–159. On Lincoln as a moderate Republican, see David M. Potter, *The Impending Crisis, 1848–1861* (New York: Harper and Row, 1976), 421–447, 454, 526; Eric Foner, *Free Soil, Free Labor, Free Men: The Ideology of the Republican Party Before the Civil War* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1970), 205–225; David Herbert Donald, *Lincoln* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1995), 207–209, 331–333, 342, 424–425, 633–634; T. Harry Williams, *Lincoln and the Radicals* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1941); Robert W. Johannsen, *Lincoln, the South, and Slavery: The Political Dimension* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1991); Mark E. Neely Jr., *The Last Best Hope of Earth: Abraham Lincoln and the Promise of America* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1993); and George M. Fredrickson, "A Man but Not a Brother: Abraham Lincoln and Racial Equality," *Journal of Southern History* 41 (February 1975): 39–58.

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

1. First sung on May 24, 1961, the "calypso" freedom song was an adaptation of Harry Belafonte's popular hit "The Banana Boat Song." *New York Times*, May 25, 1961; Still, "A Bus Ride Through Mississippi," 23. A second stanza focused on May 14 and the original CORE Freedom Ride: "I took a trip down Alabama way./ Freedom's coming and it won't be long./ I met much trouble on Mother's Day./ Freedom's coming and it won't be long." *Boston Globe*, May 25, 1961; Niven, *The Politics of Injustice*, 236 n239. On Belafonte, see Genia Fogelson, *Harry Belafonte: Singer and Actor* (Belmont, CA: Wadsworth, 1996).
2. *Montgomery Advertiser*, May 25, 1961 (first quotation); *New York Times*, May 25, 1961; *Jackson Daily News*, May 24, 1961; *Baltimore Afro-American*, June 3, 1961; *Nashville Tennessean*, May 25, 1961; Lafayette, Dennis, Dietrich and Matthew Walker Jr. interviews; Still, "A Bus Ride Through Mississippi," 22; Lewis, *Walking with the Wind*, 168; Farmer, *Lay Bare the Heart*, 207; Branch, *Parting the Waters*, 470–471; Raines, *My Soul Is Rested*, 277 (second quotation); Garrow, *Bearing the Cross*, 159; Niven, *The Politics of Injustice*, 106; Rogers, *Righteous Lives*, 126, 129–130; Anderson-Bricker, "Making a Movement," 265–266, 283–284, 313–318; Roster of Freedom Riders Arrested in Mississippi Through July 31, 1961, Group 1, May 24, 1961, typescript, MSCP.

3. *New York Times*, May 25, 1961 (first quotation); *Birmingham Post-Herald*, May 25, 1961 (second quotation); *Boston Globe*, May 25, 1961; *Baltimore Afro-American*, June 3, 1961; Still, “A Bus Ride Through Mississippi,” 23 (third, fourth, and fifth quotations); Larry A. Still, “Freedom Riders Gather from Across the Nation: Miss. Trip Brings More Arrests,” *Jet* 20 (June 8, 1961): 12–17; *Birmingham News*, May 24, 1961; *Montgomery Advertiser*, May 25, 1961; Marshall interview, JFKL; Lafayette interview; Hampton and Fayer, *Voices of Freedom*, 92; Halberstam, *The Children*, 333–338; Guthman, *We Band of Brothers*, 176; Niven, *The Politics of Injustice*, 106; Branch, *Parting the Waters*, 471–472; Lewis, *Walking with the Wind*, 168; Viorst, *Fire in the Streets*, 157. On the Selma-to-Montgomery march and the voting rights controversy of 1965, see David J. Garrow, *Protest at Selma: Martin Luther King, Jr., and the Voting Rights Act of 1965* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1978); Fairclough, *To Redeem the Soul of America*, 225–251; and Raines, *My Soul Is Rested*, 187–226. On the background to the march, see Taylor Branch, *Pillar of Fire: America in the King Years, 1963–65* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1998), 513–600.
4. Branch, *Parting the Waters*, 472; *Nashville Tennessean*, May 25, 1961 (first quotation); *New York Times*, May 25, 1961 (second quotation); Still, “A Bus Ride Through Mississippi,” 26 (third quotation); Still, “Freedom Riders Gather,” 14–15; *Baltimore Afro-American*, June 3, 1961; Lewis, *Walking with the Wind*, 169; Marshall interview, JFKL; Lafayette and Matthew Walker Jr. interviews; *Birmingham News*, May 24, 1961; Halberstam, *The Children*, 333–338, 349.
5. Branch, *Parting the Waters*, 472; Lewis, *Walking with the Wind*, 168–169; Farmer, *Lay Bare the Heart*, 1–6, 207 (Farmer quotations); Collins interview, *Southern Exposure*, 38–39 (Collins quotation); Diamond, Moody, and Thomas interviews; Roster of Freedom Riders, Group 2, May 24, 1961, MSCP; *New York Times*, May 25, 1961; *Montgomery Advertiser*, May 25, 1961; Frank Holloway, “Travel Notes from a Deep South Tourist,” *New South* 16 (July/August 1961): 5–6; Hampton and Fayer, *Voices of Freedom*, 93 (lyrics); Niven, *The Politics of Injustice*, 107. On Collins, see Forman, *The Making of Black Revolutionaries*, 145, 150–157.
6. *New York Times*, May 25, 1961 (quotations); *Montgomery Advertiser*, May 25, 1961; *Nashville Tennessean*, May 25, 1961; Marshall interview, JFKL; Branch, *Parting the Waters*, 472; Niven, *Politics of Injustice*, 109; Hilty, *Robert Kennedy*, 327.
7. *New York Times*, May 25 (first quotation), 27 (second quotation), 1961; *Montgomery Advertiser*, May 25, 1961; *Jackson Daily News*, May 24–25, 1961; *Jackson Clarion-Ledger*, May 25, 1961; *Birmingham Post-Herald*, May 25, 1961; *Atlanta Constitution*, May 25, 1961; *Baltimore Afro-American*, June 3, 1961; *Nashville Tennessean*, May 25, 1961; Marshall interview, JFKL; Robert F. Kennedy interview, JFKL (third quotation); Niven, *Politics of Injustice*, 104; Branch, *Parting the Waters*, 473–474 (Abernathy quotation); Halberstam, *The Children*, 338–339, 349; Viorst, *Fire in the Streets*, 157; Wofford, *Of Kennedys and Kings*, 156; Hilty, *Robert Kennedy*, 328; McWhorter, *Carry Me Home*, 239; William Sloane Coffin Jr., interview by author, June 22, 2005; John Maguire, interview by author, June 21, 2005. Well known among members of the Northeastern intellectual establishment, Coffin went on to become a celebrated opponent of the Vietnam War. His personal celebrity was enhanced by his marriage to the daughter of the noted pianist Arthur Rubinstein. See William Sloane Coffin Jr., *Once to Every Man: A Memoir* (New York: Atheneum, 1977), 144–169; Warren Goldstein, *William Sloane Coffin, Jr.: A Holy Impatience* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004), 111–128; Coffin, “Why Yale Chaplain Rode: Christians Can’t Be Outside,” *Life* 50 (June 2, 1961): 54–55; and “The South and the Freedom Riders,” 17. John Maguire went on to become a distinguished college president in Connecticut and California, retiring from the Claremont Colleges in 1998. During a Freedom Rider reunion in Jackson, in November 2001, he quipped: “It’s taken me forty years to get here.” John Maguire, remarks at the Freedom Riders’ 40th reunion, Jackson, MS, November 10, 2001. See also John Maguire, interview by Susan Glisson, November 9, 1961, UMFRC.
8. *New York Times*, May 25, 1961 (first and second quotations); *Birmingham Post-Herald*, May 25, 1961 (third quotation); *Nashville Tennessean*, May 25, 1961; *Baltimore Afro-American*, June 3, 1961; Marshall interview, JFKL; Branch, *Parting the Waters*, 475; David Brinkley, *Brinkley’s Beat: People, Places, and Events That Shaped My Time* (New York: Knopf, 2003), 70, 147–179.
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*, 155; 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, UMFRC; 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.
11. Lawrence N. Powell, “When Hate Came to Town: New Orleans’ Jews and George Lincoln Rockwell,” *American Jewish History* 85 (December 1997): 394–419, 398 (first quotation); *Nashville Tennessean*, May 25, 1961 (second quotation); *New York Times*, May 25, 1961 (third quotation); *New Orleans Times-Picayune*, May 25, 1961; *Montgomery Advertiser*, May 25, 1961. On Rockwell, see George Lincoln Rockwell, *This Time the World* (n.p.: 1963); Leland V. Bell, *In Hitler’s Shadow: The Anatomy of American Nazism* (Port Washington, NY: Associated Faculty Press, 1973); and “Death of a Storm Trooper,” *New York Times*, August 27, 1967.

12. *New York Times*, May 25, 1961 (quotations). On Stennis's conservatism, see Brauer, *John F. Kennedy and the Second Reconstruction*, 55–56; Sherrill, *Gothic Politics in the Deep South*, 205–214; and Harry S. Ashmore, *Hearts and Minds: The Anatomy of Racism from Roosevelt to Reagan* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1982), 369. On Javits's strong views on racial discrimination, see Jacob K. Javits, *On Discrimination* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, 1960); and *Javits: The Autobiography of a Public Man* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1981). Though generally considered to be a political moderate, New Orleans mayor deLesseps Morrison lumped Freedom Riders and Nazis together as unwanted troublemakers. "Nazi storm troopers and freedom riders and other such groups," he told reporters, "mean nothing but trouble and are not welcome here." *Nashville Tennessean*, May 25, 1961.
13. Lewis, *Walking with the Wind*, 169 (first quotation); George Brown Tindall, *The Emergence of the New South, 1913–1945* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1967), 234 (second quotation); U.S. Bureau of the Census, *18th Census of the United States, 1960, Population* (Washington: GPO, 1961). On Bevel's background, see Halberstam, *The Children*, 94–96, 350–355. On the folk culture of Mississippi blues music, see Alan Lomax, *The Land Where the Blues Began* (New York: Dell, 1993); and Elijah Wald, *Escaping the Delta: Robert Johnson and the Invention of the Blues* (New York: HarperCollins, 2004). On Mississippi's racial and white supremacist traditions, see Albert J. Kirwan, *Revolt of the Rednecks: Mississippi Politics, 1876–1925* (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1951); William F. Holmes, *The White Chief: James Kimble Vardaman* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1970); Neil R. McMillen, *Dark Journey: Black Mississippians in the Age of Jim Crow* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1989); James W. Silver, *Mississippi: The Closed Society*, new enlarged ed. (New York: Harcourt, Brace, and World, 1966); James C. Cobb, *The Most Southern Place on Earth: The Mississippi Delta and the Roots of Regional Identity* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992); John Dollard, *Caste and Class in a Southern Town* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1937); Allison Davis, Burleigh B. Gardner, and Mary R. Gardner, *Deep South: A Social Anthropological Study of Caste and Class* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1941); Hortense Powdermaker, *After Freedom: A Cultural Study in the Deep South* (New York: Viking Press, 1939); Richard Wright, *Black Boy* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1945); Jack E. Davis, *Race Against Time: Culture and Separation in Natchez Since 1930* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2001); Whitfield, *A Death in the Delta*; and Howard Smead, *Blood Justice: The Lynching of Mack Charles Parker* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1986). On the "Mississippi Plan," see Woodward, *The Strange Career of Jim Crow*, 83, 152.
14. *Jackson Clarion-Ledger*, May 23–26, 1961; *Jackson Daily News*, May 23–26, 1961; *Jackson State-Times*, May 26, 1961. On the White Citizens' Councils, see McMillen, *The Citizens' Council*; Hodding Carter, *The South Strikes Back* (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1959); and Bartley, *The Rise of Massive Resistance*, 82–107. On the Sunflower County roots of the Citizens' Councils, see J. Todd Moya, *Let the People Decide: Black Freedom and White Resistance Movements in Sunflower County, Mississippi, 1945–1986* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004), 64–86.
15. The New York reporter was Philip S. Cook of the *New York Herald Tribune* News Service. His story was reprinted in the *Birmingham Post-Herald*, May 28, 1961 (first quotation); Lafayette, Dietrich, and Moody interviews; Lafayette and Thomas interview; Holloway, "Travel Notes from a Deep South Tourist," 6; Farmer, *Lay Bare the Heart*, 7 (second and third quotations); Halberstam, *The Children*, 339–344; Lewis, *Walking with the Wind*, 169–170; *Nashville Tennessean*, May 25, 1961. See also Farmer's extended description of his Mississippi jail experiences in *Lay Bare the Heart*, 7–32; and Peck, *Freedom Ride*, 143–146.
16. UPI press release, Jerome Brazda, May 26, 1961, typescript, MSCP; *Montgomery Advertiser*, May 26, 1961; *Birmingham Post-Herald*, May 26, 1961; *Birmingham News*, May 25, 1961 (first quotation); *New York Times*, May 26, 1961 (second quotation); Branch, *Parting the Waters*, 476; Maguire, Coffin, Jones, and Clyde Carter interviews; Maguire interview, UMFRC; Goldstein, *William Sloane Coffin, Jr.*, 119–121; Coffin, *Once to Every Man*, 160–162.
17. Written by James Clayton, the story in the May 25, 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.
18. *New York Times*, May 26, 1961; Branch, *Parting the Waters*, 477–478 (first quotation); Reeves, *President Kennedy*, 135–140; Hilty, *Robert Kennedy*, 328–329. For the full text of the May 25, 1961 State of the Union address, see *Public Papers of the Presidents: John F. Kennedy, 1961–1963* (Washington: GPO, 1962), vol. 1, 396–405. The rabbi who questioned the president's priorities was Rabbi Edward E. Klein of the Stephen Wise Free Synagogue. *Baltimore Afro-American*, June 24, 1961.
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.
20. *Jackson Clarion-Ledger*, May 29, 1961 (first quotation). Peck also appeared on Mike Wallace's *PM East* television show, as well as other television and radio broadcasts. See Peck, *Freedom Ride*, 135. On the origins of the FRCC, see Gordon Carey, "Report of Meeting of the Freedom Ride Coordinating Committee," May 26, 1961, reel 25, COREP; Minutes, FRCC organizational meeting, May 26, 1961, box 10, KPA; minutes, SNCC meeting, Louisville, Kentucky, June 9–11, 1961, folder 2, box 7,

- SNCCP; FRCC organizational summary, folder 11, box 75, KMSP; *Birmingham Post-Herald*, May 29, 1961; *Jackson State-Times*, May 28, 1961; Laue, *Direct Action and Desegregation*, 109–110; Branch, *Parting the Waters*, 477; and Meier and Rudwick, *CORE*, 139 (second quotation), 144.
21. *New York Times*, May 26, 1961 (quotations).
 22. Clyde Carter, Coffin, and Maguire interviews; Maguire interview, UMFRC; Coffin, *Once to Every Man*, 161–162; Goldstein, *William Sloane 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.”
 23. *New York Times*, May 27, 1961 (first, second, and third quotations); *Jackson Daily News*, May 27, 1961 (Spencer quotations); *Jackson Clarion-Ledger*, May 25, 27, 1961; *Baltimore Afro-American*, June 3, 1961 (Travis-Vivian exchange); *Montgomery Advertiser*, May 27, 1961; *Atlanta Constitution*, May 27, 1961; Lewis, *Walking with the Wind*, 170; Peck, *Freedom Ride*, 140; Holloway, “Travel Notes from a Deep South Tourist,” 7. On Branton, who gained fame as an attorney for students attempting to desegregate Little Rock’s schools in the late 1950s, see Kirk, *Redefining the Color Line*, 32, 58–62, 99–100, 118, 132–133, 161, 167; Wiley A. Branton, “Little Rock Revisited: Desegregation to Resegregation,” *Journal of Negro Education* 52 (Summer 1983): 250–269; and Meier and Rudwick, *CORE*, 175, 177, 179, 259–260, 269. See also Tony Freyer, *The Little Rock Crisis: A Constitutional Interpretation* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1984); and Jacoway and Williams, *Understanding the Little Rock Crisis*.
 24. *Jackson Daily News*, May 25, 27, 1961; *Jackson Clarion-Ledger*, May 28, 1961; *New York Times*, May 28, 1961; *Montgomery Advertiser*, May 27, 1961; Collins interview, *Southern Exposure*, 39. The speakers at the Jackson NAACP rally included Charles Darden of the NAACP’s National Board of Directors; Julia Wright, an NAACP regional secretary based in Columbia, South Carolina; Medgar Evers, NAACP field secretary for Mississippi; the Reverend John D. Mangram, chaplain of Tougaloo Southern Christian College; and Ella Baker. *Baltimore Afro-American*, June 3, 1961.
 25. “Sit-In Lull Won’t Last, King Warns,” unidentified clipping, May 28, 1961, MSCP (first quotation); *Jackson Clarion-Ledger*, May 28, 1961; *New York Times*, May 27 (Wilkins quotation), 29, 1961; *Nashville Tennessean*, May 25, 1961; NCLC minutes, June 3, 1961, folder 24, box 75, KMSP; *Jackson State-Times*, May 28, 1961 (Lillard and Ed King quotations); *Birmingham Post-Herald*, May 29, 1961; *Baltimore Afro-American*, June 10, 1961; *Pittsburgh Courier*, June 10, 1961; Walter L. Wallace to Dr. King, May 24, 1961, folder 8, and “Freedom Riders Call for Volunteers,” press release, May 28, 1961, folder 7, both in box 8, SNCCP.
 26. Roster of Freedom Riders, Groups 3 and 4, May 28, 1961, MSCP; Brooks and Harbour interviews; Charles David Myers, interview by author, June 23, 2005; *New York Times*, May 29, 1961 (first and second quotations); *Montgomery Advertiser*, May 29, 1961; *Nashville Tennessean*, May 29–30, 1961; *Jackson Daily News*, May 29, 1961; *Atlanta Journal*, May 29, 1961; *Baltimore Afro-American*, June 10, 1961; *Birmingham Post-Herald*, May 29, 1961; Hampton and Fayer, *Voices of Freedom*, 94 (third quotation); *Jackson Clarion-Ledger*, May 28, 29 (fourth quotation), 1961. See also Leonard’s interview in the documentary “Ain’t Scared of Your Jails.”
 27. *New York Times*, May 28 (first quotation), 29 (second quotation), 1961; *Baltimore Afro-American*, June 10, 1961; Reeves, *President Kennedy*, 143–144. See also 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.”
 28. Raines, *My Soul is Rested*, 127 (first quotation); Farmer, *Lay Bare the Heart*, 17 (second quotation), 18–22; Zinn, *SNCC*, 52; *Jackson State-Times*, May 29, 1961 (Gilfof quotations); *Jackson Clarion-Ledger*, May 30, 1961; *Jackson Daily News*, May 30, 1961; *Baltimore Afro-American*, June 10, 17, 1961; Lewis, *Walking with the Wind*, 170; Holloway, “Travel Notes from a Deep South Tourist,” 7–8 (Holloway quotations); Dietrich interview.
 29. *New York Times*, May 25, 30 (first quotation); *Montgomery Advertiser*, May 25, 30 (second and third quotations), 1961; *Birmingham Post-Herald*, May 29, 1961; *Birmingham News*, May 29, 1961; *Baltimore Afro-American*, June 10, 1961; McWhorter, *Carry Me Home*, 239–241; Bass, *Taming the Storm*, 181.
 30. *New Orleans Times-Picayune*, May 29–June 2, 1961; *New York Times*, May 30, 1961; *Jackson Daily News*, May 29, 1961; *Jackson State-Times*, May 29, 1961; Powell, “When Hate Came to Town,” 416; Meier and Rudwick, *CORE*, 138–140; Roster of Freedom Riders, Group 5, May 30, 1961, MSCP; *Jet* 20 (June 8, 1961): 42.
 31. Marshall interview, JFKL; *New York Times*, May 27, 30 (first, second, and fourth quotations), 1961; *Montgomery Advertiser*, May 30, 1961; *Birmingham News*, May 26–27, 1961; *Baltimore Afro-American*, June 3, 10, 1961; Branch, *Parting the Waters*, 478; Guthman, *We Band of Brothers*, 175; “Freedom Riders Force a Test,” *Newsweek* 57 (June 5, 1961): 22; Schlesinger, *Robert Kennedy and His Times*, 300; Barnes, *Journey from Jim Crow*, 86–107, 134–135 (third quotation), 137, 169–170; Viorst, *Fire in the Streets*, 158; Hilty, *Robert Kennedy*, 329; Doar interview; Dixon, “Civil Rights in Transportation and the ICC,” 198–217. Lewis, *Portrait of a Decade*, 117–118, characterized the ICC as “centipedal.” See also the booklet “Before the ICC . . .” and related documents in box 1, Records of Burke Marshall,

