Martin Luther King Jr - Wikipedia Special Book

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Chapter 1

Martin Luther King, Jr.

"Martin Luther King" and "MLK" redirect here. For other uses, see Martin Luther King (disambiguation) and MLK (disambiguation).

Martin Luther King, Jr., (January 15, 1929 – April 4, 1968) was an American pastor, activist, humanitarian, and leader in the African-American Civil Rights Movement. He is best known for his role in the advancement of civil rights using nonviolent civil disobedience based on his Christian beliefs.

He was born **Michael King**, but his father changed his name in honor of the German reformer Martin Luther. A Baptist minister, King became a civil rights activist early in his career. He led the 1955 Montgomery Bus Boycott and helped found the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) in 1957, serving as its first president. With the SCLC, King led an unsuccessful struggle against segregation in Albany, Georgia, in 1962, and organized nonviolent protests in Birmingham, Alabama, that attracted national attention following television news coverage of the brutal police response. King also helped to organize the 1963 March on Washington, where he delivered his famous "I Have a Dream" speech. There, he established his reputation as one of the greatest orators in American history.

On October 14, 1964, King received the Nobel Peace Prize for combating racial inequality through nonviolence. In 1965, he and the SCLC helped to organize the Selma to Montgomery marches and the following year, he took the movement north to Chicago to work on segregated housing. In the final years of his life, King expanded his focus to include poverty and speak against the Vietnam War, alienating many of his liberal allies with a 1967 speech titled "Beyond Vietnam".

In 1968, King was planning a national occupation of Washington, D.C., to be called the Poor People's Campaign, when he was assassinated on April 4 in Memphis, Tennessee. His death was followed by riots in many U.S. cities. Allegations that James Earl Ray, the man convicted of killing King, had been framed or acted in concert with government agents persisted for decades after the shooting. The jury of a 1999 civil trial found Loyd Jowers to be complicit in a conspiracy against King. The ruling has since been discredited and a sister of Jowers admitted that he had fabricated the story so he could make $300,000 from selling the story, and she in turn corroborated his story in order to get some money to pay her income tax.[1][2]

King was posthumously awarded the Presidential Medal of Freedom and the Congressional Gold Medal. Martin Luther King, Jr. Day was established as a holiday in numerous cities and states beginning in 1971, and as a U.S. federal holiday in 1986. Hundreds of streets in the U.S. have been renamed in his honor. In addition, a county was rededicated in his honor. A memorial statue on the National Mall was opened to the public in 2011.

1.1 Early life and education



King's high school alma mater was named after African-American scholar Booker T. Washington

Martin Luther King, Jr., was born on January 15, 1929, in Atlanta, Georgia, to Reverend Martin Luther King, Sr. and Alberta Williams King.[3] His legal name at birth was Michael King.[4] King's father was also born Michael King. The father changed his and his son's names following a 1934 trip to Germany to attend the Fifth Baptist World Alliance Congress in Berlin. It was during this time he chose to be called Martin Luther King in honor of the German reformer Martin Luther.[5] King had Irish ancestry through his paternal great-grandfather.[6][7]

Martin, Jr., was a middle child, between an older sister, Willie Christine King, and a younger brother, Alfred Daniel Williams King.[8] King sang with his church choir at the 1939 Atlanta premiere of the movie *Gone with the Wind*.[9] King liked singing and music. King's mother, an accomplished organist and choir leader, took him to various churches to sing. He received attention for singing "I Want to Be More and More Like Jesus." King later became a member of the junior choir in his church.[10]

King said his father regularly whipped him until he was fifteen and a neighbor reported hearing the elder King telling his son "he would make something of him even if he had to beat him to death." King saw his father's proud and unafraid protests in relation to segregation, such as Martin, Sr. refusing to listen to a traffic policeman after being referred to as "boy" or stalking out of a store with his son when being told by a shoe clerk that they would have to move to the rear to be served.[11]

When King was a child, he befriended a white boy whose father owned a business near his family's home. When the boys were 6, they attended different schools, with King attending a segregated school for African-Americans. King then lost his friend because the child's father no longer wanted them to play together.[12]

King suffered from depression throughout much of his life. In his adolescent years, he initially felt some resentment against whites due to the "racial humiliation" that he, his family, and his neighbors often had to endure in the segregated South.[13] At age 12, shortly after his maternal grandmother died, King blamed himself and jumped out of a second story window, but survived.[14]

King was originally skeptical of many of Christianity's claims.[15] At the age of thirteen, he denied the bodily resurrection of Jesus during Sunday school. From this point, he stated, "doubts began to spring forth unrelentingly".[16] However, he later concluded that the Bible has "many profound truths which one cannot escape" and decided to enter the seminary.[15]

Growing up in Atlanta, King attended Booker T. Washington High School. He became known for his public speaking ability and was part of the school's debate team.[17] King became the youngest assistant manager of a newspaper delivery station for the Atlanta Journal in 1942 at age 13.[18] During his junior year, he won first prize in an oratorical contest sponsored by the Negro Elks Club in Dublin, Georgia. Returning home to Atlanta by bus, he and his teacher were ordered by the driver to stand so white passengers could sit down. King refused initially, but complied after his teacher informed him that he would be breaking the law if he did not go along with the order. He later characterized this incident as "the angriest I have ever been in my life".[17] A precocious student, he skipped both the ninth and the twelfth grades of high school.[19] It was during King's junior year that Morehouse College announced it would accept any high school juniors who could pass its entrance exam. At that time, most of the students had abandoned their studies to participate in World War II. Due to this, the school became desperate to fill in classrooms. At age 15, King passed the exam and entered Morehouse.[17] The summer before his last year at Morehouse, in 1947, an eighteen-year old King made the choice to enter the ministry after he concluded the church offered the most assuring way to answer "an inner urge to serve humanity". King's "inner urge" had begun developing and he made peace with the Baptist Church, as he believed he would be a "rational" minister with sermons that were "a respectful force for ideas, even social protest."[20]

In 1948, he graduated from Morehouse with a B.A. degree in sociology, and enrolled in Crozer Theological Seminary in Chester, Pennsylvania, from which he graduated with a B.Div. degree in 1951.[21][22] King's father fully supported his decision to continue his education. King was joined in attending Crozer by Walter McCall, a former classmate at Morehouse.[23] At Crozer, King was elected president of the student body.[24] The African-American students of Crozer for the most part conducted their social activity on Edwards Street. King was endeared to the street due to a classmate having an aunt that prepared the two collard greens, which they both relished.[25] King once called out a student for keeping beer in his room because of their shared responsibility as African-Americans to bear "the burdens of the Negro race." For a time, he was interested in Walter Rauschenbusch's "social gospel".[24] In his third year there, he became romantically involved with the daughter of an immigrant German woman working as a cook in the cafeteria. The daughter had been involved with a professor prior to her relationship with King. King had plans of marrying her, but was advised not to by friends due to the reaction an interracial relationship would spark from both blacks and whites, as well as the chances of it destroying his chances of ever pastoring a church in the South. King tearfully told a friend that he could not endure his mother's pain over the marriage and broke the relationship off around six months later. He would continue to have lingering feelings, with one friend being quoted as saying, "He never recovered."[24]

King married Coretta Scott, on June 18, 1953, on the lawn of her parents' house in her hometown of Heiberger, Alabama.[26] They became the parents of four children: Yolanda King, Martin Luther King III, Dexter Scott King, and Bernice King.[27] During their marriage, King limited Coretta's role in the civil rights movement and expected her to be a housewife.[28]

1.1.1 Doctoral studies

See also: Martin Luther King, Jr. authorship issues

King then began doctoral studies in systematic theology at Boston University and received his Ph.D. degree on

June 5, 1955, with a dissertation on "A Comparison of the Conceptions of God in the Thinking of Paul Tillich and Henry Nelson Wieman". An academic inquiry concluded in October 1991 that portions of his dissertation had been plagiarized and he had acted improperly. However, "[d]espite its finding, the committee said that 'no thought should be given to the revocation of Dr. King's doctoral degree,' an action that the panel said would serve no purpose."[29][30][31] The committee also found that the dissertation still "makes an intelligent contribution to scholarship." However, a letter is now attached to King's dissertation in the university library, noting that numerous passages were included without the appropriate quotations and citations of sources.[32]

1.2 Ideas, influences, and political stances

1.2.1 Religion

King became pastor of the Dexter Avenue Baptist Church in Montgomery, Alabama, when he was twenty-five years old, in 1954.[33] As a Christian minister, his main influence was Jesus Christ and the Christian gospels, which he would almost always quote in his religious meetings, speeches at church, and in public discourses. King's faith was strongly based in Jesus' commandment of loving your neighbor as yourself, loving God above all, and loving your enemies, praying for them and blessing them. His non-violent thought was also based in the injuction to *turn the other cheek* in the Sermon on the Mount, and Jesus' teaching of putting the sword back into its place (Matthew 26:52).[34] In his famous Letter from Birmingham Jail, King urged action consistent with what he describes as Jesus' "extremist" love, and also quoted numerous other Christian pacifist authors, which was very usual for him. In another sermon, he stated:

> "Before I was a civil rights leader, I was a preacher of the Gospel. This was my first calling and it still remains my greatest commitment. You know, actually all that I do in civil rights I do because I consider it a part of my ministry. I have no other ambitions in life but to achieve excellence in the Christian ministry. I don't plan to run for any political office. I don't plan to do anything but remain a preacher. And what I'm doing in this struggle, along with many others, grows out of my feeling that the preacher must be concerned about the whole man."
> —King, 1967[35][36]

In his speech "I've Been to the Mountaintop", he stated that he just wanted to do God's will.

