
Cartooning the Beloved Community: Martin Luther King Jr. and Political Personhood in “The Montgomery Story”

Magana Kabugi, Ph.D.

*Assistant Professor of Literature
Fisk University*

As a visual and textual media, comics have played a significant role in ingraining anti-Blackness into the cultural psyche of the United States. Racist caricatures of African Americans in comic strips and graphic novels have helped to reinforce the notion that Black people are unworthy of the promises and benefits of citizenship as outlined in the United States Constitution. Black cartoonists who were aware of comics’ power to preserve racist hegemonic structures also knew that the medium could help to tear down those same barriers. This article explores how Black cartoonists were instrumental in constructing and mobilizing a conceptual community that connected Black readers to one another and to a wider concept of American nationhood and citizenship in service to the marginalized and dispossessed of society. Of specific interest is *Martin Luther King and the Montgomery Story*, a 1957 comic book which King himself was instrumental in conceptualizing and editing. Told through the eyes of an ordinary, yet determined working-class Black man, the book uses a colorful graphic-novel format to educate readers about effective nonviolent protest. The article discusses not only the role of comics in shaping political discourses about citizenship and belonging, but also illuminates the creative role that King played in enabling the book to respond to the moment.

KEYWORDS: Comics, graphic novels, civil rights, citizenship, activism

INTRODUCTION

One of the main goals of Jim Crow segregation laws—apart from demarcating a clear societal boundary between the races—was to exclude African Americans from the benefits, promises, and ideals of American nationhood

and citizenship. Although various forms of media were complicit in this act of exclusion, comics played a unique role because of their visual, ideological, and cultural currency. As a visual and textual medium, comics employed racist stereotypes that depicted Black subjects as clownish, lazy, and semiliterate figures who were content with their second-class status. The ingraining of anti-Black stereotypes in the national psyche reinforced the notion that citizenship and nationhood were out of reach for Black people. However, Black cartoonists who were aware of comics' power to preserve hegemonic structures knew that the same medium could help to tear down those barriers.

This article seeks to advance the study of Black comics and cartoons by focusing on the role that Black cartoonists played in not only advancing civil rights, but also in pushing readers to engage critically with notions of Black personhood and citizenship through comics and sequential art. I argue that through their visuality and narrative, African American comic books and comic strips were instrumental in constructing and mobilizing a conceptual community that connected Black readers to one another and to a wider concept of American nationhood and citizenship in service to the marginalized and dispossessed of society. The text of particular interest to my discussion is *Martin Luther King and the Montgomery Story*, a 1957 comic book which King himself was instrumental in conceptualizing and editing. This article provides a glimpse into ways that Black comic creators were thought partners with civil rights thinkers and activists in challenging notions of American personhood and citizenship that privileged whiteness and marginalized Blackness.

UNDERSTANDING PERSONHOOD AND CITIZENSHIP IN AMERICAN COMICS

People of African descent in the United States have long had a complex relationship with popularly constructed notions of American personhood and citizenship. The Constitution and the Bill of Rights, two hallowed documents within the US public imagination, were designed within the framework of legally sanctioned enslavement by white men who claimed ownership of human property. The Constitution referred to Black people as being "three-fifths of all other Persons."¹ For generations afterward, Black people were governed by an institutionalized network of Jim Crow laws that mapped segregation and inequality onto every facet of American public and private

¹ "Article I, Section 2: House of Representatives, Clause 3: Seats." *Constitution Annotated*, United States Congress, <https://constitution.congress.gov/browse/article-1/section-2/clause-3/>.

life, including education, finance, employment, entertainment and leisure, and healthcare, among other areas. In response, Black leaders differed on how to best understand one's place as a Black person within the nation-state. Some leaders, such as Marcus Garvey, advocated for a voluntary return to Africa,² while others proposed the creation of an autonomous Black nation within U.S. borders, such as the Republic of New Afrika;³ others promoted a self-contained, self-reliant Black ecosystem socially separate from but politically concomitant with the US, such as Booker T. Washington's Tuskegee.⁴