- 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.
32. *New York Times*, May 30–31 (quotations), 1961; Roster of Freedom Riders, Group 5, May 30, 1961, MSCP; Davis and Davis interview; Freedom Rider application, Glenda Gaither, section 441, reel 43, COREP; Freedom Rider application, James K. Davis, section 443, reel 43, COREP; Gaither, Nixon, and Lafayette interviews; Robert Heller, interview by author; November 8, 2001, June 23, 2005; Robert Heller, interview by Susan Glisson, November 9, 2001, UMFRC; Sandra Nixon, interview by Susan Glisson, November 10, 1961, UMFRC; *Baltimore Afro-American*, June 10, 1961; *Jackson Daily News*, May 31, 1961; *Jackson Clarion-Ledger*, May 31, 1961; *Jackson State-Times*, May 31, 1961; *Birmingham Post-Herald*, May 31, 1961; *Montgomery Advertiser*, May 31, 1961; Raines, *My Soul Is Rested*, 126–127; Peck, *Freedom Ride*, 143–146; Halberstam, *The Children*, 342–345; Viorst, *Fire in the Streets*, 158; Barnes, *Journey from Jim Crow*, 166; Holloway, “Travel Notes from a Deep South Tourist,” 7 (last two quotations); Farmer, *Lay Bare the Heart*, 19–21. Betsy Wyckoff to Gordon Carey, June 15, 1961, Jesse Harris, typescript, June 24, 1961, and Gordon Harris to Dear Folks, June 26, 1961, all in section 448, reel 44, COREP.
 33. Farmer, *Lay Bare the Heart*, 21 (first quotation); *New York Times*, May 31, 1961 (second and third quotations); Southern Regional Council, *The Freedom Ride* (Atlanta: Southern Regional Council, 1961); Leslie Dunbar, “The Freedom Ride,” *New South* 16 (July/August 1961): 9–10; Dunbar interview. See also the documents on the Southern Regional Council’s reaction to the Freedom Rides in reels 59, 111, and 112, SRCP.
 34. *Montgomery Advertiser*, May 31, June 1, 1961; *New York Times*, May 31, June 1, 1961; *Birmingham Post-Herald*, May 31, June 1, 1961; *Birmingham News*, May 30 (first quotation), May 31, June 1, 1961; *Baltimore Afro-American*, June 10, 1961; “Kennedy’s Call to B’ham,” May 15, 1961, typescript, box 10, RFKP (second quotation); Bass, *Taming the Storm*, 181–182; McWhorter, *Carry Me Home*, 242; Schlesinger, *Robert Kennedy and His Times*, 296; Branch, *Parting the Waters*, 443–444; Doar interview; Marshall interview, JFKL; Kennedy and Marshall interview, JFKL.
 35. *New York Times*, June 2, 1961 (quotations); *Montgomery Advertiser*, June 1–2, 1961; *Birmingham News*, June 1, 1961; *Birmingham Post-Herald*, June 2, 1961; *Jackson Daily News*, June 2, 1961; *Jackson Clarion-Ledger*, June 2, 1961; *Christian Science Monitor*, June 2, 1961; *Baltimore Afro-American*, June 10, 1961; *Pittsburgh Courier*, June 10, 1961; Manis, *A Fire You Can’t Put Out*, 280–282. A twenty-year-old Cornell junior, Sterling was the son of two prominent New York writers, Philip and Dorothy Sterling. The latter was the author of several well-known children’s books, including the novel *Mary Jane*, the story of a young black girl’s experiences at an integrated school. *New York Times*, May 31, 1961; Freedom Rider application, Peter Sterling, section 441, reel 43, COREP.
 36. *New York Times*, June 3, 1961 (quotations); *Montgomery Advertiser*, June 3, 1961; *Birmingham Post-Herald*, June 3, 1961; *Baltimore Afro-American*, June 10, 1961; Bass, *Taming the Storm*, 182–183; Yarbrough, *Judge Frank Johnson*, 81.
 37. *Birmingham News*, June 3, 1961 (first quotation); *New York Times*, June 3, 1961 (all other quotations); *Montgomery Advertiser*, June 3, 1961.
 38. *Birmingham News*, June 3, 1961 (first and third quotations); *Montgomery Advertiser*, June 3, 4 (second quotation), 6 (fourth quotation), 1961; *Birmingham Post-Herald*, June 3–5, 1961; Yarbrough, *Judge Frank Johnson*, 81–82.
 39. *Birmingham Post-Herald*, June 3, 1961 (first quotation); *Atlanta Journal*, June 3, 1961 (second quotation); *New York Times*, June 3, 1961; *Montgomery Advertiser*, June 3, 1961; *Baltimore Afro-American*, June 10, 1961; *Birmingham News*, June 3, 1961.
 40. *Montgomery Advertiser*, June 3, 1961; *Jackson Clarion-Ledger*, June 3, 1961; *Jackson Daily News*, June 1, 3, 1961; *Baltimore Afro-American*, June 10, 1961; Roster of Freedom Riders, Groups 6 and 7, June 2, 1961, MSCP; Fleming, *Soon We Will Not Cry*, 85–86. Fertig later allowed a number of Freedom Riders to use his Chicago home as an unofficial headquarters for fund-raising and other movement activities. On Cordell Reagon, see Branch, *Parting the Waters*, 513, 524–528, 531–537, 558; Carson, *In Struggle*, 56–58, 60; and Zinn, *SNCC*, 14, 123–127, 132–134.
 41. *Birmingham News*, June 3, 1961; *New York Times*, June 3, 1961; *Baltimore Afro-American*, June 10, 1961; *Montgomery Advertiser*, June 4, 1961 (quotations); Marshall interview, JFKL; Doar interview. On the Little Rock case, see *Cooper v. Aaron*, 358 U. S. 1 (1958); Freyer, *The Little Rock Crisis*; and Patterson, *Brown v. Board of Education*, 112.
 42. Wofford, *Of Kennedys and Kings*, 157; *Montgomery Advertiser*, June 3–6, 1961; *New York Times*, June 3–4, 1961 (Truman and Seligson quotations); *Baltimore Afro-American*, June 10, 17 (Barbee quotation), 1961; *CORE-lator* (June 1961): 3. In March 1960 Truman made similarly disparaging remarks about the sit-in movement, declaring: “If anybody came to my store and tried to stop business, I’d throw him out.” *New York Times*, June 3, 1961. Rabbi Seligson was speaking to the Reform congregation at the Central Synagogue, located at Lexington Avenue and Fifty-first Street.

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.

2. *New York Times*, June 5–6 (quotations), 1961; Peck, *Freedom Ride*, 154–156; *Philadelphia Inquirer*, June 5, 1961; *Baltimore Afro-American*, June 17, 1961; *Pittsburgh Courier*, June 17, 1961; *Jackson Advocate*, June 10, 1961. On the crucial role of the media in the civil rights struggle, see Richard Lentz, *Symbols, the News Magazines, and Martin Luther King* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1990).
3. “The South and the Freedom Riders” (quotations). On the daily press coverage, see the *New York Times*, the *Washington Post*, and the *Atlanta Constitution* during the period June 1–15, 1961; the civil rights scrapbooks for 1961 at the Birmingham Public Library (BPL); and the voluminous clippings compiled by the Mississippi State Sovereignty Commission (MSCP). The latter two sources contain few clippings from newspapers outside of Mississippi and Alabama. For an analysis of magazine coverage of the Freedom Rides, see Lentz, *Symbols, the News Magazines, and Martin Luther King*, 50–60. Lentz focuses on *Time*, *Newsweek*, and *U.S. News and World Report*.
4. “Asking for Trouble—and Getting It,” 49 (quotation). *Life*’s first story on the Freedom Rides, “Bloody Beatings, Burning Bus in the South,” appeared in the May 26, 1961, issue (vol. 50, pp. 22–25).
5. Lentz, *Symbols, the News Magazines, and Martin Luther King*, 54–57; *Pittsburgh Courier*, June 10, 1961; *Jet* 20 (June 8, 1961): 20–21; “Label U.S. Racial Violence ‘Shot Heard ‘Round the World,’” *Jet* 20 (June 22, 1961): 16–17; “Uncle Sam, Get That Monkey off Your Back,” *Jet* 20 (July 13, 1961): 8; “The Historic Image,” and “The Test of Nonviolence,” *Nation* 192 (June 3, 1961): 469–470; “Is South Headed for Race War?” *U.S. News and World Report* 50 (June 5, 1961): 42–48; “Let Us Try, at Least, to Understand,” *National Review* 10 (June 3, 1961): 338; “Freedom Riders,” *New Republic* 144 (June 5, 1961): 5; Gerald W. Johnson, “Who Turned the Bull Loose?” in *ibid.*, 20; Helen Fuller, “We, the People of Alabama . . .” *ibid.*, 21–23; “Freedom Riders Force a Test,” 18–20, 21–23 (quotations). See also “Freedom Riders: Cracks in the Levee,” *America* 105 (May 27, 1961): 358; “Violence in Alabama,” *America* 105 (June 3, 1961): 388; “The Negro Tries Passive Resistance,” *New York Times Magazine* (May 28, 1961): 12–13; “Days of Violence in the South,” *Newsweek* 57 (May 29, 1961): 21–22; Booker and Gaffney, “Eyewitness Report”; Still, “Freedom Riders Gather”; “Seeking a Damper for Racial Strife,” *Business Week* (June 3, 1961): 22–23; “Trouble in Alabama,” *Time* 77 (May 26, 1961): 16–17; “Rolling On,” *Time* 77 (June 9, 1961): 15–16; “Violence in Alabama,” *Commonweal* 74 (June 2, 1961): 244; “A Question of Responsibility,” *Commonweal* 74 (June 9, 1961): 267; W. D. Patterson, “The Calloused Conscience,” *Saturday Review* 44 (June 10, 1961): 28; “Tensions and Justice,” *Newsweek* 57 (June 12, 1961): 37–38; and “Race Tension and the Law,” *U.S. News and World Report* 50 (June 12, 1961): 85.
6. Meier and Rudwick, *CORE*, 139–140; *New York Times*, May 31–June 6, 1961; *Pittsburgh Courier*, June 10, 1961; *Philadelphia Inquirer*, June 5, 1961; *Atlanta Journal*, June 3, 1961; *Jackson Clarion-Ledger*, June 2, 1961; *Baltimore Afro-American*, June 10, 24, July 1, 1961; *Jet* 20 (June 29, 1961): 49; Alex Poinsett, “Who Speaks for the Negro? Many Voices in Harmony as Freedom Struggle Mounts,” *Jet* 20 (July 6, 1961): 14–23; *Jet* 20 (July 6, 1961): 30; *Voice of the Movement*, June 30, 1961, in folder 8, box 76, KMSB; Lillard and Gaither interviews. On the summit and John Kennedy’s first presidential visit to Europe, see Reeves, *President Kennedy*, 143–174.
7. Lewis, *Walking with the Wind*, 169–170; Farmer, *Lay Bare the Heart*, 11–22; Carmichael, *Ready for Revolution*, 194–198; Carson, *In Struggle*, 38; Meier and Rudwick, *CORE*, 140; Robert Martinson, “Prison Notes of a Freedom Rider,” *Nation* (January 6, 1962): 4; Holloway, “Travel Notes from a Deep South Tourist”; Gaither, Lafayette, and Thomas interviews; Haley interview, RBOHC; Marvin Rich, interview by James Mosby Jr., November 6, 1969, RBOHC; *New York Times*, June 6, 8, 1961; *Jackson State Times*, June 1, 5 (quotations), 6, 8, 1961; *Jackson Daily News*, June 1, 8, 1961; *Jackson Clarion-Ledger*, June 4, 6 (fourth quotation), 1961; *Baltimore Afro-American*, June 24, 1961; *Pittsburgh Courier*, June 24, 1961; *Jet* 20 (June 22, 1961): 6–7, 42; *Jet* 20 (July 6, 1961): 30.
8. Roster of Freedom Riders, Group 8, June 6, 1961, MSCP; Rogers, *Righteous Lives*, 126, 129; Doratha Smith-Simmons, interview by author, June 27, 2005; Alice Thompson, interview by Kim Lacy Rogers, July 25, 1988, ARC; *Jackson Daily News*, June 1 (Gilfoy quotation), 6, 1961; Alex Poinsett, “Ten Biggest Lies About Freedom Riders,” *Jet* 20 (June 22, 1961): 12–14; *Jet* 20 (June 22, 1961): 5; *New York Times*, June 6, 7 (Spencer quotation), 1961; *Jackson Clarion-Ledger*, June 1, 7, 1961. Weber served as the group leader. Abraham Bassford IV, interview by author, August 22, 2005.
9. Roster of Freedom Riders, Groups 9 and 10, June 7, 1961, MSCP; *New York Times*, June 6–7, 1961; *Jackson Clarion-Ledger*, June 5, 8, 1961; *Jackson Daily News*, June 9, 1961; Reginald Green, interview by author, August 11, 2005; Michael Audain, interview by Susan Glisson, November 9, 2001, UMFRC; Michael Audain, interview by author, November 10, 2001. Audain’s father, who disapproved of the Freedom Rides, put up five hundred dollars in bail money to secure his son’s release in early July. Deeply affected by his experiences in Mississippi, Audain worked as a social worker for twenty years and taught at the University of British Columbia’s School of Communications and Regional Planning. He did not return to Mississippi until November 2001.
10. *Jackson Daily News*, June 8, 1961 (quotations); Farmer, *Lay Bare the Heart*, 12–14; Poinsett, “Who Speaks for the Negro?”; *Baltimore Afro-American*, July 1, 1961; *Pittsburgh Courier*, July 1, 1961.
11. Farmer, *Lay Bare the Heart*, 14–15 (quotations); *Baltimore Afro-American*, June 10, 17 (final quotation), 24, 1961; Carmichael, *Ready for Revolution*, 195–196. Set in the 1930s South, Lee’s novel focuses on the interrelated experiences of a black man falsely accused of rape and a courageous white lawyer named Atticus Finch. In May and June 1961, it hovered near the top of the *New York Times* best-seller list. *New York Times*, May 21, 1961. In 1962 a Hollywood movie based on the novel and starring Gregory Peck as Finch became one of the first pro-civil-rights films to reach a mass audience. Horton Foote wrote the screenplay. Harper Lee, *To Kill a Mockingbird* (Philadelphia: J. P. Lippincott, 1960); *To Kill a Mockingbird* (University City, CA: MCA Videocassette, 1981).

12. Roster of Freedom Riders, Group 11, June 8, 1961, MSCP; Freedom Rider application, Gwendolyn Greene, section 441, reel 43, COREP; *New York Times*, June 8–9, 1961; *Jackson State-Times*, June 8, 1961 (quotation); *Jackson Daily News*, June 8, 1961; *Jackson Clarion-Ledger*, June 9, 1961; *Baltimore Afro-American*, June 17, 1961; *Pittsburgh Courier*, June 17, 24, 1961; Carmichael, *Ready for Revolution*, 192 (quotation), 193; *Washington Post*, August 4, 2004; Travis Britt, interview by James Mosby Jr., September 14, 1968, RBOHC; Mulholland interview; Joan Trumpauer Mulholland, interview by Susan Glisson, November 10, 1961, UMFRC.
13. Roster of Freedom Riders, Group 12, June 9, 1961, MSCP; *Jackson Daily News*, June 9–10, 1961 (quotations); *Jackson Clarion-Ledger*, June 10, 1961; *Pittsburgh Courier*, June 10, 17, 1961; *Baltimore Afro-American*, June 17, 1961; *Jet* 20 (June 22, 1961): 5; *Washington Evening Star*, June 9, 1961; Myers interview. On Motley's long and distinguished career with the NAACP Legal Defense Fund, see Constance Baker Motley, *Equal Justice Under Law: An Autobiography* (New York: Farrar, Straus, and Giroux, 1998). Derrick Bell later taught at Harvard Law School and wrote several influential books on the racial aspects of American culture. See Derrick A. Bell, *And We Are Not Saved: The Elusive Quest for Racial Justice* (New York: Basic Books, 1987); Bell, *Faces at the Bottom of the Well: The Permanence of Racism* (New York: Basic Books, 1992); and Bell, *Confronting Authority: Reflections of an Ardent Protester* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1994).
14. Roster of Freedom Riders, Groups 13 and 14, June 10–11, 1961, MSCP; *Jackson Daily News*, June 10–12, 14, 1961; *Jackson Clarion-Ledger*, June 12, 14 (Horne quotations), 1961; *Washington Evening Star*, June 11–12, 1961; *New York Times*, June 11–12, 1961; Steve Green, interview by author, November 9, 2001; Steve Green, interview by Susan Glisson, November 10, 2001, UMFRC; Steve Green, "Freedom Rider Diary: Forty Years Later" (2001, unpublished ms. in author's possession), 1–12, 2 (Coffin quotation).
15. Marv Davidov, interview by author, November 9, 2001; Marv Davidov, interview by Susan Glisson, November 9, 2001, UMFRC; Ed Felien, "The History of Honeywell as Seen from South Minneapolis," *Pulse of the Twin Cities* 3 (June 16–22, 1999): 3–5; Noam Chomsky to "whom it may concern," October 2, 1995, in author's possession; Marv Davidov, "Formal Education and Practical Experience in Nonviolent Social Change Movements" (November 2001, typescript in author's possession); Peck, *Freedom Ride*, 150–151. In 2001 Davidov served as the director of the Midwest Institute for Social Transformation, sponsored by the Meridel Leseur Center for Peace and Justice, in Minneapolis. Zev Aelony, interview by author, November 9, 2001; Zev Aelony, interview by Susan Glisson, November 9, 2001, UMFRC; Due and Due, *Freedom in the Family*, 41–43, 175–179; www.crmvet.org/vet/aelony.htm; G. McLeod Bryan, *These Few Also Paid a Price: Southern Whites Who Fought for Civil Rights* (Macon: Mercer University Press, 2001); Zev Aelony, "Back on the Road: Freedom Riders Return to the New South," *Pulse of the Twin Cities* 5 (December 19, 2001); Robert Baum, interview by author, November 9–10, 2001 (quotation); Robert Baum, interview by Susan Glisson, November 9, 2001, UMFRC; Dave Morton, interview by author, November 10, 2001; Claire O'Connor, interview by author, November 9, 2001 (quotation); Claire O'Connor, interview by Susan Glisson, November 10, 2001, UMFRC. On Tobias Simon, see Florence Morgenroth, "Organization and Activities of the American Civil Liberties Union in Miami, 1955–1966" (M.A. thesis, University of Miami, 1966).
16. *New York Times*, June 13, 1961; *Montgomery Advertiser*, June 13–15, 1961; *Jackson Clarion-Ledger*, June 15, 1961; *Jackson Daily News*, June 21, 1961; Gaither interview; Harold E. Fey, "Freedom Rides at N.C.C.," *Christian Century* 78 (June 21, 1961): 766–767.
17. Freedom Rider application, Danny Thompson, section 441, reel 43, COREP; *Jackson Daily News*, May 24, June 12–15, 1961; *Jackson Clarion-Ledger*, June 12, 13 (first quotation); *Washington Evening Star*, June 13, 1961; Farmer, *Lay Bare the Heart*, 22 (third quotation); Carmichael, *Ready for Revolution*, 198–202. On Parchman's gruesome history, see David M. Oshinsky, "Worse than Slavery": *Parchman Farm and the Ordeal of Jim Crow Justice* (New York: Free Press, 1996), especially pp. 233–236, which deal with the Freedom Riders' experiences. The facetious invitation, which appeared in the *Jackson Daily News* on June 24, 1961, is quoted in *ibid.*, 233–234.
18. Freedom Rider applications, C. Donald Alstork, Israel Dresner, Martin Freedman, Petty McKinney, James O'Connor, et al., section 116, reel 25, COREP; Israel Dresner, interview by author, November 9–10, 1961; Martin Freedman, interview by author, November 8, 1961; Martin Freedman, interview by Susan Glisson, November 9, 2001, UMFRC; Ralph Roy, interview by author, November 9, 1961; Ralph Roy, interview by Susan Glisson, November 10, 2001, UMFRC; Ralph Roy, "A Freedom Rider's Report from Jail," *New York Amsterdam News*, June 24, 1961; Ralph Roy, "Freedom Ride" (2001, unpublished ms. in author's possession); Alan Levine, interview by Susan Glisson, November 10, 2001; Alan Levine, interview by author, November 8, 2001; Robert McAfee Brown, "I Was a Freedom Rider," *Presbyterian Life* (August 1, 1961): 10–11, 32–33; Robert McAfee Brown and Frank Randall, *The Freedom Riders: A Clergyman's View, an Historian's View* (New York: CORE, 1962), 1–9, rpt. from *Amherst College Alumni News* 14 (1961): 11–17; *New York Times*, June 13–15, 1961 (quotations); *Washington Evening Star*, June 13–15, 1961; *Baltimore Afro-American*, July 1, 1961; Francis and Laura Randall, "Freedom Riders' Diary" (1961, unpublished ms. in author's possession), 1–14.
19. Brown, "I Was a Freedom Rider," 11 (quotations); Dresner, Freedman, and Howard interviews; John W. Collier, interview by author, August 19, 2005; Roy, "A Freedom Rider's Report from Jail"; Roy, "Freedom Ride," 3; *Baltimore Afro-American*, June 24, 1961. On the Harris incident, see *Pittsburgh Courier*, June 10, 1961; *Baltimore Afro-American*, June 10, 1961; *Jet* 20 (June 1, 1961): 13; *Jet* 20 (June 15, 1961): 53; and *Washington Evening Star*, May 30, June 7 (first quotation), 1961. When the Interfaith Riders arrived in Sumter, Jim McCain was apparently in New Orleans recruiting and training prospective Freedom Riders. Meier and Rudwick, *CORE*, 139–140.

