

ALSO BY PENIEL E. JOSEPH
Dark Days, Bright Nights
Waiting 'Til the Midnight Hour

STOKELY

A Life

2014

By Peniel E. Joseph

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from a blues song, "I'm going to tell God how you treat me one of these days." The song was soon taken up by the entire cellblock. After he finally joined the hunger strike, Carmichael remained on it for eight days, two days longer than the majority of the group, and one day longer than Farmer. Afterward, he gave a short speech to his fellow Freedom Riders, humorously referring to the ordeal of going without food for so long:

Friends, most of you don't know me. My name is Stokely Carmichael. I'm in with Freddy Leonard. You may have heard of us. We're the youngest in here. Myself, I'm a very young man but I intend to be fighting the rest of my life so I'll probably be in jail again. So probably will some of you. So this may not be the last time we are together in prison. That's why I want you to remember my name. Because if we are ever in jail again and any of you mention the words hunger and strike, I'm gonna denounce you properly. I will be the first to denounce you. You tell everybody that. That if they are ever in jail with Stokely Carmichael never ever mention anything about a hunger strike.

John Lewis noted Stokely's special "knack for starting an argument and for winning it." Lewis, who appreciated Carmichael's assertiveness, quick wit, and unpretentious manner, decided on the spot that he liked him.³⁶

CHAPTER THREE

Finding a Way in New Worlds

June 29, 1961–January 1962

ON JUNE 29, 1961, STOKELY CARMICHAEL CELEBRATED HIS TWENTIETH birthday in his tiny cell. He came to interpret his arrest as a rite of passage. "It would be the first of many I was to spend in Southern jails," he would remember. SNCC workers made jokes about his habit of being incarcerated during his birthday. "It got so that people would say, 'Hey, it's Carmichael's birthday. Keep your distance from him today unless you want to be arrested too.'"¹

While some chose bail as it became available, a few riders remained incarcerated. After forty days in jail, the final remaining Freedom Riders were released on bond. CORE had arranged his release, a deal that Carmichael found distasteful but was powerless to refuse. From Parchman, the riders arrived in Jackson, where they were fêted at Tougaloo College's gymnasium. "Welcome Freedom Riders," proclaimed a large banner that gave the occasion the feel of a pep rally, albeit one complete with heaping tables of soul food, loud music, and energetic dancing.²

That evening, Carmichael flew to New York and hopped a subway train home to the Bronx. The sight of her emaciated son prompted May Charles to spend the next few weeks nursing him back to good health. Meanwhile, Carmichael's exploits made him a minor celebrity in movement circles. There were now speaking requests for fundraisers in well-appointed homes where white liberals eagerly listened to his account of Parchman's harsh conditions and responded with the cash that served as the movement's lifeblood. At times, these encounters produced a discomfort in Carmichael, who chafed at the slightest whiff of liberal condescension by white allies. His speaking

schedule brought him into the orbit of Harry Belafonte, the singer and movie star whose peerless commitment to civil rights made him the rare entertainer who transcended artificial divides between art and politics. Belafonte's friendship with Martin Luther King and SNCC placed him in the unique position of being held in equally high esteem by movement power brokers and radicals. Carmichael and Belafonte shared a passion for civil rights activism and more. Belafonte's mother hailed from Jamaica, and the Harlem-born singer had spent part of his childhood there before returning to New York, where he found unparalleled success by turning Jamaican calypso songs into mainstream American music.

