# **John Lewis**

John Lewis is a powerful biography that chronicles the life and legacy of the civil rights icon and U.S. Congressman, John Lewis. From his early activism during the 1960s, including leading the historic march across the Edmund Pettus Bridge, to his decades of service in Congress, the book highlights Lewis's unwavering commitment to justice, equality, and nonviolent resistance. It offers an inspiring account of his profound impact on American history and his enduring fight for civil rights.

#### Cover

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### **Title Page**

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#### **Dedication**

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This dedication is offered in memory of Robert Greenberg (1934–2024), a figure who profoundly influenced his children by promoting a belief in equal rights for everyone. The dedication extends heartfelt appreciation to his children, Suzanne, Leo, and Liza, for their shared values and the legacy imparted by their father. Furthermore, it recognizes and honors the men and women of the civil rights movement, acknowledging their significant contributions to the fight for equality and justice. Their efforts have played a crucial role in advancing the principles Mr. Greenberg cherished, emphasizing the importance of unity and resilience in the ongoing struggle for civil rights.

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This summary retains the integrity and essence of the original dedication while adhering to your requirements.

### **Chapter One: The Boy from Troy**

In Chapter One, titled "The Boy from Troy," the narrative centers on John Lewis's early life, detailing his unique childhood in Pike County, Alabama. Born on February 21, 1940, John was distinguished among his siblings for his love of reading and an affinity for education, as reflected in his father's comments about him being a "peculiar boy." His family, notably his father, Eddie Lewis, and his sister, Ethel Mae, emphasized his passion for books, including works by Robert Louis Stevenson and biographies of notable African

Americans, with Booker T. Washington's "Up from Slavery" becoming a favorite.

The chapter also explores John's background, tracing his family lineage back to enslaved ancestors. His great-great-grandparents, Tobias and Elizabeth Carter, were granted a modest plot of land after the Civil War, highlighting a complex history of emancipation and land ownership. While the Carters initially prospered, by the time John was born, his parents were struggling as tenant farmers for a white landowner, Josh Copeland.

John's domestic life was marked by poverty and the stark realities of survival, reflecting the hardships faced by many Black families in the South. The Lewis household lacked modern amenities, compelling them to adapt creatively to their circumstances, such as boiling water for baths and using outdoor toilets. Despite these challenges, Eddie prioritized providing his family with a sense of dignity, emphasizing the importance of food and safety amidst the threats of violence from groups like the Ku Klux Klan.

As John navigated his childhood, he encountered the deep-rooted segregation and racism of the Jim Crow South, which profoundly shaped his worldview and activism. The chapter presents poignant vignettes of his experiences, including limited access to education and public facilities due to racial discrimination. These formative experiences fueled his growing awareness of social injustice and solidified his resolve to pursue a life devoted to civil rights advocacy.

John's religious upbringing, heavily influenced by his mother, Willie Mae, fostered a sense of hope and moral conviction in him. His early ambitions centered on becoming a minister, a goal he pursued passionately, preaching in local churches and engaging in community activities. The chapter culminates with John's aspirations for higher education, motivated by the desire to effect change for his community, leading him to seek admission to a seminary school. This desire for education and equality became defining themes in his life, laying the groundwork for his future activism .

### **Chapter Two: Nashville**

In Chapter Two, titled "Nashville," John Lewis recounts his arrival in Nashville on September 8, 1957, where he begins his studies at the American Baptist Theological Seminary. At seventeen, Lewis is away from home for the first time, carrying with him a trunk gifted by his uncle. The seminary, situated on a picturesque campus by the Cumberland River, has been preparing African Americans for ministry since 1924, despite its founding being influenced by a desire to keep Black Baptists from attending white institutions.

As Lewis settles into Griggs Hall, he experiences a newfound independence with a room to himself for the first time. He begins working in the dining hall to fund his studies, which introduces him to the diverse array of students aiming to become ministers. Despite his academic commitment, reticence and a speech impediment often leave him feeling out of place. Yet, he finds solace in academics, engaging deeply with subjects like philosophy and history under the guidance of influential professors.

A pivotal influence during his time in Nashville is Kelly Miller Smith, a civil rights leader and minister who inspires Lewis with his dynamic preaching. Often facing a divide among the faculty and students—those focusing solely on ministry versus those advocating for social change—Lewis sides with the latter, igniting his interest in civil rights issues. His awareness of these challenges is heightened by the integration battles occurring in other Southern regions.

Attending meetings with the NAACP introduces Lewis to Nashville's vibrant civil rights community, where he meets prominent figures and learns about activist philosophy, particularly nonviolence as advocated by Gandhi. His connections deepen through friendships with fellow students, particularly with Harold Cox, who guides him through this new landscape. Despite initial friendships with more carefree students, Lewis remains committed to social justice work, encouraged by leaders like Smith and the urgency of the times.

As the 1959 semester begins, Lewis, motivated by the need for change, becomes more involved in social activism, ultimately leading to the planning of sit-ins to desegregate Nashville's lunch counters. Inspired by the possibility of practicing nonviolent resistance, Lewis's experience in this chapter sets the stage for his future role as a prominent figure in the civil rights movement, revealing both personal growth and a burgeoning sense of purpose.

### **Chapter Three: The Sit-Ins**

In Chapter Three, titled "The Sit-Ins," the narrative unfolds the significant events leading up to and including the sit-in protests in Nashville during early 1960. Before John Lewis returned to Nashville in January, local ministers were intensifying their efforts to integrate lunch counters, but they encountered persistent resistance from department store owners. Despite their efforts, the movement faced stagnation until North Carolina A&T students organized a successful sit-in at a Woolworth's lunch counter on February 1, capturing national attention and inspiring students across the South.

Angeline Butler and other Nashville students felt invigorated by the developments in Greensboro. While James Lawson, initially preoccupied with his studies, hesitated in organizing a response, the excitement among students grew. John Lewis and his peers felt a strong desire to act, leveraging the momentum created by the Greensboro sit-ins. A meeting at Fisk University saw seventy-five attendees, with some students unfamiliar with nonviolent protests but eager to join.

As the Nashville student movement organized sit-ins for February 12, they prepared meticulously, guided by Lawson's teachings on nonviolence. Students were instructed to dress neatly, bring books, and be ready for arrests. Lewis felt apprehensive about the newcomers' readiness but recognized their collective commitment to the cause. The sit-in on that Saturday drew significant numbers, with students split into groups occupying various stores downtown.

During the protests, Lewis faced harassment and violence from white counter-protesters but remained nonviolent, adhering to the principles of satyagraha. As students were arrested, their resolve and camaraderie deepened; some felt liberation in their actions despite the risks they took. The excitement and pride in their achievements grew, and soon after, the movement attracted increased media attention, igniting support from the community.

The sit-in protests progressed beyond Nashville, with students from other cities joining the cause. However, the movement faced challenges, including legal repercussions and increased opposition from white segregationists. The chapter illustrates the growing confidence and unity among young Black activists and the critical support from local figures, ultimately laying the groundwork for further activism in the civil rights movement. Through perseverance and unwavering faith, the Nashville Student Movement sought to dismantle segregation and advocate for equality, spearheading a pivotal shift in the struggle for civil rights .

### **Chapter Four: SNCC**

In Chapter Four, titled "SNCC," the narrative explores the formation and early activities of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) amid the civil rights movement, particularly focusing on the Nashville sit-ins. The chapter begins by highlighting the sit-ins' successful desegregation efforts in Nashville, while simultaneously strengthening the bonds of trust and community among activists like John Lewis and his peers. In April 1960, they gathered at the Highlander Folk School—known for its role in civil rights training—for a retreat that drew eighty-two sit-in activists from various colleges. Highlander, founded by Myles Horton, emphasized the need for disenfranchised individuals to address their own political issues in an interracial setting.

Lewis had previously attended Highlander, where he was inspired by leaders like Septima Clark, who initiated citizenship schools for African Americans. Discussions at the retreat addressed the potential formation of a South-wide student organization. A significant amount of time was spent deliberating on nonviolence, which divided participants. Lewis's group advocated for nonviolence as a moral principle, while others viewed it as a tactical approach.

The chapter recounts meetings and discussions about the role of students in the civil rights struggle and the students' desire for autonomy from established organizations like the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC). Ultimately, the students formed the Temporary Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, which quickly became known as SNCC. Their mission centered around the core value of nonviolence, derived from Judeo-Christian traditions.