1.2.2 Non-violence



King at a Civil Rights March on Washington, D.C.

Veteran African-American civil rights activist Bayard Rustin served as King's main advisor and mentor in the late 1950s.[37] Rustin came from the Christian pacifist tradition; he had also studied Gandhi's teachings and applied them with the Journey of Reconciliation campaign in the 1940s.[38] King had initially known little about Gandhi and rarely used the term "nonviolence" during his early years of activism in the early 1950s. King also believed in and practiced self-defense, even obtaining guns in his household as a means of defense against possible attackers. Rustin guided King by showing him the alternative of nonviolent resistance, arguing that this would be a better means to accomplish his goals of civil rights than self-defense.[39] Rustin counseled King to dedicate himself to the principles of non-violence.[40]

Inspired by Mahatma Gandhi's success with non-violent activism, King had "for a long time...wanted to take a trip to India".[41] With assistance from the Quaker group the American Friends Service Committee, he was able to make the journey in April 1959.[42] The trip to India affected King, deepening his understanding of non-violent resistance and his commitment to America's struggle for civil rights. In a radio address made during his final evening in India, King reflected, "Since being in India, I am more convinced than ever before that the method of nonviolent resistance is the most potent weapon available to oppressed people in their struggle for justice and human dignity".

Bayard Rustin's open homosexuality, support of democratic socialism, and his former ties to the Communist Party USA caused many white and African-American leaders to demand King distance himself from Rustin,[43] which King agreed to do.[44] However, King agreed that Rustin should be one of the main organizers of the 1963 March on Washington.[45]

King's admiration of Gandhi's non-violence did not diminish in later years. He went so far as to hold up his example when receiving the Nobel Peace Prize in 1964,

hailing the "successful precedent" of using non-violence "in a magnificent way by Mohandas K. Gandhi to challenge the might of the British Empire... He struggled only with the weapons of truth, soul force, non-injury and courage."[46]

Gandhi seemed to have influenced him with certain moral principles,[47] though Gandhi himself had been influenced by *The Kingdom of God Is Within You*, a nonviolent classic written by Christian anarchist Leo Tolstoy. In turn, both Gandhi and Martin Luther King had read Tolstoy, and King, Gandhi and Tolstoy had been strongly influenced by Jesus' Sermon on the Mount. King quoted Tolstoy's *War and Peace* in 1959.[48]

Another influence for King's non-violent method was Thoreau's essay *On Civil Disobedience*, which King read in his student days. He was influenced by the idea of refusing to cooperate with an evil system.[49] He also was greatly influenced by the works of Protestant theologians Reinhold Niebuhr and Paul Tillich,[50] as well as Walter Rauschenbusch's *Christianity and the Social Crisis*. King also sometimes used the concept of "agape" (brotherly Christian love).[51] However, after 1960, he ceased employing it in his writings.[52]

1.2.3 Politics

As the leader of the SCLC, King maintained a policy of not publicly endorsing a U.S. political party or candidate: "I feel someone must remain in the position of nonalignment, so that he can look objectively at both parties and be the conscience of both—not the servant or master of either."[53] In a 1958 interview, he expressed his view that neither party was perfect, saying, "I don't think the Republican party is a party full of the almighty God nor is the Democratic party. They both have weaknesses ... And I'm not inextricably bound to either party."[54]

King critiqued both parties' performance on promoting racial equality:

> Actually, the Negro has been betrayed by both the Republican and the Democratic party. The Democrats have betrayed him by capitulating to the whims and caprices of the Southern Dixiecrats. The Republicans have betrayed him by capitulating to the blatant hypocrisy of reactionary right wing northern Republicans. And this coalition of southern Dixiecrats and right wing reactionary northern Republicans defeats every bill and every move towards liberal legislation in the area of civil rights.[55]

Although King never publicly supported a political party or candidate for president, in a letter to a civil rights supporter in October 1956 he said that he was undecided as to whether he would vote for Adlai Stevenson or Dwight Eisenhower, but that "In the past I always voted the Democratic ticket."[56] In his autobiography, King says that in 1960 he privately voted for Democratic candidate John F. Kennedy: "I felt that Kennedy would make the best president. I never came out with an endorsement. My father did, but I never made one." King adds that he likely would have made an exception to his non-endorsement policy for a second Kennedy term, saying "Had President Kennedy lived, I would probably have endorsed him in 1964."[57] King supported the ideals of democratic socialism, although he was reluctant to speak directly of this support due to the anti-communist sentiment being projected throughout America at the time, and the association of socialism with communism. King believed that capitalism could not adequately provide the basic necessities of many American people, particularly the African American community.[58]

1.2.4 Compensation

King stated that black Americans, as well as other disadvantaged Americans, should be compensated for historical wrongs. In an interview conducted for *Playboy* in 1965, he said that granting black Americans only equality could not realistically close the economic gap between them and whites. King said that he did not seek a full restitution of wages lost to slavery, which he believed impossible, but proposed a government compensatory program of $50 billion over ten years to all disadvantaged groups.[59]

He posited that "the money spent would be more than amply justified by the benefits that would accrue to the nation through a spectacular decline in school dropouts, family breakups, crime rates, illegitimacy, swollen relief rolls, rioting and other social evils".[60] He presented this idea as an application of the common law regarding settlement of unpaid labor, but clarified that he felt that the money should not be spent exclusively on blacks. He stated, "It should benefit the disadvantaged of *all* races".[61]

1.2.5 The lack of attention given to family planning

On being awarded the Planned Parenthood Federation of America's Margaret Sanger Award on 5th May, 1966, King said:

> Recently, the press has been filled with reports of sightings of flying saucers. While we need not give credence to these stories, they allow our imagination to speculate on how visitors from outer space would judge us. I am afraid they would be stupefied at our conduct. They would observe that for death planning we spend billions to create engines and strategies for war. They would also observe that we spend millions to prevent death by disease and

other causes. Finally they would observe that we spend paltry sums for population planning, even though its spontaneous growth is an urgent threat to life on our planet. Our visitors from outer space could be forgiven if they reported home that our planet is inhabited by a race of insane men whose future is bleak and uncertain.

There is no human circumstance more tragic than the persisting existence of a harmful condition for which a remedy is readily available. Family planning, to relate population to world resources, is possible, practical and necessary. Unlike plagues of the dark ages or contemporary diseases we do not yet understand, the modern plague of overpopulation is soluble by means we have discovered and with resources we possess. What is lacking is not sufficient knowledge of the solution but universal consciousness of the gravity of the problem and education of the billions who are its victims. ...[62][63]

1.3 Montgomery Bus Boycott, 1955

Main articles: Montgomery Bus Boycott and Jim Crow laws § Public arena

In March 1955, a fifteen-year-old school girl in Mont-



Rosa Parks with King, 1955

gomery, Claudette Colvin, refused to give up her bus seat to a white man in compliance with Jim Crow laws, laws in the US South that enforced racial segregation. King was on the committee from the Birmingham African-American community that looked into the case; because Colvin was pregnant and unmarried, E.D. Nixon and Clifford Durr decided to wait for a better case to pursue.[64]

On December 1, 1955, Rosa Parks was arrested for refusing to give up her seat.[65] The Montgomery Bus Boycott, urged and planned by Nixon and led by King, soon followed.[66] The boycott lasted for 385 days,[67] and the situation became so tense that King's house was bombed.[68] King was arrested during this campaign, which concluded with a United States District Court ruling in *Browder v. Gayle* that ended racial segregation on all Montgomery public buses.[69][70] King's role in the bus boycott transformed him into a national figure and the best-known spokesman of the civil rights movement.[71]

1.4 Southern Christian Leadership Conference

In 1957, King, Ralph Abernathy, Fred Shuttlesworth, Joseph Lowery, and other civil rights activists founded the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC). The group was created to harness the moral authority and organizing power of black churches to conduct non-violent protests in the service of civil rights reform. King led the SCLC until his death.[72]