The similarity of the Caribbean backgrounds of Belafonte and Carmichael, their physical confidence and their personal egos made their relationship crackle with an unspoken competitive tension. At least some of this revolved around a woman. Belafonte introduced Carmichael to the South African singer Miriam Makeba, whom Stokely would marry in 1968. Makeba had of course served as the teenaged Stokely's romantic dream. In fact, in Carmichael's telling, he wore a "silky Harry Belafonte shirt," complete "with flared collars, a deep V neck, and billowing sleeves" the first time he met Makeba, but she took no special interest in the young man when they finally met after her concert. It would have been nearly impossible for Stokely to compete with Harry Belafonte, especially in Miriam's eyes. In her memoir, she vividly recalled her first meeting with Belafonte, whose international fame preceded him. "This man is so handsome he could make a god jealous!" Belafonte had surprised Miriam that first evening by expressing genuine interest in the racial politics of South Africa in a manner that made her curious and admiring all at once. Now, as Belafonte introduced Stokely to Makeba at a concert in Queens, the two men perhaps briefly imagined trading places, with the singer earning the chance to engage in the dangerous and gritty world he supported financially and the young activist dreaming of the opportunity to consort with international celebrities as a peer instead of a fan. Less than five years later, Carmichael would join the rarified world where politics and celebrity collided, drawing comparisons to Belafonte's good looks on the road to finding time to turn his romantic fantasies about Makeba into reality.³

Stokely went from consorting with celebrities to attending a SNCC-sponsored seminar in Nashville that began on July 30. It was the first time he had attended such a meeting. Ella Baker, Martin Luther King, and Jim Lawson joined some of the major intellectuals of the era, including L.D. Reddick,

C. Eric Lincoln (whose trailblazing study *Black Muslims in America* was published that year), August Meier, Kenneth Clark, and Howard University professors Rayford Logan and E. Franklin Frazier. Tim Jenkins, a former Howard student-body president who had graduated a year before Stokely's arrival on campus, attended the conference. Jenkins' political acumen and ability to knit innovative political alliances made him the rare black leader who could be vice president of the domestic affairs section of the predominantly white (and surreptitiously CIA-infiltrated) National Student Association (NSA), serve on the executive committee of SDS, and maintain a strong relationship with SNCC. John Lewis and Diane Nash, two veterans of the Nashville sit-in movement with close ties to the SCLC, were on hand, as were NAG members Dion Diamond and John Moody. The idea for the seminar originated with Jenkins, who informed Carmichael of his determination to leverage the momentum from the summer's Freedom Rides. The pragmatic Jenkins sought to outline areas of mutual interest between the student movement and the federal government. In late-night bull sessions, they grappled with a range of questions, including whether to shift energies from sit-ins to voter registration. "For me those sessions were important," Carmichael would remember. "I think that was when we began to bond into 'a band of brothers.' I know that I certainly started to feel the strong respect and love for these brothers and sisters, which has lingered all my life."⁴

In Nashville, Carmichael encountered Julian Bond, the light-skinned, boyishly handsome son of Dr. Horace Mann Bond, the first black president of Lincoln University in Pennsylvania. Poised and elegant, Bond was destined to be a key figure in the Atlanta student movement. A founding member of SNCC who also served as a student leader at Atlanta's black, all-male Morehouse College, Bond wed a Brahmin pedigree to an acute sense of social justice. Creeping doubt rested beneath a raffish grin and unflappable surface, marking the anxiety-prone Bond as more suited for public relations than the hazards of the field. Also passing through was James Forman, soon to be SNCC's first full-time executive secretary. He had the stout physique of a bulldog and a fiery temperament, and his administrative abilities would shortly transform the fledgling group.⁵

Ruby Doris Smith, a Spelman College co-ed who had already served two stints in prison (in Rock Hill, South Carolina, and Parchman Farm as a Freedom Rider), was among the most vocal and eloquent attendees. Of all the young black women inspired by the sit-in movement, Smith possessed

the most irrepressible combination of youthful idealism, iron-willed determination, and outspoken assertiveness. Ten months younger than Stokely, Smith would, after short stints in the field organizing, become one of SNCC's most valuable administrators.⁶