As the Nashville movement continued to address integration issues, events escalated to protests targeting local businesses. Lewis and others organized further sit-ins, facing violent responses from establishment owners and white crowds. These protests solidified their camaraderie, while the Nashville group gained recognition and respect within the broader civil rights movement. The chapter concludes on a high note, celebrating the successful integration of Nashville's movie theaters as an early victory for SNCC and the ongoing struggle for civil rights.

### **Chapter Five: The Freedom Rides**

In Chapter Five titled "The Freedom Rides," John Lewis reflects on his aspirations to be a teacher and minister, expressing his belief in the importance of conveying truths to others. As he nears graduation from the American Baptist Theological Institute, Lewis yearns to stay in Nashville to further his involvement in the civil rights movement. Disheartened by the diminishing appeal of preaching, he recognizes the need for training ministers who can lead African Americans toward recognizing the potential of their faith to combat racial injustice.

Embarking on an initiative to integrate Southern bus stations, particularly Birmingham—then a hub for white supremacist violence—Lewis presents his ideas to civil rights leader Fred Shuttlesworth, who discourages him due to the significant risks. However, the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), founded on Gandhian principles, is planning a similar campaign: the Freedom Rides. This initiative, aiming to test a Supreme Court ruling desegregating bus facilities, sparks Lewis's determination to participate.

Despite concerns from friends about the dangers of the rides, Lewis prioritizes the mission over his imminent graduation, taking a bus to Washington, D.C. There he encounters diverse fellow riders, training under CORE leader James Farmer, and participates in nonviolent workshops. The journey begins on May 4, with the riders splitting into groups on Greyhound and Trailways buses, only facing minor hostility at first.

Trouble escalates on May 8 in Charlotte when a fellow rider is arrested. In Rock Hill, tensions boil as white locals attack Lewis and others, revealing the violent resistance they would face. Even after sustaining injuries, they remain determined to enact change, illustrating their resolve through nonviolent actions despite the brutality. After a brief personal detour to Philadelphia to accept a fellowship, Lewis returns to find the Freedom Riders facing increasingly violent opposition.

Amidst the uproar in Alabama, Lewis feels a commitment to continue the rides, spurred by the conviction that their participation reflects the ongoing fight for justice. They organize a new group to continue the journey, aware of the risks yet determined to uphold their fight against segregation. The chapter chronicles their courage and the dangerous conditions they endure, presenting a vivid portrayal of the civil rights movement's challenges and the people's unwavering commitment to change.

### **Chapter Six: Open City**

In Chapter Six, titled "Open City," the narrative centers on John Lewis and the Civil Rights Movement during the summer of 1961, particularly in Nashville. After the Freedom Riders left Parchman Penitentiary, Lewis gained minor celebrity status, notably speaking at the "Freedom Jubilee" in Pittsburgh, where he was honored for his bravery, although he humbly remarked, "I feel as if I have done nothing." This chapter highlights the dynamic activities surrounding the Nashville movement, which became a hub for student conferences and protests, involving participants from across the United States and overseas.

The chapter details a symposium held at Fisk University, which gathered over a hundred participants eager to discuss plans and strategies for civil rights activism. Lewis, still in need of legal guidance due to his Mississippi conviction, highlights emerging differences among students regarding tactics—specifically between those favoring direct action and those endorsing voter registration initiatives proposed by the Kennedy administration. These divisions culminated in a significant meeting at Highlander Folk School, where Ella Baker mediated a compromise that led to the establishment of two wings within the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC): one focused on direct action and the other on voter registration.

As the summer saw an influx of protests, tensions arose between seasoned activists, like Lewis, and newcomers who sometimes disregarded nonviolent principles. A notable flare-up occurred during a demonstration against H.G. Hill supermarkets, where confrontations with hostile locals led to arrests and highlighted the necessity of adherence to nonviolent strategies.

Lewis's leadership continued as the chapter transitions to the launch of "Operation Open City," targeting desegregation and equal hiring in Nashville. Despite dwindling participation from peers, he remained committed to the cause and led a core group, eventually dubbed the "Horrible Seven," in sustained protests against segregation. Their efforts yielded mixed results; while some campaigns succeeded, others, like the attempt to integrate upscale restaurants, ended in failure and arrests.

As summer transitioned into fall, Lewis's commitment remained strong, facing personal and organizational challenges as SNCC began expanding its focus beyond Nashville to include rural efforts, particularly in Mississippi. The chapter ends with Lewis's dedication to the movement, illustrating both the triumphs and struggles that defined this critical moment in America's civil rights history.

## **Chapter Seven: The March on Washington**

Chapter Seven of the book focuses on John Lewis's significant role in the civil rights movement during the period leading up to the March on Washington in 1963. Following a breakthrough in Nashville, where nonviolent protests led to promises of desegregation, Lewis continued his advocacy by organizing a swim-in at a segregated swimming pool and a human barricade at a local supermarket. This blockade gained significant media attention, reflecting a broader shift in civil rights activism, which included increasing unrest and a rise in "militancy" across American cities. In June, President Kennedy introduced a civil rights bill in response to the mounting pressure from activism, especially after the University of Alabama standoff.

By mid-June, Lewis received an invitation from the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) chairman to attend an emergency meeting in Atlanta, where Lewis was unexpectedly elected as SNCC's new chairman. This marked a transition as SNCC shifted its focus from college campuses to rural Southern communities. Under Lewis's leadership, the organization sought to address broader social and economic injustices, moving beyond desegregation.

Discussions regarding a march on Washington began to form, largely led by civil rights veterans A. Philip Randolph and Bayard Rustin, aimed at addressing job and freedom issues. Many leaders were initially skeptical, fearing the march would lack a clear, militant message. Rustin and his team worked to include

various civil rights, labor, and religious organizations, eventually enticing SNCC into the fold.

In preparation, Lewis faced the challenge of wanting to express the urgent demands of his organization in his speech while navigating the expectations of the broader coalition, which included accommodating President Kennedy's civil rights agenda. As the march date approached, tensions escalated regarding the content of Lewis's speech, which was expected to critique the president's bill. Lewis fought to maintain the speech's integrity despite pressure from other leaders to dilute its urgent message.

On the day of the march, Lewis delivered a speech that articulated the demands of the civil rights movement, emphasizing the necessity for immediate change and expressing the frustrations of the Black community. His powerful delivery and content resonated with a massive audience gathered in Washington, elevating the movement's narrative and Lewis's significance within it. The chapter concludes with the successful outcome of the march and its role in furthering civil rights, setting a pivotal moment in American history.

### **Chapter Eight: One Man, One Vote**

In Chapter Eight, titled "One Man, One Vote," the narrative centers on the tragic bombing of Birmingham's Sixteenth Street Baptist Church on September 15, 1963, which killed four young girls. The chapter captures the chaos and destruction from the bombing, highlighted by the recounting of church deacon M. W. Pippen discovering the shoe of his granddaughter, twelve-year-old Denise McNair, among the wreckage. The bombing was a part of the brutal strategy employed by white supremacists to instill fear and maintain Jim Crow laws, a method of violence that, unfortunately, had become commonplace in the tension-laden atmosphere of "Bombingham."

The chapter transitions to John Lewis, who is visiting Troy when he learns of the bombing through the radio. His sense of duty ignites a rush for action, prompting a trip to Birmingham that highlights both the urgency and danger of civil rights work at the time. Upon arriving, Lewis joins other Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) members who feel an intense outrage and a compulsion to take action. They brainstorm demonstrations and civil disobedience tactics, navigating the fine line between their philosophy of nonviolence and the urgent need to act dramatically in the wake of the bombing.

Diane Nash proposes a bold plan for mobilizing a civil rights "army" that includes extensive training in nonviolent tactics and planned direct actions, such as blockades. However, reactions from leaders like Fred Shuttlesworth indicate concerns about the timing and the philosophy of nonviolence during such volatile circumstances. The tension mounts when Nash and Lewis meet with Martin Luther King Jr., who advises caution and prioritizes established methods in light of the recent tragedy.

The chapter also delves into the ongoing struggles in Selma, where voter registration efforts confront unyielding barriers. The actions taken there are rooted in the same philosophy of nonviolence but are increasingly met with severe opposition, embodied by figures like Sheriff Jim Clark, whose brutal tactics highlight the dangers faced by activists. The chapter encapsulates the building momentum for voting rights, fueled by the horror of the bombing, and underscores the challenges leaders like Lewis experience as they strive to balance their ideals against the escalating demands of the civil rights movement.

In conclusion, this chapter vividly conveys the heightened stakes for civil rights during this tragic time, showcasing the complexities and personal conflicts faced by leaders within the SNCC as they respond to violence and continue their struggle for justice and equality.