Still others, such as W.E.B. Du Bois, challenged Black readers in his 1926 address to the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People to critically assess the implications of American personhood for Black people: "What do we want? What is the thing we are after?... We want to be Americans, full-fledged Americans, with all the rights of other Americans. But is that all? Do we want simply to be Americans?"⁵ Literary scholarship illustrates that, true to Du Bois's question, Black writers have mobilized print culture and cultural production to demand more than only privileges and rights. According to Derrick Spires, "Black writers argue for more than simple inclusion; indeed, they argue for the kind of political world in which they would not have to make such an argument."⁶ The argument for expanding the parameters of American belonging was evident in the pages of Black newspaper comics during the Golden Age of Comics, which comics historians place roughly between the late 1930s and early 1950s.⁷ Cartoonists such as Jackie Ormes often portrayed Black women and girls in the pages of the Black-owned Pittsburgh Courier who humorously interrogated the concepts of citizenship and Black personhood.⁸

Comics provide a unique venue through which cartoonists build consensus around imagined configurations of personhood and citizenship. In their

² John Henrik Clarke, ed., *Marcus Garvey and the Vision of Africa*. (Baltimore: Black Classic Press, 2004.)

³ Edward Onaci, *Free the Land: The Republic of New Afrika and the Pursuit of a Black Nation-State* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2020).

⁴ Booker T. Washington, *Up From Slavery* (New York: Penguin Classics, 1986).

⁵ W.E.B. Du Bois, "Criteria of Negro Art," in *Within the Circle: An Anthology of African American Literary Criticism from the Harlem Renaissance to the Present* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1994), 60.

⁶ Derrick Spires, *The Practice of Citizenship: Black Politics and Print Culture in the Early United States* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2019), 3.

⁷ Lou Mougin, *Secondary Superheroes of Golden Age Comics* (Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 2019).

⁸ Nancy Goldstein, *Jackie Ormes: The First African American Woman Cartoonist* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2008).

book, *Redrawing the Nation*, Latin American comics scholars, Héctor Fernández L’Hoeste and Juan Poblete, state that comics have historically provided Latin American readers with “codes, plots, and strategies” necessary for visualizing and situating themselves within the process of national modernization⁹; this conceptualization can be extended to explain how comics have helped white Americans to define citizenship and determine their own relationship to the American national project. During the Golden Age of Comic Books, citizenship was almost exclusively synonymous with American whiteness. This is particularly true for the superhero genre and the many characters who fall within it, such as Superman, Batman, and perhaps most obviously, Captain America.

These superheroes exemplify both the extraordinary and the ordinary, the exceptional man and the common man, therefore allowing the reader (and particularly white children) to self-identify with both character types. Such comic books create a dichotomy between good and evil by imperiling the lives of honest, decent, hard-working people by nefarious villains. Also, because superhero comics were so popular, they were vital in instilling such notions of good and evil, patriotism and nationalism in children— notions which would reproduce themselves over generations. By upholding moral values that characterize just societies, the superhero also upholds the rights of the citizen and assumes the duties of his citizenship.

Newspaper comics also played a crucial role in disseminating ideas about the white American citizen. Whereas the superhero comic book casts the citizen within the context of the fantastic, the newspaper comic strip reflects the mundane realities of white America. Strips such as “Hi and Lois,”¹⁰ “The Family Circus,”¹¹ and “Gasoline Alley”¹² portrayed working-class and middle-class white Americans living their lives, going to work, and raising their families. Most of these strips were set in racially and culturally homogeneous small towns and promoted ideas such as family values and community engagement. Such characters and comic strips provided white readers with a mirror and affirmed the importance of family, community, and country amid

⁹ Héctor Fernández L’Hoeste and Juan Poblete, eds. *Redrawing the Nation: National Identity in Latin/o American Comics* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), 3.

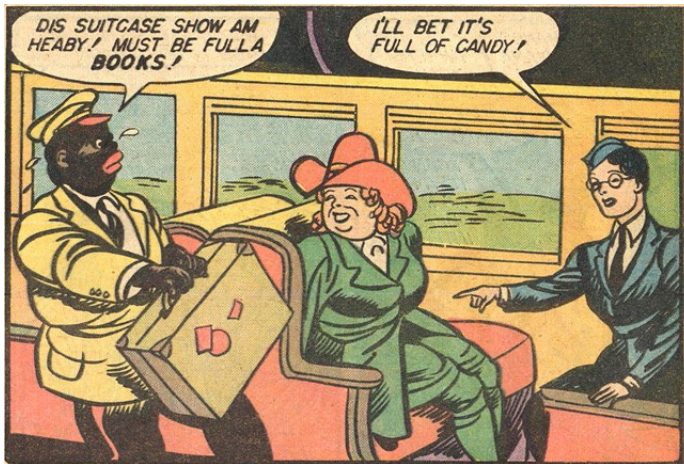
¹⁰ Brian Walker and Greg Walker. *Hi and Lois: Sunday Best* (Toronto: ECW Press, 2004).

