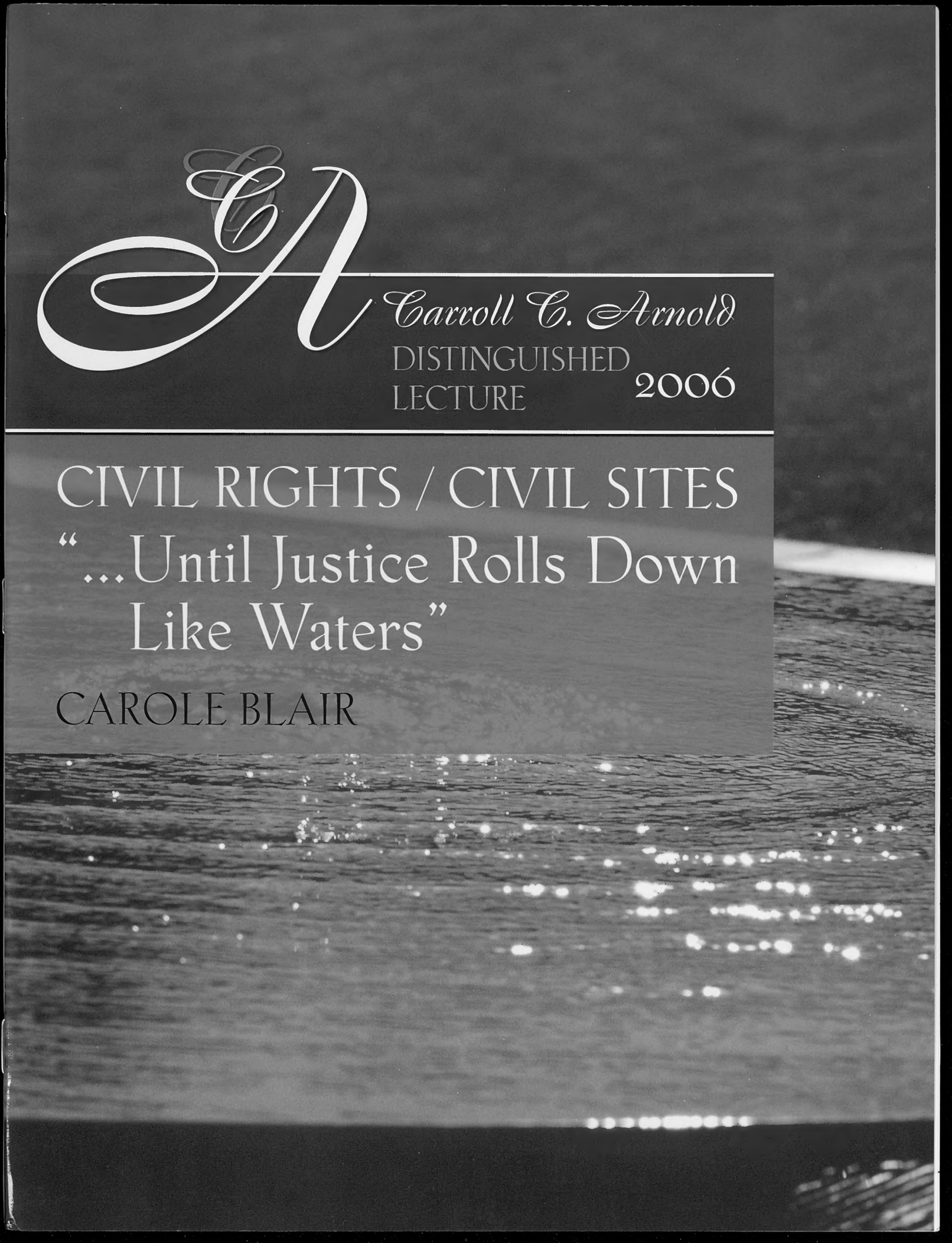

Carroll C. Arnold
DISTINGUISHED LECTURE 2006

CIVIL RIGHTS / CIVIL SITES
"...Until Justice Rolls Down Like Waters"

CAROLE BLAIR

The Carroll C. Arnold Distinguished Lecture

On October 8, 1994, the Administrative Committee of the National Communication Association established the Carroll C. Arnold Distinguished Lecture. The Arnold lecture is given in plenary session at the annual convention of the Association and features the most accomplished researchers in the field. The topic of the lecture changes annually so as to capture the wide range of research being conducted in the field and to demonstrate the relevance of that work to society at large.

The purpose of the Arnold Lecture is to inspire not by words but by intellectual deeds. Its goal is to make the members of the Association better informed by having one of its best professionals think aloud in their presence. Over the years, the Arnold Lecture will serve as a scholarly stimulus for new ideas and new ways of approaching those ideas. The inaugural Lecture was given on November 17, 1995.

The Arnold Lecturer is chosen each year by the First Vice President. When choosing the Arnold Lecturer, the First Vice President is charged to select a long-standing member of NCA, a scholar of undisputed merit who has already been recognized as such, a person whose recent research is as vital and suggestive as his or her earlier work, and a researcher whose work meets or exceeds the scholarly standards of the academy generally.

The Lecture has been named for Carroll C. Arnold, Professor Emeritus of Pennsylvania State University. Trained under Professor A. Craig Baird at the University of Iowa, Arnold was the co-author (with John Wilson) of *Public Speaking as a Liberal Art,* author of *Criticism of Oral Rhetoric* (among other works) and co-editor of *The Handbook of Rhetorical and Communication Theory.* Although primarily trained as a humanist, Arnold was nonetheless one of the most active participants in the New Orleans Conference of 1968 which helped put social scientific research in communication on solid footing. Thereafter, Arnold edited *Communication Monographs* because he was fascinated by empirical questions. As one of the three founders of the journal *Philosophy and Rhetoric,* Arnold also helped move the field toward increased dialogue with the humanities in general. For these reasons and more, Arnold was dubbed "The Teacher of the Field" when he retired from Penn State in 1977. Arnold died in January of 1997.

The Arnold lecture founders stipulated that, following its oral presentation, the lecture should be published with wide distribution to not only the NCA membership but to scholars of allied disciplines as well. This charge became a reality via the gracious help of Allyn & Bacon Publishers and by the generosity of friends, colleagues, and students of Dr. Arnold (listed in the back) who honored his scholarly contribution with their personal donations.

Funds for the Arnold Lecture are still being solicited. Those interested in supporting this endeavor should make out their checks to the "Arnold Lecture Fund" and forward them c/o The Arnold Lecture Fund, National Communication Association, 1765 N Street, NW, Washington, DC 20036.

Civil Rights/Civil Sites

". . . Until Justice Rolls Down Like Waters"

Carole Blair
University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill

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Carole Blair

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Civil Rights/Civil Sites "... Until Justice Rolls Down Like Waters"

Carole Blair
University of North Carolina

Thank you, Michael Sproule, for this extraordinary opportunity, even though it has been quite a trial, to try to compose a lecture worthy of being named for Carroll Arnold. Much more than a fine scholar and model teacher, which he was, Carroll was also richly generous of spirit, always willing to provide helpful advice or to share his wonderful sense of humor with that great big laugh. I am sure I would have gotten a dose of both if I had had the opportunity to tell him how this lecture came to be. Five years ago, there was this book project about the rhetoric of a contemporary U.S. memorial site. The book manuscript was almost finished. But the patron organization of the memorial decided to build a visitor center, which would almost certainly make the book obsolete, if not completely wrong, before it went to press. So, the book manuscript went into the filing cabinet, filed under Y, for "Yeah, well, maybe later." Carroll probably would have laughed at the story, at least *half* sympathetically, and then probably offered some sage advice like, "Why don't you just go to the library and find yourself some good speeches to write about instead?" Fair enough. *That* book might have been in print by now. However, I would have missed out on the great opportunity and equally great pleasure of working for the past decade-plus with Neil Michel, a former student, outstanding critic, and one of the finest architectural photographers in the country. This lecture is a small part of what he and I still believe will be that book, although now much differently conceived.

The focal term of this year's convention theme, "Creating Sites for Connection and Action," is "site." According to the call for papers, a *site* is a "setting for an event," or a way of designating "places in the world where communication does its work and leaves its mark."[1] In other words, sites are contexts in which communication occurs and upon which communication, in turn, exerts effects. I would like to add another sense of that focal term and invite you to consider sites not just as places where communication happens, but as themselves communicative, and more specifically as rhetorical.

Commemorative places are perhaps the most obviously rhetorical of any sites we might consider. They call attention to themselves as destinations of historical significance and civic socialization, summoning tourists as citizen pilgrims to partake of their typically inspirational messages.[2] The assumption of their rhetoricity grounds Neil's and my critical assessment of a specific commemorative place—the Civil Rights Memorial and its recently dedicated companion, the Civil Rights Memorial Center (which I will reference as the CRMC)—both in Montgomery, Alabama.[3]

Our project is situated in *memoria* and *actio*, surely the two most neglected, if not disdained, of the ancient rhetorical *officia* by modern legatees of the Roman tradition. But *memoria* and *actio* have assumed new guises and nuances with contemporary interest in public memory studies and the performative turn. We rely on both in approaching the Civil Rights Memorial and CRMC. Contemporary *memory studies* suggest that memory is generated socially and that memory articulated and advocated in public is at least as much about the present as it is about the past. As architectural historian Edwin Heathcote argues, a memorial "contains within it not only the superficial gesture towards remembrance . . . but a wealth of information about the priorities, politics, and sensibilities of those who built it."[4] The *performance* of memory is crucial to our investigation of the site as well. As Della Pollock points out, the perspective of performativity turns us from "asking 'Is it true?' [and] yields to 'What does it do?' "[5] Historical questions of authenticity thus cede ground to questions of memory's effectivity. Accordingly, I will argue that the rhetoric of the Civil Rights Memorial and CRMC is composed of four powerful performative gestures: it commends, confronts, conscripts, and commissions. These four intertwined performances constitute a demand for future action against social injustice.

The Civil Rights Memorial, the first major U.S. commemorative work to mark the civil rights movement, was dedicated on November 5, 1989.[6] The Memorial was commissioned by the Southern Poverty Law Center, a not-for-profit organization founded in 1971 by Morris Dees and Joseph Levin, in Montgomery. The SPLC describes its mission as "combat[ing] hate, intolerance, and discrimination through education and litigation."[7] Its legal department, Intelligence Project, which tracks hate crimes and hate groups, and Teaching Tolerance program, which develops and distributes anti-discrimination curriculum materials, are well-known throughout the nation.[8] Many of you know the SPLC by its partnership with NCA in the Communicating Common Ground project.

The SPLC, despite (or perhaps because of) its successes, is not universally admired, however. Its Montgomery office was firebombed in 1983 by members of the Ku Klux Klan. The SPLC built again, this time raising an office building in the heart of Montgomery. When Morris Dees proposed adding a memorial to the building site in 1988,[9] the SPLC commissioned Maya Lin, well known for her design of the Vietnam Veterans Memorial, in Washington, DC, to design the new memorial, and it was added in 1989 at the front of the SPLC's then new building (Figures 1 through 5). That building now houses the CRMC, which was dedicated in October 2005 (Figures 6 and 7). The SPLC moved into its newest office building across the street from the Civil Rights Memorial in 2001.

The Civil Rights Memorial and CRMC compose an important site for study, for many reasons. The most *obvious* reasons are probably the least

salient: the fact that this was the nation's first civil rights memorial, that its designer is so famous, and that its patron organization is so prominent. Montgomery has become an important stop on what is one of the fastest growing tourist itineraries in the U.S.—civil rights tours.[10] It is not a tourist destination just for Southerners. Between January and July of this year, the CRMC's guestbook was signed by visitors from 49 states and 32 countries.[11] So, one very important reason to attend to this site is that a large and growing public audience attends to its rhetoric.