20. Brown, "I Was a Freedom Rider," 32; Roy, "Freedom Ride," 3–4; Dresner and Freedman interviews; *Washington Evening Star*, June 15, 1961; *New York Times*, June 15, 1961; *Baltimore Afro-American*, June 24, July 1, 1961; *Pittsburgh Courier*, June 24, 1961; *St. Petersburg Times*, June 15, 1961; Rabby, *The Pain and the Promise*, 135; RD 68, box 10, Investigative Report Case Files, ICCR. On Farris Bryant's opposition to desegregation, see David Colburn and Richard K. Scher, *Florida's Gubernatorial Politics in the Twentieth Century* (Tallahassee: University Presses of Florida, 1980), 78–80, 226–228, 232–235, 289.
21. Brown, "I Was a Freedom Rider," 10, 32–33; *New York Times*, June 16–17, 1961; *St. Petersburg Times*, June 16, 1961; *Tallahassee Democrat*, June 16–17, 1961; *Baltimore Afro-American*, June 24, July 1, 1961; Roy, "Freedom Ride," 1–8; Roy, Freedman, Dresner (quotation), Collier, and Levine interviews; Rabby, *The Pain and the Promise*, 135–138.
22. *New York Times*, June 12 (first quotation), 16–18, 1961; *St. Petersburg Times*, June 17–19, 1961; *Baltimore Afro-American*, June 24, 1961; Rabby, *The Pain and the Promise*, 136 (second quotation); Dresner, Collier, Freedman, and Roy interviews; Roy, "Freedom Ride," 5–6 (third quotation). On Poland, see RD 44, box 7, and RD 47 and 54, box 8, Investigative Report Case Files, ICCR.
23. Randall and Randall, "Freedom Riders' Diary," 14–20; Brown and Randall, *The Freedom Riders*, 6–9; Gordon Negen, "I Went on a Freedom Ride," *Reformed Journal* (July–Aug. 1961): 4–6. *St. Petersburg Times*, June 16, 17 (Diamond and Smith quotations), 18, 19, 1961; *Tampa Tribune*, June 16–18, 1961; *New York Times*, June 17–18, 1961, September 20, 1993; *Ocala Banner*, June 17, 1961; RD 62, box 9, and RD 141, box 17, Investigative Report Case Files, ICCR; Clark Bouwman, interview by author, May 28, 2005. On the racial history of St. Petersburg, see Raymond Arsenault, *St. Petersburg and the Florida Dream, 1888–1950* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1996). On the spring training desegregation controversy, see Jack E. Davis, "Baseball's Reluctant Challenge: Desegregating Major League Spring Training Sites, 1961–1964," *Journal of Sport History* 19 (Summer 1992): 144–162.
24. *New York Times*, June 18, 1961; *St. Petersburg Times*, June 19, 1961; *Tallahassee Democrat*, June 17–22, 23 (quotations), 1961; *Jackson Daily News*, June 23, 1961; Rabby, *The Pain and the Promise*, 137–139; Collier, Dresner, Freedman, and Roy interviews. See also *Priscilla G. Stephens v. City of Tallahassee*, Law No. 10085 (1962); and *Israel Dresner et al. v. City of Tallahassee*, Law No. 10084 (Fla. 1961, 1962), and 375 U.S. 136 (1963).
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*, 171–172 (quotations); Peck, *Freedom Ride*, 147–148 (Sullivan quotation); Carmichael, *Ready for Revolution*, 201–203 (quotation); 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.
27. *Jackson Clarion-Ledger*, June 16, 1961 (quotations); *Jackson Daily News*, June 16, 1961; *New York Times*, June 16, 1961; *Baltimore Afro-American*, June 24, 1961; Lewis, *Walking with the Wind*, 172; Farmer, *Lay Bare the Heart*, 25; Raines, *My Soul Is Rested*, 127–128; Oshinsky, "Worse than Slavery," 235.
28. Reeves, *President Kennedy*, 178–182; *Jackson Daily News*, June 16, 1961; *Washington Post*, June 16–18, 1961; *Washington Evening Star*, June 16–18, 1961; Roster of Freedom Riders, Fifteenth Group, June 16, 1961, MSCP; Robert Filner, interview by author, November 9, 2001 (quotation); Robert Filner, interview by Susan Glisson, November 9, 2001, UMFRC; Larry Copeland, "Freedom Riders Go South Again," *USA Today*, November 8, 2001, 9D.
29. Branch, *Parting the Waters*, 479–480 (quotation); Lewis, *Walking with the Wind*, 180–181; Carson, *In Struggle*, 38–39; Zinn, *SNCC*, 58; *New York Times*, June 15, 17, 20, 1961; Burke Marshall interview, JFKL; Raines, *My Soul Is Rested*, 227–228, 230–231; Brauer, *John F. Kennedy and the Second Reconstruction*, 114–117; Carmichael, *Ready for Revolution*, 218–224; Schlesinger, *Robert Kennedy and His Times*, 302; Navasky, *Kennedy Justice*, 117–118, 121, 207; Charles M. Payne, *I've Got the Light of Freedom: The Organizing Tradition and the Mississippi Freedom Struggle* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), 107–111; Belford Lawson III, interview by author, September 21, 2005.
30. *Jackson State-Times*, June 18, 1961 (quotation); Payne, *I've Got the Light of Freedom*, 107–111; Lewis, *Walking with the Wind*, 182; Brauer, *John F. Kennedy and the Second Reconstruction*, 112; Wofford, *Of Kennedys and Kings*, 159; *Pittsburgh Courier*, July 1, 1961; *Jet* 20 (July 6, 1961): 58–59.
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 Wofford, *Of Kennedys and Kings*, 125–126.
32. *Jackson Daily News*, June 20–21 (quotation); *Jackson Clarion-Ledger*, June 20–21, 1961; *Jackson State-Times*, June 18, 1961; *New York Times*, June 21, 1961; Roster of Freedom Riders, Groups 16–19, June 20–25, 1961, MSCP.
33. Roster of Freedom Riders, Group 17, June 21, 1961, MSCP; *New York Times*, June 21, 1961 (first quotation); *Jackson Daily News*, June 21–22, 1961; *Montgomery Advertiser*, June 20–22, 1961; Philip Frieze to Marvin Rich, June 27, 1961, and Marvin Rich to Philip Frieze, June 28, 1961, both in section 448, reel 44, COREP; Freedom Rider applications, Miriam Feingold and Judith Frieze, section 441, reel 43, COREP; Margaret Leonard, interview by author, November 9, 11, 2001; Margaret Leonard, interview by Susan Glisson, November 10, 2001; Mary Little-Vance, interview by author, November 9, 11, 2001 (second quotation); Mary Little-Vance, interview by Susan Glisson, November 10, 2001,

- 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*.
34. *Jackson Daily News*, June 17, 20, 21 (quotation), July 13, 1961; *Jackson Clarion-Ledger*, June 17–18, 21–22, 25, 1961; *Baltimore Afro-American*, July 1, 8, 1961; *New York Times*, June 22, 1961; Zinn, SNCC, 55; Freedom Rider application, Elizabeth Wyckoff, section 441, reel 43, COREP; SNCC press release on Wyckoff case, folder 3, box 8, SNCCP. On Kunstler and the Freedom Riders, see David J. Langum, *William M. Kunstler: The Most Hated Lawyer in America* (New York: New York University Press, 1999), 56–62, 67–68, 75, 237; and William M. Kunstler with Sheila Isenberg, *My Life as a Radical Lawyer* (New York: Birch Lane Press, 1994), 101–107, 116, 118, 126, 189. Kunstler often served as a cooperating attorney for the American Civil Liberties Union. In 1956 he, along with Tobias Simon, helped the ACLU to represent William Worthy in the passport confiscation case. See *ibid.*, 95–97, 102, 137.
 35. *New York Times*, June 22, 1961 (quotations); *Jackson Daily News*, June 21, 1961; *Jackson Clarion-Ledger*, June 22, 1961; *Pittsburgh Courier*, July 8, 1961. On Judge Tuttle, see Raines, *My Soul Is Rested*, 343–347, 401–402; Jack Bass, *Unlikely Heroes* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1981), 15–41; Bass, *Taming the Storm*, 132–133, 140–141, 154, 160, 272, 360, 406, 424, 461, 467; and J. W. Pelton, *Fifty-eight Lonely Men: Southern Federal Judges and School Desegregation* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1971), 26. As a young lawyer in Atlanta during the 1930s, Tuttle helped handle the successful appellate case of Angelo Herndon, a black Communist organizer convicted of violating a Georgia insurrection statute. On the Herndon case, see Charles H. Martin, *The Angelo Herndon Case and Southern Justice* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1976); Angelo Herndon, *Let Me Live* (New York: Random House, 1937); and David Entin, “Angelo Herndon” (M.A. thesis, University of North Carolina, 1963).
 36. *New York Times*, June 24, 1961; *Jackson Daily News*, June 23, 1961; *Jackson Advocate*, June 10, 1961 (quotation); Thomas Armstrong III, interview by author, November 11, 2001; Thomas Armstrong, interview by Susan Glisson, November 9, 2001, UMFRC; Mary Harrison Lee, interview by Susan Glisson, November 10, 2001, UMFRC; Gaither interview; Minutes, NCLC Board meeting, June 14, 1961, folder 24, box 75, KMSP. On Percy Greene, see Dittmer, *Local People*, 74.
 37. Payne, *I’ve Got the Light of Freedom*, 21–102; Dittmer, *Local People*, 29–89; Maryanne Vollers, *Ghosts of Mississippi: The Murder of Medgar Evers, the Trials of Byron De La Beckwith, and the Haunting of the New South* (Boston: Little, Brown, 1995), 8–80; Carmichael, *Ready for Revolution*, 200. See also Davis, *Race Against Time*; and David T. Beito and Linda Royster Beito, “T. R. M. Howard: Pragmatism over Strict Integrationist Ideology in the Mississippi Delta, 1942–1954,” in Feldman, ed., *Before Brown*, 68–95. On the Parker lynching, see Smead, *Blood Justice*.
 38. Dittmer, *Local People*, 85–89, 118, 120–121 (quotation); Vollers, *Ghosts of Mississippi*, 81–82; *Jackson Daily News*, May 2, 1961; *Jackson Clarion-Ledger*, June 18, 1961; *Baltimore Afro-American*, June 24, 1961; *Jet* 19 (June 1, 1961): 6–7. On Aaron Henry, see Payne, *I’ve Got the Light of Freedom*, 56–66, 130, 355–356; and Aaron Henry with Constance Curry, *Aaron Henry: The Fire Ever Burning* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2000). On the rise and fall of COFO, see *ibid.*, 109, 115, 129–132, 137–139, 156–157, 162–163, 203, 211; Dittmer, *Local People*, 200–207, 236–237, 315–318, 343–344; Payne, *I’ve Got the Light of Freedom*, 62, 130–132, 157–168, 174–229, 239–255, 290–337, 375, 461–462; and Carson, *In Struggle*, 97–100, 111–121, 149–150, 171–173.
 39. Dittmer, *Local People*, 98 (quotations), 99, 117–118; Peck, *Freedom Ride*, 153; George Alexander Sewell, *Mississippi Black History Makers* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 1977), 267–275. For documents related to Harvey and Womanpower Unlimited, see boxes 70 and 85, CCHP. Educated at Spelman College (B.A. in economics, 1937) and Columbia University (M.A. in personnel administration, 1950), Harvey (1916–1989) was a trustee of Rust College (1953), served on the Mississippi State Advisory Committee to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights (1964–1970) and on the board of the Southern Regional Council (1965), and acted as secretary of the Mississippi Ethics Commission (1980–1982). In 1972 she became the first black woman to serve on the board of trustees of the Tuskegee Institute, and in 1974 she became the first black trustee of Millsaps College. See also Tiyi Makeda Morris, “Black Women’s Civil Rights Activism in Mississippi: The Story of Womanpower United” (Ph.D. thesis, Purdue University, 2002).
 40. *New York Times*, June 18, 21, 1961; *Baltimore Afro-American*, June 24, July 8, 1961; *Jet* 20 (July 6, 1961): 4. On the Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity and its 1961 Prayer Pilgrimage, see box 52, Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity Records; and the correspondence in section 442, reel 43, COREP. Debra L. Schultz, *Going South: Jewish Women in the Civil Rights Movement* (New York: New York University Press, 2001), 36–43; Clive Webb, *Fight Against Fear: Southern Jews and Black Civil Rights* (Athens: University of Georgia, 2001), 184–188, 197. One notable exception to the anti-Freedom Rider position taken by Mississippi’s Jewish leaders was the Canadian-born Rabbi Perry Nussbaum, who served as an unofficial chaplain to the Jewish Freedom Riders incarcerated at Parchman. On several occasions, he ministered to non-Jewish Riders. “It was in this spirit,” Clive Webb writes (186), “that the rabbi conducted the first interracial services ever held in the state of Mississippi.” During the late summer of 1961 Nussbaum persuaded Rabbi Irwin Schar of Clarksdale to make periodic visits to Parchman, but a more general effort to enlist other rabbis proved futile. Rabbi Charles Mantinband of Hattiesburg privately expressed some sympathy for the Riders, but he did not become a public supporter. See *ibid.*, 172, 184–188. On Nussbaum and Mantinband, see Gary Phillip Zola, “What Price Amos? Perry Nussbaum’s Career in Jackson, Mississippi,” and Clive Webb, “Big Struggle in a Small Town: Charles Martinband of Hattiesburg, Mississippi,” both in *Quiet Voices: Southern Rabbis and Black Civil Rights, 1880s to 1990s*, ed. Mark Bauman and Berkley Kalin (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1998), 213–260.

41. *Pittsburgh Courier*, June 24, 1961; *Baltimore Afro-American*, June 10, 17, 24 (Reuther quotation), 1961; Poinsett, “Ten Biggest Lies About Freedom Riders,” 12 (Rockefeller quotation); *Jet* 20 (July 6, 1961): 10; William Goldsmith, “The Cost of Freedom Rides,” *Dissent* 4 (Autumn 1961): 499–502; Eric F. Goldman, “Progress—By Moderation and Agitation,” *New York Times Magazine* (June 18, 1961): 5, 10–12 (quotations). The author of two highly acclaimed books, *Rendezvous with Destiny: A History of Modern American Reform* (New York: Knopf, 1952) and *The Crucial Decade—and After: America 1945–60* (New York: Knopf, 1960), Goldman served as special consultant to President Lyndon Johnson from 1963 to 1966. For several years during the 1960s he also acted as the moderator of the NBC public affairs television program *The Open Mind*. Goldman was not the only historian to offer a historical brief for the Freedom Riders. Leon Litwack, an assistant professor of history at the University of Wisconsin and the author of *North of Slavery* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1961), wrote a widely syndicated newspaper article on the antebellum origins of direct action. In the *New York Times*, June 25, 1961, Litwack’s article ran under the provocative headline “Negroes Fought Racism in North—‘Freedom Rides’ Produced Pre-Civil War Riots.” Leon Litwack, interview by author, March 31, 2005. On religious leaders’ attitudes toward the Freedom Riders, see *New York Times*, June 13–16, 18, 21, 26, 1961; “Freedom Riders: Cracks in the Levee,” 358; “Violence in Alabama,” *America*, 388; “Violence in Alabama,” *Commonweal*, 244; “A Question of Responsibility”; “All, Here and Now,” *Christian Century* 78 (June 28, 1961): 787–788; Brown, “I Was a Freedom Rider”; George H. Dunne, “God Bless America!” *America* 105 (June 17, 1961): 442–443; Fey, “Freedom Rides at N.C.C.”; “I.C.C. Should Act to Protect Travelers,” *Christian Century* 78 (June 14, 1961): 732; “Injunctions and Freedoms,” *Commonweal* 74 (June 16, 1961): 292; “Injustice Will Tire First,” *Christian Century* 78 (July 26, 1961): 892; and “Our Friend in Jail,” *America* 105 (July 1, 1961): 476.
42. Eugene V. Rostow, “The Freedom Riders and the Future,” *Reporter* 24 (June 22, 1961): 18–21 (quotations). A member of the Peace Corps National Advisory Council, Rostow experienced a brief confrontation with President Kennedy during a May 19 meeting at the White House. When Rostow urged him to exert “moral leadership” in defense of the Freedom Riders, Kennedy became exercised. Later, as Rostow and the other council members were leaving the meeting, Kennedy complained to Harris Wofford: “What in the world does he think I should do? Doesn’t he know I’ve done more for civil rights than any President in American history? How could any man have done more than I’ve done?” Reeves, *President Kennedy*, 131–132; Wofford, *Of Kennedys and Kings*, 125–126; *New York Times*, June 25, 1961 (Morrow quotation); *Jet* 20 (July 13, 1961): 8; *Baltimore Afro-American*, June 17 (Johnson quotation), 24 (Bunche quotation), July 8, 1961. In early June, Bunche praised the Freedom Riders during a commencement address at Loyola University in Baltimore. “I am all for them,” he declared. “All of the non-white people are properly insisting on their rights to traverse the highways and byways of the world in equality with all other men, with dignity and self-respect, with their heads held high. . . . And they cannot fail in this, just as in America we must not fail to obtain full democracy for all of our citizens. The recent racial incidents in Alabama and Mississippi are deplorable. They could have been avoided, I believe, with a little common sense and tolerance, and were it not for the callous racial attitudes of some state and local authorities, who openly endorse bigotry. Such officials and the relatively few who form the mobs who savagely attack defenseless people are a discredit to a civilized society. They do, moreover, give much aid and comfort to our communist detractors.” *Baltimore Afro-American*, June 17, 1961. On Bunche (1904–1971), see Benjamin Rivlin, ed., *Ralph Bunche: The Man and His Times* (New York: Holmes and Meier, 1990); Brian Urquhart, *Ralph Bunche: An American Life* (New York: Norton, 1993); Ben Keppel, *The Work of Democracy: Ralph Bunche, Kenneth B. Clark, Lorraine Hansberry, and the Cultural Politics of Race* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1995); Jonathan Scott Holloway, *Confronting the Veil: Abram Harris, Jr., E. Franklin Frazier, and Ralph Bunche, 1919–1941* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2002); and Peggy Mann, *Ralph Bunche: UN Peacemaker* (New York: Coward, McCann, and Geoghegan, 1975).
43. *New York Times*, June 23, 1961 (quotations); Eugene Patterson interview. On McGill’s career as a liberal Southern journalist, see McGill, *The South and the Southerner*; Martin, *Ralph McGill, Reporter; Teel, Ralph Emerson McGill*; Raines, *My Soul Is Rested*, 367–368; and Clark and Raymond Arsenal, *The Changing South and Gene Patterson*, 3–24, 38–41, 291. Born in Tennessee in 1898, McGill worked as a reporter for the *Nashville Banner* before moving to the *Atlanta Constitution* in 1929. During his forty years as a *Constitution* reporter and editor, he championed educational and political reform, racial tolerance, and gradual social change. A founding member of the Southern Regional Council (1944), he won a Pulitzer Prize in 1959 for his editorials condemning the bombing of an Atlanta synagogue. He died in 1969. On the June 1961 Gallup Poll results, see Brauer, *John F. Kennedy and the Second Reconstruction*, 112; Hazel Gaudet Erskine, “The Polls: Race Relations,” *Public Opinion Quarterly* 26 (Spring 1962): 145; Hazel Gaudet Erskine, “The Polls: Kennedy as President,” *Public Opinion Quarterly* 28 (Summer 1964): 336; and *Jackson Clarion-Ledger*, June 28, 1961 (poll quotation). *Jet* 20 (June 22, 1961): 8. When asked “Do you believe that the non-violence and passive resistance movement is the best way to win civil rights in the SOUTH?” 73.4 percent of the *Jet* poll respondents said yes, 23.1 percent said no, and 3.5 percent had no opinion.
44. Carey interview; *New York Times*, June 25, 1961; *Pittsburgh Courier*, July 8, 1961; Poinsett, “Who Speaks for the Negro?”; *Baltimore Afro-American*, July 1, 1961; Eugene Patterson interview; McWhorter, *Carry Me Home*, 231–232, 238. On Sitton, see Raines, *My Soul Is Rested*, 378–381, 427.
45. Carey interview; *New York Times*, June 28, 1961 (quotations); *Jackson Daily News*, June 27–28, 1961; *Jackson Clarion-Ledger*, June 28, 1961; Ed King to Charles Sherrod, June 26, 1961, folder 8, box 8, SNCCP; minutes, SNCC meeting in Baltimore, July 14–16, 1961, folder 3, box 7, SNCCP.
46. Roster of Freedom Riders, Group 19, June 25, 1961, MSCP; Freedom Rider applications, John Dolan, Mary Hamilton, Marian Kendall, Claude Liggins, Janice Rogers, John Rogers, Marcia

Rosenbaum, Wayne Taylor, section 441, reel 43, COREP; *New York Times*, June 26, 1961; *Jackson Daily News*, June 26, 1961; *Jackson Clarion-Ledger*, June 26, 1961. John Dolan interview by author, August 31, 2005; Norma Libson, Chela Lightchild, and Claude Liggins, interviews by author and Meehan Kane, August 11, 17, 22, 2005.