On September 20, 1958, while signing copies of his book *Stride Toward Freedom* in Blumstein's department store in Harlem,[73] King narrowly escaped death when Izola Curry, a mentally ill black woman who believed he was conspiring against her with communists, stabbed him in the chest with a letter opener. After emergency surgery, King was hospitalized for several weeks, while Curry was found mentally incompetent to stand trial.[74][75] In 1959, he published a short book called *The Measure of A Man*, which contained his sermons "What is Man?" and "The Dimensions of a Complete Life". The sermons argued for man's need for God's love and criticized the racial injustices of Western civilization.[76]

Harry Wachtel—who joined King's legal advisor Clarence B. Jones in defending four ministers of the SCLC in a libel suit over a newspaper advertisement (*New York Times Co. v. Sullivan*)—founded a tax-exempt fund to cover the expenses of the suit and to assist the nonviolent civil rights movement through a more effective means of fundraising. This organization was named the "Gandhi Society for Human Rights". King served as honorary president for the group. Displeased with the pace of President Kennedy's addressing the issue of segregation, King and the Gandhi Society produced a document in 1962 calling on the President to follow in the footsteps of Abraham Lincoln and use an Executive Order to deliver a blow for Civil Rights as a kind of Second Emancipation Proclamation - Kennedy did not execute the order.[77]

The FBI, under written directive from Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy, began tapping King's telephone in the fall of 1963.[78] Concerned that allegations of communists in the SCLC, if made public, would derail the administration's civil rights initiatives, Kennedy warned King to discontinue the suspect associations, and later felt compelled to issue the written directive authorizing the FBI to wiretap King and other SCLC leaders.[79] J.



Lyndon Johnson and Robert Kennedy with Civil Rights leaders, June 22, 1963

Edgar Hoover feared Communists were trying to infiltrate the Civil Rights movement, but when no such evidence emerged, the bureau used the incidental details caught on tape over the next five years in attempts to force King out of the preeminent leadership position.[80]

King believed that organized, nonviolent protest against the system of southern segregation known as Jim Crow laws would lead to extensive media coverage of the struggle for black equality and voting rights. Journalistic accounts and televised footage of the daily deprivation and indignities suffered by southern blacks, and of segregationist violence and harassment of civil rights workers and marchers, produced a wave of sympathetic public opinion that convinced the majority of Americans that the Civil Rights Movement was the most important issue in American politics in the early 1960s.[81][82]

King organized and led marches for blacks' right to vote, desegregation, labor rights and other basic civil rights.[70] The SCLC's 1957 Prayer Pilgrimage for Freedom was the first time King addressed a national audience.[83] Most of these rights were successfully enacted into the law of the United States with the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the 1965 Voting Rights Act.[84][85]

King and the SCLC put into practice many of the principles of the Christian Left and applied the tactics of nonviolent protest with great success by strategically choosing the method of protest and the places in which protests were carried out. There were often dramatic stand-offs with segregationist authorities. Sometimes these confrontations turned violent.[86]

Throughout his participation in the civil rights movement, King was criticized by many groups. This included opposition by more militant blacks such as Nation of Islam member Malcolm X.[87] Stokely Carmichael was a separatist and disagreed with King's plea for racial integration because he considered it an insult to a uniquely African-American culture.[88] Omali Yeshitela urged Africans to remember the history of violent European colonization and how power was not secured by Europeans through integration, but by violence and force.[89]

1.4.1 Albany movement

Main article: Albany movement

The Albany Movement was a desegregation coalition formed in Albany, Georgia in November 1961. In December, King and the SCLC became involved. The movement mobilized thousands of citizens for a broad-front nonviolent attack on every aspect of segregation within the city and attracted nationwide attention. When King first visited on December 15, 1961, he "had planned to stay a day or so and return home after giving counsel."[90] The following day he was swept up in a mass arrest of peaceful demonstrators, and he declined bail until the city made concessions. According to King, "that agreement was dishonored and violated by the city" after he left town.[90]

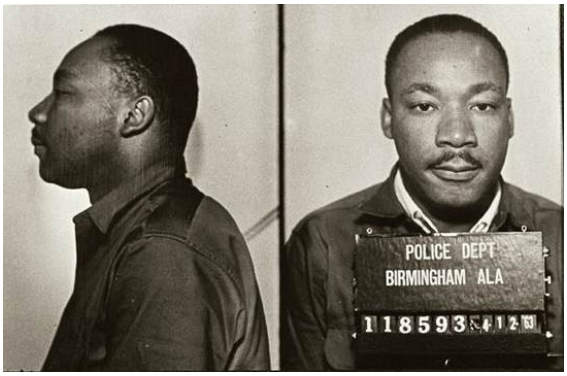
King returned in July 1962, and was sentenced to forty-five days in jail or a $178 fine. He chose jail. Three days into his sentence, Police Chief Laurie Pritchett discreetly arranged for King's fine to be paid and ordered his release. "We had witnessed persons being kicked off lunch counter stools ... ejected from churches ... and thrown into jail ... But for the first time, we witnessed being kicked out of jail."[91] It was later acknowledged by the King Center that prominent evangelical preacher Billy Graham, who claimed in his autobiography that he had developed a close friendship with King after he accepted an invitation to appear at his 1957 New York City crusade,[92] was the one who bailed King out of jail during this time.[93]

After nearly a year of intense activism with few tangible results, the movement began to deteriorate. King requested a halt to all demonstrations and a "Day of Penance" to promote non-violence and maintain the moral high ground. Divisions within the black community and the canny, low-key response by local government defeated efforts.[94] Though the Albany effort proved a key lesson in tactics for Dr. King and the national civil rights movement,[95] the national media was highly critical of King's role in the defeat, and the SCLC's lack of results contributed to a growing gulf between the organization and the more radical SNCC. After Albany, King sought to choose engagements for the SCLC in which he could control the circumstances, rather than entering into pre-existing situations.[96]

1.4.2 Birmingham campaign

Main article: Birmingham campaign

In April 1963, the SCLC began a campaign against racial segregation and economic injustice in Birmingham, Al-



King following his arrest in Birmingham

abama. The campaign used nonviolent but intentionally confrontational tactics, developed in part by Rev. Wyatt Tee Walker. Black people in Birmingham, organizing with the SCLC, occupied public spaces with marches and sit-ins, openly violating laws that they considered unjust.

King's intent was to provoke mass arrests and "create a situation so crisis-packed that it will inevitably open the door to negotiation".[97] However, the campaign's early volunteers did not succeed in shutting down the city, or in drawing media attention to the police's actions. Over the concerns of an uncertain King, SCLC strategist James Bevel changed the course of the campaign by recruiting children and young adults to join in the demonstrations.[98] *Newsweek* called this strategy a Children's Crusade.[99][100]

During the protests, the Birmingham Police Department, led by Eugene "Bull" Connor, used high-pressure water jets and police dogs against protesters, including children. Footage of the police response was broadcast on national television news and dominated the nation's attention, shocking many white Americans and consolidating black Americans behind the movement.[101] Not all of the demonstrators were peaceful, despite the avowed intentions of the SCLC. In some cases, bystanders attacked the police, who responded with force. King and the SCLC were criticized for putting children in harm's way. But the campaign was a success: Connor lost his job, the "Jim Crow" signs came down, and public places became more open to blacks. King's reputation improved immensely.[99]

King was arrested and jailed early in the campaign—his 13th arrest[102] out of 29.[103] From his cell, he composed the now-famous "Letter from Birmingham Jail" which responds to calls on the movement to pursue legal channels for social change. King argues that the crisis of racism is too urgent, and the current system too entrenched: "We know through painful experience that freedom is never voluntarily given by the oppressor; it must be demanded by the oppressed."[104] He points out that the Boston Tea Party, a celebrated act of rebellion in the American colonies, was illegal civil disobedience, and that, conversely, "everything Adolf Hitler did in Germany was 'legal'".[104] King also expresses his frustration with white moderates and clergymen too timid to oppose an unjust system:

> I have almost reached the regrettable conclusion that the Negro's great stumbling block in his stride toward freedom is not the White Citizen's Councilor or the Ku Klux Klanner, but the white moderate, who is more devoted to "order" than to justice; who prefers a negative peace which is the absence of tension to a positive peace which is the presence of justice; who constantly says: "I agree with you in the goal you seek, but I cannot agree with your methods of direct action"; who paternalistic-ally believes he can set the timetable for another man's freedom; who lives by a mythical concept of time and who constantly advises the Negro to wait for a "more convenient season".[104]

1.4.3 St. Augustine, Florida

Main article: St. Augustine Movement

In March 1964, King and the SCLC joined forces with Robert Hayling's then-controversial movement in St. Augustine, Florida. Hayling's group had been affiliated with the NAACP but was forced out of the organization for advocating armed self-defense alongside nonviolent tactics. Ironically, the pacifist SCLC accepted them.[105] King and the SCLC worked to bring white Northern activists to St. Augustine, including a delegation of rabbis and the 72-year-old mother of the governor of Massachusetts, all of whom were arrested.[106][107] During June, the movement marched nightly through the city, "often facing counter demonstrations by the Klan, and provoking violence that garnered national media attention." Hundreds of the marchers were arrested and jailed. During the course of this movement, the Civil Rights Act of 1964 was passed.[108]