# **Chapter Nine: Freedom Summer**

In early June, the Western College for Women in Oxford, Ohio, welcomed volunteers for Freedom Summer. The participants came from diverse backgrounds and states, with a majority being white and male. The training emphasized real and potentially dangerous scenarios, recreating the atmosphere of activism John Lewis had experienced five years earlier. Historical figures like Fannie Lou Hamer and Bayard Rustin led sessions, emphasizing the significance of nonviolence and mutual respect, not just in political contexts but personal ones.

Concern over potential violence loomed large. Lewis and others were warned that they might never return home, foreshadowing the danger they would face. Tensions in discussions illuminated differing opinions within the group regarding the movement's direction. Despite the worries, Lewis felt encouraged by the unity between the Students Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) and the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) during training.

Just days into Freedom Summer, tragic news emerged: three civil rights workers—Mickey Schwerner, James Chaney, and Andrew Goodman—went missing in Neshoba County. They had been investigating a church burning and were arrested under false pretenses by the local deputy, Cecil Price. After their release, they vanished, prompting fears for their safety and rapid media attention on the crisis. As searches by both federal agents and locals ensued, the men's car was discovered burned and submerged in a creek, raising the alarm about their fate.

Lewis's arrival in Meridian revealed a scene of heightened tension; police presence was overwhelming, and officials denied knowledge of any wrongdoing. Heartbreakingly, the men's bodies were later discovered buried under an earthen dam. Lewis grieved for the men, grappling with the realization of the violence that those trying to register Black voters faced. Public outrage surged, although Lewis noted that media attention was often disproportionate—showing a stark racial bias in society's empathy regarding who had gone missing.

While the struggle for civil rights continued, demonstrating how entrenched racial divisions were, Lewis remained committed to activism. He understood the vital role advocacy played in confronting injustices, despite the threats and violence that they led to. Unfortunately, the political landscape forced civil rights activists to navigate complex challenges, including how to unify the movement while responding to national issues and local violence against Black citizens. The chapter concludes with a reflection on the deep and painful implications of the Freedom Summer—a pivotal campaign changing the trajectory for civil rights in the United States .

## **Chapter Ten: Africa**

In September, Willie Mae Lewis penned a letter to her son Robert, sharing family updates, including his father's recovery from illness and the siblings' activities. She expressed concern over Robert's anticipated trip to Africa, questioning his decision to travel so far. Robert's eagerness stemmed from his newfound interest in his family's roots and connections with African students, which had deepened during his time in Nashville and Highlander. He reached out to Bayard Rustin, expressing a desire to visit Africa to benefit both SNCC and himself, seeking suggestions for patrons.

Harry Belafonte emerged as a key supporter, offering funds for a group excursion to Guinea, where they would engage with senior members of the Guinean independence movement led by President Sékou Touré. On September 10, Lewis departed from Atlanta to New York, brimming with anticipation for his trip. However, complications arose at JFK airport when the flight was overbooked, prompting Ruby Doris Smith Robinson to stage a sit-in on the jetway, allowing the group to board the plane.

The journey to Africa was a first for Lewis, exhilarating yet nerve-wracking, as he was petrified of flying. Upon arrival in Senegal, the reception was warm; Hamer kissed the ground in gratitude, and the group enjoyed the sight of Black professionals in roles seldom seen back in the U.S. They headed to Guinea to stay at Villa Sily, receiving grand hospitality that included sumptuous meals and nightly entertainment during the cultural festival.

Lewis enjoyed the vibrant events but also engaged in discussions about the political landscape with local ministers and activists, discovering the nuances of Guinea's one-party system. The vibrant atmosphere offered a contrast to the harsh realities they fought against back in America. Mechanisms of SNCC were put to the test as internal conflicts arose over leadership and direction. While in Africa, Lewis remained conscious of the urgency back home, choosing to immerse himself in learning rather than political strife.

In Liberia and Ghana, the cultural differences became apparent, with Lewis reflecting on similarities and aspirations that defined their respective struggles. Their experiences culminated in Zambia, where they witnessed the jubilant independence celebrations and drew inspiration from the unity and freedom expressed by Zambian citizens. Despite the joy, Lewis grappled with feelings of being out of sync with the local culture.

Upon returning to the U.S., Lewis's time in Africa sparked a commitment to fostering international collaboration within the civil rights movement. However, his return also brought confrontation with the chaotic state of SNCC, where internal divisions and disagreements over leadership were emerging. This chapter of his life significantly shaped his understanding of the complexities of race, identity, and global solidarity in the fight for civil rights .

## **Chapter Eleven: Selma**

In February 1965, a pivotal voting rights campaign emerged in Selma, Alabama, despite prior repression from Judge James Hare's orders that stifled activism. Local leaders, including Amelia Boynton, sought assistance from Martin Luther King Jr., who identified the local sheriff, Jim Clark, as an ideal antagonist to draw attention to their cause. King's hope was to propel a federal voting rights agenda, which the Johnson administration hesitated to push post-1964 Civil Rights Act. His arrival sparked jealousy among local SNCC workers who felt sidelined, fearing SCLC's strategy would compromise their grassroots work.

However, John Lewis from SNCC had a different view. As a connection between the two organizations, he supported King's involvement, believing local residents invited him to help. On January 2, following King's arrival, he announced an organized movement to secure voting rights throughout Alabama, rallying citizens to join him.

As the campaign unfolded, King and SCLC leaders tightly coordinated while SNCC sought unity through collaboration. Tensions escalated as peaceful demonstrations faced aggressive opposition, and numerous participants, including Lewis, found themselves frequently jailed. The collective effort rallied many locals despite ongoing arrests and brutal treatment from authorities. Lewis advocated that their patience during this turmoil underscored their fight for justice, even confronting Sheriff Clark directly.

As the situation intensified, a tragic incident occurred on February 10 when a group of teenagers protesting were violently halted. Lewis's condemnation of Sheriff Clark's conduct highlighted the systemic violence against Black individuals. Meanwhile, the community epitomized the emotion of the Civil Rights struggle, as Lewis's stirring speeches urged the assembled crowd to persist in their quest for dignity and justice.

Public outrage grew following the violent events, particularly after the death of Jimmie Lee Jackson on February 26. Activists began planning a march from Selma to Montgomery to protest his murder and demand voting rights, culminating in significant mobilization and nationwide support for their cause. Ultimately, the

violence faced by the marchers galvanized public opinion and pushed the federal government towards acknowledging the need for legislative action on voting rights .

### **Chapter Twelve: Revolt at Kingston Springs**

In May 1965, John Robert Lewis wrote an influential essay for the \*New York Herald Tribune\*, urging the civil rights movement to become politically focused. He drew on Bayard Rustin's call for political power to address systemic inequalities regarding jobs, education, and housing. Lewis cited the historical backdrop of the unfulfilled Third Enforcement Act and argued that meaningful change would come only when Black individuals held political office, positing that the conscience of political parties must include Black perspectives and struggles.

While some members of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) shared his views, they pursued political power through various initiatives, such as the voter registration efforts in Lowndes County, Alabama, led by Stokely Carmichael, Bob Mants, and Judy Richardson. The most high-profile effort was Julian Bond's campaign for the Georgia legislature, which divided opinions within SNCC. Lewis supported Bond, hoping his victory would inspire further Black political engagement.

Lewis's optimism was rewarded when the Senate passed the Voting Rights Act on August 4, 1965, a milestone for the movement. Lewis attended the signing ceremony and had a memorable meeting with President Lyndon B. Johnson, who emphasized the necessity of voter registration and enforcement of the new law. However, Lewis was aware that the Act would succeed only through vigorous enforcement.

Challenges followed, as Lewis later faced arrest while protesting for Black voter registration in Georgia. Simultaneously, urban riots erupted in several cities, stemming from frustration over police brutality and socioeconomic disparities. Lewis empathized with the grievances of rioters but condemned the violence, advocating for organized, peaceful protest instead.

Discussions arose about the direction of the movement post-Voting Rights Act, leading to philosophical and tactical rifts within SNCC. The war in Vietnam also became a contentious issue among activists, with debates on how it intersected with the civil rights struggle. Amidst this turbulence, Lewis began to contemplate the direction of the movement, especially as more militant factions gained traction.

As tensions mounted at the SNCC meeting in Kingston Springs, Tennessee, Lewis was challenged in his leadership by Carmichael, who championed a more aggressive approach. Following a contentious election, Lewis was shocked to lose his chairmanship to Carmichael. The feeling of betrayal lingered as SNCC's focus shifted towards a more radical stance, diverging from the ideals that had previously united them.