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

1. Silverman, *Songs of Protest and Civil Rights*, 56–57.
2. On the climate of fear in the 1950s and early 1960s, see Whitfield, *The Culture of the Cold War*; Schrecker, *Many Are the Crimes*; and Walter Goodman, *The Committee: The Extraordinary Career of the House Committee on Un-American Activities* (New York: Farrar, Straus, and Giroux, 1968). On the issue of race and the Cold War, see Borstelmann, *The Cold War and the Color Line*; Dudziak, *Cold War Civil Rights*; Woods, *Black Struggle, Red Scare*; and Lewis, *The White South and the Red Menace*.
3. *Jackson Daily News*, June 1, 6, 10, 16 (first Pegler quotation), 22 (second Pegler quotation), July 6, 1961; *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.
4. *Jackson Daily News*, June 22 (quotations), July 2, 1961; *Jackson Clarion-Ledger*, June 23, 1961 (Dabney quotations).
5. Bartley, *The Rise of Massive Resistance*, 180 (quotation), 181–183, 222–224; *Jackson Daily News*, July 1, 1961. On the Mississippi State Sovereignty Commission, see Yatsuhiko Katagiri, *The Mississippi State Sovereignty Commission: Civil Rights and States' Rights* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2001); McMillen, *The Citizens' Council*, 253–254, 334–337, 347; Dittmer, *Local People*, 58–60, 80–83; Sarah Rowe-Simms, “The Mississippi State Sovereignty Commission: An Agency History,” *Journal of Mississippi History* 61 (1999): 29–58; Gregory C. Crofton, “Defending Segregation: Mississippi State Sovereignty Commission and the Press” (M.A. thesis, University of Mississippi, 2000); Laura Ingram Moore, “The Mississippi State Sovereignty Commission: State-Supported Resistance to Desegregation” (M.A. thesis, Wake Forest University, 1997); Melissa Lynn Finley, “But I Was a Practical Segregationist: Erle Johnston and the Mississippi State Sovereignty Commission, 1960–1968” (M.A. thesis, University of Southern Mississippi, 2000); and Erle Johnston, *Mississippi's Defiant Years, 1953–1973: An Interpretive Documentary with Personal Experiences* (Forest, MS: Lake Harbor, 1990). On Florida's notorious Johns Committee, see James A. Schnur, “Cold Warriors in the Hot Sunshine: The Johns Committee's Assault on Civil Liberties in Florida, 1956–1965” (M.A. thesis, University of South Florida, 1995). The Johns Committee and the Mississippi State Sovereignty Commission shared information on the Freedom Riders. See the Florida Legislative Investigation Committee Records, Record Group 940, Series 1486, State Archives of Florida, Tallahassee.
6. *Birmingham News*, May 19–26, June 29, 1961; *Birmingham Post-Herald*, May 20–26, 1961; *Montgomery Advertiser*, May 28, June 9, 1961; *Jackson Daily News*, June 9, 16, 21, 24, 1961 (quotations); *Jackson Clarion-Ledger*, June 23, July 13, 1961; *New York Times*, June 15, 1961; *Citizens' Council*, June 1961; *New Orleans States-Item*, July 19, 1961.
7. *Jackson Daily News*, June 29 (first and second quotations), July 1, 16, 1961; *Jackson Clarion-Ledger*, June 30 (third through seventh quotations), July 2 (Richardson quotations), July 3, 1961; *New York Times*, June 30, 1961 (Carey quotation); *Jackson State-Times*, July 3, 1961; *Baltimore Afro-American*, July 15, 1961; Freedom Rider applications, Katherine Pleune and James Wahlstrom, section 441, reel 43, COREP; Carol Ruth Silver, “The Diary of a Freedom Rider,” ms. in author's possession, 75–76; Carol Ruth Silver, interview by Susan Glisson, November 10, 2001, UMFRC; Carol Ruth Silver, interview by author, November 10, 2001, June 2, 2005.
8. *Citizens' Council*, June 1961 (quotations); *Jackson Clarion-Ledger*, July 4 (Winchell quotation), 13 (Patterson quotation), 1961; *New York Times*, May 31, June 1, 1961; *Jackson Daily News*, July 16, 1961. When hard evidence against Pleune and Wahlstrom failed to materialize, Birdsong tried to distance himself from the anti-Communist campaign against them. *Baltimore Afro-American*, July 15, 1961.
9. Lewis, *Walking with the Wind*, 172 (quotations), 173; Peck, *Freedom Ride*, 143–152; Farmer, *Lay Bare the Heart*, 23–30; Carmichael, *Ready for Revolution*, 202–210; Branch, *Parting the Waters*, 484–485; Oshinsky, “Worse than Slavery,” 235–236; Halberstam, *The Children*, 345–347, 410–411; Lafayette, Lafayette and Thomas, Thomas, Silver, and Davis and Davis interviews; Silver, “Diary of a Freedom Rider,” 59ff.; Green, “Freedom Rider Diary—Forty Years Later,” 6–7 (quotation); *Jackson Daily News*, July 5, 1961; *Pittsburgh Courier*, July 15, 1961; *Louisiana Weekly*, September 30, 1961.
10. Davidov, Lafayette, and Lafayette and Thomas interviews; Lewis, *Walking with the Wind*, 173; Farmer, *Lay Bare the Heart*, 23–30; Carmichael, *Ready for Revolution*, 206–208; Peck, *Freedom Ride*, 149–152 (quotations); Silver, “Diary of a Freedom Rider”; Branch, *Parting the Waters*, 484–485; Green, “Freedom Rider Diary—Forty Years Later,” 6–7. On Mahoney, see Zinn, *SNCC*, 55–57.
11. Lewis, *Walking with the Wind*, 173 (quotation); Silver, “Diary of a Freedom Rider”; Peck, *Freedom Ride*, 143–144; Lafayette, Lafayette and Thomas, and Davis and Davis interviews; Branch, *Parting the Waters*, 484–485; Green, “Freedom Rider Diary—Forty Years Later,” 6–9; Halberstam, *The Children*, 347–348; Carmichael, *Ready for Revolution*, 202–210.
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, *Walking 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,

- Parting the Waters*, 484–485; Lafayette interview; Jackson *Clarion-Ledger*, July 5, 1961. See also the interview with Fred Leonard in the documentary “Ain’t Scared of Your Jails.” Leonard later married fellow Freedom Rider Joy Reagon.
14. Farmer, *Lay Bare the Heart*, 27–28 (quotations); Lafayette interview; Halberstam, *The Children*, 410–411; Carmichael, *Ready for Revolution*, 205–206.
 15. Farmer, *Lay Bare the Heart*, 29–30 (quotations); Carmichael, *Ready for Revolution*, 210; *Jackson Clarion-Ledger*, July 5, 1961.
 16. Lafayette and Thomas, Lafayette, Davis and Davis, and Green interviews; Silver, “Diary of a Freedom Rider,” passim; Green, “Freedom Rider Diary—Forty Years Later,” 7; Farmer, *Lay Bare the Heart*, 24 (first quotation), 25, 29–30; Peck, *Freedom Ride*, 150, 152 (Mahoney quotation); Freedom Rider applications, Price Chatham and Ken Shilman, section 441, reel 43, COREP; Jesse Harris, typescript, June 24, 1961, section 116, reel 25, COREP; Carmichael, *Ready for Revolution*, 200–201, 208–210; Branch, *Parting the Waters*, 484; Lewis, *Walking with the Wind*, 169–170; *Baltimore Afro-American*, July 1, 1961; *Jackson Clarion-Ledger*, June 21, 26–27, July 12, 15, 1961; *Jackson Daily News*, June 21, July 13, 1961; *New York Times*, June 20–21, 1961; *Birmingham News*, June 27, 1961; *Montgomery Advertiser*, June 27, 1961.
 17. *Montreal Gazette*, July 1, 1961 (first quotation); Audain and Mulholland interviews; Audain interview, UMFRC; *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.
 19. Oshinsky, “Worse than Slavery,” 162–168, 174–177, 247–250, 252; Green, “Freedom Rider Diary—Forty Years Later,” 7–8; Green, Lafayette, Myers, Davidov, and Lafayette and Thomas interviews; Silver, “Diary of a Freedom Rider,” passim.
 20. Oshinsky, “Worse than Slavery,” 168–177; Langum, *William M. Kunstler*, 59 (quotations); Kunstler, with Sheila Isenberg, *My Life as a Radical Lawyer*, 104; Bass, *Unlikely Heroes*, 144; Silver, “Diary of a Freedom Rider,” 23 (quotation)—101; Silver interview; Silver interview, UMFRC; Ellen Ziskind, interview by author, September 1, 2005; Schultz, *Going South*, 36–39; Anderson-Bricker, “Making a Movement,” 318–320; Fleming, *Soon We Will Not Cry*, 87; Olson, *Freedom’s Daughters*, 190–194; Mulholland, O’Connor, Davis and Davis, and Brooks interviews; Miriam Feingold to Ann Kendall, August 1, 1961, section 441, reel 43, COREP; *Baltimore Afro-American*, July 15, September 23, 1961; *Louisiana Weekly*, July 22, August 5, 1961; *Jackson Clarion-Ledger*, June 17, 1961; *Jackson Daily News*, June 23, 28–29, July 3, 1961; William Kunstler to Jim McCain, August 21, 1961, section 447, reel 44, COREP. For a broader discussion of gender, sexuality, and the experiences of women in the civil rights movement of the 1960s, see Sara Evans, *Personal Politics: The Roots of Women’s Liberation in the Civil Rights Movement and the New Left* (New York: Knopf, 1978); Sara Evans, “Women’s Consciousness and the Southern Black Movement,” *Southern Exposure* 4 (1977): 10–18; Crawford, Rouse, and Woods, *Women in the Civil Rights Movement*; Robnett, *How Long? How Long?*; Anne Moody, *Coming of Age in Mississippi* (New York: Dial, 1968); Mary King, *Freedom Song: A Personal Story of the 1960s Civil Rights Movement* (New York: William Morrow, 1987); Kay Mills, *This Little Light of Mine: The Life of Fannie Lou Hamer* (New York: Dutton, 1993); Chana Kai Lee, *For Freedom’s Sake: The Life of Fannie Lou Hamer* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1999); Mammie E. Locke, “The Role of African-American Women in the Civil Rights and Women’s Movements in Hinds County and Sunflower County, Mississippi,” *Journal of Mississippi History* 53 (1991): 229–239; Curry et al., *Deep in Our Hearts*; Constance Curry, *Silver Rights* (Chapel Hill: Algonquin Books, 1995); Olson, *Freedom’s Daughters*; Ransby, *Ella Baker and the Black Freedom Movement*; Due and Due, *Freedom in the Family*; and Alvin Poussaint, “The Stresses of the White Female Worker in the Civil Rights Movement in the South,” *Journal of American Psychiatry* 123 (October 1966): 401–407.
 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.
 22. Green, “Freedom Rider Diary—Forty Years Later,” 6 (quotations); Green, Lafayette, and Lafayette and Thomas interviews; Carmichael, *Ready for Revolution*, 14–82, 204–205 (last quotation); Farmer, *Lay Bare the Heart*, 24–25, 30; Lewis, *Walking with the Wind*, 173, 178–179, 292, 296–297, 363–371; Fleming, *Soon We Will Not Cry*, 87; Branch, *Parting the Waters*, 484–485; Carson, *In Struggle*, 38, 209–228, 274–284, 292, 306; Meier and Rudwick, *CORE*, 140–142. On the unintended effects of Jim Crow, see Joel Williamson, *The Crucible of Race: Black-White Relations in the American South Since Emancipation* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1984); Leon F. Litwack, *Trouble in Mind: Black Southerners in the Age of Jim Crow* (New York: Knopf, 1998); McMillen, *Dark Journey*; and Nan E. Woodruff, *American Congo: The African American Freedom Struggle in the Delta* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2003).
 23. Goldsmith, “The Cost of Freedom Rides,” 499–502; Meier and Rudwick, *CORE*, 142–144, 148–149; James Farmer to CORE Chapters and Officers, memorandum, August 2, 1961, and Evert Makinen to Steve Allen, July 27, 1961, both in section 116, reel 25, COREP; *CORE-lator*, June 1961; Rich and Carey interviews; Farmer, *Lay Bare the Heart*, 210–212; Lewis, *Walking with the Wind*, 174; *New York Times*, July 13, 1961; *Birmingham News*, June 20, 1961; *Jackson Daily News*, June 21, 26, July 13, 1961; *Citizens’ Council*, June 1961.

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.
25. Rich and Carey interviews; Goldsmith, "The Cost of Freedom Rides"; Meier and Rudwick, *CORE*, 142–144, 148–152. See the correspondence on fund-raising in section 116, reel 25, COREP.
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 McDew to ICC Director, July 24, 1961, folder 9, box 8, SNCCP; "Injustice Will Tire First."
27. Kunstler, *My Life as a Radical Lawyer*, 103–105; Langum, *William M. Kunstler*, 58–60; Bass, *Unlikely Heroes*, 144–145; *New York Times*, June 22, 28, July 4, 13, 23, 27, 1961; *Jackson Daily News*, June 27–29, July 3–6, 13, 27, 1961; *Jackson Clarion-Ledger*, June 25, 28, July 4, 9, 13, 1961; *Birmingham Post-Herald*, June 27, 1961; *Christian Science Monitor*, July 26, 1961; *Montgomery Advertiser*, July 27, 1961; "CORE Asks U.S. Supreme Court Ruling on Mississippi Freedom Ride Arrests," SNCC press release, July 24, 1961, folder 3, box 8, SNCCP; Silver, "Diary of a Freedom Rider," passim, discusses Wyckoff's experiences at Parchman.
28. *New York Times*, June 12, 15, 20 (quotations), 27, 28, July 7, 12, 1961; *Birmingham News*, June 20, 1961; *Jackson Clarion-Ledger*, June 20, 1961; *Montgomery Advertiser*, June 27, 1961; *New Orleans Times-Picayune*, June 27, 1961; *Baltimore Afro-American*, July 8, 1961; "The Hostess Was Sorry," *Newsweek* 58 (July 10, 1961): 78. The NAACP filed a desegregation suit against the Mobile, Alabama, airport terminal on June 26. *New York Times*, June 27, 1961.
29. *New York Times*, July 11, 1961; Barnes, *Journey from Jim Crow*, 120–128; Doar interview.
30. *Jackson Daily News*, June 18, 26–27, July 3–6, 7 (quotations), 1961; *Jackson Clarion-Ledger*, June 15, July 5–8, 1961; *New York Times*, June 24, July 5, 23, 1961; *Baltimore Afro-American*, July 15, 1961; Rich and Gaither interviews; Hezekiah Watkins, interview by author, November 11, 2001; Freedom Riders Roster, Groups 21–24, July 5–6, 1961, MSCP; Dittmer, *Local People*, 116–118; Meier and Rudwick, *CORE*, 166.
31. *Jackson Daily News*, July 8–22, 1961; *Jackson Clarion-Ledger*, July 8–22, 1961; *New York Times*, July 18–20, 1961; Freedom Riders Roster, Groups 25–31, July 7, 9, 15, 16, 21, 1961, MSCP; Dittmer, *Local People*, 116–117; Meier and Rudwick, *CORE*, 166; Lafayette interview.
32. Dittmer, *Local People*, 117–118; Gaither interview.
33. *New York Times*, July 11 (quotations), 12–13, 14 (Sherrod quotation), 15, 16, 1961; Carter interview.
34. *New York Times*, July 1–2, 5, 9, 1961; Carter, Gaither, and Lafayette interviews.
35. Kirk, *Redefining the Color Line*, 146–150 (quotations); Cox interview; Janet Baum Reinitz, interview by author, November 10, 2001; Janet Baum Reinitz, interview by Susan Glisson, November 9, 2001, UMFRC; Freedom Rider applications, Janet Reinitz and John Raines, section 441, reel 43, COREP; *Little Rock Arkansas Gazette*, July 11–14, 1961; *New York Times*, July 12–15, 1961. On the Baton Rouge situation, see RD 107, box 15, Investigative Report Case Files, ICCR; and Fairclough, *Race and Democracy*, 287–288.
36. *New York Times*, July 14–16, 17 (quotation), 1961; *Chattanooga Times*, July 17, 1961; *Baltimore Afro-American*, July 27, 1961; Thomas interview; Woollcott Smith, interview by author, November 10, 2001; Woollcott Smith, interview by Susan Glisson, November 10, 2001, UMFRC; Genevieve Hughes to Woollcott Smith, July 8, 1961, section 453, reel 44, COREP; Freedom Rider application, Herman Stern, and John C. Harvad to CORE, both in section 441, reel 43, COREP; Sidney Shanken, interview by author, August 19, 2005.
37. *New York Times*, July 20, 23, 24 (quotation), 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.
38. *Jackson Clarion-Ledger*, July 21, 1961; *Jackson Daily News*, July 13, 20, 1961; *Memphis Commercial Appeal*, July 22, 1961; *New Orleans States-Item*, July 21, 1961; *New Orleans Times-Picayune*, July 21, 1961; *New York Times*, July 21, 1961.
39. *New York Times*, July 20, 1961 (quotations).
40. *New York Times*, July 23 (quotation), 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; Wofford, *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 James 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 biographer Juan Williams: "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-

- vene.” Williams, *Thurgood Marshall*, 294; Baltimore *Afro-American*, September 23, 30, October 7, 1961. Marshall was sworn in on October 23, 1961, but he had to wait until September 11, 1962, for Senate confirmation. The vote to confirm was 54 to 16. Williams, *Thurgood Marshall*, 294–303.
41. *New York Times*, June 17, July 27 (Patterson quotations), 1961; Patterson and Marshall interviews, JFKL; *Montgomery Advertiser*, July 27, August 1 (Kennedy quotation), 1961; *Birmingham News*, June 29, July 21, 27, 1961; “Patterson Says ‘Rides’ Hurt Race Relations,” *Southern School News* 8 (July 1961): 9; McWhorter, *Carry Me Home*, 237, 240, 246–247; O’Reilly, “Racial Matters,” 92–93; Thornton, *Dividing Lines*, 249–251; May, *The Informant*, 51–54. See also the voluminous correspondence among FBI agents and investigators in Alabama during the summer and fall of 1961 in FBI-FRI.