The most important reason to take a close look at this site, though, has to do with how it stages memory's relevance to the present and future. Leigh Raiford and Renee Romano argue, in the introduction to their important new collection on civil rights memory, that "[S]ome of the most heated battles in the arena of the black freedom struggle are not about resources or laws. Rather, many of today's conflicts revolve around *how* the civil rights movement should be remembered."[12] Michael Brown (et al.) put the case even more strongly, arguing that, "[R]ace is still a pervasive and troubling fault line running through American life. . . . What divides Americans is profound disagreement over the legacy of the civil rights movement."[13] Despite its naming as a memorial, and unlike many other civil rights memory sites,[14] the Civil Rights Memorial and CRMC refuse the misleading and dangerous notions that the mid-twentieth century civil rights movement was something more than what Michael Omi and Howard Winant describe as an "ambiguous triumph."[15] The Memorial and CRMC dismiss the possibility that issues of civil rights and social justice can or should be assigned safely to an insular past. In other words, this memory site argues for its own significance and bids for our attention in the here and now. Before turning to its four constitutive performances, I want to take you on a brief, initial tour of the site and its immediate, physical context.

The Civil Rights Memorial and Civil Rights Memorial Center

The Civil Rights Memorial was built as a bi-level plaza (Figure 3).[16] At street level, on the lower plaza, one encounters a black granite wall, composing a convex curve, that serves as the lower level façade of the building behind it. About 40 feet long and nine feet high, the wall hosts a waterfall that covers a single inscription: ". . . Until justice rolls down like waters and righteousness like a mighty stream," along with an attribution to Martin Luther King, Jr. (Figure 2). To the side of the wall is an arced stairway up to the entrance of what was the SPLC office building. The stairway is roped off, restricting access. But forming the area immediately above the wall on the upper plaza is a still pool of water on uninscribed black granite (Figure 4).

Immediately in front of the wall, again at street level, is an off-center, black granite pedestal, usually referred to as "the table," the top of which forms a circle of about twelve feet in diameter (Figure 5). Water bubbles up from a well near the center of the structure and flows slowly and smoothly across its surface. Around the circumference of the tabletop is an annular time line, marking fifty-three events of the civil rights movement, beginning with the *Brown v. Board of Education* decision in 1954, and

ending with the assassination of Dr. King in 1968. Some of the events, like *Brown v. Board* and the Voting Rights Act of 1965 are declarations of institutional success. Other inscriptions read like headlines, announcing events such as the Greensboro sit-ins in 1960 or the 1963 March on Washington. Others describe the obstructionist actions of white supremacists, like attacks on Freedom Riders in 1961. The large majority of the inscriptions name forty individuals and the circumstances of their violent deaths. Some of the murders, like Emmett Till's and Jimmy Lee Jackson's, energized civil rights activism, but most of the forty were murdered in retaliation for their participation in nonviolent activism—voter registration work, marches, and so forth.[17]

The CRMC, which opened just over a year ago, is intended to reinforce and extend the themes of the memorial. The entrance is at the rear of the building (Figure 7), up a ramp that deposits visitors into the Center one level up from the street below (Figure 6). The CRMC consists of four major venues that are intended to be traversed in sequential order. One of them is a theatre, which I will skip discussion of here in the interest of time. The first display venue is called the Martyrs Room. Visitors may be drawn first to a large window that provides an overlook of the memorial outside (Figures 8 and 9). Wall plaques, audio wands, photos, and computer text selections provide more information about the forty men, women, and children whose names appear on the memorial. The dimly lit Martyrs Room also contextualizes their murders within the sequence of movement events with black and white digital photos enlarged and collaged to produce the wallpaper for the room (Figure 10). After viewing a film in the theatre, visitors exit to a long, brightly lit and colorful hallway, named "The March Continues." There, also superimposed on the walls, are enlarged photo collages that represent more contemporary cases of intolerance and hate as well as activism challenging them (Figure 11). The final venue is a darkened room containing the Wall of Tolerance, a 20 by 40 foot screen with thousands of digitally produced names, visually echoing the movement of the waterfall outside (Figure 12). Audio loops play various instrumental musical selections. Originally intended as a donor wall, the Wall of Tolerance has become something quite different, as I will suggest later.

I mentioned earlier that the Civil Rights Memorial, CRMC, and the SPLC office building are in downtown Montgomery. That context is important (Figures 13 and 14). The site is just three blocks from the Alabama State Capitol, marked as a significant destination by both the city's and state's tourism literature because it was the site where delegates from the southern states voted to secede in 1861.[18] Prior to the construction of the Civil Rights Memorial, the most prominent public artwork downtown was the Confederate Soldiers and Sailors Monument on the State Capitol grounds (Figure 15). Nearby, on the same street as the Civil Rights Memorial and CRMC is the First White House of the Confederacy, where Jefferson Davis resided before the CSA capital was moved to Richmond. When the SPLC first moved to its downtown site, its employees could see from their conference room window the Confederate battle flag along with the U.S. and Alabama state flags atop the state capitol's dome. Montgomery announced itself then in its tourism materials as the "Cradle of the Confederacy." The only very visible symbol of the city's more recent history was the Dexter Avenue King Memorial Baptist Church (Figure 16).

Downtown Montgomery now is home to Troy University's Rosa Parks Library and Museum, and the Dexter church parsonage has been turned into a museum. The city's Convention and Visitor's Bureau now posts both a "Civil Rights Itinerary" and a "Confederate Itinerary" on its website. The CSA battle flag was removed from the capitol dome in 1993 by court order,[19] although the gift shop inside still hawks Confederate memorabilia. Montgomery now boasts a much more balanced public memory symbolism than it did even ten years ago, but mirroring in an odd way its balanced population, with its approximately 51 percent black citizens living mostly on the west side of town and 49 percent white population living on the east side. Perhaps the most representative symbol of the city would be the street markers at an intersection, the only place where Rosa Parks and Jefferson Davis cross paths (Figure 17).

Now, I would like to turn to those four performatives that compose the rhetoric of the Civil Rights Memorial and CRMC, beginning—but importantly not ending—with commendation.

Commendation

For an individual to be understood as worthy of public commemoration, s/he must have lived an extraordinary life or died a "good death." The "good death," as Karsten Harries argues, such as "the heroic sacrifice of one's life for what is felt to be more important," is predicated upon "the conviction that only what is worth dying for has the power to make life worth living."[20] Public memorials claim, however explicitly, that those they honor are extraordinary, in that they "embody our deepest and most fundamental values."[21] The Civil Rights Memorial is no different in that respect from other commemorative sites. That these forty people's deaths are marked at all in public space nominates them for a special status in public life. A glance at the inscriptions that code their deaths,[22] however, suggests that their claim to significance, to the extraordinary, is a departure from how memorials often represent their subjects (Figures 18 and 19). The descriptions in the timeline, spare as they are, tell us that among those honored here are ministers, children, members of the U.S. armed forces, a deputy, a reporter, and a number of students, including a seminary student. Although a few among the forty are designated as leaders, most are described in the unextraordinary terms of their youth or their respectable, but commonplace occupations, hardly the stuff that typically merits public recognition. The one clear similarity is that they are all described as murder victims. The repetitiveness of the descriptions is broken up only by the terminological variance of "murdered," "killed," "slain," "assassinated," "lynched," and "beaten to death." Murder, of course, is not typically understood as a "good death."

What commends these murder victims for public commemoration is the contextualization of their deaths. The murders were not random acts, the memorial tells its visitors. They were acts to enforce a repressive and hostile social regime, the character of which emerges rather clearly from the memorial's inscriptions. The murders occurred because the victims marched or organized voter registration efforts, or even just drove marchers home. One was murdered for speaking to a white woman, another for being promoted to a "white" job. Still another was murdered in a dispute over a segregated rest room. Freedom riders were beaten not for breaking the law, but testing compliance with it. The extent, and

importantly also the institutional authorization of the segregated order, are made clear by the fact that the murders and obstructionist actions named by the memorial were committed not just by Klan members and nightriders, but by a white legislator, state troopers, the police, a deputy, and a state governor.

The murders accumulate meaning by being contextualized in relation to each other and in opposition to a deranged, harshly enforced social order. These may have been ordinary people, with ordinary lives, but their deaths were "good deaths," in resisting and/or calling attention to legalized injustice and unrestrained violence. The memorial commends them by naming and thus humanizing them, in contrast to their much more powerful and empowered assailants who are relegated by the memorial to a perpetual, disgraced anonymity. The memorial commends, too, by the aesthetic of its most central feature (Figures 20 through 22). The names and events of the past are covered with a thin sheet of softly flowing water, a long standing cultural and art historical symbol of cleansing and healing.[23]

The CRMC reinforces the performance of commendation. Inside, in its first venue, significantly named "The Martyrs Room," story boards, plaques, and audio profiles extend upon the humanizing impulse of the memorial, offering visitors more information, including narrative glimpses of the personal lives of those murdered, along with their photos (Figures 23 through 25). The names on the memorial here take on faces and personalities. Visitors learn that Lamar Smith was a farmer with a passion for politics; that young Virgil Ware was planning a paper route when he was shot; that Samuel Hammond was a talented athlete who had aspirations to be a teacher; and that Carole Robertson, one of the girls killed in the 1963 Birmingham church bombing, had been chosen to be one of the first black students to integrate the city's schools. Visitors hear anecdotes about the lives of these forty men, women, and children, as they gaze at the enlarged photographs and headlines of the period encompassing images of courage as well as depictions of hate. Both the memorial and the Martyrs Room *commend* in that they construct a narrative of the "good death," by lauding the actions of those who struggle against injustice and those who manage the tasks of mundane living, even in the face of oppression.

Missing from the memorial's timeline and the Martyrs Room, however, is a narrative resolution, the dénouement one might expect in a tale of progress or successful achievement. Successes are marked, to be sure, but none is displayed as the terminal point of the movement. The commemoration is sincere, but the commendation stops short of the consolation that comes from the fulfillment of goals.[24] If this site's rhetoric began and ended with the performance of consolation, it would certainly be ripe for the kind of critique Kirt Wilson makes so incisively of the sentimentalizing of the civil rights movement in various memory discourses.[25] Instead, both the memorial and CRMC resist sentimentalization and the potentially depoliticizing effects of consolation in the additional rhetorical work that they do.[26] The missing narrative resolution is the key to the other three performances of the memorial and CRMC, especially the second one, confrontation.

Confrontation

Although we understand the entirety of the SPLC's architectural program as confrontational,[27] it is the Civil Rights Memorial, later augmented

by the CRMC, that most explicitly confronts, articulating both past *and present* as inadequate to the objectives of justice and righteousness expressed on the memorial's wall. The successes marked by the memorial, almost all predicated in federal government action or intervention, are overwhelmed by the dominance of the murders and resistant actions of white supremacists. Successes are obviated in the timeline, for they are *always* followed by more violence. Indeed, ten of the final eleven inscriptions are about murders. Perhaps as important, local government authorities—often the very people charged with administering and enforcing civil rights legislation and court orders—are represented by the memorial as complicit with violence.

A noticeable gap in the circular timeline between the first and last inscriptions suggests that we shift our attention from the 1950s and 1960s to the present (Figure 22). Because of the temporal sequence inscribed between 1954 and 1968, though, that gap presumably could be filled in symbolically by either positive or negative actions; in fact, the narrative momentum established in the timeline would not lead us to be particularly optimistic about what might be inscribed in that symbolically open space. The gap at least suggests that the time of racial conflict is not over; the circle is not closed, and so we must contemplate the character of our own time. Reinforcing that directive is the quotation on the wall that projects justice and righteousness but leaves those objectives hovering on the edge of the preposition "Until."