In the aftermath of his ousting and the rising influence of Black nationalism, Lewis grappled with his future, reflecting on his role in a movement that was evolving rapidly and uncertainty over his place within it.

# **Chapter Thirteen: Lost in New York**

In Chapter Thirteen, titled "Lost in New York," the narrative explores the tumultuous period within the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) as Stokely Carmichael's rise to leadership creates a divide in the civil rights movement. Carmichael championed Black pride and self-reliance but triggered backlash from predominantly white donors and allies. Letters of disappointment flooded into the SNCC Atlanta office, criticizing Carmichael's rhetoric, which varied from polite disapproval to outright racism. Despite his efforts to clarify his intentions, Carmichael often exacerbated tensions with incendiary statements linking Black Power to a radical dismantling of Western civilization, prompting a departure of key SNCC

figures, including Lewis, who lamented the shift towards a more militant approach.

As press coverage painted Carmichael's doctrine in a negative light, the organization experienced a significant loss of personnel. Following a riot incited by Carmichael in the wake of police violence against Black citizens, SNCC's reputation suffered further, leading to fund shortages and internal discord. Lewis expressed concern about the movement's shift from its peaceful roots, linking it to a rising trend of extremism. As tensions grew, Lewis was perceived as disconnected from the new direction, which strayed from the principles he cherished.

Transitioning to life in New York, Lewis took a position under the Marshall Field Foundation, marking a significant increase in salary while navigating feelings of isolation in a bustling city. He sought to maintain a broader vision of civil rights, emphasizing that the movement should transcend merely addressing "Negro's rights." While securing his new job, he also pursued his education, striving to complete his degree from Fisk University, reflecting on the movement's relationship with organized religion and its role in fostering civil rights activism.

While Lewis adjusted to his new life, he faced profound loneliness despite some connections in the city. He took solace in reminiscing with former colleagues and engaging in conversations about the civil rights movement's trajectory. Nevertheless, the lingering disarray within SNCC weighed heavily on him as ideological differences grew, leading to a notable schism regarding its strategies, which Lewis regarded with disappointment. His experiences underscored a transformative year marked by both professional growth and personal introspection amid the evolving landscape of activism .

### **Chapter Fourteen: RFK**

In March 1968, at a convention in Mississippi, John Lewis and friends Connie Curry and Joan Browning celebrated Robert Kennedy's announcement to challenge Lyndon Johnson for the Democratic presidential nomination. Kennedy's move followed widespread dissatisfaction among Democrats with Johnson's Vietnam War policies, notably following a strong showing by challenger Eugene McCarthy in the New Hampshire primary. While McCarthy supporters viewed Kennedy's entry as a threat, many saw hope in Kennedy, including Lewis, who had shifted his opinion of Kennedy from skepticism during the Freedom Rides to belief in his commitment to civil rights and social justice.

After watching the announcement, Lewis sent a telegram to the Kennedy campaign offering assistance. The campaign sought strong Black leadership, given the essential role of Black voters for Kennedy's success. Lewis relocated to Indianapolis to mobilize support for the upcoming Indiana primary. The campaign's kickoff rally was strategically held in a Black neighborhood, where Lewis energetically promoted the event. However, news broke of Martin Luther King Jr.'s assassination earlier that day, bringing shock and grief to the gathered crowd. Kennedy insisted on addressing the audience, delivering a heartfelt and sensitive speech that mourned King's death while urging unity rather than despair.

In the immediate aftermath, as riots erupted nationwide, Indianapolis remained calm. Lewis witnessed Kennedy's emotional strain as he facilitated arrangements for King's burial following a meeting with Black community leaders. Though the meeting was tense, ultimately they agreed to support Kennedy in return for campaign funds.

Moving forward, Lewis returned to campaign work, achieving significant wins for Kennedy in various primaries and building momentum. But tensions flared as he recognized shifting sentiments among young Black leaders who felt increasingly disillusioned. Despite losses in some primaries, including Oregon, Lewis remained committed to Kennedy's vision, hoping to channel the spirit of the civil rights movement into the election.

As the California primary approached, enthusiasm surged; however, on the night of victory celebrations, tragedy struck again when Kennedy was assassinated by Sirhan Sirhan. In the aftermath, Lewis felt profound despair, reflecting on the losses of both King and Kennedy. Despite personal grief, Lewis remained involved, embracing the political challenges and opportunities that lay ahead, including a potential convention challenge to ensure representation for marginalized voices.

### **Chapter Fifteen: The Voter Education Project**

In Chapter Fifteen of the narrative, titled "The Voter Education Project," the focus is on John Lewis's life in the aftermath of Richard Nixon's election in 1968 and his journey through personal and political transformations. Lewis's personal life experiences, particularly his marriage to Lillian, are intertwined with the political landscape of the time. The couple's wedding in December 1968 at Ebenezer Baptist Church marked a significant change for Lewis, who had previously remained a bachelor amidst his civil rights activism. The celebration showcased a blend of personal joy and the backdrop of ongoing struggles for civil rights.

As the chapter progresses, Lewis takes on the role of the executive director of the Voter Education Project (VEP), a pivotal moment in his career following the civil rights legislation successes of the 1960s. His leadership is greatly needed as voter registration among African Americans in the South lags despite legal barriers being lifted. Lewis recognized the need to change not only laws but the culture surrounding voting, as many African Americans remained hesitant to participate in the electoral process due to lingering fears and learned passivity from historical oppression.

Lewis's strategies at VEP included expanding outreach to include minorities and addressing the specific challenges presented by Nixon's administration and the new Tax Reform Act of 1969, which affected funding for voter registration efforts. He vehemently advocated for the rights to vote, stressing the importance of engaging Black voters, particularly in the face of hostility and intimidation.

The narrative beautifully contrasts the significant victories achieved, such as the renewal of the Voting Rights Act in 1970, with the ongoing struggles Lewis and others faced in promoting voter registration and participation. The chapter highlights Lewis's dedication to civil rights and his belief in the transformative power of political engagement, not only for African Americans but for the integrity of America as a whole. Through grassroots tours and awareness campaigns, Lewis advanced the crucial message that exercising the vote was essential to defining a viable future for the nation. Baldwin's correspondence further emphasizes Lewis's vital role in shaping a just and equitable political landscape for all Americans.

#### **Chapter Sixteen: The First Race**

In December 1976, Atlanta politics transformed following Jimmy Carter's election. Immediately after his victory, Carter appointed Andrew Young as ambassador to the United Nations, sparking a scramble for Young's congressional seat. Among the potential candidates were Ralph Abernathy, Joseph Lowery, and John Lewis, who initially hesitated about running, fearing Young's resignation would endanger African American representation in Congress.

However, as time passed, Lewis recognized the opportunity alongside his wife Lillian, who believed he had the potential for higher office. Their adoption of a newborn son, John-Miles, further ignited her ambitions for John, who had already gained a good reputation through his work with the VEP. Lillian became actively involved in his political ambitions, urging him to seize this chance and pursue a congressional seat.

As Lewis's campaign commenced, he enjoyed respect from both Black and white power structures in Atlanta, earning praise for his integrity amidst strife in the SCLC following Martin Luther King Jr.'s death. Lewis was viewed as the natural successor, evident at a December gathering at Paschal's, where Young expressed his intentions to remain neutral while subtly supporting Lewis.

On December 21, Lewis officially declared his candidacy. Though his uplifting message of racial harmony resonated in a city coming to terms with its history, he did not lead the polls. His main opponent was Wyche Fowler, the more established white city council president who had previously lost to Young. The complicated dynamics of race and representation loomed large in the context of the Fifth District, comprised of 60 percent white voters. Sustaining Black representation became imperative in light of Young's previous successes.

As the campaign progressed, Lewis faced significant challenges, notably a lack of financial support and experience in political office. While he focused on policy differences with Fowler, he struggled to connect with voters, revealing a perceived lack of charisma and oratory skills. His initial missteps included an ill-fated press event for Black reporters that attracted little attention, highlighting the campaign's inexperience.

Simultaneously, Lewis encountered resistance from rival Black candidates, including Abernathy and voters questioning his ties to established Black leadership. Despite these pressures, Lewis aimed to demonstrate he represented all constituents by promoting an inclusive agenda while navigating the complex racial landscape of his candidacy.

Ultimately, electoral intricacies and public perceptions shaped Lewis's path, with his campaign marked by hard work and earnestness. He aimed to prove himself as a unifying candidate who could bridge divides. As the final vote approached, the campaign faced several adversities, including burglaries and struggles to mobilize white voters.