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*.
3. Rich and Carey interviews; Meier and Rudwick, *CORE*, 142; Farmer, *Lay Bare the Heart*, 210–211; sections 445–449, reel 44, COREP; Alphonso Petway and Kredelle Petway, interview by author, November 9, 2001; Alphonso Petway and Kredelle Petway, interview by Susan Glisson, November 10, 2001, UMFR; Monton G. Linder, interview by author and Meeghan Kane, August 23, 2005; Roster of Freedom Riders, Groups 33 and 34, July 23–24, 1961, MSCP; *Jackson Daily News*, July 23–25, 1961; *New York Times*, July 23–24, 1961.
4. Roster of Freedom Riders, Group 35, July 29, 1961, MSCP; Freedom Rider application, Byron Baer, section 441, reel 43, COREP; Woolcott Smith and Ziskind interviews; Woolcott Smith interview, UMFR; *New Orleans States-Item*, July 21, 1961; *Jackson State-Times*, July 30, 1961 (second quotation); *McComb Enterprise-Journal*, July 31, 1961 (first and fourth quotation); *Jackson Clarion-Ledger*, July 30, 1961 (telegram quotation); *Jackson Daily News*, August 1, 3, 1961; *New Orleans Times-Picayune*, July 30, 1961; *New York Times*, July 30, August 1, 1961; Peck, *Freedom Ride*, 152–153.
5. Roster of Freedom Riders, Group 36, July 30, 1961, MSCP; Robert Singleton, interview by author, November 9, 2001; Robert Singleton, interview by Susan Glisson, November 10, 2001, UMFR; Helen Singleton, interview by Susan Glisson, November 10, 2001, UMFR; Philip Posner, Winston Fuller, Max Pavesic, Joe Gerbac, and Michael Grubbs, interviews by author and Meeghan Kane, August 18–19, 31, September 14–15, 2005; *New York Times*, July 31, 1961; *Jackson Daily News*, July 31, August 1, 1961; *Jackson Clarion-Ledger*, July 31, 1961. On Hodge and the evolution of Los Angeles CORE, see Meier and Rudwick, *CORE*, 49, 74, 96, 109–110, 127–128, 130; and the chapter correspondence in reels 18 and 39, COREP.
6. Franklin P. Hall to T. B. Birdsong, c. August 1961, section 448, reel 44, COREP; *Jackson Daily News*, June 29, July 21 (quotation), 1961; *Jackson Clarion-Ledger*, June 30, August 3, 1961; *New York Times*, August 2–15, 1961; Woods, *Black Struggle, Red Scare*, 150–152. On the Berlin crisis, see Reeves, *President Kennedy*, 185–220; and Honore M. Catudal, *Kennedy and the Berlin Wall Crisis: A Case-Study in U.S. Decision Making* (West Berlin: Berlin-Verlag, 1980). See also Wofford, *Of Kennedys and Kings*, 153; and Branch, *Parting the Waters*, 491.
7. Farmer, *Lay Bare the Heart*, 210–211 (quotations); Rich interview; Langum, *William M. Kunstler*, 58–61; Niven, *The Politics of Injustice*, 114–115; Goldsmith, “The Cost of Freedom Rides”; “Freedom Ride Costs,” CORE memorandum, August 17, 1961, folder 3, box 8, SNCCP.
8. *Jackson Daily News*, August 9 (first quotation), 10, 1961; *Jackson Clarion-Ledger*, August 11, 1961 (second and third quotations); *New Orleans Times-Picayune*, August 11, 1961; *New York Times*, August 11, 1961; Branch, *Parting the Waters*, 490; Wyatt Tee Walker, Carey, and Rich interviews.
9. *Washington Evening Star*, August 6, 1961; *Memphis Commercial Appeal*, August 8, 1961; *New Orleans Times-Picayune*, August 8, 1961; *Jackson Clarion-Ledger*, August 8, 1961; *New York Times*, August 8, 12, 1961. In addition, on August 11 Judge Moore denied Kunstler’s request for a release order for CORE field secretary Richard Haley, who had been charged with breach of peace after picketing the hotel where the Southern governors were housed during the July 19–20 conference in Jackson. “CORE Secretary Pickets Southern Governors: Arrested and Sentenced to Six Months in Jail,” CORE press release, July 24, 1961, folder 3, box 8, SNCCP.
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

- returning Freedom Riders in sections 445–448, reel 44, COREP. “Farmer Requests Federal Marshals to Protect Riders in Jackson Trials” and “Six Field Secretaries,” CORE press releases, August 4, 1961, and CORE press release on August 12 arrests in New Orleans, c. August 14, 1961, all in folder 3, box 8, SNCCP. On the New Orleans arrests, see *Louisiana Weekly*, August 19, 1961; and Anderson-Bricker, “Making a Movement,” 320–324. On the Houston arrests, see *Houston Chronicle*, August 12, 1961; Steve McNichols, “The Last Freedom Ride: Life in the Tank,” ms. in author’s possession, 2005 (quotations); Steve McNichols, testimony, March 2002, webspinner@crmvet.org; John W. Hollie to Ed King, August 15, 1961, folder 10, box 8, SNCCP; John W. Hollie to Cyril Simon, August 14, 1961, and Information Gathered from John W. Hollie, typescript, August 14, 1961, both in section 447, reel 44, COREP; and John W. Hollie to Cyril Simon, August 15, 1961, section 456, reel 44, COREP. Pat Kovner, Ellen Broms, Steve Sanfield, Steve McNichols, Beverly Mill, Holly Hogrobrooks, Herbert Hamilton, Robert Farrell, and Charles Berrard, interviews by author and Meeghan Kane, July 19, August 12–13, 16, 19, 22–23, 25, 2005; “Back to Jackson,” *Newsweek* 58 (August 28, 1961): 28; “Freedom Ride Round-Up,” *Southern Patriot* 19 (September 1961): 1; Meier and Rudwick, *CORE*, 142; Barnes, *Journey from Jim Crow*, 173–174; Niven, *The Politics of Injustice*, 114; *Jackson Clarion-Ledger*, August 6, 1961; *Jackson Daily News*, August 9, 12–15, 1961; *New York Times*, August 12–15, 1961. Peck, *Freedom Ride*, 152–153, noted that Wagner and Bohannon were “the first and only Freedom Riders to date to be served at the Jackson terminal, thanks to human decency.” On Wagner, see Norma Wagner to Gordon Carey, July 13, 1961, and Milton Wagner to Gordon Carey, July 13, 1961, both in section 441, reel 43, COREP; *CORE-lator* (August 1961); and *Louisiana Weekly*, August 12, 1961.
11. *Jackson Daily News*, August 13, 14 (quotations), 1961; *New York Times*, August 13–14, 1961; *Washington Evening Star*, August 13, 1961; Wyatt Tee Walker interview.
 12. *Jackson Clarion-Ledger*, August 15 (quotations), 19, 1961; *Jackson Daily News*, August 14–16, 1961; *New Orleans Times-Picayune*, August 16, 1961; *New York Times*, August 15, 1961. One of the departing Freedom Riders, Leslie Word, was detained by the police in his home town of Corinth, Mississippi, after trying to use the telephone in the white waiting room of the Corinth bus station. He was released without being charged.
 13. *New York Times*, August 14 (King quotations), 15, 16 (Barrett and Rachlin quotations), 1961; *Washington Evening Star*, August 14–15, 1961; *Nashville Banner*, August 15, 1961; “CORE Leader Says: ‘End Segregation or End Interstate Transportation,’” CORE press release, August 17, 1961, folder 3, box 8, SNCCP; Wyatt Tee Walker, Rich, Carey, Fauntroy, and Dunbar interviews; Farmer, *Lay Bare the Heart*, 13–14, 211–212; Niven, *The Politics of Injustice*, 115–120; Barnes, *Journey from Jim Crow*, 168–170. See “Before the ICC . . .,” Burke Marshall Records, box 1, USDJ/CRD, which includes the results of an extensive government survey of segregated transit facilities in Southern cities. Appendix A provides a “Summary of Complaints”; Appendix B is a tabulation of an FBI survey of motor carrier terminals; and Appendix C contains a large number of FBI photographs of segregated transit facilities.
 14. *New York Times*, August 16, 1961; Barnes, *Journey from Jim Crow*, 170–173; Niven, *The Politics of Injustice*, 119–120; Marshall interview, JFKL. “Meeting with Representatives of Various Bus Companies,” memorandum, August 3, 1961; Burke Marshall to Dean Rusk, June 2, 1961; Robert F. Kennedy to Everett Hutchinson (ICC chairperson), August 25, 1961, and Burke Marshall to Clifford P. Cherry (Greyhound executive vice president), August 31, 1961, all in box 1, BMP. “Before the ICC . . .,” USDJ/CRD; General File 1, ICCR.
 15. Renee Romano, “No Diplomatic Immunity: African Diplomats, the State Department, and Civil Rights, 1961–1964,” *Journal of American History* 87 (September 2000): 546–574; Wofford interview, JFKL; *Washington Evening Star*, August 7–9, 1961; *Baltimore Afro-American*, September 23, 1961; John Anthony Lukas, “Trouble on Route Forty,” *Reporter* 25 (October 26, 1961): 41; Niven, *The Politics of Injustice*, 192–193; Dudziak, *Cold War Civil Rights*, 152–153, 167–169; Borstelmann, *The Cold War and the Color Line*, 164–169; Meier and Rudwick, *CORE*, 162–163.
 16. Marshall interview, JFKL; Dunbar interview; Wofford, *Of Kennedys and Kings*, 159; Carmichael, *Ready for Revolution*, 218–224; Zinn, *SNCC*, 58–66; Carson, *In Struggle*, 40–41, 45–47; Dittmer, *Local People*, 48, 58, 72–73, 99–103; Branch, *Parting the Waters*, 330–331, 345, 485–488, 492–494; Bob Moses, “Mississippi: 1961–1962,” *Liberation* 14 (January 1970): 6–17; Eric Burner, *And Gently He Shall Lead Them: Robert Parvis Moses and Civil Rights in Mississippi* (New York: New York University Press, 1994), 34–39; Forman, *The Making of Black Revolutionaries*, 224–225; Neil McMillen, “Black Enfranchisement in Mississippi: Federal Enforcement and Black Protest in the 1960s,” *Journal of Southern History* 43 (August 1977): 355–360. On McComb and Pike County, see Federal Writers’ Project, *Mississippi: A Guide to the Magnolia State* (New York: Viking Press, 1938), 396. A growing interest in voter registration was a movement-wide trend in August 1961. See James Farmer to Stephen Carrier (Taconic Foundation), August 17, 1961, folder 3, box 8, and Memorandum from the Southern Regional Council, August 23, 1961, folder 21, box 9, both in SNCCP.
 17. Minutes of SNCC meeting, July 14–16, 1961, box 7, SNCCP; SNCC Executive Committee Office Report and Proposed Agenda, August 11–13, 1961, folder 4, box 6, SNCCP. Carson, *In Struggle*, 40; Zinn, *SNCC*, 58; Branch, *Parting the Waters*, 485–486.
 18. Carson, *In Struggle*, 41 (first quotation); Forman, *The Making of Black Revolutionaries*, 159–160; Lewis, *Walking with the Wind*, 180–181 (fourth quotation); Carmichael, *Ready for Revolution*, 215–225, 217–218 (second quotation), 222 (third quotation); Raines, *My Soul Is Rested*, 227–231.
 19. Glen, *Highlander*, 146–153; SNCC Executive Committee Office Report and Proposed Agenda, August 11–13, 1961, SNCCP; Ed King to SNCC Members, September 12, 1961, folder 11, box 8, SNCCP; Lewis, *Walking with the Wind*, 181–182; Carson, *In Struggle*, 41–42; Zinn, *SNCC*, 58–59; Branch, *Parting the Waters*, 486–487, 491; Dittmer, *Local People*, 107; Forman, *The Making of Black Revolutionaries*, 221–222; Ransby, *Ella Baker and the Black Freedom Movement*, 267–270. See also Greenberg, *A Circle of Trust*, 39–60.

20. Forman, *The Making of Black Revolutionaries*, 223–227; Moses, “Mississippi: 1961–1962,” 7–10; Dittmer, *Local People*, 103–106; Zinn, *SNCC*, 62–67, 70; Janet Feagans, “Voting, Violence, and Walkout in McComb,” *New South 16* (October 1961): 3–4; Tom Hayden, *Revolution in Mississippi* (New York: Students for a Democratic Society, 1962), 1–5; Joanne Grant, ed., *Black Protest: History, Documents, and Analyses, 1619 to the Present* (New York: Fawcett, 1968), 304–306, 309; McMillen, “Black Enfranchisement in Mississippi,” 360; Lewis, *Walking with the Wind*, 183; Carson, *In Struggle*, 46–47; Branch, *Parting the Waters*, 325–331, 492–496; Carmichael, *Ready for Revolution*, 240–242; Federal Writers’ Project, *Mississippi*, 481–483; Robert Moses to John Doar, July 11, 1961, and John Doar to Robert Moses, July 17, 1961, box 1, John Doar Records, USDJ/CRD; Doar interview. On Moses’s background, see Burner, *And Gently He Shall Lead Them*, 1–45; and Robert Penn Warren, *Who Speaks for the Negro?* (New York: Random House, 1964), 90–99. On August 25, 1960, Moses was rebuffed when he insisted on buying a ticket directly from a Trailways driver rather than going to the “colored” ticket window at the Jackson, Mississippi, Trailways terminal. Two weeks later he filed a discrimination complaint with the ICC. See RD 39, box 7, Investigative Report Case Files, ICCR.
21. Forman, *The Making of Black Revolutionaries*, 226–228; Zinn, *SNCC*, 68–69; Dittmer, *Local People*, 106–108; Burner, *And Gently He Shall Lead Them*, 45–55; Branch, *Parting the Waters*, 496–500; Carson, *In Struggle*, 47–48; Hollis Watkins, interview by Robert Wright, August 5, 1968, RBOHC; Moses, “Mississippi: 1961–1962,” 10–14; Grant, *Black Protest*, 306–307; Ed King to Wyatt Tee Walker, August 28, 1961, folder 19, box 9, SNCCP.
22. Brooks interview; Forman, *The Making of Black Revolutionaries*, 3–148; Carson, *In Struggle*, 42–43; Zinn, *SNCC*, 60; Tyson, *Radio Free Dixie*, 246, 262; James Forman, interview by Susan Glisson, November 10, 2001, UMFRC.
23. Forman, *The Making of Black Revolutionaries*, 137–138 (quotation), 147–148; Forman notes, July 29, 1961, box 55, SNCCP; Tyson, *Radio Free Dixie*, 262; Strain, *Pure Fire*, 64; Brooks interview.
24. Forman, *The Making of Black Revolutionaries*, 158–159, 164–182; Tyson, *Radio Free Dixie*, 137–205 (first quotation), 243 (second quotation), 262; Williams, *Negroes with Guns*, 39–74; Strain, *Pure Fire*, 57–64; Brooks interview. Born and raised in Macon, Georgia, Mallory moved to Harlem as a young woman. She joined the Communist Party in the early 1950s but later left the Party and became a fervent black nationalist before discovering Williams. Tyson, *Radio Free Dixie*, 189–190.
25. Forman, *The Making of Black Revolutionaries*, 159–161 (quotations), 162; Forman “Nashville” notes, July 29, 1961, box 55, SNCCP; King to SNCC Members, September 12, 1961, box 8, SNCCP; Tyson, *Radio Free Dixie*, 262; Carmichael, *Ready for Revolution*, 224–225.
26. Forman, *The Making of Black Revolutionaries*, 162 (first and second quotations), 163, 178, 183–185 (third quotation), 186 (fourth quotation); Tyson, *Radio Free Dixie*, 264; Williams, *Negroes with Guns*, 77–78. See also Carmichael, *Ready for Revolution*, 225–234.
27. *Charlotte Observer*, August 16–18, 1961; Harry Boyte Jr., interview by author, December 1, 1977; Williams, *Negroes with Guns*, 78–80; Tyson, *Radio Free Dixie*, 264–266 (quotation), 267; Forman, *The Making of Black Revolutionaries*, 186–188; Strain, *Pure Fire*, 64–68; Carmichael, *Ready for Revolution*, 225. Harry Boyte Sr. later served as an SCLC staff member and played an influential role in the effort to desegregate St. Augustine, Florida, in 1964. On the Boytes, see Janet Boyte, “White Rebel of SCLC,” 1963 typescript, box 26, Boyte Family Papers, Special Collections, Perkins Library, Duke University, Durham, NC; Ed Clayton, “The Men Behind Martin Luther King,” *Ebony* 20 (June 1965): 170; Fairclough, *To Redeem the Soul of America*, 176, 182, 185, 207–208, 221, 335; Branch, *Pillar of Fire*, 324–325; and David Colburn, *Racial Change and Community Crisis: St. Augustine, Florida, 1877–1980* (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1991), 83, 86–87, 93, 144, 180. The seventeen Freedom Riders who joined Brooks and Forman in Monroe were Robert Baum, Ed Bromberg, Charles Butler, Price Chatham, Paul Dietrich, Richard Griswold, Larry Hunter, Ed Kale, Frederick Leonard, John Lowry, William Mahoney, Joe McDonald, David Morton, LeRoy Wright, Heath Rush, Ken Shilman, and Danny Thompson. Baum, Dietrich, and Morton interviews; Baum interview, UMFRC; Edward Kale, interview by Susan Glisson, November 9, 2001, UMFRC.
28. Tyson, *Radio Free Dixie*, 268–269 (quotations); Williams, *Negroes with Guns*, 79–80; Forman, *The Making of Black Revolutionaries*, 187–190, 194; John Lowry, “Should Violence Be Met with Violence?” *Realist* 32 (March 1962): 7–9; Constance Lever, “Monroe Doctrine,” *Spectator* (September 15, 1961): 346; Dietrich interview.
29. Forman, *The Making of Black Revolutionaries*, 190–191 (first three quotations), 192–193; Tyson, *Radio Free Dixie*, 269–271 (fourth quotation); Lowry, “Should Violence Be Met with Violence?” 8; Williams, *Negroes with Guns*, 80–82.
30. Tyson, *Radio Free Dixie*, 271–272 (first and second quotations), 273 (third quotation), 274; Forman, *The Making of Black Revolutionaries*, 192–196 (fourth and fifth quotations), 197–202; Lowry, “Should Violence Be Met with Violence?” 8; Lever, “Monroe Doctrine,” 346; Williams, *Negroes with Guns*, 83–84.
31. Tyson, *Radio Free Dixie*, 147, 204–205, 223, 269, 275–283 (quotations); Williams, *Negroes with Guns*, 84–90; Forman, *The Making of Black Revolutionaries*, 189–190, 201, 206–207; Strain, *Pure Fire*, 68; *New York Times*, August 29–30, 1961; *Charlotte Observer*, August 29, 1961; *Raleigh News and Observer*, August 29, 1961; *Monroe Enquirer*, August 31, 1961; Lowry, “Should Violence Be Met with Violence?” 9. See also Julian Mayfield, “Challenge to Negro Leadership: The Case of Robert Williams,” *Commentary* 31 (April 1961): 297–305; *Baltimore Afro-American*, July 22, October 7, 14, 21, 1961; and Truman Nelson, *People with Strength: The Story of Monroe, N.C.* (New York: Marzani and Munsell, 1962).
32. *New York Times*, August 29, 1961 (quotations); *Charlotte Observer*, August 29, 1961; *Monroe Enquirer*, August 31, 1961; Carey and Boyte interviews; Tyson, *Radio Free Dixie*, 283–284; Williams, *Negroes with Guns*, 89–93; Strain, *Pure Fire*, 68–69.

33. Forman, *The Making of Black Revolutionaries*, 202–206; Wyatt Tee Walker and Dietrich interviews; *New York Times*, August 29 (quotation), 30, 1961.
34. Forman, *The Making of Black Revolutionaries*, 206 (first quotation), 207–210 (second quotation); Williams, *Negroes with Guns*, 93–100; *New York Times*, August 30, 1961; Wyatt Tee Walker interview; Kunstler, *My Life as a Radical Lawyer*, 107; Langum, *William M. Kunstler*, 61–62 (third quotation).
35. Meier and Rudwick, *CORE*, 202–203; Lowry, “Should Violence Be Met with Violence?” 7–9; Langum, *William M. Kunstler*, 62, 66, 68; Morton, Baum, Dietrich, and Wyatt Tee Walker interviews; Williams, *Negroes with Guns*, 94–95; Strain, *Pure Fire*, 68–69, 73. On CORE’s involvement with the CAMD, see the correspondence in section 19, reel 1, COREP. On Williams’s relationships with Lynn and Worthy, see Tyson, *Radio Free Dixie*, 112–135, 222–223, 231–237, 242, 244, 266, 283, 287–288, 291, 294; and *Baltimore Afro-American*, October 7, 14, 1961.
36. *Baltimore Afro-American*, October 7, 14, 21, 1961; Tyson, *Radio Free Dixie*, 283–307 (quotation); Strain, *Pure Fire*, 69–75, 184–190; Williams, *Negroes with Guns*, 101–124; Carmichael, *Ready for Revolution*, 594. Parks moved to Detroit in 1957. Parks, *Rosa Parks: My Story*, 161–175; Douglas Brinkley, *Rosa Parks* (New York: Viking Penguin, 2000), 174–178.
37. *Jackson Clarion-Ledger*, August 20, 1961 (quotations); *Jackson State-Times*, August 20, 1961; Langum, *William M. Kunstler*, 60, 69; Niven, *The Politics of Injustice*, 10, 109; Meier and Rudwick, *CORE*, 180; Stern, *Calculating Visions*, 48; Navasky, *Kennedy Justice*, 48, 133, 244–252.
38. *New York Times*, August 22–23, 1961; Fairclough, *Race and Democracy*, 287–289. On the 1968 anti-war trial of Philip Berrigan, his brother Daniel, and seven other members of the “Catonsville Nine,” see Kunstler, *My Life as a Radical Lawyer*, 188–193; Mangum, *William H. Kunstler*, 224–228; Rosemary S. Brannan, *Law, Morality, and Vietnam: The Peace Militants and the Courts* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1974), 124–150; and Steven E. Barkan, *Protesters on Trial: Criminal Justice in the Southern Civil Rights and Vietnam Antiwar Movements* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1985), 87–93, 121–148.
39. *Jackson Clarion-Ledger*, August 22, 1961; *Jackson Daily News*, August 23, 1961 (quotations); *New York Times*, August 23, 1961; Lafayette and Thomas interview; Gaither interview.
40. *Jackson Clarion-Ledger*, August 24, 1961 (first and second quotations); *Jackson Daily News*, August 23, 1961; *New York Times*, August 24, 1961 (third quotation); *Montgomery Advertiser*, August 24, 1961.
41. *New York Times*, August 25, 1961; Peck, *Freedom Ride*, 142 (first quotation), 143; *Memphis Commercial Appeal*, August 25, 1961 (second quotation); *Jackson Clarion-Ledger*, August 24, 25 (third quotation), 1961; Lafayette and Thomas interview; Gaither interview; “Two CORE Freedom Riders Convicted in Mississippi: United States Supreme Court Appeal Planned,” CORE press release, August 28, 1961, folder 3, box 8, SNCCP. See also untitled typescript of trial report prepared for *Jubilee* magazine, c. August 1961, section 457, reel 44, COREP.
42. *Jackson Daily News*, August 26, 1961 (quotations); *New York Times*, August 26, 1961; Gaither, Rich, and Blankenheim interviews; Fairclough, *Race and Democracy*, 289; Farmer, *Lay Bare the Heart*, 211–212.
43. *Memphis Commercial Appeal*, August 27, 1961 (quotations); *Jackson Clarion-Ledger*, August 27, 1961; *New York Times*, August 27, 1961.
44. *Jackson Clarion-Ledger*, August 29, 1961 (quotation); Gaither, Moody, and Matthew Walker Jr. interviews; Moody interview, UMFRC.
45. On the payment of fines and the controversies related to appeals and bonds, see sections 445 and 450, reel 44, COREP. *Jackson State-Times*, August 31, 1961 (quotations); *Memphis Commercial Appeal*, August 31, 1961; *New York Times*, August 29–30, 1961; *Jackson Daily News*, September 1, 1961; Rich and Gaither interviews; Haley interview, RBOHC. No stranger to adversity, Haley had lost his position as a music professor at Florida A&M University in Tallahassee in 1960 after university officials became aware of his activities with the local CORE chapter. See Due and Due, *Freedom in the Family*, 45, 101–104, 135; and Rabby, *The Pain and the Promise*, 121–122. On the Freedom Rider trials in Jackson, see sections 450 and 454, reel 44, COREP.