We read the face of the wall as representing the present. The wall bears only that single inscription from "I Have A Dream." The remainder of the wall is not merely blank space, however. The wall is a screen of sorts, its vision one of refractive light. The convex curve of the wall, with the water that rushes down its sheer frontage, appropriates images from all around the memorial plaza and even from outside the space of the memorial (Figures 26 and 27). The wall refers us to our own context, asking us to look at ourselves and at what is happening around us in the here and now. The table's timeline, despite the intense sacrifice registered there, harbors no adequate answer to the question implied by the foreshortened question from "I Have a Dream," the question, "When?" Neither does the wall answer the question. It refracts back hazy images, not just the oddly tensive, material context of Montgomery, but the nagging anxieties of the realities of our present moment. It seems to suggest, as Richard Gray does, that "the old ways survive in however shadowy a disguise; the old racial prejudices are sustained in indirect, coded form."[28] The present also harbors danger. The contrast of the water flow here with that of the table is noteworthy. Water's movement, as Marilyn Symmes argues, can be "invitingly gentle," but it may also be or represent the "frighteningly destructive."[29] Gaston Bachelard perhaps captures it best, when he suggests that water can seem wrathful, "easily given all the psychological features of a *form of anger.*"[30]

What we read as the future symbolized by the memorial is to be found by climbing the steps to the upper level plaza formed by the meeting of the wall and the building's former main entrance. It seems a special irony that visitors have been forbidden access because of safety and security concerns to that upper level and its view of the future. If they were permitted upstairs, they would see above the wall a still pool of water on black granite, completely absent any inscription (Figure 4). Still water, in almost all Western representations, marks peace, calm, security,

and serenity, one of a number of indications that we have transcended the past and present and moved on to a different, less tensive space. Visitors have had to remove themselves from the lower level, put a distance between the symbolized past and present, to reach this place. There is effort involved; they must climb the steps, for this still pool is not visible from the lower plaza.[31] The uninscribed granite tablet under the water suggests several possibilities, most simply perhaps that the future is still to be written.

The memorial thus confronts by refusing to close the circle, by rebuffing any sense of narrative closure. Its rhetoric renders the too easy gesture of assigning questions of justice to the past as difficult, if not impossible, moves. Its entitling quotation marks an objective unfulfilled. But that quotation also carries with it a not very subtle warning, in whatever way we might read it. "Until" is a preposition often employed in constructions of forbearance or ultimatum. The ellipses that precede it suggest both. The excised words from "I Have a Dream," are, "We will not be satisfied."[32] Those who may be familiar with King's source may take the force of the warning even more seriously. It is appropriated from the biblical prophet Amos' dire warning to Israel for its "manifold" transgressions and "mighty" sins. Amos warned especially of sins against "the just" and "the needy." The term "justice" in Amos 5:24 is rendered as "judgment" in some translations, the terrible judgment of the Hebrew God.[33] King's implied analogue to the contemporary United States and the provocative tone of that implication are re-appropriated to the memorial's confrontational rhetoric.

If the present seems vague in the refractive vision of the memorial outside, it becomes less so in the CRMC's long hallway, called "The March Continues." On each wall that composes the hallway is a montage of images dating from the late 1960s through 2005. These representations are well lit and colorful, a sharp contrast to the grey tones of the Martyrs Room. Some of the images represent unjust, repressive, or exclusionary social practices. Others display public protest of such practices. Although race is a dominant theme, also marked are issues related to gender, sexuality, class, religion, and ability. Visitors see images linked to specifically U.S. themes, like affirmative action, busing, and Latino immigration, but there are also scenes highlighting international issues and activism as well. Plaques, that may be changed out to update the hallway, personalize the carnage of the present with photos of murder and genocide victims, their stories, and the circumstances of their deaths. Currently, there are five plaques, including one for Amy Robinson, a young Texas woman murdered in 1998 by assailants who reported that they wanted to "go out and kill someone of another race." Another plaque details the grisly murder of Billy Jack Gaither, killed in 1999 by a man who said he committed the murder because Gaither "was a faggott." Another shows a photo of a turbaned man, Balbir Sodhi, killed in Arizona on September 15, 2001 because, in the words of his attacker, Sodhi "looked like a terrorist." The hallway's summarizing plaque, "Hate's Continuing Toll," reminds visitors that, "hate and discrimination are still deeply entrenched in our society."

The "March Continues" hall fills in where a visitor's knowledge or memory might fail, in establishing a strong continuity of social injustices into the present. It reinforces the memorial's arguments that the civil rights movement's achievements may have been manifold, but that they

were inadequate to the objective of justice. But the representation goes further than that. The performance of confrontation reframes the issue, raising not only the matter of *when* justice might roll down like waters, but also posing the questions of *how* that might come to pass, and indeed, as a result of *whose* actions. The two final performances—conscription and commissioning—offer answers to those questions.

Conscription

The Civil Rights Memorial and CRMC enact a peculiar relationship to the future, at least assuming that our construal of the upper level plaza's marking of a tranquil future constitutes a reasonable interpretation. Although most visitors to the memorial have been denied access to the upper level, the CRMC now at least permits them visual access by means of two indoor memorial overlooks. Visitors thus are offered a glimpse of the represented future but no direct contact with it. Although not intended, the resonance with Dr. King's "Mountaintop" speech seems obvious.[34] Gazing upon the "promised land" cannot be equated with getting there.

If creating dissatisfaction is the gold standard in rhetorical discourse for motivating change, it is *not* a standard trope of commemorative art. Still, that seems to be the logic operating here. Both past and present are represented as inadequate to the objective of social justice. Whether understood literally or figuratively, visitors are denied the satisfaction of contact with a rhetorical resolution of the conflict and chaos that characterize past and present representations. The motivational calculus thus suggests future action, but by whom?

In an article solely about the memorial, Neil and I argued that the site conscripts the individual as the agent of change, in coalition with others. Foreclosed is an exclusive reliance on institutional solutions. "Because it is the ordinary person, the visitor to this public space, who is summoned as the audience, the issue posed is ethical and individual, rather than juridical or legislative. Such an audience has no standing to construct institutional edicts. And in any case, . . . such institutional action is represented, in other rhetorical features of the memorial, as having provided only partial remedy."[35] The memorial argues for a coalition founded in like mindedness of citizens rather than identity enclaves. Two features in particular suggest that interpretation: the composition of the stone in the memorial and the critique of whiteness in its inscribed timeline. As Neil and I suggested in 2000, "Not all black granite is the same, and the stone used for this memorial is not at all like the uniformly black granite composing the Vietnam Veterans Memorial. The material of the Civil Rights Memorial is highly variegated in color, almost mosaic-like in its composition. That color variation is not visible from even a short distance or in most photographs, but the multiple colors are unmistakable in a close view of the memorial. Thus, as a visitor approaches the memorial, the stark black-white color double recedes, as if as a reminder that race cannot be rendered in binary form but must be recognized as diverse and multiple, but still suffused by common interest."[36]

That the memorial engages a critique of whiteness in its representation of the past is virtually undeniable. But it is important to note that its critique situates whiteness not as "an essential identity," but as a "form of authority,"[37] as evidenced in its rendition of white *people* as both

murderers and martyrs.[38] "The March Continues" hallway inside reinforces the exnomination of essentialist racial categories in several ways, but perhaps most obviously by variegating the loci of injustice to include gender, class, ability, religion, and sexuality, as well as race. It also does so by displaying images of people of different races and ethnicities in activist league against various modes of exclusion and discrimination. The site is insistent, thus, on a coalition of difference, a stance buttressed even more in the final performance—commissioning.

Commission

Although a number of commentators have argued that the Civil Rights Memorial establishes an identification with the murder victims it names,[39] we think its more important rhetorical move is to confront visitors with the inadequacy of their own actions and the complicity of their own present in the failure to achieve the objective articulated on the wall. In her elegant analysis of the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum, Barbara Biesecker suggests that the rhetoric of that important site is predicated less in identification with the victims of the Holocaust than in an introduction of a negative relationship with the self and the affiliative bonds that constitute citizen identity, allowing for the emergence of a changed identity.[40] We want to suggest a similar move with the Civil Rights Memorial and CRMC, but one activated by a very different set of articulations.

You may have noticed an insinuation of religious themes traversing the connotative field of the terminology I have used in naming the performances: commending, confronting, conscripting, and commissioning. I mean it to be more than an insinuation. Thanks to the insightful questions raised by a number of people in response to earlier versions of our analysis of the Civil Rights Memorial, we paid attention to a cultural resource for understanding the memorial, that we might have missed otherwise. That cultural resource is the hermeneutic offered in Christian rhetorics and rituals of commitment, in particular the sacrament of baptism.

Importantly, we are not arguing that creating baptismal imagery was a specific intention of the designer or the memorial's patron. But Maya Lin has said on numerous occasions that the memorial's central theme is water, even reporting that her inspiration for the theme was the abbreviated King quotation on the wall—"Until justice rolls down like waters. . . ."[41] That theme, its source, and its attribution to a Baptist minister make it very difficult to excise the religious coordinates of the memorial's rhetoric in any case. The articulation of the site's water features to biblical imagery seems at least reasonable, especially as negotiated through the prominent presence of King in the memorial's symbolism, but also because of the important historical connections between baptism and manumission, and between the African American church and the civil rights movement.[42] Moreover, the articulation suggests a politically potent charge to the combined rhetorics of the memorial and CRMC.

Both scholars and critics in the popular press have commented extensively on the water at the Civil Rights Memorial, but almost all limit their discussions to the water flowing over the timeline on the table structure.[43] Although it is atypical for critical commentary to address the waterfall and the still pool, we believe they too are significant, in their suggestions of present danger and future liberation respectively, as well

as the transition from one to the other, precisely the symbolism that arises in the baptismal ritual.

The destructiveness of water is a frequent biblical theme and often associated with baptism. Simon Schama suggests one of the common connections: "The whole epic of Hebraic deliverance as described in Exodus had been a flight from the Nile to the Jordan; an idolatrous and enslaved past drowned with Pharaoh's chariots, a new life of freedom and holiness consecrated with the crossing of the Judean river. . . . It was the typology of the Jordan torrent . . . that probably supplied the rudimentary rituals of cleansing and redemption that evolved into baptism."[44] The danger of water is so important to the sacrament's symbolism that Karl Barth insists that it is "impossible to understand the meaning of baptism, unless one keeps in mind that it implies a threat of death and a deliverance to life."[45] The meaning arises as a result of the performative dimension of the baptismal ritual, of "go[ing] under the water in death [and] ris[ing] to new life."[46]

This performative fractures time and engages what theologians refer to as *metanoia. Metanoia* is "a radical change of mind," or a "turning to face a new direction."[47] The water is transformative (Figures 28 and 29). The waterfall, an element of the memorial's representation of the present, might thus be understood as the "passage" that commentators take to be a signature of Maya Lin's work.[48] This liminal moment, much like that in the sacrament, may represent danger, but it holds out the possibility of fundamental and material change. As David Hamilton suggests about baptism, "The new status, the new life that it opens up, means in turn new relationships to one another, often cutting across the divisions . . . within which people still have to live in the community."[49] The waterfall and the choice to encounter its danger point us, as baptism does, toward the future.[50]

What is represented by the serenity and calm of the pool of water above the plaza at the Civil Rights Memorial is bonded to a variety of referential associations with baptism: cleansing, deliverance, regeneration, belonging, and celebration.[51] Most Christian theology recognizes that baptism binds the baptized to a transcendent community of all those who have accepted the sacrament historically, thus emphasizing transhistorical bonds of fellowship.[52] Indeed, the site's rhetoric establishes a continuity between those it names as "martyrs" and those it conscripts (Figure 34). In some Christian traditions, martyrdom constitutes a "baptism of blood," admitting the martyr directly into the community of believers.[53]

However, the ritual also is very much concerned with the here and now of the material world. As Hamilton suggests, "Baptism is not out of the world and into some alternative religious realm. It is into the world. . . . Instead of a rescue into the safety of the baptized community this is a *commissioning* sacrament which calls Christians out into the world. . . ."[54] The ritual of the sacrament is present, visible, and material. The community of the baptized is called to fulfill "the tasks of God in the world."[55] The commission, according to Schlink, is constituted by the "admonitions to walk in a new life, to persevere in trials, to keep from relapsing into sin. . . ." Schlink also emphasizes the *urgency* of the imperative in baptism to change and to live differently, an imperative we believe is the fundamental message as well of the Civil Rights Memorial.[56]

This urgent commission is reinforced in the final venue inside the CRMC with the Wall of Tolerance, a giant set of LCD screens that

symbolically echoes the waterfall outside, with thousands of names, scripted in multiple pastel colors, rolling down, quite literally like water (Figure 30). To the left of the wall is its explanation and an invitation to make a material and public commitment. It says simply: "The Wall of Tolerance records the names of people who have pledged to take a stand against hate, injustice, and intolerance. Those who place their names on the wall make a commitment to work in their daily lives for justice, equality and human rights—the ideals for which the civil rights martyrs died. If you are prepared to work for these ideals and to stand against hate and intolerance, add your name to the wall." Kiosks located in front of the screen allow the visitor to add his or her name. Within seconds of entering it, the name appears in large white script, and then slowly grows smaller and folds into the flow of names on the wall (Figure 31).