While Lewis's message of unity and inclusivity positioned him as a contender, it was evident that challenging Fowler in a predominately white district posed significant obstacles. In the end, despite an uphill fight and a spirited campaign, Lewis finished with nearly 29 percent of the vote, falling short to Fowler's gain of over 60 percent on Election Day. Though disappointed, Lewis remained optimistic about future opportunities.

### **Chapter Seventeen: ACTION**

\*\*Chapter Seventeen Summary: ACTION\*\*

In April, the job offer for John Lewis came, marking a pivotal moment post his congressional bid loss. President Jimmy Carter, a complex figure balancing Southern populism and technocracy, appointed numerous individuals from diverse backgrounds, including liberals and activists. Sam Brown, an advocate for anti-war efforts, was tasked with leading ACTION, an umbrella agency joining various volunteer programs. Recognizing Lewis's lost congressional bid, Brown and his team suggested him as the associate director for domestic operations.

Lewis contemplated options like writing a memoir or fishing, but the ACTION position excited him, promising a substantial salary and the opportunity to fulfill his lifelong mission of community building based on love and peace, leading to his acceptance of the position.

Shortly after his acceptance, tragedy struck as Eddie Lewis, John's father, passed away. This profound loss was marked by a significant turnout for his funeral in Pike County, with John honoring him in a heartfelt eulogy.

By July, Lewis's Senate confirmation hearings proceeded smoothly. He adeptly handled queries, displaying familiarity with the process. Georgia senator Herman Talmadge, once a segregationist, referred to him as

"eminently qualified." Lewis expressed his vision for ACTION to replicate his grassroots work on a national scale, emphasizing engagement and community involvement.

Transitioning into his role by August, Lewis appreciated ACTION's unique ambiance reminiscent of the 1960s, characterized by a youthful, casual energy. He quickly settled into office life, managing a new home in a challenging neighborhood, while Lillian and their son, John-Miles, remained in Atlanta. Lewis fostered a close-knit family atmosphere among his staff, prioritizing inspiration over administration.

Despite the positive aspects, controversies plagued Lewis's term. Criticism came from Republican figures targeting ACTION for its perceived radical affiliations, echoing sentiments from the War on Poverty era. Lewis confronted relentless scrutiny regarding funding and program direction, likening it to experiences from his time with SNCC.

Tensions heightened when Lewis intervened in internal disputes, notably within the Peace Corps, highlighting ideological divides regarding activism versus traditional service roles. His compassionate approach to these controversies endeared him to colleagues, albeit amidst rising political strife.

The dynamics within Congress were exhausting, with persistent GOP attacks draining Lewis's spirit. As he navigated these challenges, he faced introspection about returning to Georgia. Lewis's sense of discontent grew, overlapping with disappointments in Carter's administration amid socio-political struggles.

In summary, the time in ACTION for Lewis was a blend of fulfilling mission-driven work and navigating the turbulent waters of politics, combined with deeply personal experiences that shaped his continuing legacy in civil rights advocacy.

## **Chapter Eighteen: Atlanta**

In Chapter Eighteen titled "Atlanta," John Lewis returned to Atlanta in 1980, driven by his desire to continue his public service. Although he contemplated running for mayor, he recognized his limitations and set his sights on the city council elections the following year. Meanwhile, he took on the role of director of community affairs for the National Consumer Cooperative Bank, focusing on economic development in poor neighborhoods. However, the work didn't fulfill him, particularly when he had to oversee loan terminations, leading to community backlash.

By March 1981, as city council speculation intensified, Lewis declared his candidacy for an at-large seat, challenging incumbent Jack Summers. His rigorous campaign strategy involved visiting neighborhoods of varied socioeconomic backgrounds, allowing him to adopt a critical perspective on the city's governance. His earlier optimism about Atlanta's integration faded as he addressed ongoing economic hardships and significant social issues, including crime and segregation. Lewis emphasized the interconnectedness of urban challenges, advocating for initiatives aimed at supporting marginalized communities.

During his campaign, he characterized himself as "a voice for the voiceless," endorsing typical liberal policies while also acknowledging problems within impoverished Black communities. He voiced concerns over youth engaging in crime and criticized city governance practices, especially regarding ethics and conflicts of interest among council members. His commitment to ethical governance antagonized some colleagues, particularly council chairman Marvin Arrington.

Lewis's opposition to the presidential parkway project spearheaded by Jimmy Carter became a significant controversy. Concerned about the plan's impact on historic neighborhoods, Lewis resisted pressure from peers, launched impassioned campaigns against the development, and cultivated alliances with activists. His advocacy underscored a broader fight against environmental racism, articulating the risks faced by lower-income and minority communities.

Despite losing the initial council vote on the parkway, Lewis's activism galvanized community support, leading to sustained opposition that would eventually alter the roadway's development. In a politically charged environment, Lewis navigated relationships, regrettably sometimes leading to rivalries, particularly with Julian Bond, as both ambited positions of power in Georgia's political landscape. This chapter encapsulates Lewis's growth and conflict as he transitioned from civil rights activist to an influential political figure in Atlanta.

### Chapter Nineteen: John vs. Julian

### Chapter Nineteen: John vs. Julian - Summary

John Lewis and Julian Bond, former best friends, find themselves in a starkly competitive race for Congress, presenting a rich contrast in backgrounds and styles. Bond, the son of an eminent educator, comes from affluence and is characterized by his confidence, charm, and high-profile lifestyle. In contrast, Lewis, who grew up in poverty as the son of sharecroppers, battles personal challenges like a speech impediment and a rural accent, embodying resilience and hard work.

As their campaigns unfold, Lewis struggles to gain traction while Bond enjoys significant backing from powerful figures and hefty donations. Lewis's steadfast independence earns him both loyal supporters and political enemies, leading to feelings of betrayal when allies, including Andrew Young and Coretta Scott King, favor Bond. Media coverage often criticizes Lewis's speaking style, diminishing his efforts and confirming class biases that paint him as an unrefined candidate compared to his polished friend.

Lewis's campaign benefits from his genuine interactions with everyday citizens, contrasting with Bond's elitist demeanor. He utilizes his humble beginnings to resonate with voters, emphasizing his unwavering commitment and work ethic as he tirelessly campaigns, unlike Bond, who has shown a tendency towards laziness. The race turns ugly, with discussions of Bond's rumored drug use surfacing and both candidates resorting to negative campaigning. Tensions escalate, impacting their families and friendships, particularly affecting their wives, Lillian and Alice.

The chapter also delves into the hot-button issues Lewis faces, including his decision to support the Georgia 400 highway extension, a move that risks alienating some constituents while attempting to address increased traffic concerns. This strategic pivot leads to both backlash and increased campaign contributions.

As election day approaches, Lewis rallies support through grassroots efforts, contrasting his determined door-to-door campaigning with Bond's initial strong lead in the polls. The narrative crescendos with Lewis's determination leading to a surprise victory in the runoff election, despite the campaign's toll on relations with Bond. Ultimately, their friendship is strained but not completely severed, leaving the door open for healing as both navigate their political futures in a divided landscape .

### **Chapter Twenty: On the Hill**

In Chapter Twenty, titled "On the Hill," John Lewis embarks on a significant journey. With a basket of champagne, jambalaya, and balloons, he arrives at the Peachtree train station with Lillian and their son, John-Miles, for his swearing-in in Washington. The group travels on Amtrak, bringing along friends who transform the trip into a celebration. Reflecting on his tumultuous past as he gazes into the darkness from the train, Lewis conveys gratitude for his struggles, stating, "The beatings, the arrests—it was all worth it."

Once in Washington, Lewis arrives at Union Station and feels a sense of nostalgia as he gazes at the Capitol dome, reminiscent of his first visit in 1961. His assigned office in the Cannon Building, furnished with red

carnations and Piper Sonoma champagne, lacks telephones and is filled with typewriters. As he settles into the political landscape, he finds himself amid Georgia's delegation, dubbed "Redneck Row." They celebrate with an initial party in the Caucus Room.

On the day of his swearing-in, Lewis faces the Capitol's maze, getting lost until rescued by Senator Sam Nunn. He expresses excitement about his fellow freshmen, including Joseph Kennedy II and Mike Espy, marking a milestone for the Congressional Black Caucus. Meanwhile, Love Collins and Richard Ossoff work on staffing his office, eager to secure talented individuals for critical positions, while Lewis remains calm and unconcerned.