Chapter 11: Oh, Freedom

1. Silverman, *Songs of Protest and Civil Rights*, 44–45. The song was adapted from the traditional spiritual “Oh, Freedom.”
2. *New York Times*, September 2, 1961 (quotations); *Memphis Commercial Appeal*, September 2, 1961; *Washington Evening Star*, September 1, 1961; *Baltimore Afro-American*, September 16, 1961; Rich and Gaither interviews; Meier and Rudwick, *CORE*, 142–143, 153; Farmer, *Lay Bare the Heart*, 211–214.
3. *Birmingham News*, September 2, 1961 (quotation); *Birmingham Post-Herald*, September 2, 1961; *Anniston Star*, September 1–3, 1961; *New York Times*, September 2, 1961; *Washington Evening-Star*, September 1, 1961; Thornton, *Dividing Lines*, 246, 249; Sprayberry, “‘Town Among the Trees,’” 248–254.
4. Meier and Rudwick, *CORE*, 153; 1961 CORE Convention, memoranda and correspondence, section 1, reel 16, COREP; Farmer, *Lay Bare the Heart*, 213–214; Rich and Carey interviews; *Jackson Daily News*, September 5, 1961 (quotation); *Jackson Clarion-Ledger*, September 5, 1961; *Washington Evening Star*, September 5, 1961; *New York Times*, September 5, 1961; *Baltimore Afro-American*, September 16, 1961.
5. *Jackson Clarion-Ledger*, September 5, 1961 (first quotation); *Jackson Daily News*, September 6, 1961 (second quotation); *Baltimore Afro-American*, September 16, 23, 1961.

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, UMFRC; Armstrong interview; Armstrong interview, UMFRC; section 441, reel 43, COREP.
8. Zinn, *SNCC*, 70–71 (first quotation); Forman, *The Making of Black Revolutionaries*, 230 (second quotation); Dittmer, *Local People*, 108–109, 458 n. 37; Branch, *Parting the Waters*, 503–504, 507–508; Carson, *In Struggle*, 48; Burner, *And Gently He Shall Lead Them*, 55–56; Bass, *Unlikely Heroes*, 216; Doar interview; Marshall interview, JFKL; John Doar and Dorothy Landsberg, “The Performance of the FBI in Investigating Violations of Federal Laws Protecting the Right to Vote, 1960–1967,” 1971 essay, copy in JFKL, 28; *U.S. v. Wood*, 295 F. 2d 772; Grant, *Black Protest*, 307–311; Feagans, “Voting, Violence, and Walkout in McComb,” 3; *Baltimore Afro-American*, September 30, October 7, November 11, 1961; Barbara Carter, “The Fifteenth Amendment Comes to Mississippi,” *Reporter* 28 (January 17, 1963): 22.
9. Meier and Rudwick, *CORE*, 150–152; Barnes, *Journey from Jim Crow*, 168; memoranda and correspondence, sections 244, 249, 254–255, 260, 270, reels 36–37, sections 456–457, reel 44, COREP; “Farmer Announces CORE Expansion to Establish 5 Regional Offices,” July 28, 1961, folder 3, box 8, SNCCP; Blankenheim, Cox, Brooks, Gaither, Harbour, Rich, and Carey interviews; *New York Times*, September 9, 1961; *Nashville Tennessean*, September 12, 1961; *Voice of the Movement*, September 9, 1961, copy in folder 8, box 76, KMSP; Peck, *Freedom Ride*, 158. Walter Bergman was involved in recruiting and fund-raising activities until an emergency appendectomy left him in critical condition in September. *Baltimore Afro-American*, September 30, 1961; Kaufman, *The First Freedom Ride*, 84–91.
10. Martin Luther King Jr., “‘The Time for Freedom Has Come,’” *New York Times Magazine* (September 10, 1961): 25, 118–119.
11. Arraignment correspondence (August 15–October 10, 1961), section 445, reel 44, COREP; *New York Times*, September 12, 1961; *Jackson Clarion-Ledger*, September 12, 1961; *Birmingham News*, September 13, 1961 (quotation); *Baltimore Afro-American*, September 16, 1961.
12. *Jackson Daily News*, September 14, 1961.
13. Roster of Freedom Riders, Group 37, September 13, 1961, MSCP; *Jackson Clarion-Ledger*, September 14, 1961 (first quotation); *Birmingham News*, September 14, 1961 (telegram quotation); *Birmingham Post-Herald*, September 15–16, 20, 1961; *Jackson Daily News*, September 16, 1961 (third quotation); *New York Times*, September 14, 17 (fourth quotation), 1961; *Memphis Commercial Appeal*, September 16, 1961 (fifth and sixth quotations); *Christian Science Monitor*, September 16, 1961; *Montgomery Advertiser*, October 10, 1961; *Baltimore Afro-American*, September 23, October 7, 1961; Scott Bates, interview by author, February 18, 2005. On Belford, see Peck, *Freedom Ride*, 141–142. For miscellaneous correspondence and other materials on the September 1961 Prayer Pilgrimage, see box 52, Episcopal Society for Cultural and Racial Unity Records. Malcolm Boyd later became a best-selling author. See Malcolm Boyd, *Are You Running with Me, Jesus? Prayers* (New York: Avon, 1967); Malcolm Boyd, *As I Live and Breathe: Stages of an Autobiography* (New York: Random House, 1970); and Malcolm Boyd, *Half Laughing/Half Crying: Songs of My Life* (New York: St. Martin’s, 1986).
14. *Montgomery Advertiser*, September 17, 1961; *Birmingham News*, September 16, 1961 (quotation); *New York Times*, September 16, 1961; Shuttlesworth, Coffin, Maguire, and Wyatt Tee Walker interviews; Maguire interview, UMFRC; Manis, *A Fire You Can’t Put Out*, 287; Coffin, *Once to Every Man*, 169.
15. Manis, *A Fire You Can’t Put Out*, 240–245, 241 (quotations); “Delinquency—Alabama Style,” *Southern Patriot* 8 (October 1960): 2–4; *Birmingham Post-Herald*, September 17, 1960; *Birmingham News*, September 7, 1960; Shuttlesworth interview; RD 34, box 6, Investigative Report Cases Files, ICCR. See also Ellen Levine, ed., *Freedom’s Children: Young Civil Rights Activists Tell Their Own Stories* (New York: G. P. Putnam’s Sons, 1993), 67–68, for a personal account by Ricky Shuttlesworth Bester.
16. On Shuttlesworth’s consistent militancy from 1960 to 1962, see Manis, *A Fire You Can’t Put Out*, 236–317; Eskew, *But for Birmingham*, 27, 32–33, 158–160, 205, 208; McWhorter, *Carry Me Home*, 151–154, 159–160, 174–177, 180–181, 243–244, 260–261, 266–267; and Thornton, *Dividing Lines*, 259–289. On the mixed signals coming out of the Kennedy administration, see Niven, *The Politics of Injustice*, 118–123; and Peck, *Freedom Ride*, 156–158. *Jackson Daily News*, July 18, 1961 (quotations); *Baltimore Afro-American*, September 23, 1961.
17. *New York Times*, September 20, 1961 (quotations); *Memphis Commercial Appeal*, September 19, 1961; *Jackson Clarion-Ledger*, September 20, 1961; *Jackson Daily News*, September 19, 1961.
18. 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, KMSP. 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.
19. *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).
20. *New York Times*, September 23, 1961 (quotations); Barnes, *Journey from Jim Crow*, 176–177; ICC Order No. MC-C-3358 (Part 180A), September 22, 1961, copy in box 1, Correspondence and Un-numbered Cases, ICCR.
 21. Marshall interview, JFKL (quotation); Niven, *The Politics of Injustice*, 120; Navasky, *Kennedy Justice*, 21, 445; Wofford, *Of Kennedys and Kings*, 157; Barnes, *Journey from Jim Crow*, 177, 265. “Before the ICC . . .,” Burke Marshall Records, box 1, USDJ/CRD. In addition to William H. Tucker, the 1961 ICC included John W. Bush, Howard G. Freas, Abe McGregor Goff, Clyde E. Herring, Everett Hutchinson, Donald P. McPherson, Rupert L. Murphy, Kenneth H. Tuggle, Lawrence K. Walrath, and Charles Webb.
 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 Play 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. *Baltimore Afro-American*, September 30, October 7, 1961; Farmer, *Lay Bare the Heart*, 213 (quotations).
 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.
 24. Moses, “Mississippi: 1961–1962,” 12–13; Branch, *Parting the Waters*, 508–511 (quotations), 520–522; Dittmer, *Local People*, 109–110, 114, 131–132; Carson, *In Struggle*, 48–49; Zinn, *SNCC*, 72–74; Doar and Landsberg, “The Performance of the FBI,” 32–39; Forman, *The Making of Black Revolutionaries*, 231; *Baltimore Afro-American*, October 7, 14, 1961; Julian Bond, “Death of a Quiet Man—A Mississippi Postscript,” *Rights and Reviews* (Winter 1967): 15–17; Carter, “The Fifteenth Amendment Comes to Mississippi,” 21. More than two years after Lee’s murder, on January 31, 1964, Louis Allen was shot and killed by an unknown gunman. Burner, *And Gently He Shall Lead Them*, 56–59, 236; Doar interview.
 25. *Jackson Clarion-Ledger*, September 25, 26 (quotation), 1961; *Baltimore Afro-American*, October 7, 1961. On Rives, see Bass, *Unlikely Heroes*, 69–83. On Motley, see Motley, *Equal Justice Under Law*.
 26. *Jackson Daily News*, September 26, 1961 (first quotation); *Jackson Clarion-Ledger*, September 27, 1961 (second quotation).
 27. *Jackson Daily News*, September 26, 1961 (first and second quotations); *Jackson Clarion-Ledger*, September 28, 1961 (third, fourth, and fifth quotations).
 28. *Jackson State-Times*, September 28, 1961 (first quotation); *Jackson Daily News*, September 28, 1961; *Jackson Clarion-Ledger*, September 29, 1961 (second quotation); *Baltimore Afro-American*, October 7, 1961.
 29. *New York Times*, September 26 (quotations), 29, 30, 1961; *Baltimore Afro-American*, October 7, 1961; *Pittsburgh Courier*, October 7, 1961; Final Report on Belafonte Concert, September 27, 1961, folder 10, box 74, KMSP; SCLC board meeting minutes, September 27, 1961, folder 1, box 29, KPA; Branch, *Parting the Waters*, 514–515; Garrow, *Bearing the Cross*, 167–169; Brooks, Harbour, and Wyatt Tee Walker interviews.
 30. Garrow, *Bearing the Cross*, 168 (quotation), 169; Branch, *Parting the Waters*, 514–515; Carson, *In Struggle*, 54; Chappell, *Stone of Hope*, 67–71; James Lawson, “Eve of Nonviolent Revolution,” *Southern Patriot* 19 (November 1961): 1; Wyatt Tee Walker and Lafayette interviews.
 31. Forman, *The Making of Black Revolutionaries*, 221–223, 234 (first quotation), 235–240 (third quotation), 249. Forman states that MOM stood for “March on Mississippi,” but earlier in the summer the Nashville faction of SNCC had formulated a program called “Move on Mississippi.” The two phrases were later used interchangeably. Dittmer, *Local People*, 107; Branch, *Parting the Waters*, 510 (second quotation), 518–519; Carson, *In Struggle*, 42–43, 50–55; Burner, *And Gently He Shall Lead Them*, 61–62; “New Spirit Moves in Mississippi,” *Southern Patriot* 19 (November 1961): 1.
 32. Dittmer, *Local People*, 110–113; Branch, *Parting the Waters*, 512–514; Zinn, *SNCC*, 74–76, 167–171; Burner, *And Gently He Shall Lead Them*, 60–62; Carson, *In Struggle*, 49; Forman, *The Making of Black Revolutionaries*, 231–232; Robert Zellner to Ed King, August 8, 1961, and Ed King to Robert Zellner, August 17, 1961, folder 10, box 8, SNCCP; Moses, “Mississippi, 1961–1962,” 14; Hampton and Fayer, *Voices of Freedom*, 146; Grant, *Black Protest*, 307–308; Hayden, *Revolution in Mississippi*, 1–5; Adams, *James A. Dombrowski*, 256; Fosl, *Subversive Southerner*, 275–278; *McComb Enterprise Journal*, October 5–6, 1961; *New York Times*, October 5, 7, 12, 21, 24, 27, November 1, 1961; *Baltimore Afro-American*, October 14, 1961; McDew interview, RBOHC; Diamond interview. On Hayden, see Tom Hayden, *Reunion: A Memoir* (New York: Random House, 1988), 43–66; and Curry et al., *Deep in Our Hearts*, 340–344, 347–350.
 33. Burner, *And Gently He Shall Lead Them*, 62 (first quotation), 63–68; Zinn, *SNCC*, 76–79 (second quotation); Moses, “Mississippi,” 14–15 (third and fourth quotations); Carson, *In Struggle*, 49–50 (fifth quotation); Grant, *Black Protest*, 303; Hayden, *Revolution in Mississippi*, 1–2; Branch, *Parting the Waters*, 522, 560; Dittmer, *Local People*, 113–114; Forman, *The Making of Black Revolutionaries*, 233; Fosl, *Subversive Southerner*, 278; Adams, *James A. Dombrowski*, 256; SNCC press release on McComb, typescript draft, December 6, 1961, box 99, SNCCP.

34. Dittmer, *Local People*, 114–115; Branch, *Parting the Waters*, 524–528; Garrow, *Bearing the Cross*, 173–177; Lewis, *King*, 140–144; Michael Chalfen, “Rev. Samuel B. Wells and Black Protest in Albany, 1945–1965,” *Journal of Southwest Georgia History* 9 (Fall 1994): 37–64; Fairclough, *To Redeem the Soul of America*, 85–88; Zinn, *SNCC*, 123–127; Howard Zinn, “Albany,” typescript of Southern Regional Council Report No. 22, January 8, 1962, folder 14, box 20, SNCCP, 8–10; Cordell Reagon, “Report from Deep South,” November 18–29, 1961, folder 24, box 19, SNCCP; Charles Sherrod, field report on Albany, folder 31, box 95, SNCCP; Forman, *The Making of Black Revolutionaries*, 240, 248–250, 251 (first quotation); Carson, *In Struggle*, 56–57, 58 (second quotation); Vernon Jordan with Annette Gordon-Reed, *Vernon Can Read: A Memoir* (New York: Public Affairs, 2001), 151–163; RD 128, box 16, and James Forman statement, RD 89, box 12, both in Investigative Report Case Files, ICCR; James Forman statement, folder 30, box 95, SNCCP; SNCC memorandum, November 10, 1961, folder 3, box 7, SNCCP.
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. *New York Times*, November 1, 5 (quotations), 12, 1961; *Atlanta Constitution*, November 2, 1961; *Memphis Commercial Appeal*, November 1–2, 1961; *Baltimore Afro-American*, November 4, 11, 1961; Farmer, *Lay Bare the Heart*, 209–210, 213; Peck, *Freedom Ride*, 159; Barnes, *Journey from Jim Crow*, 179–180; Forman statement, folder 30, box 95, SNCCP; RD 89, box 12, Investigative Report Case Files, ICCR; Lafayette interview; “Signs Down,” *Newsweek* 58 (November 13, 1961): 22–24. Branch, *Parting the Waters*, 527, estimates that CORE mobilized as many as seven hundred testers in November 1961. Carson, *In Struggle*, 37, 58; Niven, *The Politics of Injustice*, 121; Forman, *The Making of Black Revolutionaries*, 250; Garrow, *Bearing the Cross*, 172, 175. See also the investigative case files in boxes 12, 14–17, Investigative Report Case Files, ICCR. See especially cases RD 89, RD 105, RD 106, RD 110, RD 116, RD 119, RD 120, RD 122, RD 132, RD 135, RD 136, and RD 140.
36. *Montgomery Advertiser*, November 2, 1961 (quotation); *Birmingham News*, November 3–10, 1961; *Birmingham Post-Herald*, November 7, 9, 1961; *New York Times*, November 2, 5, 12, 1961; *Baltimore Afro-American*, November 4, 11, 1961; *Anniston Star*, November 1–4, 1961; Sprayberry, “‘Town Among the Trees,’” 259; “Preliminary Report: Compliance with ICC Regulations”; “Confidential Report: Bus Terminal Survey”; Lafayette interview; Thornton, *Dividing Lines*, 209; Nunnelley, *Ball Comor*, 118–120; Yarbrough, *Judge Frank Johnson and Human Rights in Alabama*, 83; Barnes, *Journey from Jim Crow*, 180, 267; RD 110, box 16, Investigative Report Case Files, ICCR. See also files 144-104-1-1 and 144-101-1-10, USDJ/CRD.
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 redirected the manpower 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