¹¹ Bil Keane. *The Family Circus: The Complete Comics from the Beginning, 1960-61* (San Diego: IDW Publishing, 2009).

¹² Frank King and Dick Moores. *Gasoline Alley: Volume One* (San Diego: IDW Publishing, 2012).

unsettling political dramas such as World War II, the Cold War, the Communist Red Scare and the rising civil rights movement.

However, while comics normalized and validated the everyday experiences of the white American citizen, they also had a reverse effect: they purposefully isolated and dehumanized the Black subject, thereby communicating to Black people that they were not owed the right to citizenship. According to J. Stanley Lemons, minstrel shows lampooning African Americans were the first nationally popular and uniquely American form of entertainment; from these performances emerged derogatory caricatures of Black people that saturated print culture.¹³ Examples of Black stereotypes in early American and Western media are ubiquitous, from Thomas Rice's 1830 portrayal of the minstrel character, "Jump Jim Crow" (which served as the namesake of segregation)¹⁴ to the portrayals of Black people as dim-witted and generally unintelligent in popular comics books such as *Wonder Woman*.¹⁵ Such visual representations of Black people not only sought to humiliate Black readers and objectify Blackness, but also formed a set of discursive practices that reduced Black readers to objects lacking the full dimensionality of the human experience.



¹³ J. Stanley Lemons, "Black Stereotypes as Reflected in Popular Culture, 1880–1920," *American Quarterly* 29, no. 1 (1979): 102.

¹⁴ Michael D. Harris, *Colored Pictures: Race and Visual Representation* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2003), 51.

¹⁵ Tim Hanley, "Cary Elwes and Tracie Thoms Join Wonder Woman Cast." *Tim Hanley*, March 5, 2011, <https://thanley.wordpress.com/2011/03/05/cary-elwes-and-tracie-thoms-join-wonder-woman-cast/>.

This trend was not only confined to comics, but was a transmedia phenomenon, occurring in radio programs (*The Fibber McGee and Molly Show*, *Beulah*), television shows (*Amos and Andy*, *The Little Rascals*) and cartoons such as *Tom and Jerry*, films (*Gone With the Wind*, *Tarzan*) and music (various state anthems romanticizing slavery and plantation life, minstrel showtunes), among other media. Often these cultural texts employed visual and conceptual stereotypes about African Americans that had origins in white social spaces. Rooted in racist ideas about Black physicality and skin complexion, many comics equated certain physical features with abnormality, grotesqueness, poverty, and lack of education.

Though comics have mobilized stereotypes and racist ideologies to shape readers' political consciousness, the same medium can also work in the reverse. The very technologies of power that participate in the perpetuation of systemic racism and misguided stereotypes can also tear those same structures apart. Black comics creators recognized this duality and used it to create comics that articulated a politics of Black personhood and citizenship that countered the Anglocentric and xenophobic worldviews that pervaded the comics pages.

MARTIN LUTHER KING JR. AND THE *MONTGOMERY STORY*

One such comic that participated in this project was *Martin Luther King and the Montgomery Story*, produced in 1957 by the Fellowship of Reconciliation (which I will refer to hereafter as FOR), a humanitarian organization dedicated to peacemaking and improved human relations.¹⁶ In 1958, the Reverend Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., who was then an emerging young minister at the

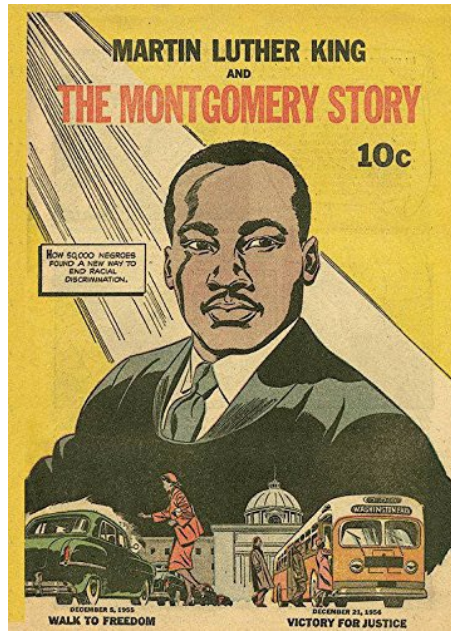
¹⁶ Organized in 1914 in Germany by a group of religious leaders and war objectors, FOR's mission has been to "spread the Kingdom of Heaven, the Rule of God...To stop war, to purify the world, to get it saved from poverty and riches, to make people like each other, to heal the sick, and comfort the sad...to find God in everything and in everyone" (Dekar 18). Originally, the organization was founded to brainstorm solutions to stave off the outbreak of World War I, but failed in that regard—the war began as the founders convened the inaugural meeting. For further reading on FOR, see Paul R. Dekar, *Creating the Beloved Community: A Journey with the Fellowship of Reconciliation* (Telford, PA: Cascadia Publishing, 2005).