Perhaps the most important SNCC activist who would have an enduring impact on Stokely was also its most unassuming member. A high school math teacher and budding philosopher from New York named Bob Moses joined the group after Bayard Rustin sent him to Atlanta to work for Martin Luther King and the SCLC. After an awkward meeting with King, who warned Moses about associating with suspected communists, Moses accepted Baker's offer to tour the South. He immediately plunged into a recruiting effort for SNCC's planned October conference (where the group formally structured itself) that would seem quixotic had it not been so successful. In the unassuming town of Cleveland, Mississippi, Moses developed a fast friendship with Amzie Moore, a local black businessman and World War II veteran. Moses left Mississippi to resume his teaching job but offered to return to assist Moore in voter registration efforts destined to change the very face of American democracy.⁷

IN SEPTEMBER 1961, Stokely returned to Howard from Nashville a campus celebrity. The fall semester was marked by other changes as well. His infatuation with Mary Lovelace, who joined NAG his sophomore year, now bloomed into love. On Wednesday afternoons the smitten Stokely assisted Mary, a talented visual artist, by handing her paintbrushes. It was a romantic pairing doomed as much by their egos as by the unpredictability of the movement and competing schedules, but the two would date on and off throughout Stokely's time at Howard. Key patterns emerged that semester, including Carmichael's tendency to get arrested. He would earn his second trip to jail for sitting in at a Baltimore restaurant.⁸

The Hilltop, under managing editor Mike Thelwell, dedicated the fall semester's first issue to the subject of nonviolence. "In doing so," the editorial reasoned, "we pay homage not only to a revolutionary ideal struggling to be heard in a world hell-bent on suicide, but, with special warmth, to seven Howard Freedom Riders who forayed into the Deep South to redeem a moral wasteland." In the same issue, Stokely recounted the details of his

post-Parchman encounters with police while demonstrating in Nashville. His account played up the Sisyphean nature of nonviolent struggle; a group of eight students protesting outside a department store withstood eggs, chunks of ice, tomatoes, and bricks hurled by an angry mob that, in quick order, began throwing punches at demonstrators and lit cigarettes down their backs. He vowed to return to the Delta the next year and challenged Howard students to join him.⁹

Charlie Cobb, a freshman born in Washington, DC, but transplanted to Springfield, Massachusetts, would answer Carmichael's challenge. Cobb's personal aversion to attending group meetings made him a more frequent presence at protests than at campus strategy sessions, but his infectious smile, easy humor, and good-natured personality made him a well-liked colleague who quickly became one of Carmichael's good friends. The son of a radical Congregationalist minister open-minded enough to form political alliances with Black Muslims, Cobb met Malcolm X in the 1950s when the latter stopped by his father's house to discuss politics.¹⁰

Malcolm X, whom Cobb knew as a family friend, came to Howard in October as the most controversial speaker ever to visit the university. That year, Malcolm had become one of the most sought-after public speakers in America, delivering well-received lectures at Harvard, Yale, Brown, Temple, Michigan State, and Berkeley. He was born Malcolm Little, in Omaha, Nebraska, on May 19, 1925. Black radical activism was a part of Malcolm's birthright. His parents, Earl and Louise Little, were followers of Marcus Garvey. Earl's willingness to plant the seeds of black nationalism in the midwest city of Lansing, Michigan, carried a high cost. Malcolm remembered his father's death as a lynching, although authorities claimed a streetcar accident had practically severed Earl Little in two. The death of the family patriarch sent the Little family into decline, with Louise Little suffering from mental and emotional scars that prevented her from taking care of Malcolm and his seven brothers and sisters.¹¹

During the 1940s, Malcolm lived in Boston, New York, and Detroit, where he cultivated a reputation as a slick-talking petty criminal. Malcolm's arrest in Boston in 1946 on burglary charges drew him closer to his activist roots. In prison between 1946 and 1952, when he was paroled, Malcolm Little transformed himself through reading, a strict diet, and embracing the teachings of the Nation of Islam (NOI). The Nation stressed personal responsibility, discipline, and race pride in a manner that mirrored Marcus Garvey's

ideas. But the NOI replaced Garvey's worldly dreams of revitalizing Africa with religious prophecy that predicted the white man's doom. The group's leader, Elijah Muhammad, was a former sharecropper from Georgia whose frail health only strengthened his devout followers' belief in his divinity. Malcolm Little left prison as Malcolm X, the new surname reflecting the NOI's belief that blacks were a lost tribe wandering in America's racial wilderness, blindly clinging to a culture and tradition (including last names) rooted in slavery and oppression rather than to their actual history.