1.4.4 Selma, Alabama

Main article: Selma to Montgomery marches

In December 1964, King and the SCLC joined forces with the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) in Selma, Alabama, where the SNCC had been working on voter registration for several months.[109] A local judge issued an injunction that barred any gathering of 3 or more people affiliated with the SNCC, SCLC, DCVL, or any of 41 named civil rights leaders. This injunction temporarily halted civil rights activity until King defied it by speaking at Brown Chapel on January 2, 1965.[110]

1.4.5 New York City

On February 6, 1964, King delivered the inaugural speech of a lecture series initiated at the New School called "The American Race Crisis". No audio record of his speech has been found, but in August 2013, almost 50 years later, the school discovered an audiotape with 15 minutes of a question-and-answer session that followed King's address. In these remarks, King referred to a conversation he had recently had with Jawaharlal Nehru in which he compared the sad condition of many African Americans to that of India's untouchables.[111]

1.5 March on Washington, 1963

Main article: March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom

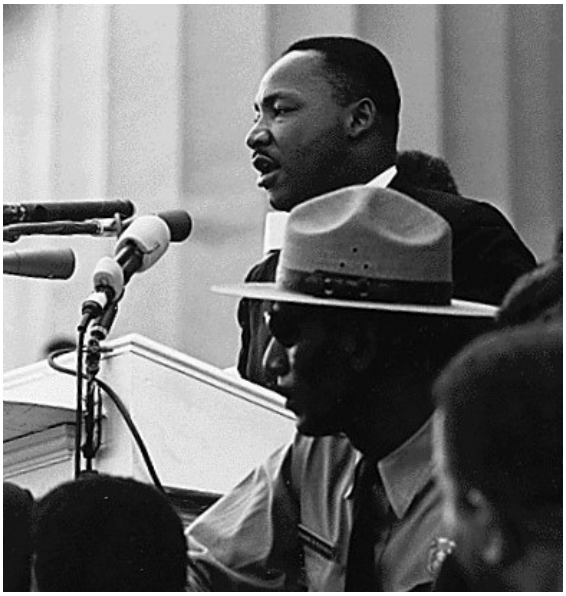
King, representing the SCLC, was among the leaders of



March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom

the so-called "Big Six" civil rights organizations who were instrumental in the organization of the March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom, which took place on August 28, 1963. The other leaders and organizations comprising the Big Six were Roy Wilkins from the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People; Whitney Young, National Urban League; A. Philip Randolph, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters; John Lewis, SNCC; and James L. Farmer, Jr. of the Congress of Racial Equality.[112]

The primary logistical and strategic organizer was King's colleague Bayard Rustin.[113] For King, this role was another which courted controversy, since he was one of the key figures who acceded to the wishes of President John F. Kennedy in changing the focus of the march.[114][115] Kennedy initially opposed the march outright, because he was concerned it would negatively impact the drive for passage of civil rights legislation. However, the organizers were firm that the march would proceed.[116] With the march going forward, the Kennedys decided it was important to work to ensure its success. President Kennedy was concerned the turnout would be less than 100,000. Therefore, he enlisted the aid of additional church leaders and the UAW union to help mobilize demonstrators for the cause.[117]



King is most famous for his "I Have a Dream" speech, given in front of the Lincoln Memorial during the 1963 March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom.

The march originally was conceived as an event to dramatize the desperate condition of blacks in the southern U.S. and an opportunity to place organizers' concerns and grievances squarely before the seat of power in the nation's capital. Organizers intended to denounce the federal government for its failure to safeguard the civil rights and physical safety of civil rights workers and blacks. However, the group acquiesced to presidential pressure and influence, and the event ultimately took on a far less strident tone.[118] As a result, some civil rights activists felt it presented an inaccurate, sanitized pageant of racial harmony; Malcolm X called it the "Farce on Washington", and the Nation of Islam forbade its members from attending the march.[118][119]

The march did, however, make specific demands: an end to racial segregation in public schools; meaningful

civil rights legislation, including a law prohibiting racial discrimination in employment; protection of civil rights workers from police brutality; a $2 minimum wage for all workers; and self-government for Washington, D.C., then governed by congressional committee.[120][121][122] Despite tensions, the march was a resounding success.[123] More than a quarter of a million people of diverse ethnicities attended the event, sprawling from the steps of the Lincoln Memorial onto the National Mall and around the reflecting pool. At the time, it was the largest gathering of protesters in Washington, D.C.'s history.[123]

King delivered a 17-minute speech, later known as "I Have a Dream". In the speech's most famous passage—in which he departed from his prepared text, possibly at the prompting of Mahalia Jackson, who shouted behind him, "Tell them about the dream!"[124][125]—King said:

> I say to you today, my friends, so even though we face the difficulties of today and tomorrow, I still have a dream. It is a dream deeply rooted in the American dream.
>
> I have a dream that one day this nation will rise up and live out the true meaning of its creed: 'We hold these truths to be self-evident: that all men are created equal.'
> I have a dream that one day on the red hills of Georgia the sons of former slaves and the sons of former slave owners will be able to sit down together at the table of brotherhood.
> I have a dream that one day even the state of Mississippi, a state sweltering with the heat of injustice, sweltering with the heat of oppression, will be transformed into an oasis of freedom and justice.
> I have a dream that my four little children will one day live in a nation where they will not be judged by the color of their skin but by the content of their character.
> I have a dream today.
> I have a dream that one day, down in Alabama, with its vicious racists, with its governor having his lips dripping with the words of interposition and nullification; one day right there in Alabama, little black boys and black girls will be able to join hands with little white boys and white girls as sisters and brothers.
>
> I have a dream today.[126]

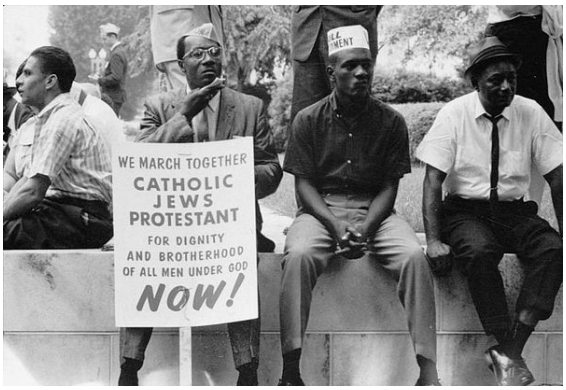
"I Have a Dream" came to be regarded as one of the finest speeches in the history of American oratory.[127] The March, and especially King's speech, helped put civil rights at the top of the agenda of reformers in the United States and facilitated passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964.[128][129]

The original, typewritten copy of the speech, including Dr. King's handwritten notes on it, was discovered in 1984 to be in the hands of George Raveling, the first African-American basketball coach of the University of Iowa. In 1963, Raveling, then 26, was standing near the podium, and immediately after the oration, impulsively asked King if he could have his copy of the speech. He got it.[130]

1.6 Selma Voting Rights Movement and "Bloody Sunday", 1965

Main article: Selma to Montgomery marches

Acting on James Bevel's call for a march from Selma to Montgomery, King, Bevel, and the SCLC, in partial collaboration with SNCC, attempted to organize the march to the state's capital. The first attempt to march on March 7, 1965, was aborted because of mob and police violence against the demonstrators. This day has become known as Bloody Sunday, and was a major turning point in the effort to gain public support for the Civil Rights Movement. It was the clearest demonstration up to that time of the dramatic potential of King's nonviolence strategy. King, however, was not present.[131]



The civil rights march from Selma to Montgomery, Alabama in 1965

King met with officials in the Lyndon B. Johnson Administration on March 5 in order to request an injunction against any prosecution of the demonstrators. He did not attend the march due to church duties, but he later wrote, "If I had any idea that the state troopers would use the kind of brutality they did, I would have felt compelled to give up my church duties altogether to lead the line."[132] Footage of police brutality against the protesters was broadcast extensively and aroused national public outrage.[133]

King next attempted to organize a march for March 9. The SCLC petitioned for an injunction in federal court against the State of Alabama; this was denied and the judge issued an order blocking the march until after a

hearing. Nonetheless, King led marchers on March 9 to the Edmund Pettus Bridge in Selma, then held a short prayer session before turning the marchers around and asking them to disperse so as not to violate the court order. The unexpected ending of this second march aroused the surprise and anger of many within the local movement.[134] The march finally went ahead fully on March 25, 1965.[135][136] At the conclusion of the march on the steps of the state capitol, King delivered a speech that became known as "How Long, Not Long". In it, King stated that equal rights for African Americans could not be far away, “because the arc of the moral universe is long, but it bends toward justice”.[lower-alpha 1][137][138]