forefront of the successful Montgomery, Alabama bus boycott,¹⁷ formed an alliance with the organization. Although FOR was not the main organizational mechanism through which Dr. King did his work, he often described the similarity between FOR's objectives and the philosophical underpinnings of his work. As a way of amassing support for the civil rights movement and touting the effectiveness of nonviolent protest, FOR commissioned the creation of a comic book about the success of the Montgomery bus boycott. The decision to create a mini-comic book about civil rights was novel at the time, considering the political tension that gripped the nation. The Cold War was in full swing and Senator Joseph McCarthy's Communist witch hunt paralyzed the United States Congress—and the country as a whole—with fear. As a measure of safeguarding the nation's children and ensuring their patriotism, forms of media that appealed to young people were closely policed. Comics did not escape this surveillance.

Many popular comics had taken an edgy turn in genre, focusing heavily on gratuitous violence, horror, and sexual themes. The New York-based psychiatrist, Frederic Wertham¹⁸ was a notable critic of comics and believed they posed dangers to the child psyche. In 1954, he testified before Congress about the perversity of the art, showing visual excerpts of particularly gruesome comic books such as *Tales From the Crypt* aimed at children as young as seven. Whereas newspaper comics such as "Peanuts" and "Gasoline Alley" maintained solid readerships, comic books were seen as tools of juvenile delinquency and moral decay. White parents' anxieties about comics and compromised national loyalties were compounded by the rise of the civil rights movement.

¹⁷ The 1955-1957 Montgomery bus boycott is considered by many historians to be the pivotal event that set the modern American civil rights movement in motion. On December 1, 1955, Rosa Parks, a Black seamstress in Montgomery, Alabama, wearily boarded a bus at the close of a particularly tiring work day. When the bus began to fill and more white passengers demanded seating, the driver ordered her to surrender her seat. Parks quietly refused, and her arrest spurred civil rights leaders such as Dr. King, E.D. Nixon, and others to mobilize Montgomery's Black community in a successful year-long boycott of the transit system. For more on the bus boycott, see Taylor Branch, *Parting the Waters: America in the King Years, 1954-1963* (New York: Random House, 1987).

¹⁸ During the Communist scare of the 1950s, Wertham was the nation's leading anti-comics voice. His 1954 book *Seduction of the Innocent* informed Congress's implementation of the Comics Code, a parental advisory-style ratings system that regulated comic books. See Bradford W. Wright, *Comic Book Nation: The Transformation of Youth Culture in America* (Johns Hopkins University Press, 2003).



No particular artist or writer was given credit for the artwork or writing of *The Montgomery Story*; however, comics scholar Andrew Aydin¹⁹ notes that Alfred Hassler, who was then FOR's Director of Communications, was the originator of the concept for the book. Hassler collaborated with Benton Resnik, a publishing associate with connections in the comic book industry (which had begun to crumble under the weight of political pressure and negative public opinion towards comic books), and FOR eventually received funding to create a manuscript draft that was sent to King to ensure its historical and cultural accuracy. In a letter to Hassler, King pointed out:

On page 16, box 1 you state that [E.D.] Nixon was the first person to be indicted. I don't think this is actually the case. The Grand Jury indicted everybody simultaneously. Neither was Nixon the first to be arrested. Ralph Abernathy was the first to be arrested. On page 20, box 5 you quote the Negro woman who was slapped: "I could really wallop her—she is smaller than me." Actually, there was a white man who slapped the Negro woman. In order to be more in line with

¹⁹ For more on Aydin's research on *Martin Luther King and the Montgomery Story*, see Andrew Aydin, "The Comic Book That Changed the World," *Creative Loafing*, August 1, 2013).