Malcolm X emerged during the 1950s as a political phenomenon who transformed the NOI. It went from a small, obscure religious group into a sprawling and financially secure organization capable of injecting itself into the national debate over civil rights and race relations. Malcolm's brilliant mind, voracious reading, and supple debate skills made him the group's most politically motivated spokesman. He became the group's national representative in 1957, and soon the NOI was as much political as it was religious. His minimalist style, dark suit, tie, and glasses, became as legendary as his biting sermons, which combined humor, politics, and autobiography in an effort to convince blacks that they were important and intelligent enough to choose their own fate and design their own futures. Malcolm's advocacy, following the teachings of Muhammad, of self-defense elevated him as the primary rhetorical opponent of Martin Luther King. The two men would meet only briefly once. King assumed the role of a defense attorney, extolling the inherent humanity of blacks and whites to each other. Malcolm, in contrast, relished his ability to serve as black America's district attorney based in Harlem's Temple No. 7. From there, he publicly condemned white racism for creating urban ghettos, condoning lynching, and maintaining a society that was so bankrupt that African Americans were forced to organize, protest, and march in order to gain citizenship rights that were supposedly guaranteed. For Stokely's generation, Malcolm X became the avatar of a new movement for black liberation, one anchored in the quest for self-determination epitomized by Garveyism and its many variations that would come to be known as Black Power.¹²

Upon hearing news of Malcolm's visit to campus, Carmichael promised to lick envelopes and sweep floors so long as he garnered a front-row seat. The October 30th event was a debate between Malcolm X and Bayard Rustin, and it would become an instant legend. Carmichael did indeed make it to the front row of the debate; dressed in a suit and tie, he gazed intently at the

proceedings. In a few short years, after Malcolm's assassination, supporters and critics would practically anoint Carmichael as the slain leader's official political heir. But at the great debate, Carmichael could only watch in awe, along with his classmates, at the power of Malcolm X. Here was a man who at thirty-six years old had transcended a life scarred by childhood tragedy, juvenile crime, and almost seven years in prison to emerge as the most authentic working-class black leader of the twentieth century. NAG hosted Malcolm's visit through Project Awareness, a forum designed to present opposing views of hot-button issues. E. Franklin Frazier helped to negotiate the terms of Malcolm's appearance in the kind of behind-the-scenes maneuver that endeared him to campus radicals. Rustin had personally approached Malcolm with the idea after university administrators objected to the Nation of Islam minister delivering an unopposed lecture. "You'll present your views," said Rustin, "and then I'll attack you as someone having no political, social, or economic program for dealing with the problems of blacks." This last line represented a vintage Rustin provocation, one that Malcolm responded to accordingly: "I'll take you up on that."¹³

Project Awareness politicized Howard's campus. President James Nabrit's approval of the program signaled a breakthrough for a university whose most outspoken students decried its claustrophobic definition of academic freedom. Malcolm's impending arrival set the campus abuzz, especially as it came on the heels of Queens College canceling a planned appearance. Project Awareness cultivated the era's leading black cultural and political figures, including Harry Belafonte, novelists James Baldwin and John Oliver Killens, and actors Sidney Poitier and Ossie Davis. The project sought to expose middle-class students to radical figures who routinely made headlines yet rarely visited black colleges. Tom Kahn, a white, openly homosexual Howard student and Rustin disciple, led the student committee that crafted the speakers' forum. Mike Thelwell's friendship with Kahn helped him better appreciate Rustin's political wisdom. Howard's most politically radical and intellectually astute student activists became, in quick order, "Bayard Rustin people." On the eve of Malcolm's visit to campus, Stokely remained in Rustin's thrall.¹⁴