The promise held out to those who so commit is registered in an inscription on the wall opposite the invitation. Quoting Robert Kennedy, on a visit to South Africa in 1966, it says: "Few will have the greatness to bend history itself, but each of us can work to change a small portion of events, and in the total of these acts will be written the history of this generation. It is from numberless acts of courage and belief that human history is shaped. Each time a man stands up for an ideal, or acts to improve the lot of others, or strikes out against injustice, he sends forth a tiny ripple of hope [Figure 32]. And crossing each other from a million different centers of energy and daring, these ripples build a current that can sweep down the mightiest walls of oppression and resistance."[57]

The commission thus is reinstantiated here, as the visitor is invited to join a community dedicated to social justice. The narrative resolution, denied in the site's representations of past and present, is made possible here, when the visitor becomes a part of the current that can consume and ultimately destroy injustice. The admonition is for the individual to assume the risks of opposing injustice in his/her daily life. The commitment is public; it is "taking a stand" visibly. To seal the commitment, the visitor is invited to sign the pledge printed on his/her admission ticket and to keep it as a symbol of the obligation (Figure 33). The commitment is public, but the ongoing promise is consummated in the ethical agency of the visitor leaving the memorial and CRMC.

Of course, visitors to this site respond to its rhetoric very differently. But the rhetorical coordinates of the four performances are marked clearly in many visitors' comments in the CRMC guest books. Here are a few examples: "Full of grace." "Life changing." "Spiritually motivating." "I am forever changed and grateful for the experience." "Deeply moving and spiritual experience." "I will carry on the fight for justice." "Holy ground." "Powerful case to recommit." "Very moving and inspired of God." "I am proud to be part of this loving family!!" "I have a lot of work to do." "I will, I must become the change that I want to see in the world."

Conclusion

As tempting as it is to give these visitors the last word on the Civil Rights Memorial and CRMC, I want to conclude with three rather brief observations, the first of which connects most closely to those visitors' reactions.

Whether or not one chooses a religious articulation as a resource for reading this memory site, it is a way of reading that helps to explain part of its power (Figures 35 and 36). This memorial and, of course, also the movement that inspired it, both should remind us that groups occupying one end of the political spectrum are not the sole proprietors of the civil religion of the United States. They should remind us as well that moral and religious discourses may be invoked to validate radical change as surely as they can justify maintenance of a supposedly stable tradition. The civil rights movement confronted the nation with its failure to live up to its self image precisely by demonstrating it as falling far short of both secular *and* moral principles. I am not suggesting a return to the particular inflections of the secular and sacred that characterized the movement discourse of the mid-twentieth century. Too much has changed in terms of how religion, civic community, and the relationships between them are conceived to make that any more than a naïve, if not possibly dangerous, prescription.[58] But as many others have suggested, and as the Civil Rights Memorial and CRMC remind us as well, issues of social justice are political *and* moral. It surely may be difficult now, in an era of political cynicism and religious instrumentalism, to strike a new balance between the political and the moral that seeks to solve problems rather than ignore them, but it seems urgent to make the attempt.

My second observation is related to the first, but focuses on the edge of the moral-political dynamic that is captured in the notion of the "civil" in *civil* rights and *civil* sites. It is a complicated notion, as one might gather by the twenty-plus, multiply subdivided entries in the *OED*. Nonetheless, I want to highlight one of those entries, that characterizes "civil" as "becoming or befitting a citizen."[59] Contained in that characterization is a studied balance between the individual and the political collective, an affiliative pact that I believe is also in evidence at the Civil Rights Memorial and CRMC. Too often, the notion of the "civil" slips into a usage more in line with "civility," a characteristic of an individual, not a citizen, and one that seems to be more about politeness than about responsibility. That slippage may have profound implications, if we are to modify nouns of public consequence, such as civil *rights* or civil *sites* with that term. Here, civil must be understood to be about more than "just getting along." It must also mean that social privilege and social disadvantage are not understood as simple matters of individual ability or choice, any more than social injustice is thought to be created or maintained by individually held prejudices of others. To be sure, removal of formal or legal barriers to social attainment is not enough, by itself, to ensure social justice. But neither is it acceptable to believe that social justice will obtain *only* when some individuals change their attitudes and when other individuals make better choices. In establishing a sacred, communal affiliation between visitors to the site and with the named martyrs of the movement, the Civil Rights Memorial and CRMC propose a responsibility, indeed an obligation, to finish their work.

As my final observation, I want to return us to those four performances—commendation, confrontation, conscription, and commission—and the relationships among them. One might make the case that it is the goal of most commemorative sites to do three of those things. Clearly, all public memorials commend. But it seems at least plausible to suggest that most, if not all, such sites also attempt to conscript and commission their visitors as ideal citizens, however those sites might construe ideal

citizenship. What seems unusual, and exceptionally important, to us about this site is its performance of *confrontation* rather than identification as the primary means of enabling conscription and commission. It seems to us that visitors typically go to memory sites expecting to be inspired by, grateful for, and more deeply connected to the *accomplished* virtues of their imagined community.[60] The Civil Rights Memorial and CRMC, we believe, shatter that expectation, demanding that visitors imagine their community as fractured and callous and as urgently in need of their intervention. The site reverses the wish fulfillment of traditional memory sites by challenging the visitor to become someone other than who he/she has been, to assume the risks entailed to remake the community as worthy of the collective imaginary, and ultimately, to make a future more worthy of public memory.

Notes

1. "Convention Theme: Creating Sites for Connection and Action," *Spectra*, December 2005, 4.
2. See Carole Blair, "Contemporary Memorial Sites as Exemplars of Rhetoric's Materiality," in *Rhetorical Bodies*, ed. Jack Selzer and Sharon Crowley (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1999), especially 17–18.
3. Photographs by Neil Michel of the Civil Rights Memorial and the Civil Rights Memorial Center follow this manuscript. They are a selection of the nearly 100 images from the lecture.
4. Edwin Heathcote, *Monument Builders: Modern Architecture and Death* (West Sussex, UK: Academy Editions, 1999), 68.
5. Della Pollock, "Making History Go," in *Exceptional Spaces: Essays in Performance and History*, ed. Della Pollock (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998), 21.
6. John Beardsley, "Like a Mighty Stream," *Landscape Architecture*, January 1990, 79.
7. *SPLC Report*, June 2006, 2.
8. For fuller descriptions of the Southern Poverty Law Center's programs, see its website: www.splcenter.org. The Intelligence Project was originally called Klanwatch, and its mission from the beginning has been to monitor hate crimes and hate groups.
9. Morris Dees, with Steve Fiffer, *A Season for Justice: The Life and Times of Civil Rights Lawyer Morris Dees* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1991), 332–333.
10. City officials seem well aware of this fact. See "Sightseers Keeping Eyes on the Prize: Civil Rights Tourism a Growing Movement," *Montgomery Advertiser*, 28 August 2005. Tourism literature and websites from most of the southern states are now rife with information about civil rights–related historic sites.
11. For these statistics, we consulted the guest registers from January–July, 2006. We wanted to see the comments from a more "typical" group than those who visited during the dedication week ceremonies and immediately thereafter.
12. Leigh Raiford and Renee C. Romano, "The Struggle over Memory," in *The Civil Rights Movement in American Memory*, ed. Renee C. Romano and Leigh Raiford (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2006), xii. Emphasis in original.
13. Michael K. Brown, Martin Canoy, Elliott Currie, Troy Duster, David B. Oppenheimer, Marjorie M. Shultz, and David Wellman, *Whitewashing Race:*

The Myth of the Color-Blind Society (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003), 1.

14. Victoria J. Gallagher, "Memory as Social Action: Cultural Projections and Generic Form in Civil Rights Memorials," in *New Approaches to Rhetoric,* ed. Patricia A. Sullivan and Steven R. Goldzwig (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 2004), 149–171.
15. Michael Omi and Howard Winant, *Racial Formation in the United States From the 1960s to the 1990s,* 2d ed. (New York: Routledge, 1994), 69.
16. Maya Lin, *Boundaries* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2000), 4:26. Lin's retrospective of her work is divided into sections separately paginated. Hence the odd reference.
17. William Zinsser, "Montgomery," *American Places: A Writer's Pilgrimage to 15 of the Country's Most Visited and Cherished Sites* (New York: Harper Collins, 1993), 95. Zinsser here reports on the criteria that the SPLC used for inclusion. His interview was with Sara Bullard, then an attorney with the SPLC, who did most of the research for the inscriptions on the Memorial. Those criteria also appear on a plaque inside the CRMC.
18. Montgomery Confederate Trail Itinerary, www.visitingmontgomery.com/itineraries_confederate.cfm?pfrom=vis&category_id=CCDFE337-FCBC-42A5–8A0AA8627FE407A0; and Alabama State Capitol, www.alabamainteractive.org/alabamainteractive_shell/Welcome.do?url=http://www.touralabama.org.
19. The battle flag had been flying over the state capitol since an order by then Alabama Governor George Wallace, in anticipation of a visit by then U.S. Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy, in 1963, to encourage integration of Alabama's public universities. The suit to bring the flag down was filed by the Southern Poverty Law Center, on behalf of three African American state legislators. See *Holmes v. Hunt,* Confederate Flag Case, Disposition 4 January 1993. www.splcenter.org/legal/docket/files.jsp?cdrID=17.
20. Karsten Harries, *The Ethical Function of Architecture* (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1998), 301.
21. Barry Schwartz, "The Social Context of Commemoration: A Study in Collective Memory," *Social Forces* 61 (1982): 377.
22. The inscriptions are included as Appendix A at the end of this paper.
23. Gaston Bachelard, *Water and Dreams: An Essay on the Imagination of Matter,* trans. Edith R. Farrell (Dallas, TX: Pegasus Foundation, 1983); and Charles W. Moore, *Water and Architecture* (New York: Henry N. Abrams, 1994).
24. Even in the CRMC, there is some ambivalence about this, however. The film in the CRMC's theatre ends with the word "triumph." And one of the plaques in the CRMC refers to the "great triumphs of the Civil Rights Movement." However, the central message of the memorial and CRMC undercut that notion.
25. Kirt H. Wilson, "Rhetoric and Race in the American Experience: The Promises and Perils of Sentimental Memory," plenary address presented at the 12th Biennial Conference of the Rhetoric Society of America, National Civil Rights Museum, Memphis, TN, 27 May 2006.
26. See Dana L. Cloud, *Control and Consolation in American Culture and Politics: Rhetorics of Therapy* (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 1998).
27. Lisa Findley, *Building Change: Architecture, Politics and Cultural Agency* (London: Routledge, 2005), 189.
28. Richard Gray, "Negotiating Differences: Southern Culture(s) Now," in *Dixie Debates: Perspectives on Southern Cultures,* ed. Richard H. King and Helen Taylor (New York: New York University Press, 1996), 224.
29. Marilyn Symmes, "The Rise and Fall of Water," in *Fountains: Splash and Spectacle: Water and Design from the Renaissance to the Presence,* ed. Marilyn Symmes (New York: Rizzolli, 1998), 10.
30. Bachelard, *Water and Dreams,* 15.