the facts it would be better to say: "I could really wallop him—he's smaller than me!"²⁰

As King's letter suggests, the making of *Martin Luther King and the Montgomery Story* was a highly deliberate and intentional process. Mindful of the fact that comic books were not highly regarded within the mainstream public sphere, FOR and Dr. King tailored the text to appeal to particularized audiences, two of whom included semiliterate readers and strong supporters of the civil rights movement. A close reading of the visuality and narrative of the book reveals a deeply concerted effort by FOR to engage these publics, as well as promote ideas such as social justice and equality. More subtly, the text also raises up King as an emerging leader: the title of the book bears his name, and his illustrated image is displayed prominently at the top of the cover. Below him are images evocative of the boycott. An African American woman, poised and fashionably dressed, flags a passing car—perhaps it is a taxi, or a friend—and reaches for the door handle, about to enter. Underneath her is the caption: "DECEMBER 5, 1955"—the day the boycott was born—"WALK TO FREEDOM." Juxtaposed next to the boycott scene is another scene in which African Americans are boarding a bus.

Underneath that image is another caption: "DECEMBER 21, 1956: VICTORY FOR JUSTICE," alluding to the success of the boycott and the newly democratized transit system. The book is also mindful of situating the Black reader as the "everyday" American citizen, just as newspaper comics were focused on upholding white Americana as a cultural exemplar. Although the title of the book bears Martin Luther King's name, the character at the heart of the story is actually a working-class Black man in Montgomery. The man instructs the reader to "Call me Jones. My name doesn't matter. But my story's important for you as well as me. We're all caught up in it one way or another!"²¹ From Jones's very first lines, the formation of Black political personhood begins to take shape. The phrase "Call me Jones" underscores both Jones's "everyman" quality (particularly striking since most "everyman" characters in comics of this period are white males) and his effectiveness in reclaiming a famous phrase from the American literary canon. Visually, his body language also highlights his presence. He leans forward within his pan-

²⁰ Andrew Aydin, "Comic Book."

²¹ *Martin Luther King and the Montgomery Story* (New York: Fellowship of Reconciliation, 1957), 2.

el, making direct eye contact with the reader and signaling his investment in connecting with us.



Many aspects of Jones's professional and personal life would resonate with Black readers of the time, and particularly with working-class Black men. He resents segregation and the cultural/legal demotion of Black citizenship; we see him drying cars at a car wash and being told by an impatient white businessman, "Snap it up, boy. I want that car in a hurry."²² Jones tells us that the Jim Crow order of the South has him nervous, as it does many other Black people. He keeps a gun locked away in a desk in his house and wrestles with himself internally on whether or not he could ever bring himself to use it if necessary. "I'm a peaceful man," he says, "but I have a gun. For a long time I thought I might have to use it someday. Now I don't know."²³ To further complicate matters, he has a wife and baby son, and worries about whether he'd ever have to use his gun to defend his family. Not only does Jones enable Black readers to self-identify with a Black character, but he also embodies the moral and philosophical complexities posed by segregation. These complexities are wrapped within internal conflicts regarding

²² *Martin Luther King and the Montgomery Story*, 2.

²³ *Martin Luther King and the Montgomery Story*, 2.

peacefulness versus violence and the significance of courage within manhood, marriage, and fatherhood.

As a way of grappling with his frustrations, Jones decides to take action. He gathers together some of his closest friends and suggests they protest Montgomery's segregated mass transit by boycotting the buses. The men mimeograph a flyer lamenting Rosa Parks's recent arrest for not giving up her seat to white passengers; they then circulate the flyers around Montgomery's Black professional community, and the announcement eventually reaches the local newspaper. As the word spreads, more Black people feel empowered to participate in the bus boycott, and Jones finds himself more politically active, eventually joining the Montgomery Improvement Association (MIA)²⁴ and electing Martin Luther King as the group's president. Through Jones's political transformation, the reader becomes politically transformed as well, and the process of creating political personhood is set in motion.

By portraying ordinary African Americans engaged in the visual representations of political activism—mimeographing sheets, attending public meetings, strategizing in groups—the text enables the reader to see him or herself as a political actor with the power to change unjust laws and even the course of history. Just as the ordinary Black men and women of Montgomery are empowered to correct the inequalities instigated by segregation, the reader is instructed to envision themselves as equally deserving individuals whose duty is to demand full equality from the state. The text even acts as a literal mobilizer and rallying cry for readers through the depiction of a preacher warming up his congregation, a familiar sight to many Black readers. He stands at the lectern during an MIA meeting as if he is presiding over a congregation in a church; he also engages in some verbal call-and-response with the citizens gathered:

Preacher: Are we going to ride those buses?