1.7 Chicago Open Housing Movement, 1966

Main article: Chicago Freedom Movement

In 1966, after several successes in the South, King,



King with President Lyndon Johnson in 1966

Bevel, and others in the civil rights organizations tried to spread the movement to the North, with Chicago as their first destination. King and Ralph Abernathy, both from the middle class, moved into a building at 1550 S. Hamlin Ave., in the slums of North Lawndale[139] on Chicago’s West Side, as an educational experience and to demonstrate their support and empathy for the poor.[140]

The SCLC formed a coalition with CCCO, Coordinating Council of Community Organizations, an organization founded by Albert Raby, and the combined organizations’ efforts were fostered under the aegis of the Chicago Freedom Movement.[141] During that spring, several white couple / black couple tests of real estate offices uncovered racial steering: discriminatory processing of housing requests by couples who were exact matches in income, background, number of children, and other attributes.[142] Several larger marches were planned and executed: in Bogan, Belmont Cragin, Jefferson Park, Evergreen Park (a suburb southwest of Chicago), Gage Park, Marquette Park, and others.[141][143][144]

Abernathy later wrote that the movement received a worse reception in Chicago than in the South. Marches, especially the one through Marquette Park on August 5, 1966, were met by thrown bottles and screaming throngs. Rioting seemed very possible.[145][146] King’s beliefs militated against his staging a violent event, and he negotiated an agreement with Mayor Richard J. Daley to cancel a march in order to avoid the violence that he feared would result.[147] King was hit by a brick during one march but continued to lead marches in the face of personal danger.[148]

When King and his allies returned to the South, they left Jesse Jackson, a seminary student who had previously joined the movement in the South, in charge of their organization.[149] Jackson continued their struggle for civil rights by organizing the Operation Breadbasket movement that targeted chain stores that did not deal fairly with blacks.[150]

1.8 Opposition to the Vietnam War

See also: Opposition to the U.S. involvement in the Vietnam War

King long opposed American involvement in the Vietnam War,[151] but at first avoided the topic in public speeches in order to avoid the interference with civil rights goals that criticism of President Johnson’s policies might have created.[151] However, at the urging of aide James Bevel,[152] King eventually agreed to publicly oppose the war as opposition was growing among the American public.[151] In an April 4, 1967 appearance at the New York City Riverside Church—exactly one year before his death—King delivered a speech titled "Beyond Vietnam: A Time to Break Silence".[153] He spoke strongly against the U.S.'s role in the war, arguing that the U.S. was in Vietnam “to occupy it as an American colony”[154] and calling the U.S. government “the greatest purveyor of violence in the world today”.[155] He also connected the war with economic injustice, arguing that the country needed serious moral change:

> A true revolution of values will soon look uneasily on the glaring contrast of poverty and wealth. With righteous indignation, it will look across the seas and see individual capitalists of the West investing huge sums of money in Asia, Africa and South America, only to take the profits out with no concern for the social betterment of the countries, and say: “This is not just.”[156]

King also opposed the Vietnam War because it took money and resources that could have been spent on social welfare at home. The United States Congress was spending more and more on the military and less and less on anti-poverty programs at the same time. He

summed up this aspect by saying, “A nation that continues year after year to spend more money on military defense than on programs of social uplift is approaching spiritual death”.[156] He stated that North Vietnam “did not begin to send in any large number of supplies or men until American forces had arrived in the tens of thousands”,[157] and accused the U.S. of having killed a million Vietnamese, “mostly children”.[158] King also criticized American opposition to North Vietnam’s land reforms.[159]

King’s opposition cost him significant support among white allies, including President Johnson, union leaders and powerful publishers.[160] “The press is being stacked against me”, King said,[161] complaining of what he described as a double standard that applauded his nonviolence at home, but deplored it when applied “toward little brown Vietnamese children”.[162] *Life* magazine called the speech “demagogic slander that sounded like a script for Radio Hanoi",[156] and *The Washington Post* declared that King had “diminished his usefulness to his cause, his country, his people”.[162][163]



King speaking to an anti-Vietnam war rally at the University of Minnesota, St. Paul on April 27, 1967

The “Beyond Vietnam” speech reflected King’s evolving political advocacy in his later years, which paralleled the teachings of the progressive Highlander Research and Education Center, with which he was affiliated.[164][165] King began to speak of the need for fundamental changes in the political and economic life of the nation, and more frequently expressed his opposition to the war and his desire to see a redistribution of resources to correct racial and economic injustice.[166] He guarded his language in public to avoid being linked to communism by his enemies, but in private he sometimes spoke of his support for democratic socialism.[167] In a 1952 letter to Coretta Scott, he said “I imagine you already know that I am much more socialistic in my economic theory than capitalistic...”[168] In one speech, he stated that “something is wrong with capitalism” and claimed, “There must be a better distribution of wealth, and maybe America must move toward a democratic socialism.”[169] King had read Marx while at Morehouse, but while he rejected “traditional capitalism”, he also rejected communism because of its “materialistic interpretation of history” that denied religion, its “ethical relativism”, and its “political totalitarianism”.[170]

King also stated in “Beyond Vietnam” that “true compassion is more than flinging a coin to a beggar ... it comes to see that an edifice which produces beggars needs restructuring”.[171] King quoted a United States official who said that, from Vietnam to Latin America, the country was “on the wrong side of a world revolution”.[171] King condemned America’s “alliance with the landed gentry of Latin America”, and said that the U.S. should support “the shirtless and barefoot people” in the Third World rather than suppressing their attempts at revolution.[171]

On April 15, 1967, King participated in and spoke at an anti-war march from New York’s Central Park to the United Nations organized by the Spring Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam and initiated by its chairman, James Bevel. At the U.N. King also brought up issues of civil rights and the draft.

> I have not urged a mechanical fusion of the civil rights and peace movements. There are people who have come to see the moral imperative of equality, but who cannot yet see the moral imperative of world brotherhood. I would like to see the fervor of the civil-rights movement imbued into the peace movement to instill it with greater strength. And I believe everyone has a duty to be in both the civil-rights and peace movements. But for those who presently choose but one, I would hope they will finally come to see the moral roots common to both.[172]

Seeing an opportunity to unite civil rights activists and anti-war activists,[152] Bevel convinced King to become even more active in the anti-war effort.[152] Despite his growing public opposition towards the Vietnam War, King was also not fond of the hippie culture which developed from the anti-war movement.[173] In his 1967 Massey Lecture, King stated:

> The importance of the hippies is not in their unconventional behavior, but in the fact that hundreds of thousands of young people, in turning to a flight from reality, are expressing a profoundly discrediting view on the society they emerge from.
>
> [173]

On January 13, 1968, the day after President Johnson’s State of the Union Address, King called for a large march on Washington against “one of history’s most cruel and senseless wars”.[174][175]

> We need to make clear in this political year, to congressmen on both sides of the aisle and

> to the president of the United States, that we will no longer tolerate, we will no longer vote for men who continue to see the killings of Vietnamese and Americans as the best way of advancing the goals of freedom and self-determination in Southeast Asia.[174][175]

1.9 Poor People's Campaign, 1968

Main article: Poor People's Campaign

In 1968, King and the SCLC organized the "Poor People's Campaign" to address issues of economic justice. King traveled the country to assemble "a multiracial army of the poor" that would march on Washington to engage in nonviolent civil disobedience at the Capitol until Congress created an "economic bill of rights" for poor Americans.[176][177] The campaign culminated in a march on Washington, D.C., demanding economic aid to the poorest communities of the United States.

King and the SCLC called on the government to invest in rebuilding America's cities. He felt that Congress had shown "hostility to the poor" by spending "military funds with alacrity and generosity". He contrasted this with the situation faced by poor Americans, claiming that Congress had merely provided "poverty funds with miserliness".[177] His vision was for change that was more revolutionary than mere reform: he cited systematic flaws of "racism, poverty, militarism and materialism", and argued that "reconstruction of society itself is the real issue to be faced".[178]

The Poor People's Campaign was controversial even within the civil rights movement. Rustin resigned from the march, stating that the goals of the campaign were too broad, that its demands were unrealizable, and that he thought that these campaigns would accelerate the backlash and repression on the poor and the black.[179]

1.9.1 After King's death

The plan to set up a shantytown in Washington, D.C. was carried out soon after the April 4 assassination. Criticism of King's plan was subdued in the wake of his death, and the SCLC received an unprecedented wave of donations for the purpose of carrying it out. The campaign officially began in Memphis, on May 2, at the hotel where King was murdered.[180]

Thousands of demonstrators arrived on the National Mall and established a camp they called "Resurrection City". They stayed for six weeks.[181]

1.10 Assassination and its aftermath

Main article: Assassination of Martin Luther King, Jr.