31. See Homi K. Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (London: Routledge, 1994). He speaks of the "stairwell as liminal space, in-between the designations of identity" (4).
32. Martin Luther King, Jr., "I Have a Dream," 28 August 1963. http://douglassarchives.org/ihaveadream.txt.
33. Amos 5, Online Parallel Bible. http://bible.cc/amos/5.htm.
34. King, "I've Been to the Mountaintop," Memphis, TN, 3 April 1968. www.americanrhetoric.com/speeches/mlkivebeentothemountaintop.htm.
35. Carole Blair and Neil Michel, "Reproducing Civil Rights Tactics: The Rhetorical Performances of the Civil Rights Memorial," *Rhetoric Society Quarterly* 30 (2000): 42.
36. Blair and Michel, 44.
37. This distinction is drawn by Homi K. Bhabha, "The White Stuff," *Artforum International*, May 1998, 21.
38. Although none of the forty murder victims is identified in the memorial's inscriptions as white, one of the plaques in the Martyrs Room inside the CRMC notes that seven of the forty were white.
39. For example, see Beardsley, 79.
40. Barbara A. Biesecker, "Thresholds of National Identification and the National Holocaust Memorial Museum," presentation at the "Trope, Affect and Democratic Subjectivities" Conference, Northwestern University, November 2–4, 2006.
41. Zinsser, for example, quotes Lin as saying: "The minute I hit that quote I knew that the whole piece had to be about water" (92). Jonathan Coleman, "First She Looks Inward," *Time*, 6 November 1989, reports similarly: "At lunch that day, all she could think about (and all Richard Cohen, the legal director of the center could recall her talking about) was water. On the flight down, she was particularly struck by a line from Martin Luther King Jr.'s 'I Have a Dream' speech, the line, partly borrowed from the Bible, that said, 'We will not be satisfied until justice rolls down like waters and righteousness like a mighty stream' " (94).
42. For discussions of these connections, see for example: Albert J. Raboteau, *Slave Religion: The "Invisible Institution" in the Antebellum South* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1978), 99–125; and Eric C. Lincoln and Lawrence H. Mamiya, *The Black Church in the African American Experience* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1990), 210–215.
43. See, for example, Harriet F. Senie, *Contemporary Public Sculpture: Tradition, Transformation, and Controversy* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), 38–39.
44. Simon Schama, *Landscape and Memory* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1995), 264.
45. Karl Barth, *The Teaching of the Church Regarding Baptism*, trans. Ernest A. Payne (London: SCM Press, 1948), 11.
46. Marianne Micks, *Deep Waters: An Introduction to Baptism* (Cambridge, MA: Cowley Publications, 1996), 5.
47. David S. M. Hamilton, *Through the Waters: Baptism and the Christian Life* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1990), 38, 49.
48. Michael Brenson, "Maya Lin's Time," in *Maya Lin: Topologies*, comp. Jeff Fleming (Winston-Salem, NC: Southeastern Center for Contemporary Art, 1998), 31. In fact, Lin says it herself: "I'm really interested in a nation's memory and how art really deals with a country's conscience—art and memorialization in the 20th century, as a passage of an individual coming to terms with facts." Quoted in Tom Lindley, "New Civil Rights Memorial 'Is a Monument to Hope'," *Birmingham News*, 20 Oct. 1989: 4b.
49. Hamilton, 56.
50. Oscar Cullman, *Baptism in the New Testament*, trans. J. K. S. Reid (Philadelphia: Westminster Press, 1950), 49.

51. What Hamilton describes as "images" represented by the ritual make sense as a totality, except in the case of celebration. Here, we believe Hamilton confuses the performative character of the sacrament with its referential resources.
52. Edmund Schlink, *The Doctrine of Baptism*, trans. Herbert J. A. Bouman (Saint Louis: Concordia Publishing, 1972), 7.
53. "Baptism," in *New Dictionary of Theology*, ed. Sinclair B. Ferguson, David F. Wright, and J. I. Packer (Downer's Grove, IL: Inter-Varsity Press, 1988), 71. Also see James Perkinson, "Like a Thief in the Night: Black Theology and White Church in the Third Millennium," *Theology Today*, January 2004. www.findarticles.com/p/articles/mi_qa3664/is_200401/ai_n9358801?lstpn=search_sampler&lstpc=search&lstpr=internal&lstprs=looksmart&lstwid=1&lstwn=search_results&lstwp=body_middle.
54. Hamilton, 112. Emphasis added.
55. "Sacrament," *New Dictionary of Theology*, 607.
56. Schlink, 35, 56, 69.
57. Robert F. Kennedy, Day of Affirmation Address (News Release Text Version), University of Capetown, South Africa, 6 June 1966. www.jfklibrary.org/Historical+Resources/Archives/Reference+Desk/Speeches/RFK/Day+of+Affirmation+Address+News+Release.htm
58. For interesting discussions of the shifts of religion and the political, see the essays in Gary Orfield and Holly J. Lebowitz, eds. *Religion, Race, and Justice in a Changing America* (New York: Century Foundation Press, 1999).
59. "Civil," *OED Online* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006). www.oedonline.com.
60. Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities: Reflections on the Origin and Spread of Nationalism*, rev. ed. (London: Verso, 1991).

Appendix A
Inscriptions on the Civil Rights Memorial

Inscription on Wall

. . . UNTIL JUSTICE ROLLS DOWN LIKE WATERS AND RIGHTEOUSNESS LIKE A MIGHTY STREAM
MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.

Inscriptions on Table

17 MAY 1954	SUPREME COURT OUTLAWS SCHOOL SEGREGATION IN BROWN VS. BOARD OF EDUCATION
7 MAY 1955	REV. GEORGE LEE KILLED FOR LEADING VOTER REGISTRATION DRIVE BELZONI, MS
13 AUG 1955	LAMAR SMITH MURDERED FOR ORGANIZING BLACK VOTERS BROOKHAVEN, MS
28 AUG 1955	EMMETT LOUIS TILL YOUTH MURDERED FOR SPEAKING TO WHITE WOMAN MONEY, MS
22 OCT 1955	JOHN EARL REESE SLAIN BY NIGHTRIDERS OPPOSED TO BLACK SCHOOL IMPROVEMENTS MAYFLOWER, TX
1 DEC 1955	ROSA PARKS ARRESTED FOR REFUSING TO GIVE UP HER SEAT ON BUS TO A WHITE MAN MONTGOMERY, AL
5 DEC 1955	MONTGOMERY BUS BOYCOTT BEGINS
13 NOV 1956	SUPREME COURT BANS SEGREGATED SEATING ON MONTGOMERY BUSES
23 JAN 1957	WILLIE EDWARDS JR. KILLED BY KLAN MONTGOMERY, AL
29 AUG 1957	CONGRESS PASSES FIRST CIVIL RIGHTS ACT SINCE RECONSTRUCTION
24 SEP 1957	PRESIDENT EISENHOWER ORDERS FEDERAL TROOPS TO ENFORCE SCHOOL DESEGREGATION LITTLE ROCK, AR
25 APR 1959	MACK CHARLES PARKER TAKEN FROM JAIL AND LYNCHED POPLARVILLE, MS
1 FEB 1960	BLACK STUDENTS STAGE SIT-IN AT "WHITES ONLY" LUNCH COUNTER GREENSBORO, NC
5 DEC 1960	SUPREME COURT OUTLAWS SEGREGATION IN BUS TERMINALS

14 MAY 1961	FREEDOM RIDERS ATTACKED IN ALABAMA WHILE TESTING COMPLIANCE WITH BUS DESEGRATION LAWS
25 SEP 1961	HERBERT LEE VOTER REGISTRATION WORKER KILLED BY WHITE LEGISLATOR LIBERTY, MS
1 APR 1962	CIVIL RIGHTS GROUPS JOIN FORCES TO LAUNCH VOTER REGISTRATION DRIVE
9 APR 1962	CPL. ROMAN DUCKSWORTH JR. TAKEN FROM BUS AND KILLED BY POLICE TAYLORSVILLE, MS
30 SEP 1962	RIOTS ERUPT WHEN JAMES MEREDITH, A BLACK STUDENT, ENROLLS AT OLE MISS
30 SEP 1962	PAUL GUIHARD EUROPEAN REPORTER KILLED DURING OLE MISS RIOT OXFORD, MS
23 APR 1963	WILLIAM LEWIS MOORE SLAIN DURING ONE-MAN MARCH AGAINST SEGREGATION ATTALLA, AL
3 MAY 1963	BIRMINGHAM POLICE ATTACK MARCHING CHILDREN WITH DOGS AND FIRE HOSES
11 JUN 1963	ALABAMA GOVERNOR STANDS IN SCHOOLROOM DOOR TO STOP UNIVERSITY INTEGRATION
12 JUN 1963	MEDGAR EVERS CIVIL RIGHTS LEADER ASSASSINATED JACKSON, MS
28 AUG 1963	250,000 AMERICANS MARCH ON WASHINGTON FOR CIVIL RIGHTS
15 SEP 1963	ADDIE MAE COLLINS DENISE MCNAIR CAROLE ROBERTSON CYNTHIA WESLEY SCHOOLGIRLS KILLED IN BOMBING OF 16TH ST. BAPTIST CHURCH BIRMINGHAM, AL
15 SEP 1963	VIRGIL LAMAR WARE YOUTH KILLED DURING WAVE OF RACIST VIOLENCE BIRMINGHAM, AL
23 JAN 1964	POLL TAX OUTLAWED IN FEDERAL ELECTIONS
31 JAN 1964	LOUIS ALLEN WITNESS TO MURDER OF CIVIL RIGHTS WORKER ASSASSINATED LIBERTY, MS
7 APR 1964	REV. BRUCE KLUNDER KILLED PROTESTING CONSTRUCTION OF SEGREGATED SCHOOL CLEVELAND, OH
2 MAY 1964	HENRY HEZEKIAH DEE CHARLES EDDIE MOORE KILLED BY KLAN MEADVILLE, MS
20 JUN 1964	FREEDOM SUMMER BRINGS 1,000 YOUNG CIVIL RIGHTS VOLUNTEERS TO MISSISSIPPI
21 JUN 1964	JAMES CHANEY ANDREW GOODMAN MICHAEL SCHWERNER CIVIL RIGHTS WORKERS ABDUCTED AND SLAIN BY KLAN PHILADELPHIA, MS
2 JUL 1964	PRESIDENT JOHNSON SIGNS CIVIL RIGHTS ACT OF 1964
11 JUL 1964	LT. COL. LEMUEL PENN KILLED BY KLAN WHILE DRIVING NORTH COLBERT, GA