Congregation: NO!

Preacher: Are we going to walk with the feet God gave us?

Congregation: YES!

Preacher: Yes! Better to walk with dignity...than ride in humiliation!²⁵

²⁴ The Montgomery Improvement Association was a civic organization founded by Martin Luther King Jr., Ralph Abernathy, and other Black ministers and community leaders in Montgomery to coordinate the 1955 bus boycott. For further reading on the MIA, see Martin Luther King, Jr. *Stride Toward Freedom* (New York: Harper, 1958).

²⁵ *Martin Luther King and the Montgomery Story*, 5.

In spite of bitter and sometimes violent resistance from racist whites in Montgomery, Jones and the MIA successfully convince the city to desegregate the public transit system. Surprisingly, *The Montgomery Story* does not end with Blacks riding the buses. At the end of the book is an educational and instructional addendum showing readers how to put into practice the principles of nonviolent resistance in order to make actionable social change in their own lives. Although unusual for a comic book, this section brings the book's investment in political personhood full circle. Narrated by the cartoon version of King, the section explains how social leader Mahatma Gandhi incorporated nonviolence into his 1919 campaign in India against British imperialism.

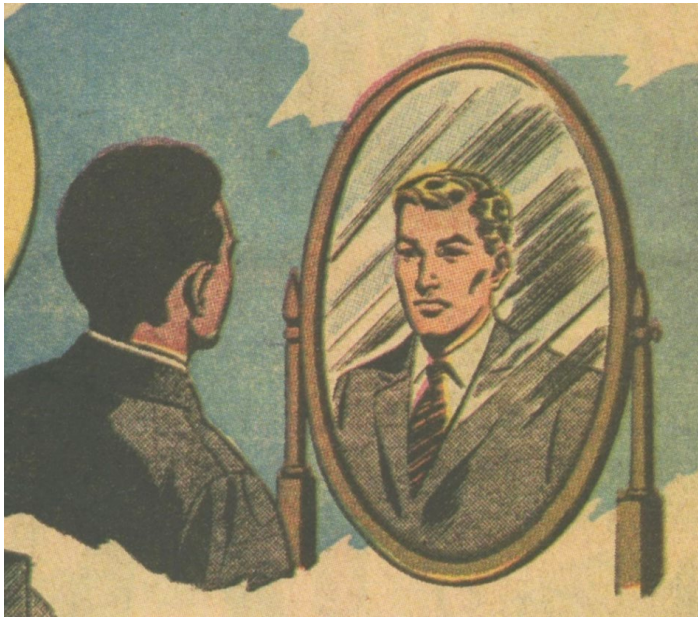
After making clear the costs of nonviolence—including the loss of some human lives— King demonstrates how to put nonviolence to work in an American context. In a subsection headlined “How the Montgomery Method Works,” King runs through a series of pointers grounded in Christian theology: “Remember that *you* can do something about [your] situation. God says *you* are important...God loves your enemy, too, and that makes *him* important to you...You have to stop seeing him as your enemy.”²⁶ Beside the narrated text, the illustrations show a Black man looking into a mirror and seeing the reflection of a white man, underscoring the human interconnectedness that King references.

The pairing of King's instructions with the visual applications crystallizes for the reader what the realization of Black political personhood looks like: not only is it the attainment of political rights and privileges, but also a fundamental understanding of how citizens should matter to one another. Just as King believed that the civil rights movement presented a “glorious opportunity to inject a new dimension of love into the veins of our civilization,”²⁷ this comic book injects a new dimension of political awareness and racial consciousness into the reader.

In the decades since *Martin Luther King and the Montgomery Story* was published, Black Americans have made significant economic and political advances. However, the racial, social, and political problems that continue to plague

²⁶ *Martin Luther King and the Montgomery Story*, 12.

²⁷ Martin Luther King Jr. “Facing the Challenge of a New Age,” Address Delivered at the First Annual Institute on Nonviolence and Social Change.” *The Martin Luther King Jr. Research and Education Institute*, <https://kinginstitute.stanford.edu/king-papers/documents/facing-challenge-new-age-address-delivered-first-annual-institute-nonviolence>.