In person, Malcolm proved better than advertised. A capacity crowd of fifteen hundred jammed into the newly built Cramton Auditorium, while five hundred more listened outside over loudspeakers. Malcolm and Rustin each spoke for about thirty minutes, followed by a ten-minute rebuttal for each. Moderator E. Franklin Frazier lent intellectual gravitas to the event's

deliberately straightforward title, "Integration or Separation." At Howard, Malcolm extolled the value of economic self-determination as a sacred corollary to political empowerment. "When the Jews were discriminated against in Miami," he quipped, "they bought Miami Beach." The audience laughed at Malcolm's well-placed verbal jabs and exploded in applause throughout his talk. While Rustin criticized Malcolm's dreams of a separate black economy as vague and impractical, the minister contended that African Americans were "being used as political footballs in the token integration farce" designed to thwart a black revolution.¹⁵

Malcolm spoke in the biting parables of a working-class prophet. Blacks would never be equal citizens, he insisted, as long as they remained intent on occupying the white man's house, a place where they were neither wanted nor welcomed. "I don't believe the Freedom Ride on Route 40 is going to solve anything," he said defiantly. "I wouldn't want to tell my child someday that I had to beg a white man to let me eat in a restaurant." With the audience primed to erupt, he continued. "I would rather build a restaurant and say to him, 'Here's your restaurant.'" This last line unleashed furious applause that shook Cramton. "It was from this point that it can be dated," Carmichael recalled over a quarter-century later, "when nationalism took its firm root and became dominant" in NAG.¹⁶

Malcolm's lecture galvanized racial pride at Howard. He planted seeds of political conversion that would turn many in the audience, over time, into ardent black nationalists, committed Pan-Africanists, and lifelong political radicals. Carmichael took as much pleasure in Malcolm's physical presence as in the words he spoke. Thirty-five years later, he possessed instant visual recall of Malcolm striding onto the stage: a singular silhouette tracking him from above by spotlight as if he was a featured performer in the theater piece that was the debate. If Malcolm's physical swagger and intellectual bravado made a lasting impression on Carmichael, it evoked similar feelings campus wide. James Nabrit spoke for many when he described the entire affair as a "very thrilling evening" that contributed to Howard's intellectual mission of creating a new generation of critical thinkers. Nationally, black newspapers such as the *Baltimore Afro-American* and *Chicago Defender* covered the debate. Their reporters agreed that, despite their differences, Malcolm and Rustin spoke eloquently against the brutal effects of racial and economic injustice. *The Hilltop* offered a respectful assessment of Rustin as a stalwart foe overwhelmed by Malcolm's rhetorical genius. Over time, the debate would

grow in reputation and significance. Although Malcolm won the hearts of the student body on that late fall evening, Rustin would, for at least a while longer, retain the allegiance of its young organizers.¹⁷

Stokely dove into the kind of organizing that Malcolm scorned during his appearance. Still buzzing from Malcolm's lecture, Carmichael helped lead a contingent of two hundred Howard students as they launched a campaign to desegregate restaurants and public facilities along Route 40, the main drag out of Washington through Maryland. By this time, the local black leader Julius Hobson routinely called on him to organize troops to support CORE's latest plans for sit-ins and racial demonstrations. Carmichael's wide range of networks made him an effective organizer; with his intimate understanding of Howard's campus culture, he was able to entice recruits with promises of parties after their political work ended.¹⁸

As Carmichael and NAG led the organizing arm of the Route 40 protests, by November more than a thousand volunteers had joined the effort. On Saturday, November 11, carloads of Howard students staged sit-ins at fifty Baltimore-area restaurants. Volunteers from area colleges and universities fanned out in demonstrations to publicize the city's racial segregation. Stokely and Mary Lovelace were among seven Howard students arrested for picketing. Courtland Cox and Tom Kahn led a team of protesters through Baltimore's "Little Italy" waterfront. They drove through narrow streets teeming with neighborhood thugs and belligerent teenagers. Amidst the smell of pizza and the sounds of heavily accented immigrants screaming racial slurs at picketers, some school-age black kids in the crowd watched the commotion. Released from jail after one day, Carmichael announced that the demonstrations would resume the following Saturday.¹⁹