26 FEB 1965	JIMMIE LEE JACKSON CIVIL RIGHTS MARCHER KILLED BY STATE TROOPER MARION, AL
7 MAR 1965	STATE TROOPERS BEAT BACK MARCHERS AT EDMUND PETTUS BRIDGE SELMA, AL
11 MAR 1965	REV. JAMES REEB MARCH VOLUNTEER BEATEN TO DEATH SELMA, AL
25 MAR 1965	CIVIL RIGHTS MARCH FROM SELMA TO MONTGOMERY COMPLETED
25 MAR 1965	VIOLA GREGG LIUZZO KILLED BY KLAN WHILE TRANSPORTING MARCHERS SELMA HIGHWAY, AL
2 JUN 1965	ONEAL MOORE BLACK DEPUTY KILLED BY NIGHTRIDERS VARNADO, LA
9 JUL 1965	CONGRESS PASSES VOTING RIGHTS ACT OF 1965
18 JUL 1965	WILLIE WALLACE BREWSTER KILLED BY NIGHTRIDERS ANNISTON, AL
20 AUG 1965	JONATHAN DANIELS SEMINARY STUDENT KILLED BY DEPUTY HAYNEVILLE, AL
3 JAN 1966	SAMUEL YOUNGE JR. STUDENT CIVIL RIGHTS ACTIVIST KILLED IN DISPUTE OVER WHITES-ONLY RESTROOM TUSKEGEE, AL
10 JAN 1966	VERNON DAHMER BLACK COMMUNITY LEADER KILLED IN KLAN BOMBING HATTIESBURG, MS
10 JUN 1966	BEN CHESTER WHITE KILLED BY KLAN NATCHEZ, MS
30 JUL 1966	CLARENCE TRIGGS SLAIN BY NIGHTRIDERS BOGALUSA, LA
27 FEB 1967	WHARLEST JACKSON CIVIL RIGHTS LEADER KILLED AFTER PROMOTION TO "WHITE" JOB NATCHEZ, MS
12 MAY 1967	BENJAMIN BROWN CIVIL RIGHTS WORKER KILLED WHEN POLICE FIRED ON PROTESTERS JACKSON, MS
2 OCT 1967	THURGOOD MARSHALL SWORN IN AS FIRST BLACK SUPREME COURT JUSTICE
8 FEB 1968	SAMUEL HAMMOND, JR. DELANO MIDDLETON HENRY SMITH STUDENTS KILLED WHEN HIGHWAY PATROLMEN FIRED ON PROTESTERS ORANGEBURG, SC
4 APR 1968	DR. MARTIN LUTHER KING JR. ASSASSINATED MEMPHIS, TN

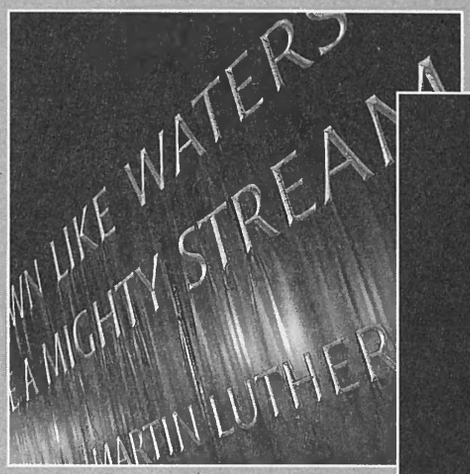
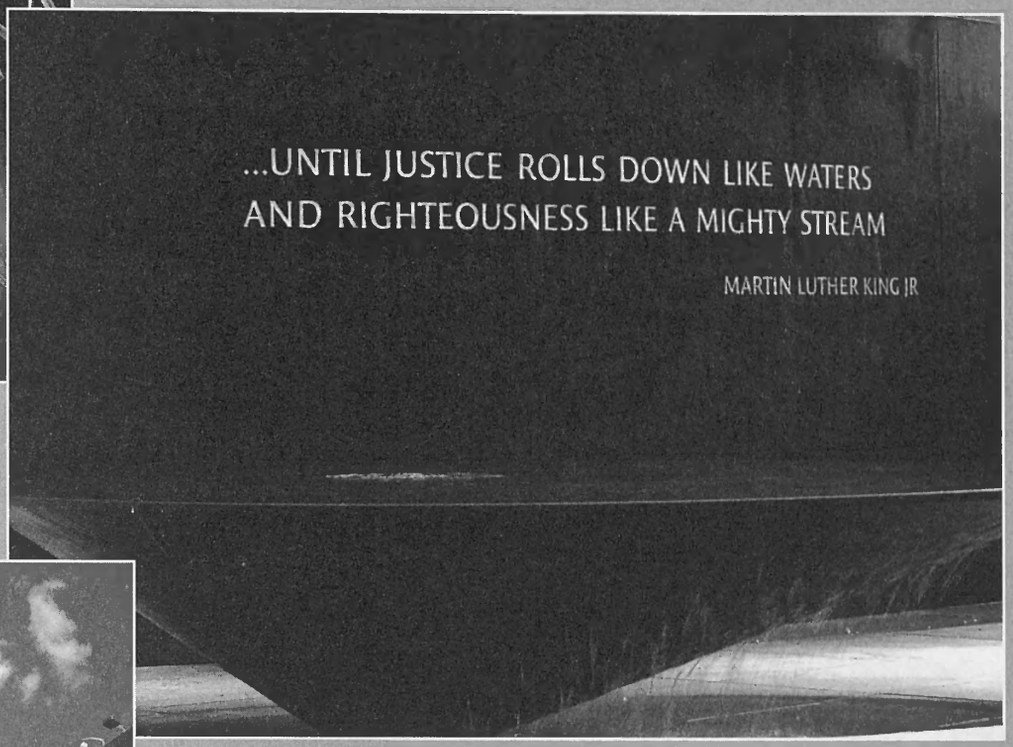


FIGURE 1

FIGURE 2



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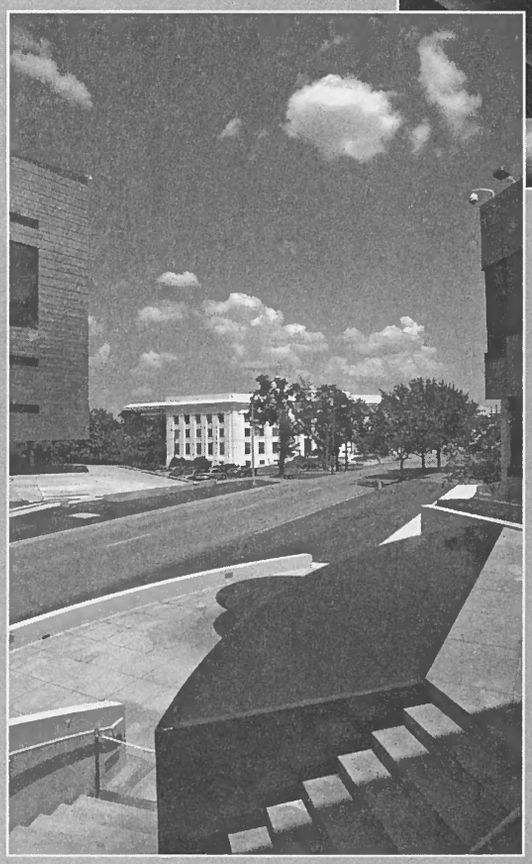