Black America serve as grim reminders of how American notions of personhood and citizenship still contradict the daily realities experienced by Black people in the US. Comics still have the unique innate ability to respond to these issues because of their dual visual and textual nature.

Visually, comics take African Americans out of the realm of the ethnic “other” and place them on a playing field on which they set the terms. Whether the comic in question is Morrie Turner’s “Wee Pals,” a strip which uses a multicultural cast of children as mouthpieces for keen social and political commentary, or Barbara Brandon-Croft’s strip “Where I’m Coming From,” which delves into the lives of ordinary, professional African American women, comics have the ability to resonate with a wide range of audiences by showing America as it is, giving visibility to distinct racial, ethnic, and religious identities while simultaneously engaging a majority of readers. For example, following the success of the 2018 film, *Black Panther*, essayist and journalist Ta-Nehisi Coates wrote the text for an installment of the Black Panther Marvel series, using narrative to reframe old notions of the traditional American superhero comic.

As a new generation of Black cartoonists and graphic artists continue to grapple with W.E.B. Du Bois’s age-old question, “how does it feel to be a

problem,” comics have the potential to dramatically reshape how issues of race, citizenship and political personhood are addressed within our mainstream discourse.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- “Article I, Section 2: House of Representatives, Clause 3: Seats.” *Constitution Annotated*, United States Congress, <https://constitution.congress.gov/browse/article-1/section-2/clause-3/>.
- Aydin, Andrew. “The Comic Book That Changed the World,” *Creative Loafing*, August 1, 2013, <https://creativeloafing.com/content-185638-cover-story-the-comic-book-that-changed-the>.
- Branch, Taylor. *Parting the Waters: America in the King Years, 1954-1963*. New York: Random House, 1987.
- Clarke, John Henrik, ed. *Marcus Garvey and the Vision of Africa*. Baltimore: Black Classic Press, 2004.
- Dekar, Paul R. *Creating the Beloved Community: A Journey with the Fellowship of Reconciliation*. Telford, PA: Cascadia Publishing, 2005.
- Du Bois, W.E.B. “Criteria of Negro Art.” In *Within the Circle: An Anthology of African American Literary Criticism from the Harlem Renaissance to the Present*. Durham: Duke University Press, 1994.
- Goldstein, Nancy. *Jackie Ormes: The First African American Woman Cartoonist*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2008.
- Hanley, Tim. “Cary Elwes and Tracie Thoms Join Wonder Woman Cast.” *Tim Hanley*, March 5, 2011, <https://thanley.wordpress.com/2011/03/05/cary-elwes-and-tracie-thoms-join-wonder-woman-cast/>.
- Harris, Michael D. *Colored Pictures: Race and Visual Representation*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2003.
- Keane, Bil. *The Family Circus: The Complete Comics from the Beginning, 1960-61*. San Diego: IDW Publishing, 2009.
- King, Frank, and Dick Moores. *Gasoline Alley: Volume One*. San Diego: IDW Publishing, 2012.
- King Jr., Martin Luther. “‘Facing the Challenge of a New Age,’ Address Delivered at the First Annual Institute on Nonviolence and Social

Change.” *The Martin Luther King Jr. Research and Education Institute*, <https://kinginstitute.stanford.edu/king-papers/documents/facing-challenge-new-age-address-delivered-first-annual-institute-nonviolence>.

King, Jr., Martin Luther. *Stride Toward Freedom*. New York: Harper, 1958.

L’Hoeste, Héctor Fernández, and Juan Poblete, eds. *Redrawing the Nation: National Identity in Latin/o American Comics*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009.

Lemons, J. Stanley. “Black Stereotypes as Reflected in Popular Culture, 1880–1920.” *American Quarterly* 29, no. 1 (1979): 102–116.

Martin Luther King and the Montgomery Story. New York: Fellowship of Reconciliation, 1957.

Mougin, Lou. *Secondary Superheroes of Golden Age Comics*. Jefferson, NC: McFarland, 2019.

Onaci, Edward. *Free the Land: The Republic of New Afrika and the Pursuit of a Black Nation-State*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2020.

Spires, Derrick. *The Practice of Citizenship: Black Politics and Print Culture in the Early United States*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2019.

Walker, Brian, and Greg Walker. *Hi and Lois: Sunday Best*. Toronto: ECW Press, 2004.

Washington, Booker T. *Up From Slavery*. New York: Penguin Classics, 1986.