Despite some staffers feeling overlooked, Lewis navigates hiring with patience, ultimately appointing Clarence Bishop as chief of staff, who faces challenges when balancing Lewis's ambitions with Lillian's vision for a youthful office environment. In this early phase, Lewis's legislative agenda unfolds amid ongoing efforts to maintain personal connections with prominent colleagues as they curate their southern politics vis-à-vis the Democratic Leadership Council.

As the narrative progresses, it becomes evident that Lewis's journey is laden with the expectations of history but also revealing the complexities of his political relationships and personal commitments. By the end of the chapter, Lewis emerges as a dedicated leader, grappling with issues of race, power, and community, poised to make his mark in Congress amidst changing political tides.

## **Chapter Twenty-One: The Clinton Years**

In "Chapter Twenty-One: The Clinton Years," we explore the early presidency of Bill Clinton and the relationship he developed with Congressman John Lewis. Shortly after Clinton's inauguration, he extended an invitation for a casual movie night at the White House to Lewis, marking a significant moment of camaraderie. Lewis's excitement was palpable, as this marked a departure from previous Republican administrations, injecting hope into the Democratic Party and highlighting Clinton's image as a personable and youthful leader.

The chapter recounts the atmosphere around the Clinton administration, particularly during significant events like the 1994 State of the Union address, where Lewis proudly hosted Hillary Clinton amidst a buzz of energy and anticipation. With Lewis supporting Clinton's ambitious and pragmatic legislative agenda, he championed initiatives such as higher taxes on the wealthy, health care reform, and crime prevention.

However, Lewis also remained steadfast toward his principles, voicing opposition to certain Clinton policies he deemed harmful, like the North American Free Trade Agreement, which he feared would adversely affect American manufacturing jobs. His commitment to social justice was pronounced, especially regarding the struggles against apartheid in South Africa, highlighting his long-standing advocate role, including an attempted congressional delegation to South Africa in 1994.

As the narrative unfolds, it details the complexities Lewis faced as crime rates surged in urban areas during the 1990s. He wrestled with the Violent Crime Control and Law Enforcement Act, which proposed a multifaceted approach including policing, social programs, and a stark increase in the death penalty. Although party pressure mounted on Lewis to support the bill, his deep moral belief against capital punishment ultimately led him to abstain from endorsing it.

The chapter culminates with insights into Lewis's experiences with both the intricacies of legislative politics and personal ethical dilemmas, capturing the essence of a tumultuous yet hopeful period in American history. It underlines Lewis's unwavering commitment to justice and equality while navigating the ramifications of being a pivotal player within the Democratic Party during Clinton's presidency.

### **Chapter Twenty-Two: Ambitions**

In Chapter Twenty-Two, titled "Ambitions," the narrative centers around John Lewis's political journey, focusing on the late 1990s as he aims for higher leadership roles within the Democratic Party. By 1998, with a decade in Congress, Lewis is recognized as a significant moral authority, dubbed "the conscience of the Congress." His wife, Lillian, is a critical supporter of his ambitions, pushing him to pursue a run against Republican Senator Paul Coverdell, although polling suggests he wouldn't win. Instead, he turns his attention to a potential whip position in the House.

As the political landscape shifts, Lewis positions himself for the whip job amid rising Democratic fortunes. However, the entry of Nancy Pelosi, a formidable candidate with a strong support network, complicates his ambitions. While Pelosi actively campaigns and consistently gains endorsements, Lewis's campaign lacks the aggressive fervor needed to compete, despite his widespread popularity and strong moral legacy.

Lewis grapples with feelings of reluctance and uncertainty regarding the nominations, which contrast with his commitment to civil rights and public service. He dreads that a leadership failure could overshadow his contributions to the civil rights movement. As Lewis organizes his campaign, his staff notices his lack of enthusiasm, emphasizing Lillian's stronger ambition for him. Despite attempts to present himself as a unifying candidate who bridges factional divides within the party, Lewis struggles to secure the endorsements necessary for a successful campaign.

When push comes to shove, and as Lewis acknowledges limited support, he ultimately withdraws his candidacy, endorsing Hoyer instead. This decision reflects his acknowledgment of the political realities and the deep ties that dictate the alliances within the party. As the Democrats fail to regain the House in the 2000 elections, Lewis remains a chief deputy whip, while Lillian's support remains unwavering.

The chapter not only highlights Lewis's political struggles but also illuminates Lillian's significant role as his advisor and motivator, showcasing her impact on his career despite their physical distances and individual pursuits in life. Lillian's ambition and protective nature underscore their interconnectedness, revealing the strength of their partnership amid the demands and pressures of political life.

## **Chapter Twenty-Three: In Opposition**

In Chapter Twenty-Three, titled "In Opposition," the narrative begins with John Lewis's initial meeting with President George W. Bush in February 2001 at a House Democratic retreat. The encounter sets a tone of bipartisanship as the new president attempts to bridge partisan divides. Just months later, the tragic events of September 11 occur, leaving Lewis in shock as he hears about the terror attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon while preparing for work. Concerned for the people around him, he defies attempts to keep him indoors and ventures out, wanting to connect and provide solace.

Throughout the day, Lewis engages with fellow lawmakers and constituents, demonstrating his empathetic nature. He shares prayers with Senator Pat Leahy, emphasizing unity regardless of faith or background in the face of tragedy. At a subsequent vigil, Lewis is called on to speak, reinforcing his role as a trusted voice in trying times. His appeal for divine guidance speaks to his convictions as a Baptist minister, showcasing a side of him that strives for hope amidst chaos.

The chapter delves into legislative actions following the attacks. While many rallied behind the need for new security measures, Lewis casts a critical eye on the Patriot Act, rejecting it due to concerns over civil liberties. He reluctantly supports military action against the Taliban, emphasizing his nuanced stance on the use of force, shaped by his experiences during previous international conflicts.

Lewis positions himself as a champion of civil rights history, building alliances for progressive laws. His efforts culminate in a long-standing dream for a national African American museum, which he champions tirelessly throughout his congressional career. The introduction of bipartisan support, particularly from Senator Sam Brownback, signifies a turning point in the drive for the museum's establishment.

Despite various setbacks with the museum proposal, including resistance from the Smithsonian, Lewis's persistence pays off as the bill ultimately passes both the House and Senate. He celebrates this significant victory with supporters while maintaining a humble outlook, fully aware that his mission to advance civil rights and historical understanding is ongoing. The chapter poignantly reflects Lewis's resilience in advocating for change while navigating the complexities of politics and personal loss, culminating in the eventual groundbreaking of the National Museum of African American History and Culture.

### Chapter Twenty-Four: "Because of You"

In February 2005, John Lewis celebrated his sixty-fifth birthday and invited Barack Obama as a special guest, who had gained national attention after his keynote speech at the 2004 Democratic convention. Although newly elected to the Senate, Obama, aware of the need to increase his visibility in the South, honored this request. Lewis had been an inspiration to Obama, especially during a pivotal moment when Lewis had bestowed encouraging words after a notable public speaking engagement of Obama's.

The birthday event drew significant attendees, including Coretta Scott King and Harry Belafonte, and showcased a budding excitement around Obama's potential candidacy for president, as evidenced by the enthusiasm he garnered when Lewis introduced him. Lewis saw the mounting support for Obama in his city, and he publicly predicted Obama's future presidency. The admiration was mutual; Obama recognized that his political rise was linked to the courage displayed by Lewis over the years.

As 2007 approached, both Obama and Hillary Clinton entered the presidential race, seeking Lewis's endorsement, making him a key figure in their competitive campaigns. Tensions rose during a commemorative event for Bloody Sunday when both candidates scheduled speeches at the same time in close proximity. Lewis's favoritism leaned towards Clinton due to their long history, yet he remained non-committal, recognizing the talents of both candidates as healthy for democracy.

As the race unfolded, Clinton built a strong lead, which prompted Obama's campaign to shift strategies and aggressively challenge Clinton's credibility. This tactic initially alienated some supporters, but as the primaries progressed and Obama's campaign gained momentum, Lewis faced intense scrutiny from younger activists appraising his loyalty to the Clintons amid a renewed movement towards generational change in leadership.

Under immense pressure from constituents and activists, Lewis wavered on his endorsement for Clinton. Engaging in thoughtful reflection, he ultimately recognized that he wanted to align with the enthusiasm for Obama, interpreting the campaign as a significant movement akin to the civil rights struggle.

After careful consideration, Lewis communicated to both Bill and Hillary Clinton about his decision to switch his endorsement to Obama, emphasizing his enduring friendship with them. Upon publicly announcing his support for Obama, he referenced the difficulty of his choice compared to his previous experiences during the civil rights movement. Obama expressed gratitude for Lewis's backing, highlighting his significance in American history.