On March 29, 1968, King went to Memphis, Tennessee,



The Lorraine Motel, where King was assassinated, is now the site of the National Civil Rights Museum.

in support of the black sanitary public works employees, represented by AFSCME Local 1733, who had been on strike since March 12 for higher wages and better treatment. In one incident, black street repairmen received pay for two hours when they were sent home because of bad weather, but white employees were paid for the full day.[182][183][184]

On April 3, King addressed a rally and delivered his "I've Been to the Mountaintop" address at Mason Temple, the world headquarters of the Church of God in Christ. King's flight to Memphis had been delayed by a bomb threat against his plane.[185] In the close of the last speech of his career, in reference to the bomb threat, King said the following:

> And then I got to Memphis. And some began to say the threats, or talk about the threats that were out. What would happen to me from some of our sick white brothers?
>
> Well, I don't know what will happen now. We've got some difficult days ahead. But it doesn't matter with me now. Because I've been to the mountaintop. And I don't mind. Like anybody, I would like to live a long life. Longevity has its place. But I'm not concerned about that now. I just want to do God's will. And He's allowed me to go up to the mountain. And I've looked over. And I've seen the promised land. I may not get there with you. But I want you to know tonight, that we, as a people, will get to the promised land. So I'm happy, tonight. I'm not worried about anything. I'm not fearing any man. Mine eyes have seen the glory of the coming of the Lord.[186]

King was booked in room 306 at the Lorraine Motel, owned by Walter Bailey, in Memphis. Abernathy, who was present at the assassination, testified to the United States House Select Committee on Assassinations that King and his entourage stayed at room 306 at the Lorraine Motel so often it was known as the "King-Abernathy suite".[187] According to Jesse Jackson, who was present, King's last words on the balcony before his assassination were spoken to musician Ben Branch, who was scheduled to perform that night at an event King was attending: "Ben, make sure you play 'Take My Hand, Precious Lord' in the meeting tonight. Play it real pretty."[188]

Then, at 6:01 p.m., April 4, 1968, a shot rang out as King stood on the motel's second-floor balcony. The bullet entered through his right cheek, smashing his jaw, then traveled down his spinal cord before lodging in his shoulder.[189][190] Abernathy heard the shot from inside the motel room and ran to the balcony to find King on the floor.[191] Jackson stated after the shooting that he cradled King's head as King lay on the balcony, but this account was disputed by other colleagues of King's; Jackson later changed his statement to say that he had "reached out" for King.[192]

After emergency chest surgery, King was pronounced dead at St. Joseph's Hospital at 7:05 p.m.[193] According to biographer Taylor Branch, King's autopsy revealed that though only 39 years old, he "had the heart of a 60 year old", which Branch attributed to the stress of 13 years in the civil rights movement.[194]

1.10.1 Aftermath

Further information: King assassination riots

The assassination led to a nationwide wave of race riots in Washington D.C., Chicago, Baltimore, Louisville, Kansas City, and dozens of other cities.[195][196] Presidential candidate Robert F. Kennedy was on his way to Indianapolis for a campaign rally when he was informed of King's death. He gave a short speech to the gathering of supporters informing them of the tragedy and urging them to continue King's ideal of non-violence.[197] James Farmer, Jr. and other civil rights leaders also called for non-violent action, while the more militant Stokely Carmichael called for a more forceful response.[198] The city of Memphis quickly settled the strike on terms favorable to the sanitation workers.[199]

President Lyndon B. Johnson declared April 7 a national day of mourning for the civil rights leader.[200] Vice President Hubert Humphrey attended King's funeral on behalf of the President, as there were fears that Johnson's presence might incite protests and perhaps violence.[201] At his widow's request, King's last sermon at Ebenezer Baptist Church was played at the funeral,[202] a recording of his "Drum Major" sermon, given on February 4, 1968. In that sermon, King made a request that at his funeral no mention of his awards and honors be made, but that it be said that he tried to "feed the hungry", "clothe the naked", "be right on the [Vietnam] war question", and "love and serve humanity".[203] His good friend Mahalia Jackson sang his favorite hymn, "Take My Hand, Precious Lord", at the funeral.[204]

Two months after King's death, escaped convict James Earl Ray was captured at London Heathrow Airport while trying to leave the United Kingdom on a false Canadian passport in the name of Ramon George Sneyd on his way to white-ruled Rhodesia.[205] Ray was quickly extradited to Tennessee and charged with King's murder. He confessed to the assassination on March 10, 1969, though he recanted this confession three days later.[206] On the advice of his attorney Percy Foreman, Ray pled guilty to avoid a trial conviction and thus the possibility of receiving the death penalty. He was sentenced to a 99-year prison term.[206][207] Ray later claimed a man he met in Montreal, Quebec, with the alias "Raoul" was involved and that the assassination was the result of a conspiracy.[208][209] He spent the remainder of his life attempting, unsuccessfully, to withdraw his guilty plea and secure the trial he never had.[207]

1.10.2 Allegations of conspiracy

Ray's lawyers maintained he was a scapegoat similar to the way that John F. Kennedy assassin Lee Harvey Oswald is seen by conspiracy theorists.[210] Supporters of this assertion say that Ray's confession was given under pressure and that he had been threatened with the death penalty.[207][211] Ray was a thief and burglar, but he had no record of committing violent crimes with a weapon.[209] Prison records in different US cities have shown that he was incarcerated on numerous occasions for charges of armed robbery.[212] In a 2008 interview with CNN, Jerry Ray, the younger brother of James Earl Ray, claimed that James was smart and was sometimes able to get away with armed robbery. Jerry Ray said that he had assisted his brother on one such robbery. "I never been with nobody as bold as he is," Jerry said. "He just walked in and put that gun on somebody, it was just like it's an everyday thing."[212]

Those suspecting a conspiracy in the assassination point to the two successive ballistics tests which proved that a rifle similar to Ray's Remington Gamemaster had been the murder weapon. Those tests did not implicate Ray's specific rifle.[207][213] Witnesses near King at the moment of his death said that the shot came from another location. They said that it came from behind thick shrubbery near the rooming house—which had been cut away in the days following the assassination—and not from the rooming house window.[214] However, Ray's fingerprints were found on various objects (a rifle, a pair of binoculars, articles of clothing, a newspaper) that were left in the bathroom where it was determined the gunfire came from.[212] An examination of the rifle containing Ray's fingerprints

also determined that at least one shot was fired from the firearm at the time of the assassination.[212]



Martin Luther King and Coretta Scott King's tomb, located on the grounds of the Martin Luther King, Jr. National Historic Site in Atlanta, Georgia

In 1997, King's son Dexter Scott King met with Ray, and publicly supported Ray's efforts to obtain a new trial.[215] Two years later, Coretta Scott King, King's widow, along with the rest of King's family, won a wrongful death claim against Loyd Jowers and "other unknown co-conspirators". Jowers claimed to have received $100,000 to arrange King's assassination. The jury of six whites and six blacks found in favor of the King family and that government agencies were party to the assassination.[216][217] William F. Pepper represented the King family in the trial.[218]

In 2000, the U.S. Department of Justice completed the investigation into Jowers' claims but did not find evidence to support allegations about conspiracy. The investigation report recommended no further investigation unless some new reliable facts are presented.[219] In 2002, *The New York Times* reported that a church minister, Rev. Ronald Denton Wilson, claimed his father, Henry Clay Wilson—not James Earl Ray—assassinated King. He stated, "It wasn't a racist thing; he thought Martin Luther King was connected with communism, and he wanted to get him out of the way." Wilson provided no evidence to back up his claims.[220]

King researchers David Garrow and Gerald Posner disagreed with William F. Pepper's claims that the government killed King.[221] In 2003, William Pepper published a book about the long investigation and trial, as well as his representation of James Earl Ray in his bid for a trial, laying out the evidence and criticizing other accounts.[222] King's friend and colleague, James Bevel, also disputed the argument that Ray acted alone, stating, "There is no way a ten-cent white boy could develop a plan to kill a million-dollar black man."[223] In 2004, Jesse Jackson stated:

> The fact is there were saboteurs to disrupt the march. And within our own organization, we found a very key person who was on the government payroll. So infiltration within, saboteurs from without and the press attacks. ... I will never believe that James Earl Ray had the motive, the money and the mobility to have done it himself. Our government was very involved in setting the stage for and I think the escape route for James Earl Ray.[224]

1.11 FBI and King's personal life

1.11.1 FBI surveillance and wiretapping

FBI director J. Edgar Hoover personally ordered surveillance of King, with the intent to undermine his power as a civil rights leader.[160][225] According to the Church Committee, a 1975 investigation by the U.S. Congress, "From December 1963 until his death in 1968, Martin Luther King, Jr. was the target of an intensive campaign by the Federal Bureau of Investigation to 'neutralize' him as an effective civil rights leader."[226]