Malcolm X's appearance and the Route 40 demonstrations competed with news of Bob Moses' travails in McComb, Mississippi. In that small town, Moses was directing SNCC's first project in the Deep South. He recruited two others to head up a voter registration project, including Reggie Robinson, whom Stokely knew from Baltimore's SNCC affiliate. Within a month of arriving in McComb, Moses and Travis Britt were beaten, local black teenagers and movement supporters arrested, and, most tragically, Herbert Lee of Amite County was murdered by a pro-segregation legislator in Mississippi's House of Representatives. In the long term, Lee's death remains one of the major unpunished crimes of the civil rights era. In the short run, it galvanized SNCC. Reinforcements trickled into McComb in the form of new

SNCC chairman Chuck McDew, former chairman Marion Barry, and Bob Zellner, an Alabama native and the group's only white field secretary. NAG's Dion Diamond, now a full-time SNCC field secretary, helped to organize ad hoc classes for striking high school students, and SDS president Tom Hayden lobbied the Justice Department for protection for civil rights workers after he had been beaten in McComb while posing as a credentialed reporter in early October.²⁰

Later that month, *The New York Times* characterized the "Camellia City of America" as a "hard-core segregationist city." The story was accompanied by a map that highlighted tiny McComb's location as if both to satisfy reader curiosity and to offer proof that Mississippi remained part of the United States. By November, voter registration efforts in McComb ground to a halt, slowed by the arrests of Moses and McDew and the mass incarceration of 119 student supporters charged with disturbing the peace. From a Magnolia, Mississippi, jail, Moses smuggled out a letter that drew an incisive portrait of quiet determination in the face of racial injustice. In it, he described Mississippi as "the middle of the iceberg," where the sentencing judge extolled McComb's racial harmony, prisoners ate rice and gravy without forks and spoons, and local activist Hollis Watkins led the group in freedom songs that carried the predictive clarity of Old Testament prophets. SNCC's efforts in McComb offered a rough outline of the cost of grassroots direct action in the Magnolia State and would set the stage for the ambitious and era-defining Summer Project that Carmichael would help lead three years later.²¹

Compared to Moses' dramatic exploits in Mississippi, Carmichael regarded his own work as part of a secondary line of attack in a civil rights struggle whose main front raged in the South. News of Moses' courage under fire earned him Stokely's lasting respect and even a tinge of envy for Bob's having successfully tested his mettle under difficult circumstances. More than once that semester Carmichael asked himself, "Shouldn't we all be heading south to reinforce Bob's hard-pressed troops?"²²

CHAPTER FOUR

"The Movement Was My Fate"

January 1962–August 1963

AT THE END OF THE SEMESTER, CARMICHAEL MADE HIS USUAL PILGRIMAGE back to New York to spend the holidays with his family in the Bronx. Sporadic trips home, often accompanied by Mary Lovelace, provided welcome relief from his now established routine of attending classes and NAG meetings, intensive studying and cramming for exams, and demonstrations.

On January 21, 1962, shortly after returning to Howard, May Charles telephoned Stokely with the news that his father had died suddenly of a heart attack that afternoon. He was only forty. For the rest of his life, Stokely would blame Adolphus' death on America's toxic racial environment. "My father literally worked himself to death providing for us," he recalled. Adolphus' passing elicited a jumble of emotions in his son. Stokely alternately remembered Adolphus as an unsung working-class hero and a foolhardy believer in the American Dream. He felt ashamed of Adolphus' laid-back reticence in the face of institutional racism, feelings that occasionally burst forth in public interviews over the years before maturity allowed him to better understand his father's sacrifices. Stokely would carry the unfulfilled dream of his devoutly religious, taxicab-driving, carpenter father as a kind of bitter inheritance. Adolphus' death left him starkly aware of the fate that awaited too many black men who toiled within the hidden bowels of Jim Crow America. Like many young black men of his generation, Stokely revered his father even as he self-consciously patterned his own behavior on a model of masculinity that hewed closer to Malcolm X than to Adolphus Carmichael. Thirty-five years later, he would remember Adolphus as "a wiry, industrious man