- interviews, JFKL; Doar and Seigenthaler interviews; *Jackson Daily News*, November 18–20, 1961; *New York Times*, November 3, 18 (quotation), 21–23, 1961; *Bailey v. Patterson*, 199 F. Supp. 595 (S.D. Miss. 1961); Barnes, *Journey from Jim Crow*, 167; folder 1, box 1, Investigative Report Case Files, ICCR. Three days after the disappointing ruling in Jackson, on November 20, Alabama Circuit Judge Eugene Carter summarily rejected the appeals of William Sloane Coffin, Wyatt Tee Walker, and ten other Freedom Riders arrested in Montgomery on May 25. *Birmingham News*, November 20–21, 1961.
41. *New York Times*, November 22, 28–30, December 1, December 3, 1961 (quotations); *New York Post*, November 30, 1961; *New Orleans Times-Picayune*, December 2, 1961; *Louisiana Weekly*, December 9, 1961; *McComb Enterprise-Journal*, December 2, 6, 1961; *Jackson State-Times*, November 30, 1961; Doar and Gaither interviews; Doratha Smith-Simmons, interview by author, June 27, 2005; Jerome Smith, Doratha Smith-Simmons, and Alice Thompson interviews, ARC; George Raymond, interview by Robert Wright, September 28, 1968, RBOHC; *Jet* 21 (December 14, 1961): 4; *Jet* 21 (December 21, 1961): 6; *Time* 58 (December 8, 1961): 25; “Bus Stop,” *Newsweek* (December 11, 1961): 31–32; Branch, *Parting the Waters*, 559; Dittmer, *Local People*, 114; Anderson-Bricker, “Making a Movement,” 328–330; Rogers, *Righteous Lives*, 130–143. See also *U.S. v. Mayor and Selectmen of McComb*, 6 RRLR 1169 (1961); and RD 132, box 17, Investigative Report Case Files, ICCR.
 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.
 43. Fairclough, *To Redeem the Soul of America*, 85–88 (first quotation); *New York Times*, December 11, 13, 14 (second quotation), 15 (third quotation), 1961; *Atlanta Constitution*, December 13–16, 1961; *Albany Herald*, November 22–December 16, 1961; Zinn, “Albany,” 11–16; Reagan, “Report from the Deep South”; Sherrod, field report on Albany; Blanton Hall statement, November 11, 1961, and Bernice Johnson statement, December 13, 1961, both in folder 30, box 95, SNCCP; Zinn, *SNCC*, 123–130; Branch, *Parting the Waters*, 529–538; Lewis, *King*, 143–147; Garrow, *Bearing the Cross*, 173–182; Forman, *The Making of Black Revolutionaries*, 251–255; Carson, *In Struggle*, 56–60; Morris, *The Origins of the Civil Rights Movement*, 239–242; William G. Anderson, “Reflections on the Origins of the Albany Movement,” *Journal of Southwest Georgia History* 9 (Fall 1994): 1–14; Barnes, *Journey from Jim Crow*, 190–191; Hayden, *Reunion*, 67–74; Pat Watters, *Down to Now: Reflections on the Civil Rights Movement* (New York: Random House, 1971), 158–163; Mussatt, “Journey for Justice,” 40–48, 69–80, 89–92, 115–131, 143–145, 177–181, 195–198; Curry et al., *Deep in Our Hearts*, 66–71, 74, 344–347; Norma Collins, interview by author and Kelly Benjamin, June 25, 2005; Joan Browning, interview by author, November 10, 2001, July 9, 2004, June 11, 2005; Joan Browning, “Who, What, When, Where?—Success or Failure? Conflicting Memories of the Albany Freedom Ride and Albany Movement,” unpublished paper presented at the annual meeting of the Georgia Association of Historians, Albany, GA, April 15, 2000. On the evolution of railway desegregation in late 1961 and the Justice Department’s efforts to bring the railways into line with the ICC order, see Barnes, *Journey from Jim Crow*, 177–178, 182, 265–266; “On the Railroad,” *Newsweek* 58 (October 30, 1961): 19; and *Baltimore Afro-American*, October 28, 1961.
 44. *New York Times*, December 15 (first quotation), 16 (third quotation), 1961; *Albany Herald*, December 15–17, 1961; *Atlanta Constitution*, December 15–16, 1961; Branch, *Parting the Waters*, 540–541, 542 (second quotation), 543–545, 546 (fifth quotation), 547–550, 551 (fourth quotation), 552 (sixth quotation), 553–560; Fairclough, *To Redeem the Soul of America*, 88–91; Garrow, *Bearing the Cross*, 181–188; Lewis, *King*, 147–155; Forman, *The Making of Black Revolutionaries*, 255–262; Lewis, *Walking with the Wind*, 186–187; Zinn, “Albany,” 16–34; Zinn, *SNCC*, 130–133; Sherrod, field report on Albany; Morris, *Origins of the Civil Rights Movement*, 242–245; Watters, *Down to Now*, 163–165; Carson, *In Struggle*, 60; Abernathy, *And the Walls Came Tumbling Down*, 154–155; Marshall interview, JFKL; Wyatt Tee Walker interview, RBOHC; Carey and Wyatt Tee Walker interviews; *New York Herald Tribune*, December 19, 1961 (seventh quotation). On *Georgia v. U.S. and ICC* (No. 963) (1961), see the motion to affirm in folder 3, box 1, Correspondence and Unnumbered Cases, ICCR; and case file 144-101-19-6, USDJ/CRD. On the complexities of King’s involvement in Albany, see the three essays published in the *Journal of Southwest Georgia History* 2 (Fall 1984) under the general title “The Civil Rights Struggle in Southwest Georgia: Three Perspectives”: John A. Ricks III, “‘De Lawd’ Descends and Is Crucified: Martin Luther King, Jr., in Albany, Georgia,” 3–14; Clayborne Carter, “SNCC and the Albany Movement,” 15–25; and Stephen B. Oates, “The Albany Movement: A Chapter in the Life of Martin Luther King, Jr.,” 26–39.
 45. *New York Times*, December 3 (Lewis quotation), 17, 1961; Meier and Rudwick, *CORE*, 162–163; Lee Hamalian, “Life Begins on Route 40,” *Nation* 194 (January 27, 1962): 71–73; Romano, “No Diplomatic Immunity,” 573; Julius Hobson, memorandum, section 35, reel 13, COREP; Wofford, *Of Kennedys and Kings*, 126–128. See also section 495, reel 46, COREP. Nunnelle, *Bull Connor*, 120; Thornton, *Dividing Lines*, 204–205, 209–210; *Birmingham World*, December 20, 1961; *Birmingham Post-Herald*, December 20, 29, 1961, January 6, 1962; *Birmingham News*, December 15, 20, 1961, January 9, 1962; *Montgomery Advertiser*, December 15, 17, 20, 29, 1961; Barnes, *Journey from Jim Crow*, 189; *Boman v. Morgan*, 7 RRLR 569 (1962); files 144-104-1-1, and 144-101-1-10, USDJ/CRD.
 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 Civil Rights Museum, Memphis, Tennessee.
2. McWhorter, *Carry Me Home*, 236.
3. Jackson trial correspondence, reel 44, COREP; Meier and Rudwick, *CORE*, 143; Barnes, *Journey from Jim Crow*, 180–184; *Memphis Commercial Appeal*, January 11, 1962; *Jackson Clarion-Ledger*, February 1, April 9–12, 1962; *Jackson Daily News*, January 17, 1962; *New York Times*, January 25, February 27 (quotation)—28, March 22, 1962; *Bailey v. Patterson*, 369 U.S. 31 (1962); RD 97, box 13, RD 108, box 15, RD 132, RD 140, RD 142, RD 145, box 17, RD 153, RD 157, box 18, RD 171, box 19, Investigative Report Case Files, ICCR; Bureau of Inquiry and Compliance, memorandum to Chairman Walrath, August 7, 1963, box 1, Correspondence and Unnumbered Cases, ICCR; folders 2–4, box 1, Burke Marshall Records, USDJ/CRD. See also the Mississippi case files in 144–101, 144–103, and 144–104, USDJ/CRD.
4. *Jackson Clarion-Ledger*, January–June 1962; *Jackson Daily News*, January–June 1962; Dittmer, *Local People*, 123; Moye, *Let the People Decide*, 89–90; file 144-41-450, USDJ/CRD.
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.
6. Payne, *I've Got the Light of Freedom*, 130–153, 146 (second quotation); Zinn, *SNCC*, 79–102; Dittmer, *Local People*, 117–136, 150 (third quotation), 180–183; Branch, *Parting the Waters*, 633–639; Meier and Rudwick, *CORE*, 178–180, 185; Carson, *In Struggle*, 77–81; Moye, *Let the People Decide*, 89–110; Fairclough, *To Redeem the Soul of America*, 91; Lewis, *Walking with the Wind*, 187; *Jackson Advocate*, May 12, 1962; *Student Voice* (April 1962); RD 164, box 19, Investigative Report Case Files, ICCR; *New York Times*, April 22, 2000.
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.
8. Barnes, *Journey from Jim Crow*, 181–184; Dittmer, *Local People*, 138–142 (quotation), 143; Branch, *Parting the Waters*, 633–672; Moye, *Let the People Decide*, 104–105; William Doyle, *An American Insurrection: The Battle of Oxford, Mississippi, 1962* (New York: Doubleday, 2001); Powledge, *Free at Last?* 421–445; Motley, *Equal Justice Under Law*, 162–192; Silver, *Mississippi*; James Meredith, *Three Years in Mississippi* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1966); James Meredith, *James Meredith vs. Ole Miss* (Jackson: Meredith Publishing, 1995); James Meredith, *Me and My Kind: An Oral History* (Jackson: Meredith Publishing, 1995).
9. Barnes, *Journey from Jim Crow*, 181–192, 183 (quotation); U.S. Department of Justice, Attorney General, *Annual Report of the Attorney General of the United States for the Fiscal Year Ended June 30, 1963* (Washington: GPO, 1964), 188; RD 97, box 13, Investigative Report Case Files, ICCR; Meier and Rudwick, *CORE*, 143; *Jackson Clarion-Ledger*, December 29, 1964. See also the legal and other correspondence related to the Freedom Rider cases in reels 25 and 44, COREP; and the bail bond material in reel 10, COREPA.
10. Fairclough, *Race and Democracy*, 280–296; Meier and Rudwick, *CORE*, 166–169, 176–177; Willie Burton, *On the Black Side of Shreveport* (Shreveport, 1983), 81–108; Barnes, *Journey from Jim Crow*, 181, 183; Garrow, *Bearing the Cross*, 200; Powledge, *Free at Last?* 367–368; Dennis, Diamond, and Cox interviews; *Student Voice*, January 1, 1962; *Student Voice*, April 1962; SNCC press releases, March 28, 1962 (quotations), April 6, 1962, SNCCP; *New York Times*, June 5, 1962; memorandum to Chairman Walrath, August 7, 1963; RD 95, RD 100, box 13, RD 107, RD 109, box 15, RD 122, box 16, RD 137, box 17, RD 157, box 18, RD 170, box 19, RD 187, box 20, Investigative Report Case Files, ICCR. On the 1953 Baton Rouge bus boycott, see Morris, *Origins of the Civil Rights Movement*, 17–25.
11. Fairclough, *Race and Democracy*, 199–200, 235–264, 278–279; Rogers, *Righteous Lives*, 49–76; Glen Jeansonne, *Leander Perez: Boss of the Delta* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1977); Sherrill, *Gothic Politics in the Deep South*, 5–38; *New York Times*, April 25, 27–29, 1962; Clive Webb, “‘A Cheap Trafficking in Human Misery’: The Reverse Freedom Rides of 1962,” *Journal of American Studies* 38 (2004): 251, 253 (second quotation), 254–255 (first quotation), 256–258; *Newsweek* (May 7, 1962): 30; *New York Herald Tribune*, April 25, 1962; *New York Times*, April 25, 28, 1962; McMillen, *The Citizens' Council*, 230–233.
12. Webb, “‘A Cheap Trafficking in Human Misery,’” 256–271; *New York Times*, April 25 (quotations), 27–29, May 19, 30, June 9, 11–12, 19, 1962; *Washington Star*, May 10, 1962 (Kennedy quotation); *Montgomery Advertiser*, June 10, 1962; *Charleston News and Courier*, June 10, 1962; *New Orleans Times-Picayune*, April 24, 1962; *Jackson Clarion-Ledger*, April 25, 28, 1962.
13. Webb, “‘A Cheap Trafficking in Human Misery,’” 257 (first quotation), 258, 259 (third quotation), 260 (second quotation), 261–271; *New York Times*, April 28, May 11, 13, 22, 28, 30–31, June 5, 19, 1962; *Birmingham News*, May 25, 1962; *Montgomery Advertiser*, June 10, 17, 1962; *Louisville Courier-Journal*, May 25, 1962; *Pittsburgh Courier*, May 12, June 9, 1962.
14. Webb, “‘A Cheap Trafficking in Human Misery,’” 256; *New York Times*, June 15, 1962; RD 64, box 10, RD 91, box 12, RD 116, RD 127, box 16, RD 165, box 19, RD 190, box 20, Investigative Report Case Files, ICCR; Bartley, *The Creation of Modern Georgia, 199–207*; Numan V. Bartley, *From Thurmond to Wallace: Political Tendencies in Georgia, 1948–1968* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1970); Jack Bass and Walter DeVries, *The Transformation of Southern Politics: Social Change and Political Consequences Since 1945* (New York: Basic Books, 1976), 136–144; Tuck, *Beyond Atlanta*, 114–147;

- Jimmy Carter, *Turning Point: A Candidate, a State, and a Nation Come of Age* (New York: Times Books, 1992); Clark and Arsenault, *The Changing South of Gene Patterson*; Roche, *Restructured Resistance*; Ivan Allen Jr., *Mayor: Notes on the Sixties* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1971); Sherrill, *Gothic Politics in the Deep South*, 65–78, 277–301; Bruce Galphin, *The Riddle of Lester Maddox* (Atlanta: Camelot, 1968); McGill, *The South and the Southerner*; Charles Weltner, *Southerner* (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott, 1966).
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 Now: 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.
 16. Branch, *Parting the Waters*, 601–632; Powledge, *Free at Last?* 376–420; Carson, *In Struggle*, 61–65; Garrow, *Bearing the Cross*, 202–219; Fairclough, *To Redeem the Soul of America*, 92, 101–108; Zinn, SNCC, 134–146; Tuck, *Beyond Atlanta*, 158–191; Lewis, *Walking with the Wind*, 191–192; Lewis, *King*, 160–170; Hayden, *Reunion*, 72.
 17. *New York Times*, January 10, 17, February 1 (first quotation)13, 1962; *Birmingham News*, January 9, 16–17, February 1–13, 1962; *Birmingham Post-Herald*, January 8–10, 16–18, 1962; SCLC to Southern Civil Rights Organizations, memoranda, January 19, 26, 1962, and Southern Civil Rights Organizations to Attorney General Robert Kennedy, telegram, January 26, 1962, box 20, SNCCP; Manis, *A Fire You Can't Put Out*, 289–299, 315; Thornton, *Dividing Lines*, 259–268; McWhorter, *Carry Me Home*, 259–265; Branch, *Parting the Waters*, 570–572 (second quotation); Nunnellely, *Bull Connor*, 112–121; Gaillard, *Cradle of Freedom*, 129–133, 186–187; Eskew, *But for Birmingham*, 165; Meier and Rudwick, *CORE*, 165–166; Harbour and Thomas interviews; RD 110, box 15, RD 136, box 17, RD 147, RD 148, RD 152, box 18, Investigative Report Case Files, ICCR.
 18. Shuttlesworth interview; Manis, *A Fire You Can't Put Out*, 299 (first quotation), 304–315, 307 (fourth quotation), 310 (second, third, and sixth quotations), 314 (fifth quotation); Branch, *Parting the Waters*, 572–573; *Jet* 21 (March 22, 1962): 24; SCLC press release, March 1, 1962, SCLCP; SCEF press release, April 3, 1962, and Anne Braden to Julian Bond, April 15, 1962, box 20, SNCCP; Eskew, *But for Birmingham*, 196–201; Thornton, *Dividing Lines*, 264–270; McWhorter, *Carry Me Home*, 265–268; Fairclough, *To Redeem the Soul of America*, 113; Garrow, *Bearing the Cross*, 199; Fosl, *Subversive Southerner*, 283–284; Nunnellely, *Bull Connor*, 121–122.
 19. *Birmingham News*, May 5–9, 1962; *Montgomery Advertiser*, May 2–9, 1962; Dan T. Carter, *The Politics of Rage: George Wallace, the Origins of the New Conservatism, and the Transformation of American Politics* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2000), 90–96 (second quotation), 105 (first quotation)–108; Nunnellely, *Bull Connor*, 123–125; McWhorter, *Carry Me Home*, 268–271; Manis, *A Fire You Can't Put Out*, 315–316; Gaillard, *Cradle of Freedom*, 112–117; Marshall Frady, *Wallace* (New York: New American Library, 1976), 122–135.
 20. Manis, *A Fire You Can't Put Out*, 292 (first quotation), 315; Nunnellely, *Bull Connor*, 123–125 (second and fourth quotations); Carter, *The Politics of Rage*, 110 (third quotation). On the relationship between Wallace and Johnson, see Bass, *Taming the Storm*, 3, 49–50, 195, 214–217, 261, 266, 353, 461–462. On Wallace and the 1962–1963 University of Alabama desegregation crisis, see Clark, *The Schoolhouse Door*. *Student Voice*, April and June 1962; SNCC press releases, April 10, 30, 1962, box 34, SNCCP; Harry Harvey, interview by author, June 4, 2005. On Talladega College, a black college founded in 1867 by Northern white Congregationalists and affiliated with the United Church of Christ, see Maxine D. Jones and Joe D. Richardson, *Talladega College: The First Century* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1990).
 21. Manis, *A Fire You Can't Put Out*, 290, 317–326; Garrow, *Bearing the Cross*, 220–230; Eskew, *But for Birmingham*, 181–187; Fairclough, *To Redeem the Soul of America*, 113–114; Thornton, *Dividing Lines*, 271–290; McWhorter, *Carry Me Home*, 275–322; Branch, *Parting the Waters*, 693–707; Nunnellely, *Bull Connor*, 125–133, 137; Gaillard, *Cradle of Freedom*, 131–133, 135–139; Powledge, *Free at Last?* 480–495.
 22. McWhorter, *Carry Me Home*, 323–454; 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*.
 23. Mary Stanton, *Freedom Walk: Mississippi or Bust* (Jackson: University Press of Mississippi, 2003), xiii–90, 211–218, 3 (first quotation), 54 (second quotation), 69 (third quotation); *New York Times*, April 24–29, 1963; *New York Post*, April 24–25, 30, 1963; *Washington Post*, April 30, 1963; *Baltimore Evening Sun*, April 24, 1963; *Birmingham Post-Herald*, April 25–26, 29–30, 1963; *Birmingham News*, April 25–26, 1963; *Pittsburgh Courier*, April 25, 1963; *Jet* 23 (May 9, 1963): 14–19; Murray Kempton, "Pilgrimage to Jackson," *New Republic* 148 (May 11, 1963): 15; Meier and Rudwick, *CORE*, 215; Zinn, SNCC, 174–175; Branch, *Parting the Waters*, 748–750, 754; McWhorter, *Carry Me Home*, 358–359. See also the correspondence and documents in section 236, box 35, COREP.
 24. Stanton, *Freedom Walk*, 93–95, 99–222, 109 (second quotation), 95 (third quotation), 122 (fourth and fifth quotations); Branch, *Parting the Waters*, 750–751, 754–755, 764–765; Zinn, SNCC, 175–180, 183, 193; Meier and Rudwick, *CORE*, 215–216; McWhorter, *Carry Me Home*, 364, 370, 373; Gaillard, *Cradle of Freedom*, 157–163; Forman, *The Making of Black Revolutionaries*, 308–110; Adams, *James A. Dombrowski*, 259–260; *New York Times*, April 27 (Nashville march quotations), 28, May 1–5, June 21,

- 1963; *New York Post*, April 30, 1963; *Montgomery Advertiser*, May 1, 1963; *Birmingham News*, April 29–May 4, 1963; *Baltimore Afro-American*, June 29, 1963; Richard Haley to Dear Friend, c. May 1, 1963, box 12, SNCCP; CORE steering committee minutes, April 26, 1963, section 5, box 16, and misc. correspondence, section 236, box 35, COREP.
25. Harbour interview (quotation); Brooks, Lewis, and Maguire interviews.
 26. Barnes, *Journey from Jim Crow*, 179–184; Department of Justice, Attorney General, *Annual Report for 1963*, 188. See the correspondence and test results in sections 495–497, reel 46, COREP. See also RD 66, box 10, RD 73–RD 87, box 11, RD 90–RD 93A, box 12, RD 98, RD 101, RD 102, box 13, RD 119, box 16, RD 160, RD 166, box 18, RD 179, box 19, RD 191, box 20, Investigative Report Case Files, ICCR. The political and cultural gap between the border and Rim South states and the Deep South became increasingly obvious during the early and mid-1960s. See especially the essays in John C. McKinney, ed., *The South in Continuity and Change* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1963); Allen P. Sindler, ed., *Change in the Contemporary South* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1964); and Willie Morris, ed., *The South Today: One Hundred Years After Appomattox* (New York: Harper and Row, 1965). On the political and socio-economic transformation of the border and Rim South states, see Bass and DeVries, *The Transformation of Southern Politics*, 3–40, 87–135, 284–368; William C. Havard, ed., *The Changing Politics of the South* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University, 1972), 3–293, 366–423; Neal Pearce, *The Border South States: People, Politics, and Power in the Five Border South States* (New York: Norton, 1975); Alexander P. Lamis, *The Two-Party South* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1984); and Earl Black and Merle Black, *Politics and Society in the South* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1987). For an overview of regional realignment and the emergence of the Sunbelt, see John Egerton, *The Americanization of Dixie: The Southernization of America* (New York: Harper's Magazine Press, 1974); Kirkpatrick Sale, *Power Shift: The Rise of the Southern Rim and Its Challenge to the Eastern Establishment* (New York: Random House, 1975); Joel Garreau, *The Nine Nations of North America* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1981); Randall M. Miller and George E. Pozzetta, eds., *Shades of the Sunbelt: Essays on Race, Ethnicity and the Urban South* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1988); Raymond Mohl, ed., *Searching for the Sunbelt: Historical Perspectives on a Region* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1990); Bartley, *The New South, 1945–1980*, 417–454; and Applebome, *Dixie Rising*. On South Carolina in the 1960s, see Bass and DeVries, *The Transformation of Southern Politics*, 248–283; and Havard, *The Changing Politics of the South*, 588–636. Meier and Rudwick, *CORE*, 176, 217; sections 96–98, reel 24, and section 258, reel 37, COREP; James T. McCain, *The Right to Vote* (New York: CORE, 1962), copy in section 17, reel 40, COREP; section 133, reel 22, COREPA.
 27. Meier and Rudwick, *CORE*, 170–171 (quotations), 172; Jim Peck, “A Carolina City—15 Years Later,” *CORE-lator*, November 1962; Cox and Blankenheim interviews; *Student Voice* (June 1962); RD 90, box 12, RD 133, RD 136, RD144, box 17, RD 162, RD 163, box 18, Investigative Report Case Files, ICCR. On the Freedom Highways project, see the correspondence in section 37, reel 3, COREP; and Anderson-Bricker, “Making a Movement,” 81–84. On the activities of North Carolina CORE chapters, see sections 81–84, reel 23, and sections 390–395, reel 42, COREP. On Statesville, see the pamphlet by Gordon Carey, *The City of Progress* (New York: CORE, 1962), copy in section 6, reel 49, COREP. On the situation in Monroe in 1962, see section 19, reel 1, and section 394, reel 42, COREP; and Committee to Aid the Monroe Defendants, Information Bulletin 4, April 4, 1962, box 12, SNCCP. On the general expansion of civil rights activity in North Carolina in the early 1960s, see Capus M. Waynick, John C. Brooks, and Elsie W. Pitts, eds., *North Carolina and the Negro* (Raleigh: North Carolina Mayors' Co-operating Committee, 1964).
 28. Bass and DeVries, *The Transformation of Southern Politics*, 284–304; Havard, *The Changing Politics of the South*, 165–200; Charles L. Fontenay, *Estes Kefauver: A Biography* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1980); Joseph Bruce Gorman, *Kefauver: A Political Biography* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1971); Kyle Longley, *Senator Albert Gore, Sr.: A Tennessee Maverick* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2004); Barrett, Harbour, Lafayette, Lewis, Lillard, and Matthew Walker Jr., interviews; Lewis, *Walking with the Wind*, 183–185, 190–192 (quotation), 193–201, 429–456; Halberstam, *The Children*, 396–468; Powlledge, *Free at Last?* 449–452; *New York Times*, January 3, March 27, 1962; *Student Voice*, June 1962; SNCC press release, May 16, 1962, box 34, SNCCP; RD 124, box 16, RD 146, box 18, RD 176, box 19, RD 186, box 20, Investigative Report Case Files, ICCR. On Lebanon, see Meier and Rudwick, *CORE*, 169–170, and section 419, reel 42, section 100, reel 24, COREP. On Fayette and Haywood counties, see section 515, reel 47, and section 99, reel 24, COREP; Lewis, *Portrait of a Decade*, 137–140; and Robert Hamburger, *Our Portion of Hell: Fayette County, Tennessee, An Oral History of the Struggle for Civil Rights* (New York: Links Books, 1973), 1–82. New Orleans CORE, also a source of regional leaders, suffered much the same fate as the Nashville Movement. See Anderson-Bricker, “Making a Movement,” 377–389.
 29. Marshall and Robert Kennedy interviews, JFKL; Doar and Seigenthaler interviews; “Progress in the Field of Civil Rights, a Summary, January 20 to November 20, 1961,” typescript, November 22, 1961, box 14, BMP (first quotation); Niven, *The Politics of Injustice*, 116–123 (second quotation); Brauer, *John F. Kennedy and the Second Reconstruction*, 109–112, 126–127.
 30. For a sharp and persuasive critique of the Kennedy Administration's political rationale for caution on civil rights matters, see Niven, *The Politics of Injustice*. Brauer, *John F. Kennedy and the Second Reconstruction*, 126–204; Meier and Rudwick, *CORE*, 180–181; Stern, *Calculating Visions*, 63–77; Wofford, *Of Kennedys and Kings*, 160–169; Guthman, *We Band of Brothers*, 179–207; Riley, *The Presidency and the Politics of Racial Inequality*, 207–219, 228, 235–274; Doar interview.
 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,