The Bureau received authorization to proceed with wiretapping from Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy in the fall of 1963[227] and informed President John F. Kennedy, both of whom unsuccessfully tried to persuade King to dissociate himself from Stanley Levison, a New York lawyer who had been involved with Communist Party USA.[228][229] Although Robert Kennedy only gave written approval for limited wiretapping of King's phones "on a trial basis, for a month or so",[230] Hoover extended the clearance so his men were "unshackled" to look for evidence in any areas of King's life they deemed worthy.[231] The Bureau placed wiretaps on Levison's and King's home and office phones, and bugged King's rooms in hotels as he traveled across the country.[228][232] In 1967, Hoover listed the SCLC as a black nationalist hate group, with the instructions: "No opportunity should be missed to exploit through counterintelligence techniques the organizational and personal conflicts of the leaderships of the groups ... to insure the targeted group is disrupted, ridiculed, or discredited."[225][233]

1.11.2 NSA monitoring of King's communications

In a secret operation code-named "Minaret", the National Security Agency (NSA) monitored the communications of leading Americans, including King, who criticized the U.S. war in Vietnam.[234] A review by the NSA itself concluded that Minaret was "disreputable if not outright illegal."[234]

1.11.3 Allegations of communism

For years, Hoover had been suspicious about potential influence of communists in social movements such as labor unions and civil rights.[235] Hoover directed the FBI to track King in 1957, and the SCLC as it was established (it did not have a full-time executive director until 1960).[80] The investigations were largely superficial until 1962, when the FBI learned that one of King's most trusted advisers was New York City lawyer Stanley Levison.[236]

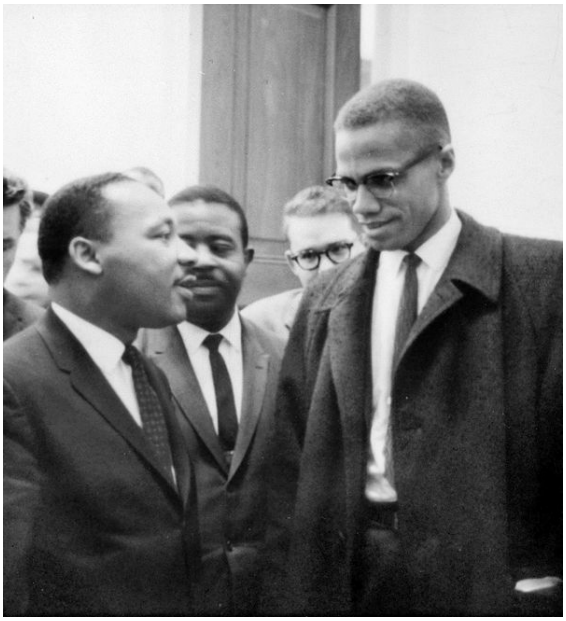
The FBI feared Levison was working as an "agent of influence" over King, in spite of its own reports in 1963 that Levison had left the Party and was no longer associated in business dealings with them.[237] Another King lieutenant, Hunter Pitts O'Dell, was also linked to the Communist Party by sworn testimony before the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC).[238] However, by 1976 the FBI had acknowledged that it had not obtained any evidence that King himself or the SCLC were actually involved with any communist organizations.[226]

For his part, King adamantly denied having any connections to communism, stating in a 1965 *Playboy* interview that "there are as many Communists in this freedom movement as there are Eskimos in Florida".[239] He argued that Hoover was "following the path of appeasement of political powers in the South" and that his concern for communist infiltration of the civil rights movement was meant to "aid and abet the salacious claims of southern racists and the extreme right-wing elements".[226] Hoover did not believe King's pledge of innocence and replied by saying that King was "the most notorious liar in the country".[240] After King gave his "I Have A Dream" speech during the March on Washington on August 28, 1963, the FBI described King as "the most dangerous and effective Negro leader in the country".[232] It alleged that he was "knowingly, willingly and regularly cooperating with and taking guidance from communists".[241]

The attempt to prove that King was a communist was related to the feeling of many segregationists that blacks in the South were happy with their lot but had been stirred up by "communists" and "outside agitators".[242] However, the civil rights movement arose from activism within the black community dating back to before World War I. King said that "the Negro revolution is a genuine revolution, born from the same womb that produces all massive social upheavals—the womb of intolerable conditions and unendurable situations."[243]

1.11.4 Allegations of adultery

Having concluded that King was dangerous due to communist infiltration, the FBI shifted to attempting to discredit King through revelations regarding his private life. FBI surveillance of King, some of it since made public, attempted to demonstrate that he also engaged in numerous extramarital affairs.[232] Lyndon Johnson once said that King was a "hypocritical preacher".[244]



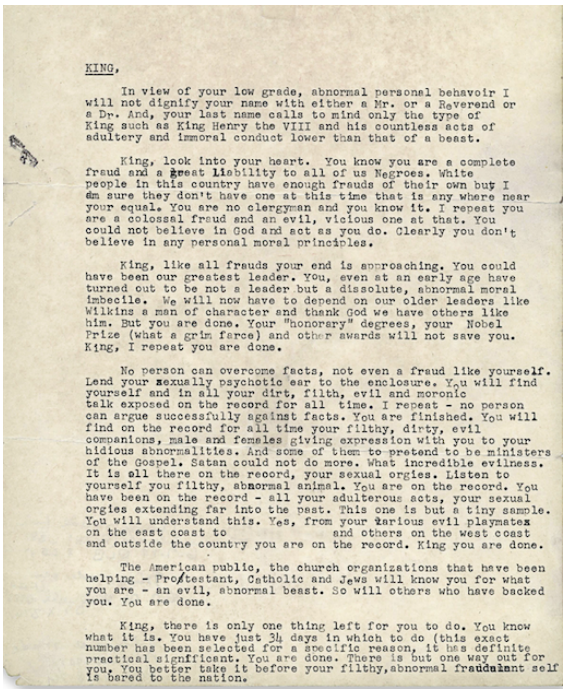
Martin Luther King, Jr. and Malcolm X, March 26, 1964

Ralph Abernathy stated in his 1989 autobiography *And the Walls Came Tumbling Down* that King had a "weakness for women", although they "all understood and believed in the biblical prohibition against sex outside of marriage. It was just that he had a particularly difficult time with that temptation".[245] In a later interview, Abernathy said that he only wrote the term "womanizing", that he did not specifically say King had extramarital sex and that the infidelities King had were emotional rather than sexual.[246] Abernathy criticized the media for sensationalizing the statements he wrote about King's affairs,[246] such as the allegation that he admitted in his book that King had a sexual affair the night before he was assassinated.[246] In his original wording, Abernathy had claimed he saw King coming out of his room with a lady when he awoke the next morning and later claimed that "he may have been in there discussing and debating and trying to get her to go along with the movement, I don't know."[246]

In his 1986 book *Bearing the Cross*, David Garrow wrote about a number of extramarital affairs, including one woman King saw almost daily. According to Garrow, "that relationship ... increasingly became the emotional centerpiece of King's life, but it did not eliminate the incidental couplings ... of King's travels." He alleged that King explained his extramarital affairs as "a form of anxiety reduction". Garrow asserted that King's supposed promiscuity caused him "painful and at times overwhelming guilt".[247] King's wife Coretta appeared to have accepted his affairs with equanimity, saying once that "all that other business just doesn't have a place in the very high level relationship we enjoyed."[248] Shortly after *Bearing the Cross* was released, civil rights author Howell

Raines gave the book a positive review but opined that Garrow's allegations about King's sex life were "sensational" and stated that Garrow was "amassing facts rather than analyzing them".[249]

The FBI distributed reports regarding such affairs to the executive branch, friendly reporters, potential coalition partners and funding sources of the SCLC, and King's family.[250] The Bureau also sent anonymous letters to King threatening to reveal information if he did not cease his civil rights work.[251] One anonymous letter sent to King just before he received the Nobel Peace Prize read, in part:



KING,

In view of your low grade, abnormal personal behavoir I will not dignify your name with either a Mr. or a Reverend or a Dr. And, your last name calls to mind only the type of King such as King Henry the VIII and his countless acts of adultery and immoral conduct lower than that of a beast.

King, look into your heart. You know you are a complete fraud and a great liability to all of us Negroes. White people in this country have enough frauds of their own but I am sure they don't have one at this time that is any where near your equal. You are no clergyman and you know it. I repeat you are a colossal fraud and an evil, vicious one at that. You could not believe in God and act as you do. Clearly you don't believe in any personal moral principles.

King, like all frauds your end is approaching. You could have been our greatest leader. You, even at an early age have turned out to be not a leader but a dissolute, abnormal moral imbecile. We will now have to depend on our older leaders like Wilkins a man of character and thank God we have others like him. But you are done. Your "honorary" degrees, your Nobel Prize (what a grim farce) and other awards will not save you. King, I repeat you are done.