32. Parks, "Whip of Black Power," p. 79; Carmichael with Thelwell, *Ready for Revolution*, pp. 247; Joseph, *Waiting 'Til the Midnight Hour*, pp. 124–127.
33. Bill Mahoney, "Sadism in a Southern Prison," *The Hilltop*, October 27, 1961, pp. 2, 6; Branch, *Parting the Waters*, p. 483; Lewis, *The Shadows of Youth*, pp. 102–103; John Lewis with Michael D'Orso, *Walking with the Wind: A Memoir of the Movement* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1998), p. 171. Carmichael with Thelwell, *Ready for Revolution*, p. 203. James Farmer, *Lay Bare the Heart: An Autobiography of the Civil Rights Movement* (New York: Arbor House, 1985), p. 23.
34. Carmichael with Thelwell, *Ready for Revolution*, pp. 202–204; David Oshinsky, *Worse Than Slavery: Parchman Farm and the Ordeal of Jim Crow Justice* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1997), pp. 235–236.
35. Farmer, *Lay Bare the Heart*, pp. 23–25.
36. Carmichael with Thelwell, *Ready for Revolution*, pp. 208, 210. Lewis, *Walking with the Wind*, p. 173.

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- All quotes from this paragraph, Carmichael with Thelwell, *Ready for Revolution*, pp. 210–211.
- Robert Penn Warren Carmichael Interview, pp. 36–38.
- Carmichael with Thelwell, *Ready for Revolution*, p. 214. Makeba, *Makeba*, p. 81. Carmichael with Thelwell, *Ready for Revolution*, pp. 213–15.
- Carmichael with Thelwell, *Ready for Revolution*, pp. 152–153, 217, 223.
- Winston A. Grady-Willis, *Challenging U.S. Apartheid: Atlanta and Black Struggles for Human Rights, 1960–1977* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2006), pp. 4–6; Lewis, *The Shadows of Youth*, pp. 75–77.
- Cynthia Griggs Fleming, *Soon We Will Not Cry: The Liberation of Ruby Doris Smith Robinson* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 1998), pp. 1–100.
- Branch, *Parting the Waters*.
- Carmichael with Thelwell, *Ready for Revolution*, pp. 241–242; FBIKT-100-446080-2X, "Stokely Carmichael," July 13, 1966, p. 1. See also Stokely Carmichael to Wyatt Walker, October 22, 1961, pp. 1–2, SCLC, part 2, Reel 4, frame 42.
- The Hilltop*, October 6, 1961, p. 2. Stokely Carmichael, "We've Got Red Blood . . . and Heart," *The Hilltop*, October 6, 1961, p. 4.
- Charlie Cobb Interview, December 17, 2002, pp. 1–10.
- Ibid.*, p. 6.
- Joseph, *Waiting 'Til the Midnight Hour*, pp. 15–18; Peniel Joseph, *Dark Days, Bright Nights: From Black Power to Barack Obama* (New York: Basic Books, 2010), pp. 35–38; Manning Marable, *Malcolm X: A Life of Reinvention* (New York: Viking, 2011).
- Stokely Carmichael Interview, November 7, 1988, p. 5. Southern Regional Council (SRC), "Will the Circle Be Unbroken?" Jervis Anderson, *Bayard Rustin: Troubles I've Seen* (New York: Harper Collins, 1997), p. 237; Marable, *Malcolm X*, pp. 185–186.
- The Hilltop*, October 27, 1961, p. 6. Anderson, *Bayard Rustin*, pp. 236–237.
- Carmichael with Thelwell, *Ready for Revolution*, pp. 260–261. *The Hilltop*, November 10, 1961, pp. 4, 3.
- Baltimore Afro-American*, November 11, 1961, p. 8. Stokely Carmichael Interview, November 7, 1988, p. 4. SRC, "Will the Circle Be Unbroken?"
- Carmichael with Thelwell, *Ready for Revolution*, p. 259. *The Chicago Defender*, November 11, 1961, p. 8. *The Hilltop*, November 10, 1961, p. 2.
- Cox Interview, p. 6.