- JFKL; Doar interview; Thomas, *Robert Kennedy*, 240–253; Brauer, *John F. Kennedy and the Second Reconstruction*, 230–320; Branch, *Parting the Waters*, 562–600; O'Reilly, "Racial Matters," 96–123; Navasky, *Kennedy Justice*, 96–155; Garrow, *The FBI and Martin Luther King, Jr.*, 43–100; Garrow, *Bearing the Cross*, 194–201; Fairclough, *To Redeem the Soul of America*, 98–99.
32. Meier and Rudwick, *CORE*, 168–169, 180 (quotations), 181; Brauer, *John F. Kennedy and the Second Reconstruction*, 156–157. See also the materials in section 474, reel 45, section 3, reel 17, and section 40, reel 7, COREP; and the May 1962 correspondence in box 16, BMP. Despite the administration's inability to guarantee the safety of civil rights workers in the Deep South, John Doar and other representatives of the Civil Rights Division were increasingly active as civil rights violations investigators in 1962. Doar, in particular, developed a close relationship with Bob Moses and several other SNCC activists whom he came to admire as "the true heroes" of the Southern civil rights struggle. Doar interview. See also Doar and Landsberg, "The Performance of the FBI."
 33. Meier and Rudwick, *CORE*, 144–210, 213; Laue, *Direct Action and Desegregation*, 106–111; Barnes, *Journey from Jim Crow*, 188–189; Farmer, *Lay Bare the Heart*, 210–221; Phil Ochs, "Freedom Riders" (1962). The song was not recorded as part of an album in 1962 but was later included in *The Best of Broadside, 1962–1988: Anthems of the American Underground from the Pages of Broadside Magazine* (Smithsonian Folkways SFW40130, 2000). Ochs also paid tribute to William Worthly and the Journey of Reconciliation in a companion folk song called "Ballad of William Worthly." See Ward, *Just My Soul Responding*, 213–214, 309. Branch, *Parting the Waters*, 452; Sitkoff, *The Struggle for Black Equality*, 100–103; Louis, *And We Are Not Saved*, 116–126; Lewis, *Walking with the Wind*, 194, 249; Blankenheim, Carey, Cox, Gaither, and Rich interviews. See also the 1962 issues of *CORE-lator*, which chronicle the expanding influence of CORE in the wake of the Freedom Rides.
 34. Carson, *In Struggle*, 37, 66–82; Zinn, *SNCC*, 79–275; Lewis, *Walking with the Wind*, 187–189 (quotation), 190–200; Forman, *The Making of Black Revolutionaries*, 262–307; Carmichael, *Ready for Revolution*, 216–322; Fleming, *Soon We Will Not Cry*, 92–100; Greenberg, *A Circle of Trust*, 5–8, 39–60, 200–219; King, *Freedom Song*; Dittmer, *Local People*, 128–193; Payne, *I've Got the Light of Freedom*, 100–206; Powledge, *Free at Last?* 352–372, 400–420, 462–479; Laue, *Direct Action and Desegregation*, 113–132; Sitkoff, *The Struggle for Black Equality*, 103–117; *Student Voice*, April 1962; SNCC press releases, April 6, 14, May 4, 1962, box 34, SNCCP; Lafayette and Lewis interviews.
 35. Garrow, *Bearing the Cross*, 189–230; Fairclough, *To Redeem the Soul of America*, 91–109; Branch, *Parting the Waters*, 562–707; Lewis, *King*, 156–170; Ling, *Martin Luther King, Jr.*, 93–105; Lewis, *Walking with the Wind*, 184, 187, 190; Manis, *A Fire You Can't Put Out*, 321, 326, 330; Edward T. Clayton, ed., *The SCLC Story* (Atlanta: SCLC, 1964); Martin Luther King Jr., *Strength to Love* (New York: Harper and Row, 1963); Martin Luther King Jr., *Why We Can't Wait* (New York: New American Library, 1964); Fauntroy, Shuttlesworth, and Wyatt Tee Walker interviews.
 36. Wilkins, *Standing Fast*, 285–294; Klarman, *From Jim Crow to Civil Rights*, 374–384; Motley, *Equal Justice Under Law*, 148–158; Jonas, *Freedom's Sword*, 169–201; Berg, "The Ticket to Freedom," 166–249; Carter interview. See Waynick, Brooks, and Pitts, *The North Carolina Negro*, on how the NAACP branches in one state expanded their protest activities following the Freedom Rides.
 37. *Baltimore Afro-American*, November 11, 1961 (quotation). On the South African pass laws, see Mandela, *Long Walk to Freedom*, 49, 83, 191–194, 205–207, 370; and Joseph Lelyveld, *Move Your Shadow: South Africa, Black and White* (New York: Times Books, 1985), 7–8, 22, 36, 39, 189, 355, 319–327. Ronald Anderson, interview by author, November 1999; Charles Perkins, *A Bastard Like Me* (Sydney: Ure Smith, 1975); Ann Curthoys, *Freedom Ride: A Freedom Rider Remembers* (Crowns Nest, NSW: Allen and Unwin, 2003); <http://freedomride.net>; Kim Bullimore, "The Aboriginal Struggle for Justice and Land Rights," *Green Left Weekly* (2001), available online at www.greenleft.org.au/back/2001; *Sydney Daily Telegraph*, May 20, 1997; *Melbourne Herald Sun*, September 15, 2002. Perkins died on October 18, 2000. *London Independent*, October 20, 2000; *Adelaide Advertiser*, October 19, 21, 2000; *Queensland Courier Mail*, October 19, 2000; *Sydney Australian*, October 20, 2000.
 38. On the persistent but unfulfilled ideal of the beloved community, see Marsh, *The Beloved Community*. On the "rights revolution," see John D. Skrentny, *The Minority Rights Revolution* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2002); Louis Henken, *The Age of Rights* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1990); Cass R. Sunstein, *After the Rights Revolution: Reconceiving the Regulatory State* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1990); Ronald Dworkin, *Taking Rights Seriously* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1977); Charles R. Epp, *The Rights Revolution: Lawyers, Activists, and Supreme Courts in Comparative Perspective* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1998); Judith N. Sklar, *American Citizenship: The Quest for Inclusion* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1991); Lawrence H. Fuchs, *American Kaleidoscope: Race, Ethnicity, and the Civic Culture* (Hanover, NH: Wesleyan University Press, 1990); Alan Wolfe, *One Nation, After All* (New York: Viking, 1998); John D'Emilio, William B. Turner, and Urvashi Vaid, eds., *Creating Change: Sexuality, Public Policy, and Civil Rights* (New York: St. Martin's, 2000); Margaret Cruikshank, *The Gay and Lesbian Liberation Movement* (New York: Routledge, 1992); Richard K. Scotch, *From Good Will to Civil Rights: Transforming Federal Disability Policy* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1984); Stephen L. Percy, *Disability, Civil Rights, and Public Policy* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1989); and Paul L. Murphy, "Balancing Acts: The Supreme Court and the Bill of Rights, 1965–1991," in *Crucible of Liberty: 200 Years of the Bill of Rights*, ed. Raymond Arsenault (New York: Free Press, 1991), 96–107. Malcolm Gladwell, *The Tipping Point: How Little Things Can Make a Big Difference* (Boston: Little, Brown, 2000), 7–14; Carmichael, *Ready for Revolution*, 178 (quotation).
 39. Laue, *Direct Action and Desegregation*, 107–108 (quotations); Viorst, *Fire in the Streets*, 159 (quotation). On the implementation and impact of the VEP, see Lawson, *Running for Freedom*, 81–84, 116–117; Steven F. Lawson, *Black Ballots: Voting Rights in the South, 1944–1969* (New York: Columbia

- University Press, 1976), 261–265, 276–277, 283–285, 332; Garrow, *Bearing the Cross*, 161–163, 168, 189, 194, 197, 216, 223, 233, 322; Payne, *I've Got the Light of Freedom*, 108–109, 141–172; and Forman, *The Making of Black Revolutionaries*, 265–269, 273. On the 1965 Voting Rights Act, see David Garrow, *Protest at Selma: Martin Luther King and the Voting Rights Act of 1965* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1978); and Lawson, *Black Ballots*, 307–352. See also Pat Watters and Reese Cleghorn, *Climbing Jacob's Ladder: The Arrival of Negroes in Southern Politics* (New York: Harcourt, Brace, and World, 1967). For a broad survey of the evolution of federal civil rights policies during the 1960s and early 1970s, see Hugh Davis Graham, *The Civil Rights Era: Origins and Development of National Policy* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990). For illuminating discussions of the complex relationships between moral suasion, movement culture, social change, and governmental policy during the modern civil rights era, see Lawson and Payne, *Debating the Civil Rights Movement*, 3–42, 99–136; Sara M. Evans and Harry C. Boyte, *Free Spaces: The Sources of Democratic Change in America* (New York: Harper and Row, 1986), 50–68, 182–202; Norrell, *The House I Live In*, xi–xvii, 365–371, and passim; Chappell, *A Stone of Hope*; and Marsh, *The Beloved Community*.
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).
 41. On Freedom Summer, see Dittmer, *Local People*, 242–285; Branch, *Pillar of Fire*, 341–509; Doug McAdam, *Freedom Summer* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988); Sally Belfrage, *Freedom Summer* (New York: Viking Press, 1965); Mary Aickin Rothschild, *A Case of Black and White: Northern Volunteers and Southern Freedom Summers* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1982); Seth Cagin and Philip Dray, *We Are Not Afraid: The Story of Goodman, Schwerner, and Chaney and the Civil Rights Campaign for Mississippi* (New York: Macmillan, 1988); and Nicolaus Mills, *Like a Holy Crusade: Mississippi 1964—The Turning Point of the Civil Rights Movement in America* (Chicago: Ivan R. Dee, 1992).
 42. *New York Times*, August 15, 2001 (Clinton quotation); *Los Angeles Times*, August 15, 2001. Vice President Al Gore repeated Clinton's identification of Lieberman as a "Freedom Rider." *Houston Chronicle*, August 17, 2000. *Ladykillers* (2004), Touchstone Pictures (Buena Vista Home Video DVD), directed by Ethan and Joel Coen.
 43. Blankenheim, Brooks, Carey, Cox, Davidov, Dolan, Dresner, Farrell, Gaither, Harbour, Lafayette, Lewis, Sanfield, Thomas, Rich, and Ziskind interviews; Jim Peck, "Fifteen Years After the Freedom Rides," *War Resisters League News* (January–February 1977): 6; Halberstam, *The Children*, 523–719; Carmichael, *Ready for Revolution*, 263–264, 507–590; Stokely Carmichael and Charles V. Hamilton, *Black Power: The Politics of Liberation in America* (New York: Random House, 1967); Carson, *In Struggle*, 215–244; Farmer, *Lay Bare the Heart*, 315–346; *Atlanta Constitution*, May 8, 1981; *Jackson Clarion-Ledger*, May 9, 1981 (quotations); *New York Times*, May 10, 1981.
 44. Lafayette interview; *Jackson Daily News*, July 21, 1981 (quotation); *Jackson Clarion-Ledger*, July 22, 1981; Beverly Keel, "A Mission of Nonviolence," *American Profile* (January 11–17, 2004): 6, 8; *St. Petersburg Times*, May 7, 2003. On the Philadelphia murders, see Cagin and Dray, *We Are Not Afraid*; and William Bradford Huie, *Three Lives for Mississippi* (New York: WCC Books, 1965).
 45. Kaufman, *The First Freedom Ride*, ii–iv, 92–125, 146–203 (Douglass quotation); Powledge, *Free at Last?* 272–275; *New York Times*, January 23, June 1, 1983, February 8, 1984, July 13, 1993, October 10, 1999 (Enslens and Simon quotations); Simon interview; Goodman interview; American Civil Liberties Union of Michigan, *Civil Liberties Newsletter* 4 (Spring 1983): 1–3; Walter and Pat Bergman, New Year's Day 1986 letter to friends, in author's possession; Smith, *Events Leading Up to My Death*, 408; *Bergman v. U.S.*, 565 F. Supp. 1353 W.D. Mich. (1983); *Bergman v. U.S.*, 579 F. Supp. 911 W.D. Mich. (1984); *Bergman v. U.S.*, 844 F. 2d 353 (1988); *Peck v. U.S.*, 470 F. Supp. 1003 S.D. N.Y. (1979); May, *The Informant*, 322–324, 364. *Undercover with the KKK* (Columbia Pictures, 1979); *Washington Post*, July 12, 30, 1978, October 23, 1979; *Birmingham Post-Herald*, July 13, 1978; *Detroit Free Press*, October 23, 1979. On Liuzzo, see May, *The Informant*; and Mary Stanton, *From Selma to Sorrow: The Life and Death of Viola Liuzzo* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1998).
 46. "Ain't Scared of Your Jails," documentary; Halberstam, *The Children*, 701–702; *Milwaukee Journal Sentinel*, June 17, 1999; and the documentary "Skin Deep, The Fight Against Legislated Racism," episode of *People's Century* (PBS, 1999). See also the interview with Zwerg and his daughter, Mary Brown, in Blake, *Children of the Movement*, 25–36. Zwerg left the ministry in 1975 and later worked as a lobbyist for the Chamber of Commerce, an IBM executive, and a business manager for a local hospice before retiring in 1999. Prior to the 1980s, he rarely mentioned his Freedom Rider experiences, and his daughter was sixteen years old before she heard him discuss the details of his beating in Montgomery. Zwerg interview. The twenty-fifth anniversary of the Rides was also commemorated by a "Freedom Ride" from New York to Alabama led by the Reverend Dr. Benjamin F. Chavis, the head of the United Church of Christ's Commission for Racial Justice. Departing from New York on February 28, Chavis, accompanied by a busload of students and other supporters, announced that his group hoped "to lift the veil of fear and intimidation now being imposed on the western Alabama black belt by the Reagan Administration and other forces of racial oppression." *New York Times*, March 1, 1986. While some former Freedom Riders applauded Chavis's initiative, others resented his unauthorized appropriation of the Freedom Rider label. Cox and Blankenheim interviews.
 47. *Jackson Clarion-Ledger*, May 25 (Farmer quotations), June 19, July 20–21 (first quotation), 1991. The Farmer statements originated in an interview two months before the reunion, but he reportedly used virtually the same words in July. *Jackson Advocate*, May 30, June 5, July 25 (second quotation); *Hattiesburg American*, June 19, 1991; *Clarksdale Press Register*, July 22, 1991; *Atlanta Constitution*, July

- 21, 1991; “The Freedom Rides: A Thirty-Year Perspective,” program typescript, June 19, 1991, MSCP.
48. The groundbreaking for the National Civil Rights Museum in Memphis took place in 1987, and the museum opened in September 1991. The Birmingham Civil Rights Institute opened in November 1992. See www.bcri.org and www.civilrights.org. John Lewis, “Freedom Riders of 2003,” *Washington Post*, October 1, 2003, A23 (quotation); Ellie Hidalgo, “Freedom Rides for Immigrant Workers,” *Tidings* (Los Angeles), September 26, 2003.
 49. Sean Wilentz, “The Last Integrationist,” *New Republic* 215 (July 1, 1996): 19–26, 20 (first quotation), 5 (second quotation); Lewis, Filner, and Franklin interviews; *New York Times*, June 15, September 28, 1997; John Hope Franklin, “A Half-Century of Presidential Race Initiatives: Some Reflections,” *Journal of Supreme Court History* 24 (1999): 226–238; John Hope Franklin, interview by author, March 3, 2005, to be published in *Public Historian* (Winter 2006); *Boston Globe*, August 28, 1993.
 50. The documentary filmmaker was Robin Washington, the managing editor of the *Bay State Banner*; narrated by Judge A. Leon Higginbotham, *You Don't Have to Ride JLM CROW!* was shown on New Hampshire Public Television in 1995. James Haskins, *The Freedom Rides: Journey for Justice* (New York: Hyperion Books for Children, 1995); Deborah Kent, *The Freedom Riders* (Chicago: Children's Press, 1993). See also Ann Bausum, *Freedom Riders: John Lewis and Jim Zwerg on the Front Lines of the Civil Rights Movement* (Washington: National Geographic Children's Books, 2005). Vicki Covington, *The Last Hotel for Women* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1993). For plays based on the Freedom Rides, see *Chicago Sun-Times*, September 6, 1998, January 15, 2004; *Washington Post*, April 25, 2003; and *Minneapolis Star Tribune*, February 11, 2004. In 2005, Angela Madeiros, a children's author and playwright living in Austin, Texas, wrote a musical based on Carol Ruth Silver's Parchman diary; Silver interview. *On Wisconsin* (Spring 2004): 6, 8.
 51. Gary Younge, *No Place Like Home: A Black Briton's Journey Through the American South* (London: Picador, 1999), 36 (quotation).
 52. “Evening Glory,” *People* (April 6, 1998): 134 (quotation); *New York Times*, August 25, 1987, July 13, 1993, July 10, 1999; *Washington Post*, August 25, 1987, January 16, 1998; July 10, 1999; *St. Petersburg Times*, July 10–11, 1999; Senator Charles Robb and Congressman John Lewis, “A Tribute to an American Freedom Fighter,” January 16, 1998, and Senator Charles S. Robb, “Honoring James Farmer,” floor statement, U.S. Senate, February 25, 1998, both texts in author's possession; William Hansen, interview by author, May 10, 2001; Ransby, *Ella Baker and the Black Freedom Movement*, 10–12; D'Emilio, *Lost Prophet*, 492–494.
 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.
 54. Copeland, “Freedom Riders Go South Again”; www.FreedomRidersFoundation.org; “Governor Musgrove Declares: Freedom Riders Day in Mississippi,” *Newsletter of the Freedom Riders 40th Reunion* 1 (November 10, 2001): 1 (quotations); Gaither, Green, Maguire, O'Connor, Silver, and Singleton interviews; Green, “Freedom Rider Diary: Forty Years Later”; *San Bernardino County Sun*, January 18, 1987; *Los Angeles Times*, January 18, 1989; Green, Maguire, O'Connor, Silver, Bob Singleton, and Helen Singleton interviews, UMFRC. The interviews and materials collected during the reunion are on file at the William Winter Institute for Racial Reconciliation, University of Mississippi, Oxford, MS. Born in Tocowa, Mississippi, in 1956, David Ronald “Ronnie” Musgrove served in the state senate and as lieutenant governor before defeating Republican Mike Parker for the governorship in 1999. A liberal by Mississippi standards, Musgrove advocated the adoption of a new state flag to replace the traditional design featuring the Confederate battle flag. But the design was rejected by a margin of two to one in an April 2001 referendum. This and other setbacks hampered his bid for reelection, and he was defeated by Republican Haley Barbour in November 2003. *New York Times*, October 17, 2003; *Jackson Clarion-Ledger*, October–November 2003.
 55. The film was *You Don't Have to Ride JLM CROW!* *Boston Globe*, August 28, 1993; Morello, “The Freedom Rider a Nation Nearly Forgot”; Morgan and Bacque interviews; *Washington Post*, January 9, 2001; www.citizensmedal.com/2001Recipients.htm (quotation). In October 2001, the Society of Adventist Communicators established the Irene Morgan Award for Courage and Integrity.