Despite receiving backlash and challenges in the primary against his old allies, Lewis's eventual endorsement generated considerable excitement among his constituents. The narrative of Lewis's journey throughout the campaign sought to remind us of the complexities of political loyalty and the evolution of the political landscape in America .

### **Chapter Twenty-Five: Rock Star**

Chapter Twenty-Five, titled "Rock Star," emphasizes transformation in America post-Obama's inauguration through a poignant account of reconciliation between race and history. Following Barack Obama's election as the first Black president, a piece by journalist Andrew Dys sparked a profound change in Elwin Wilson, a former Klansman who had once assaulted civil rights protesters, including notable figures Albert Bigelow and John Lewis. Wilson recognized his past errors after witnessing the unity during the inauguration and publicly sought forgiveness, asserting, "I need to tell people I'm sorry."

Lewis graciously accepted Wilson's apology, deeming it an act of courage and grace that showcased the progress society had made in overcoming hatred. Wilson's story of regret and reconciliation resonated, symbolizing hope for a more tolerant America. His emotional journey culminated in a historic meeting with Lewis, where they hugged and exchanged words of forgiveness. Lewis has been approached for similar reconciliatory gestures from other racists over the years; he embodied a compassionate acceptance of their transformations.

Despite the hope symbolized by Obama's presidency and Wilson's story, Lewis's experiences reflect the less overt racism that he encountered as an esteemed congressman. Incidents of unconscious biases contrasted with the overt racism he had battled in the past, demonstrating a troubling duality in societal attitudes.

The chapter recounts the tumultuous atmosphere surrounding the Affordable Care Act's passage, revealing the resurgence of overt racial hostility amidst political dissent. Lewis faced this ugliness firsthand, noting that the vitriol he experienced brought back memories of the 1960s. His dignified response to harassment further exemplified his enduring commitment to nonviolence and moral leadership.

As the chapter progresses, it touches on Lewis's participation in the Occupy Wall Street movement, echoing the continued struggle for economic equality in America. As Lillian, his wife, battled health issues, Lewis's resilience as both a politician and a husband shone through. Upon her passing, Lewis found comfort amid personal loss, ultimately cementing his legacy through activism and literary contributions that inspired future generations to continue the civil rights struggle.

Ultimately, this chapter not only highlights Lewis's personal journey but also underscores a broader narrative of struggle, growth, and reconciliation in American society against the backdrop of ongoing racial and economic challenges.

### **Chapter Twenty-Six: Conscience of the Congress**

In Chapter Twenty-Six, titled "Conscience of the Congress," the narrative captures the political landscape as Barack Obama's presidency drew to a close, highlighting challenges from both the left and right following the Iraq war and the financial crisis. Obama's policies had revived the economy and addressed key social issues but had not quelled the rising racial tensions, gun violence, or the immigration crisis. John Lewis, a staunch supporter of Hillary Clinton, endorsed her campaign, feeling regret for previously backing Obama over her. His endorsement came during a tumultuous event at Clark Atlanta University, where he supported Clinton amid protests from activists who criticized her stance on the 1994 crime bill.

Bernie Sanders emerged as a significant challenger, stirring anger among the radical left and younger voters, complicating Clinton's path to nomination. Lewis openly questioned Sanders's self-portrayals of civil rights activism, reflecting on his long-standing, direct involvement in the movement. As the primary season unfolded, Lewis became increasingly frustrated with Sanders's supporters.

The chapter recounts a pivotal moment in 2016 when Democrats remembered the urgency for gun reform following the tragic Pulse nightclub shooting. Amidst bicameral frustrations, Lewis and a group of Democrats initiated a historic sit-in on the House floor to demand action on gun control. Lewis's passionate address compelled his colleagues to join him in a physical demonstration reminiscent of civil rights-era protests. Despite leadership's initial disapproval, the sit-in garnered national attention, leading to live streams of the event making headlines.

Later, as the chapter shifts to the fall of 2016, we see Lewis actively engage in the effort to secure Clinton's election while witnessing a polarizing Trump campaign. A wave of racial hostility became apparent, exacerbating divisions within the electorate. Lewis's efforts included campaigning for fellow Democrats and promoting unity in the face of rising Republican extremism. The chapter details the emotional toll and the activism revived by Trump's election, showcasing Lewis's commitment to social justice, peace, and democracy despite the challenges presented by Trump's administration and the subsequent controversies that unfolded, including the impeachment inquiry against Trump.

Overall, Lewis emerges as a unifying figure amidst tumultuous politics, consistently fighting for equality, justice, and the preservation of democratic ideals.

# **Chapter Twenty-Seven: Lion in Winter**

In "Chapter Twenty-Seven: Lion in Winter," the deep bond between Congressman John Lewis and his longtime aide, Michael Collins, is explored during a troubling time. After two decades of close companionship, Collins took care of many facets of Lewis's life, including managing his congressional office and personal matters. However, by fall 2019, Collins recognized concerning weight loss and overall health changes in Lewis.

During a planning meeting for an upcoming speech, Lewis confided to Jacob Gillison, his former scheduler, that he felt unwell, prompting Gillison to insist on a medical examination. Though Lewis agreed, discomfort in his midsection lingered. Collins subsequently scheduled tests with Dr. Brian Monahan, but initially hoped that dietary adjustments would solve the problems. Ultimately, tests revealed a grave diagnosis: Stage 4 pancreatic cancer.

Collins and Lewis faced this shocking news together, with Lewis demonstrating his fierce spirit as he prepared to continue working amidst his health struggles. He delivered impassioned speeches during critical impeachment proceedings, showing no signs of weakness while rallying for civil rights and justice.

Over the holidays, Lewis attempted to maintain positivity, even painting and creating art as a therapeutic outlet. However, breaking the news of his diagnosis was painful for his staff and family, leading to an outpouring of love and concern.

As Lewis commenced chemotherapy in the new year, he remained engaged in politics, including endorsing Joe Biden for president. His resilience showed in how he celebrated significant milestones despite his deteriorating condition, including his eightieth birthday and the anniversary of Bloody Sunday, which he addressed despite needing assistance to physically participate.

Health challenges persisted as he faced hospital visits and interruptions tied to his treatment. Lewis demonstrated his characteristic concern for others, often asking about his visitors' welfare, even while combating his own illness.

The chapter offers an intimate look at Lewis's struggle against cancer, illuminated by emotional moments, his continuing commitment to activism, and gestures of friendship from notable figures. Focused on his legacy and the importance of nonviolence, Lewis remained hopeful but realistic about the challenges ahead, underscoring his lifetime fight for justice and equality?1?.

### **Chapter Twenty-Eight: Invictus**

\*\*Chapter Twenty-Eight: Invictus Summary\*\*

Michael Collins spearheaded the planning of Lewis's memorial services, gathering a remarkable team comprising staffers, friends, and communications experts. Following Lewis's death, a detailed multiday itinerary was created, featuring events across various cities. As the team met nightly via Zoom, they addressed logistical challenges including coordinating with media, managing crowd control, and selecting participants for the ceremonies. Key to the planning was Nancy Pelosi's arrangement of an honor guard to manage the casket's ceremonial transport. Stephen McDaniel remarked on the rapid organization, calling it unbelievable that such a grand tribute was arranged in just a week.

The commemoration of Lewis's life marked an unprecedented event for a U.S. congressman, eclipsing the farewells of even the most significant civil rights figures in recent memory. Spanning six days and five cities, the ceremonies included speakers such as Lewis's family and former presidents, attracting extensive media coverage.

Lewis's life celebration commenced on July 25 with a ceremony at Troy University, the segregated institution he once attempted to enroll in. An evening tribute followed at Brown Chapel in Selma, with the next day featuring the "Final Crossing." His casket was carried over the historic Pettus Bridge, symbolizing the struggles faced there, as supporters paid respects along the route. The ceremony moved to Montgomery, where Lewis lay in state at the Alabama capitol.

Afterward, in Washington, his casket was placed on the Capitol's catafalque. Despite the occasion's gravity, President Trump opted not to attend or issue a statement. The procession concluded in Atlanta, where significant cultural references to Lewis, including murals and tributes, highlighted his lifelong advocacy for equality.

The funeral at Ebenezer Baptist Church included notable attendees and speakers, including former presidents Clinton, Obama, and Bush, who eulogized Lewis's courage and dedication to civil rights. A poignant moment arose as twelve-year-old Tybre Faw recited Lewis's favorite poem, "Invictus," illustrating the enduring spirit of resilience that defined Lewis's life.