- The major protest was called off after the Maryland Commission of Interracial Problems and Relations announced that almost three-dozen eating establishments would serve blacks starting on November 22. *The Hilltop*, November 17, 1961, p. 4.
- The Chicago Defender*, October 14, 1961, p. 2.
- The New York Times*, October 21, 1961, p. 24. Cleveland Sellers with Robert Terrell, *The River of No Return: The Autobiography of a Black Militant and the Life and Death of SNCC* (Jackson: University of Mississippi Press, 1990), pp. 52–53.
- Carmichael with Thelwell, *Ready for Revolution*, pp. 242–243; *The Hilltop*, December 1, 1961, pp. 3–4.

Chapter Four: "The Movement Was My Fate"

- All quotes in paragraph, Carmichael with Thelwell, *Ready for Revolution*, p. 246.
- Ibid.*, pp. 246–249. *The Hilltop*, March 23, 1962, pp. 1, 3; *Baltimore Afro-American*, March 24, 1962, p. 1.
- Stokely Carmichael, "We Shall Not Be Moved," *The Hilltop*, March 23, 1962, pp. 2–3.
- The Hilltop*, May 18, 1962, p. 2.
- FBIKT 100-446080-2X, "Stokely Carmichael," July 13, 1966, p. 278. Carmichael with Thelwell, *Ready for Revolution*, p. 310. Stokely lauded Moses as the man who "taught me a lot of philosophy" that went beyond purely intellectual pursuits. Carmichael with Thelwell, *Ready for Revolution*, p. 311; Bob Moses Interview, pp. 5–6.
- Cobb Interview Part 1, pp. 15–18. Carmichael with Thelwell, *Ready for Revolution*, pp. 278–280.
- Carmichael with Thelwell, *Ready for Revolution*, p. 281.
- Ibid.*, p. 283.
- John Dittmer, *Local People: The Struggle for Civil Rights in Mississippi* (Champaign: University of Illinois Press, 1995), p. 127. Carmichael with Thelwell, *Ready for Revolution*, p. 283.
- Charles Payne, *I've Got the Light of Freedom: The Organizing Tradition and the Mississippi Freedom Struggle* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), pp. 127–131.
- Dittmer, *Local People*, pp. 134–136; J. Todd Moyer, *Let the People Decide: Black Freedom and White Resistance Movements in Sunflower County, Mississippi, 1945–1986* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004).
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- Cleve Sellers Interview, 12–14–09, pp. 6–7. Sellers, *The River of No Return*, pp. 57–61.
- Sellers Interview; Faith S. Holsaert, "Resistance U," in Holsaert et al., eds., *Hands on the Freedom Plow*, p. 184.
- The Hilltop*, February 22, 1963, pp. 1–2, 5.
- All quotes in this paragraph are from *ibid.*, March 8, 1963, p. 4 and March 16, 1963, pp. 1–2.
- Ibid.*, March 22, 1963, pp. 1, 6.
- The student council officially endorsed NAG's application for recognition that spring. See *ibid.*, March 16, 1963, p. 1 and April 1, 1963, p. 1.
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- Ibid.*, p. 338. Sharon Harley, "The Chronicle of a Death Foretold: Gloria Richardson, the Cambridge Movement, and the Radical Black Activist Tradition," in Bettye Collier-Thomas and V. P. Franklin, eds., *Sisters in the Struggle: African American Women in the Civil Rights–Black Power Movement* (New York: New York University Press, 2001). Peter B. Levy, *Civil War on Race Street: The Civil Rights Movement in Cambridge, Maryland* (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 2003), pp. 87–88, 104. Lewis, *Walking with the Wind*, pp. 212–213.