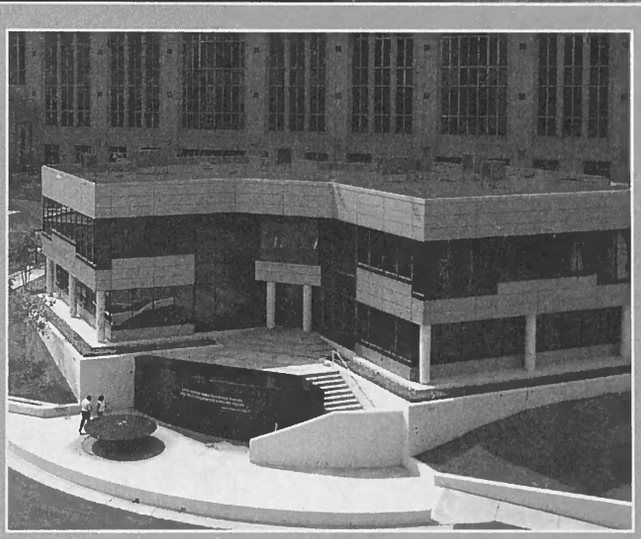

FIGURE 3

FIGURE 6

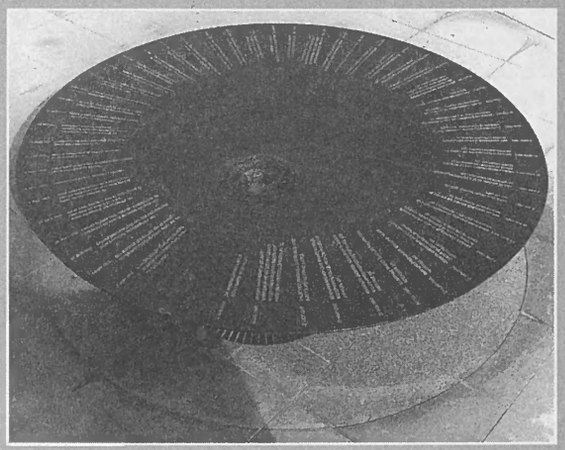

FIGURE 5

FIGURE 7

FIGURE 8

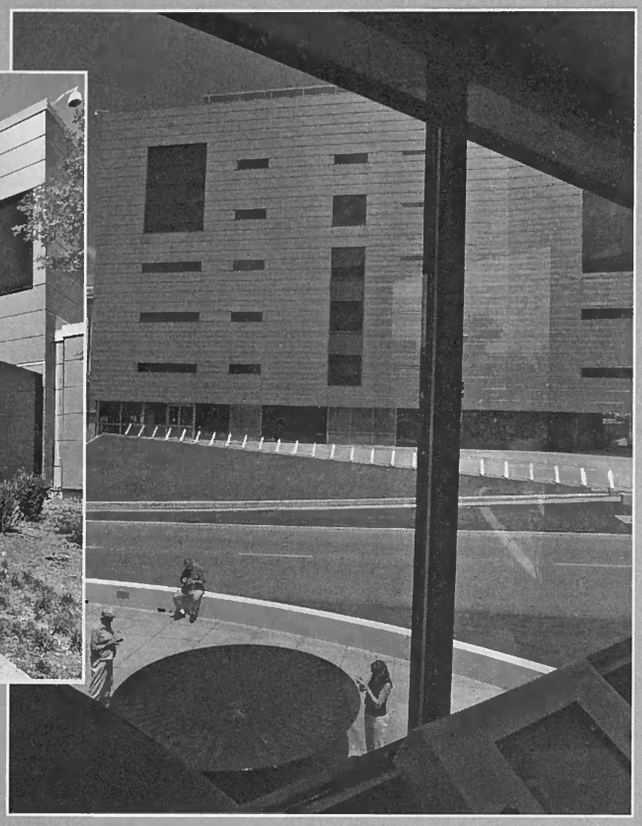

FIGURE 9

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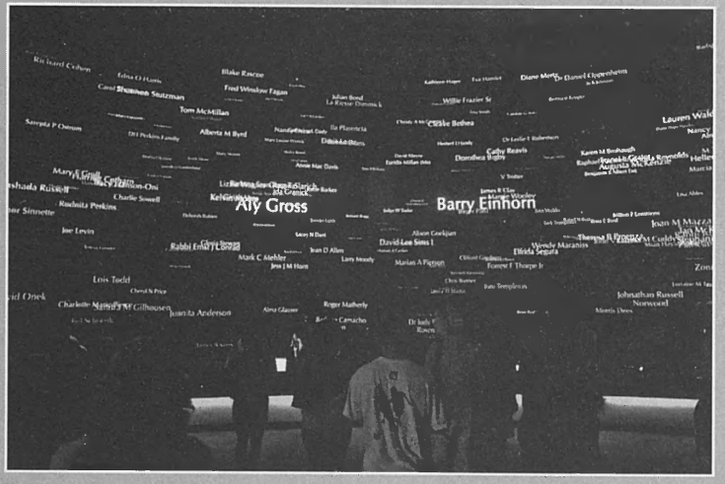
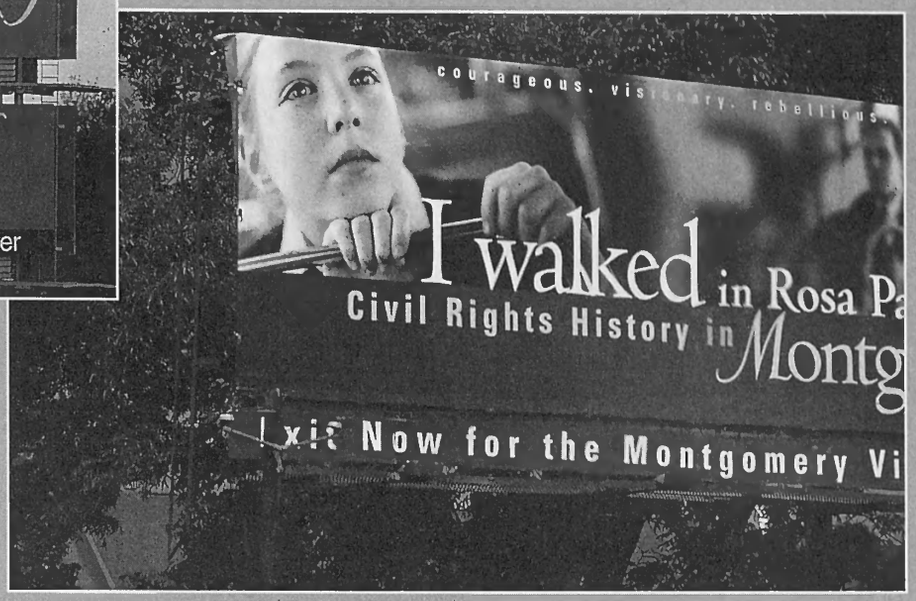
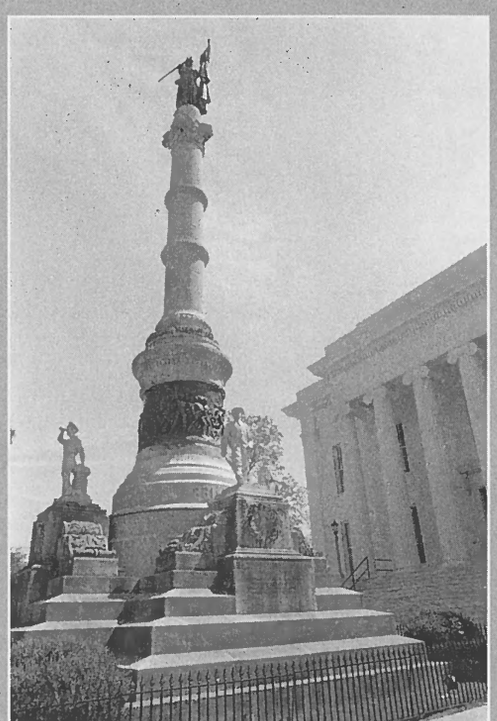


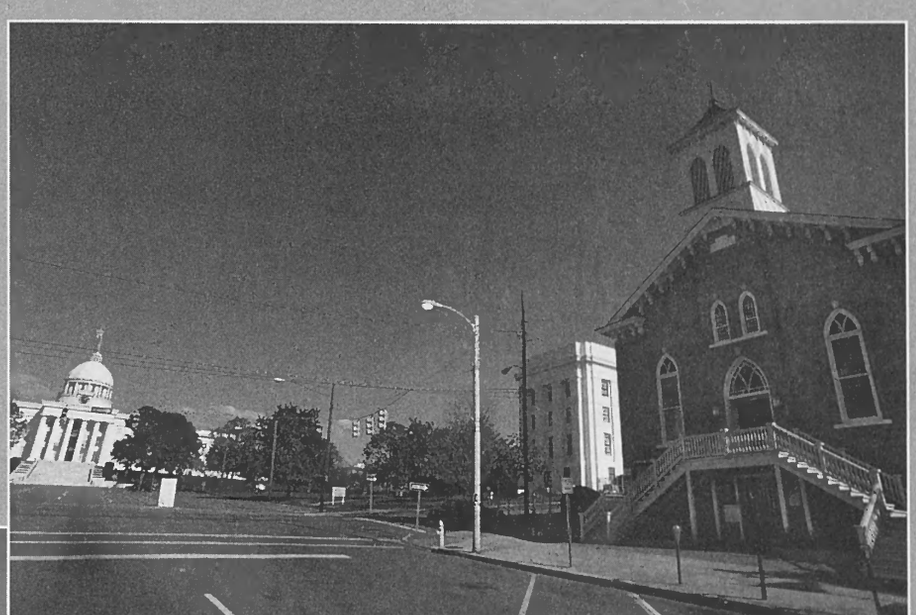
◀ FIGURE 13

FIGURE 14 ▼





▲ FIGURE 15



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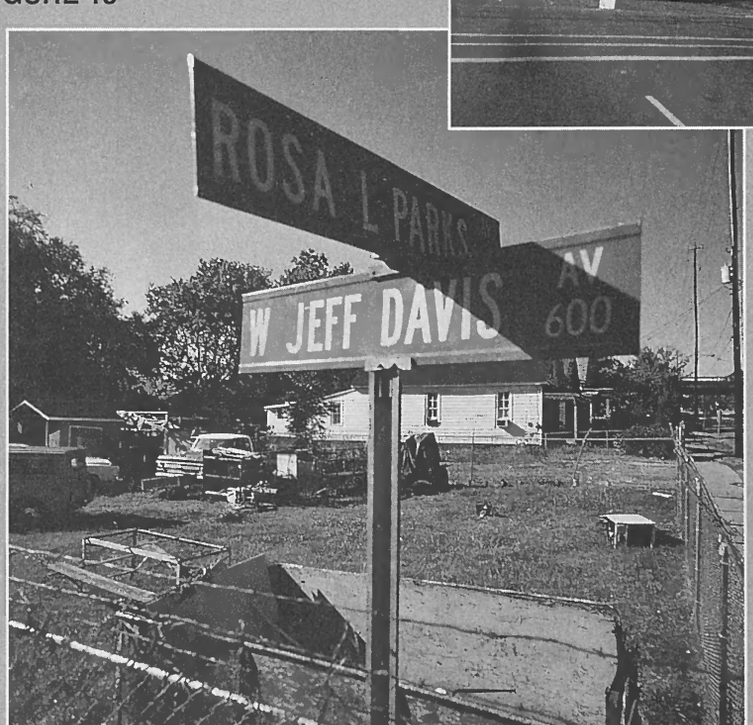

◀ FIGURE 17

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FIGURE 20 ▼

FIGURE 21 ▶

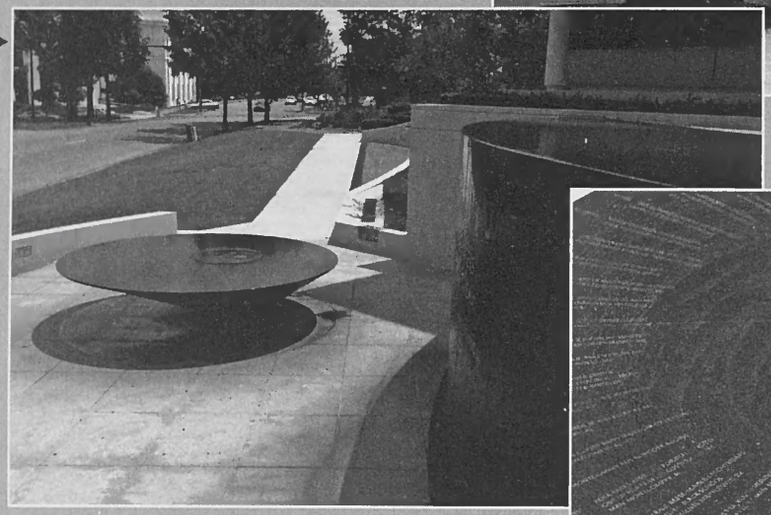
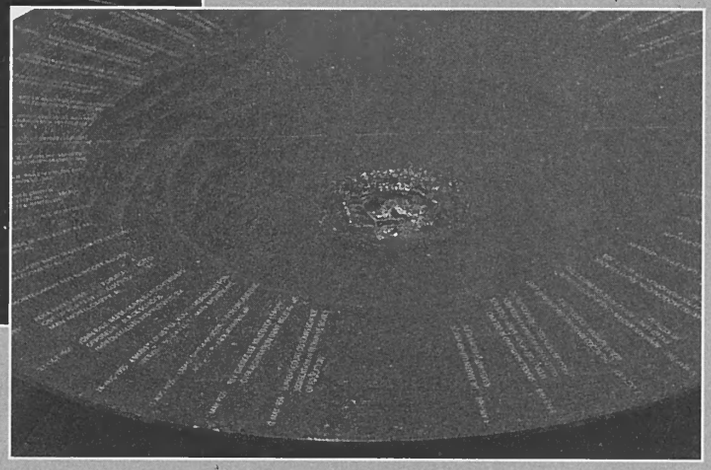


FIGURE 22 ▼



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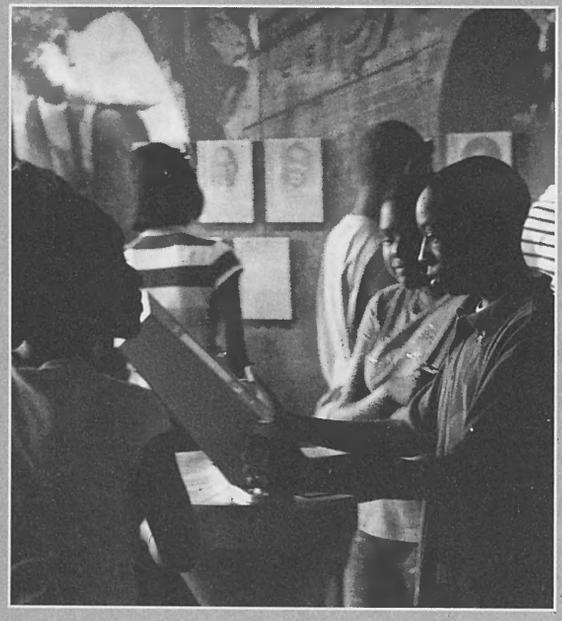
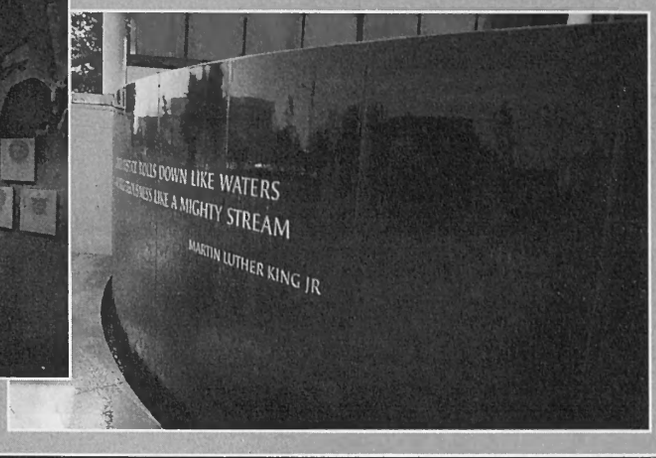
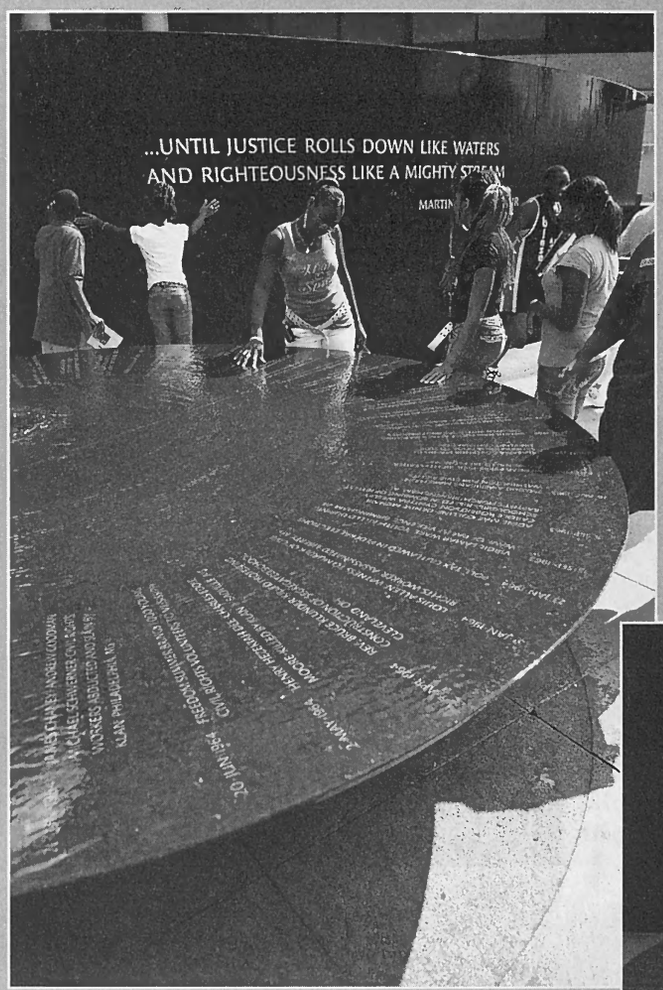