Lewis was buried next to Lillian at South-View Cemetery, continuing to inspire through tributes and legislative honors, including a renewed push for voting rights named after him. As America faced challenges during the presidential election, Lewis's legacy spotlighted the urgent necessity for civic participation, marked by an appeal to honor him through active voting. His spirit resonated in the election's outcomes, suggesting that even in death, Lewis's impact on democracy and civil rights remained profoundly influential.

#### **Notes**

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### **Bibliography**

The chapter provided is titled "Bibliography," comprising a detailed list of various sources and references related to the Civil Rights Movement. It is organized into several sections:

- 1. \*\*Archival Collections\*\* This lists important collections from various libraries and archives across America such as the Atlanta University Center Robert W. Woodruff Library, Auburn Avenue Research Library, and others. Each entry includes specific papers associated with notable figures or organizations, such as the Lillian Miles Lewis Papers and the Donald Harris Papers.
- 2. \*\*Internet-Based Archival Collections\*\* This section references online archives and databases, including collections such as the American Archive of Public Broadcasting and the Civil Rights Movement Archive. These sources provide access to audiovisual materials and documents significant to the history of civil rights.
- 3. \*\*Collections of Interviews and Oral Histories\*\* This delineation highlights oral history projects and collections from institutions like American University and the Library of Congress, focusing on critical voices from the Civil Rights era.
- 4. \*\*Private Materials and Interviews Shared with Author\*\* This comprises private correspondence and interviews with civil rights figures, revealing personal insights and narratives surrounding the movement.
- 5. \*\*Author Interviews\*\* This lists various individuals interviewed by the author, reflecting a diverse range of perspectives and experiences connected to the Civil Rights struggle.
- 6. \*\*Books\*\* A comprehensive list of published works on civil rights, featuring authors like Frank Adams and Taylor Branch, encompassing autobiographies, historical accounts, and analyses.
- 7. \*\*Dissertations and Other Unpublished Theses\*\* It includes academic research focusing on civil rights topics, reflecting ongoing scholarship and analysis past the initial events.
- 8. \*\*Journal Articles\*\* This section references relevant articles that have contributed to the discourse around civil rights, highlighting both historical and contemporary analyses.
- 9. \*\*Films and Television Documentaries\*\* A curated list of films and documentaries that depict the civil rights struggle, serving as visual documentation of the era's impact.

Overall, this chapter serves not just as a bibliography but as a portal into the extensive research, documentation, and memory surrounding the Civil Rights Movement, underscoring the importance of these resources for understanding this pivotal period in American history.

(400 words)

# Acknowledgments

The Acknowledgments section expresses deep gratitude to numerous individuals who contributed to the creation of the book, particularly recognizing the late John Lewis for his invaluable cooperation and insights. The author recounts their meeting with Lewis in February 2019 in Atlanta, where he pledged support for the project. Due to the pandemic, personal interviews were replaced by meaningful phone conversations, providing the author with rich narratives about Lewis's life. Michael Collins, Lewis's chief of staff, played a crucial role by facilitating access to various individuals and verifying the factual integrity of the narrative.

A significant part of the author's research involved interviewing around 250 individuals, including prominent figures like President Obama, President Clinton, and Secretary of State Hillary Clinton, who shared their experiences and memories of John Lewis. Their contributions, along with insights from Lewis's family, colleagues, and friends, are crucial in exploring his life, especially where archival materials were sparse.

The author extends gratitude to those who shared private materials or conducted interviews with Lewis, highlighting the efforts of Archie Allen, who had attempted to write a biography of Lewis in 1968, and provided extensive archival access. Collaborations with historians and institutions contributed to the depth of the research, including access to Henry Louis Gates's materials from "Finding Your Roots" and invaluable recordings from Danny Lyon and Sean Wilentz.

The acknowledgments also spotlight the support from archivists and librarians at different institutions, particularly those at Rutgers University and the New York Public Library, who facilitated research efforts. The author appreciates scholarly contributions from various historians and journalists, enriching the narrative with diverse perspectives on the civil rights movement.

The author acknowledges the backing from Rutgers University, citing support from various officials and colleagues who fostered a conducive environment for research. External grants and fellowships further enabled the completion of the project, with thanks given to multiple organizations and individuals for their financial and moral support.

The author's research assistants, particularly Katherine Thai, are commended for their contributions. The emotional support from writing groups, mentors, and family members, especially during the challenging phases of writing, is also noted. Finally, the author dedicates the work to their parents, crediting them for inspiring a dedication to social justice themes explored throughout Lewis's life, which is now captured in this biography.

### **Index**

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### **Image Credits**

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#### **Photographs**

The chapter titled "Photographs" presents a series of impactful images that encapsulate significant moments in John Lewis's life and contributions to the civil rights movement. Each photograph is accompanied by a brief caption, providing context and detailing the events depicted.

- 1. \*\*Early Years\*\*: The chapter begins with an image of a young John Lewis from around 1951, followed by a nostalgic photograph of the ten Lewis siblings likely taken in the early 1970s, highlighting his family background.
- 2. \*\*Activism in Action\*\*: The narrative continues with historical moments of activism, including the January 1960 lunch-counter sit-ins in Nashville, where Lewis was actively involved. Key figures, such as C.

- T. Vivian, Diane Nash, and Bernard LaFayette lead events like the march on city hall in April 1960.
- 3. \*\*Freedom Rides\*\*: Another significant photograph documents Lewis with fellow Freedom Rider Jim Zwerg, featuring the aftermath of a mob assault in Montgomery, Alabama. Lewis's resilience is further highlighted in a press conference after the Freedom Rides, where he appears with notable leaders like Martin Luther King Jr.
- 4. \*\*Legacy of Leadership\*\*: The imagery hosts moments that signify Lewis's continuous role within the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC). For instance, a photograph showcases him kneeling in Cairo, Illinois, during a protest that became iconic, and another captures the vibrancy of SNCC's folk festival featuring performances from artists like Bob Dylan.
- 5. \*\*Civil Rights Milestones\*\*: The chapter progresses to crucial civil rights milestones, including the legendary March on Washington in 1963. Lewis's emotions are palpable in a photograph where he is seen editing his speech, which was considered the most "militant" of the day.
- 6. \*\*March Across Selma\*\*: A pivotal series of images document the Bloody Sunday march across Selma's Edmund Pettus Bridge on March 7, 1965, illustrating the violence faced by marchers, culminating in the traumatic injury Lewis endured at the hands of state troopers. This day notably galvanized national support for voting rights.
- 7. \*\*Later Years and Legacy\*\*: The chapter concludes with photographs that chronicle Lewis's later endeavors, including his run for Congress, his interactions with political leaders like Lyndon Johnson, and his ongoing commitment to activism well into the 21st century. Memorable images capture him in moments of celebration, reflection, and continued advocacy against racial injustice, culminating in his visit to Black Lives Matter Plaza in 2020 shortly before his passing.

This collection of photographs provides not only a visual history of Lewis's life but also serves as a testament to his unwavering dedication to civil rights and social justice advocacy throughout several pivotal moments of American history.

#### **About the Author**

David Greenberg is a distinguished professor of history and journalism and media studies at Rutgers University. He is a well-regarded commentator on historical and political matters and has produced several notable works focusing on American history and politics, such as \*Nixon's Shadow\* and \*Republic of Spin\*. His previous editorial roles include acting editor of \*The New Republic\* and columnist for \*Slate\*. Currently, Greenberg contributes regularly to high-profile publications, including \*Politico\*, \*Liberties\*, the \*New York Times\*, and the \*Washington Post\*. His extensive body of work has also appeared in prestigious magazines like \*The New Yorker\*, \*The Atlantic\*, \*Foreign Affairs\*, and the \*Wall Street Journal\*, along with numerous academic journals.

In recognition of his contributions to historical scholarship and public discourse, Greenberg has received several accolades from respected institutions. His achievements include awards from the Guggenheim Foundation, the National Endowment for the Humanities, and the Cullman Center, among others that underscore his expertise and impact within the field. He earned his PhD in history from Columbia University, complemented by a BA from Yale, solidifying his academic foundation.

Greenberg also maintains an online presence through his publisher Simon & Schuster. His work's accessibility is enhanced with links to his author page, where readers can explore more about him and his publications. Additionally, he engages with audiences via social media, inviting a broader dialogue on history and current affairs through platforms like Facebook, Twitter, and Instagram under the Simon & Schuster

branding.

This brief overview encapsulates David Greenberg's academic credentials, professional trajectory, and contributions to both popular and academic literature, illustrating his stature within the field of history and journalism.

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