◀ FIGURE 24

◀ FIGURE 25

FIGURE 26 ▼





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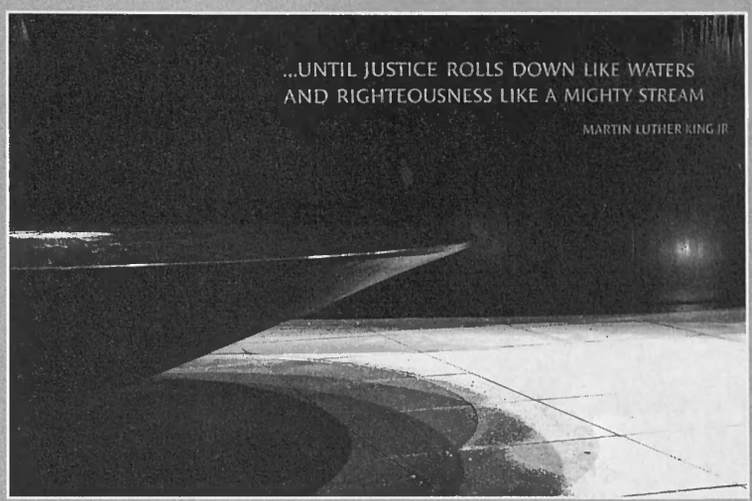
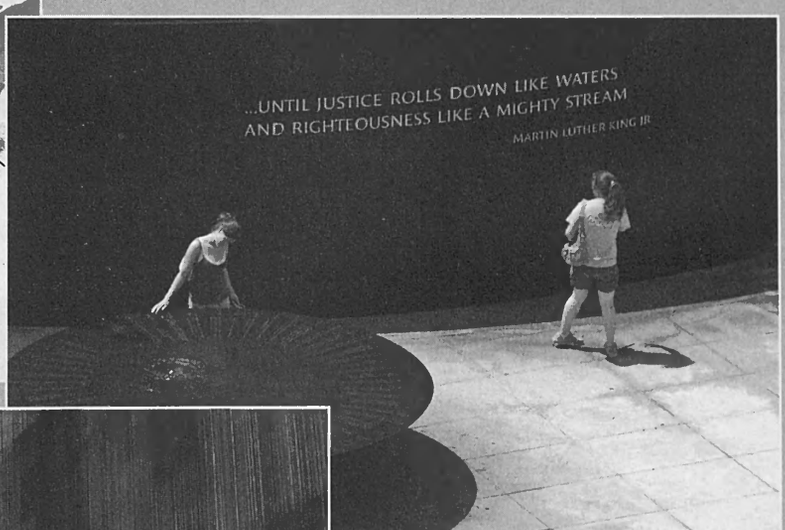


▲ FIGURE 28



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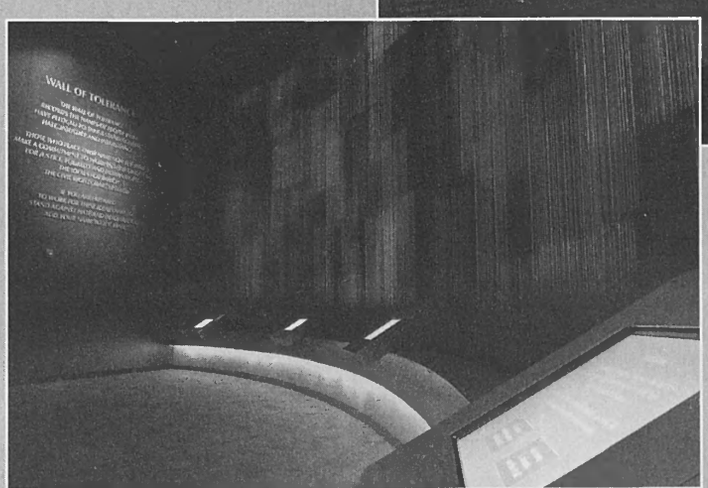

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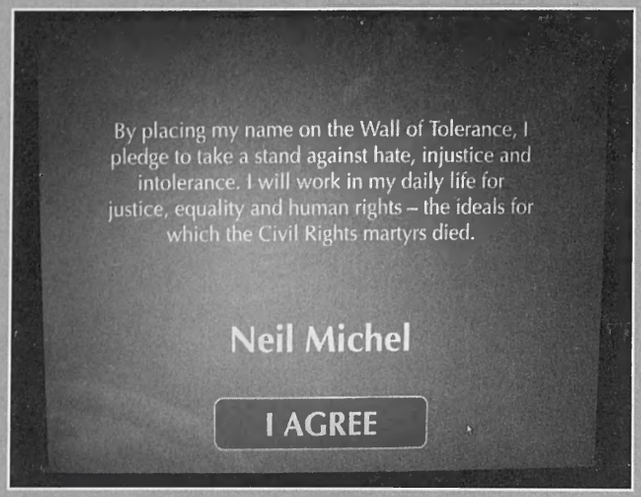

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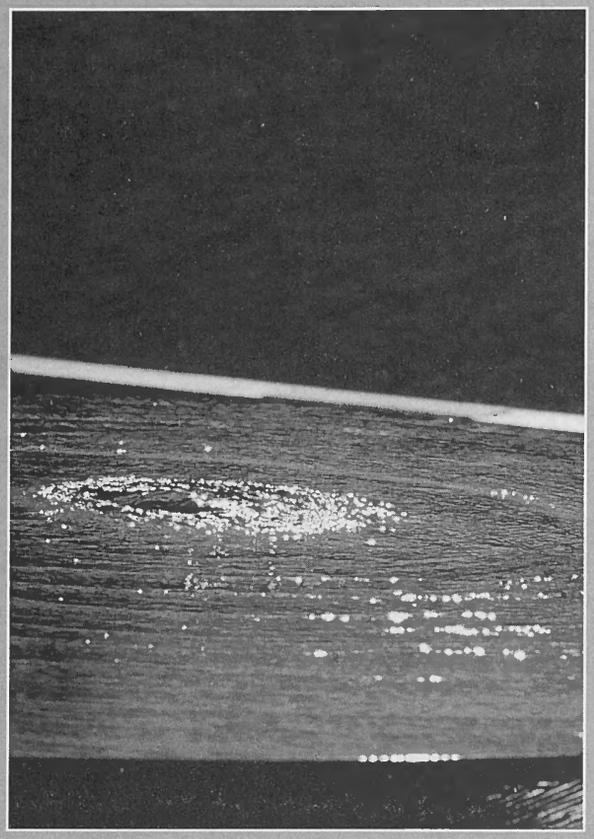

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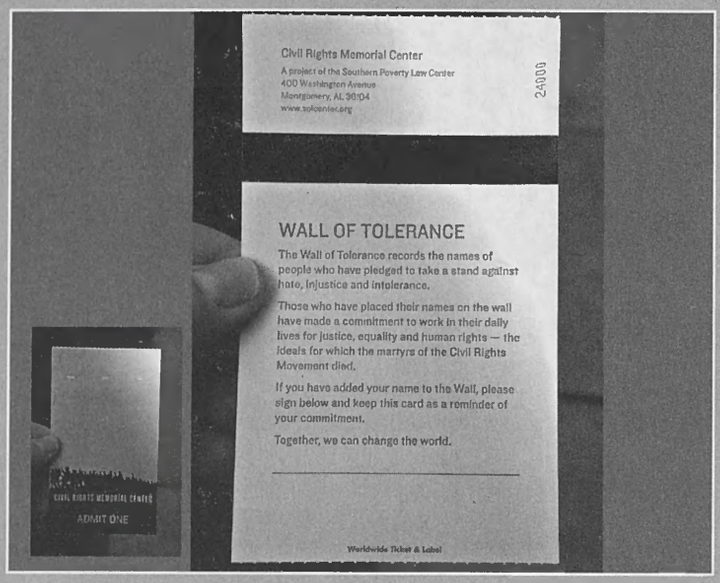

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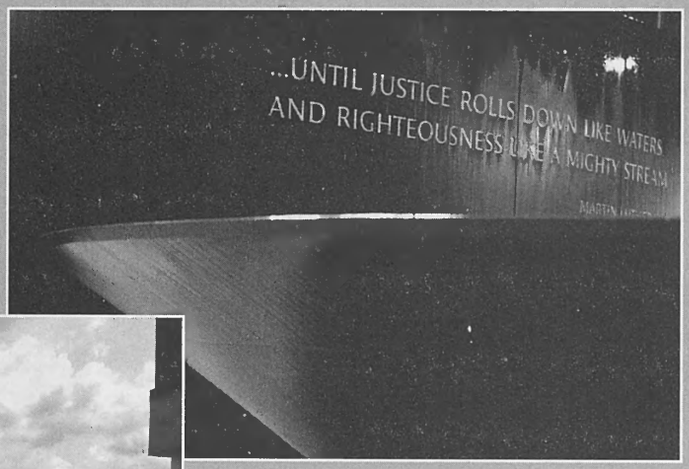

FIGURE 35

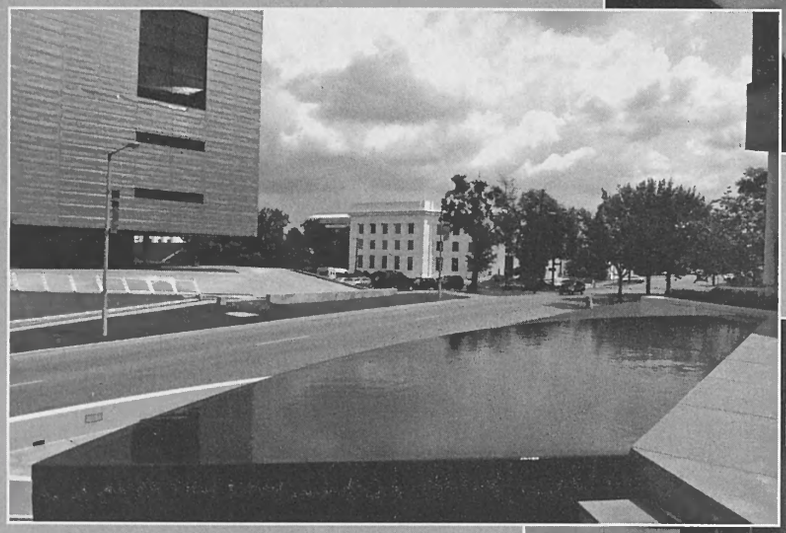

FIGURE 34

FIGURE 36 ▶

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