No person can overcome facts, not even a fraud like yourself. Lend your sexually psychotic ear to the enclosure. You will find yourself and in all your dirt, filth, evil and moronic talk exposed on the record for all time. I repeat - no person can argue successfully against facts. You are finished. You will find on the record for all time your filthy, dirty, evil companions, male and femeles giving expression with you to your hidious abnormalities. And some of them to pretend to be ministers of the Gospel. Satan could not do more. What incredible evilness. It is all there on the record, your sexual orgies. Listen to yourself you filthy, abnormal animal. You are on the record. You have been on the record - all your adulterous acts, your sexual orgies extending far into the past. This one is but a tiny sample. You will understand this. Yes, from your various evil playmates on the east coast to and others on the west coast and outside the country you are on the record. King you are done.

The American public, the church organizations that have been helping - Protestant, Catholic and Jews will know you for what you are - an evil, abnormal beast. So will others who have backed you. You are done.

King, there is only one thing left for you to do. You know what it is. You have just 34 days in which to do (this exact number has been selected for a specific reason, it has definite practical significant. You are done. There is but one way out for you. You better take it before your filthy, abnormal fraudulent self is bared to the nation.

The so-called "suicide letter",[252] mailed anonymously by the FBI

> The American public, the church organizations that have been helping—Protestants, Catholics and Jews will know you for what you are—an evil beast. So will others who have backed you. You are done. King, there is only one thing left for you to do. You know what it is. You have just 34 days in which to do (this exact number has been selected for a specific reason, it has definite practical significant [*sic*]). You are done. There is but one way out for you. You better take it before your filthy fraudulent self is bared to the nation.[253]

A tape recording of several of King's extramarital liaisons, excerpted from FBI wiretaps, accompanied the letter.[254] King interpreted this package as an attempt to drive him to suicide,[255] although William Sullivan, head of the Domestic Intelligence Division at the time, argued that it may have only been intended to "convince Dr. King to resign from the SCLC".[226] King refused to give in to the FBI's threats.[232]

Judge John Lewis Smith, Jr. in 1977 ordered that all known copies of the recorded audiotapes and written transcripts resulting from the FBI's electronic surveillance of King between 1963 and 1968 to be held in the National Archives and sealed from public access until 2027.[256]

1.11.5 Police observation during the assassination

Across from the Lorraine Motel, next to the boarding house in which Ray was staying, was a fire station. Police officers were stationed in the fire station to keep King under surveillance.[257] Agents were watching King at the time he was shot.[258] Immediately following the shooting, officers rushed out of the station to the motel. Marrell McCollough, an undercover police officer, was the first person to administer first aid to King.[259] The antagonism between King and the FBI, the lack of an all points bulletin to find the killer, and the police presence nearby led to speculation that the FBI was involved in the assassination.[260]

1.12 Legacy



President Johnson signs the Civil Rights Act of 1964. Among the guests behind him is Martin Luther King.

King's main legacy was to secure progress on civil rights in the U.S. Just days after King's assassination, Congress passed the Civil Rights Act of 1968.[261] Title VIII of the Act, commonly known as the Fair Housing Act, prohibited discrimination in housing and housing-related transactions on the basis of race, religion, or national origin (later expanded to include sex, familial status, and disability). This legislation was seen as a tribute to King's struggle in his final years to combat residential discrimination in the U.S.[261]

Internationally, King's legacy includes influences on the Black Consciousness Movement and Civil Rights Move-



Martin Luther King, Jr. statue over the west entrance of Westminster Abbey, installed in 1998.

ment in South Africa.[262][263] King's work was cited by and served as an inspiration for South African leader Albert Lutuli, who fought for racial justice in his country and was later awarded the Nobel Prize.[264] The day following King's assassination, school teacher Jane Elliott conducted her first "Blue Eyes/Brown Eyes" exercise with her class of elementary school students in Riceville, Iowa. Her purpose was to help them understand King's death as it related to racism, something they little understood as they lived in a predominately white community.[265] King has become a national icon in the history of American progressivism.[266]

King's wife, Coretta Scott King, followed in her husband's footsteps and was active in matters of social justice and civil rights until her death in 2006. The same year that Martin Luther King was assassinated, she established the King Center in Atlanta, Georgia, dedicated to preserving his legacy and the work of championing nonviolent conflict resolution and tolerance worldwide.[267] Their son, Dexter King, serves as the center's chairman.[268][269] Daughter Yolanda King, who died in 2007, was a motivational speaker, author and founder of Higher Ground Productions, an organization specializing in diversity training.[270]



Protestors at the 2012 Republican National Convention display Dr. King's words and image on a banner.

Even within the King family, members disagree about his religious and political views about gay, lesbian, bisexual and transgender people. King's widow Coretta said publicly that she believed her husband would have supported gay rights.[271] However, his youngest child, Bernice King, has said publicly that he would have been opposed to gay marriage.[272]

On February 4, 1968, at the Ebenezer Baptist Church, in speaking about how he wished to be remembered after his death, King stated:

> I'd like somebody to mention that day that Martin Luther King Jr. tried to give his life serving others. I'd like for somebody to say that day that Martin Luther King Jr. tried to love somebody.
>
> I want you to say that day that I tried to be right on the war question. I want you to be able to say that day that I did try to feed the hungry. I want you to be able to say that day that I did try in my life to clothe those who were naked. I want you to say on that day that I did try in my life to visit those who were in prison. And I want you to say that I tried to love and serve humanity.
>
> Yes, if you want to say that I was a drum major. Say that I was a drum major for justice. Say that I was a drum major for peace. I was a drum major for righteousness. And all of the other shallow things will not matter. I won't

> have any money to leave behind. I won't have the fine and luxurious things of life to leave behind. But I just want to leave a committed life behind.[198][273]

1.12.1 Martin Luther King, Jr. Day

Main article: Martin Luther King, Jr. Day

Beginning in 1971, cities such as St. Louis, Missouri, and states established annual holidays to honor King.[274] At the White House Rose Garden on November 2, 1983, President Ronald Reagan signed a bill creating a federal holiday to honor King. Observed for the first time on January 20, 1986, it is called Martin Luther King, Jr. Day. Following President George H. W. Bush's 1992 proclamation, the holiday is observed on the third Monday of January each year, near the time of King's birthday.[275][276] On January 17, 2000, for the first time, Martin Luther King Jr. Day was officially observed in all fifty U.S. states.[277] Arizona (1992), New Hampshire (1999) and Utah (2000) were the last three states to recognized the holiday. Utah previously celebrated the holiday at the same time but under the name Human Rights Day.[278]

1.12.2 Liturgical commemorations

King is remembered as a martyr by the Episcopal Church in the United States of America with an annual feast day on the anniversary of his death, April 4.[279] The Evangelical Lutheran Church in America commemorates King liturgically on the anniversary of his birth, January 15.[280]



Statue of King in Birmingham's Kelly Ingram Park

1.13 Awards and recognition

King was awarded at least fifty honorary degrees from colleges and universities.[281] On October 14, 1964, King became the youngest recipient of the Nobel Peace Prize, which was awarded to him for leading non-violent resistance to racial prejudice in the U.S.[282] In 1965, he was awarded the American Liberties Medallion by the American Jewish Committee for his "exceptional advancement of the principles of human liberty".[281][283] In his acceptance remarks, King said, "Freedom is one thing. You have it all or you are not free."[284]

In 1957, he was awarded the Spingarn Medal from the NAACP.[285] Two years later, he won the Anisfield-Wolf Book Award for his book *Stride Toward Freedom: The Montgomery Story*.[286] In 1966, the Planned Parenthood Federation of America awarded King the Margaret Sanger Award for "his courageous resistance to bigotry and his lifelong dedication to the advancement of social justice and human dignity".[287] Also in 1966, King was elected as a fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences.[288] In 1971 he was posthumously awarded a Grammy Award for Best Spoken Word Album for his *Why I Oppose the War in Vietnam*.[289]

In 1977, the Presidential Medal of Freedom was posthumously awarded to King by President Jimmy Carter. The citation read:

> Martin Luther King, Jr., was the conscience of his generation. He gazed upon the great wall of segregation and saw that the power of love could bring it down. From the pain and exhaustion of his fight to fulfill the promises of our founding fathers for our humblest citizens, he wrung his eloquent statement of his dream for America. He made our nation stronger because he made it better. His dream



Dexter Avenue Baptist Church where King ministered was renamed Dexter Avenue King Memorial Baptist Church in 1978

sustains us yet.[290]

King and his wife were also awarded the Congressional Gold Medal in 2004.[291]

King was second in Gallup's List of Most Widely Admired People of the 20th Century.[292] In 1963, he was named Time Person of the Year, and in 2000, he was voted sixth in an online "Person of the Century" poll by the same magazine.[293] King placed third in the Greatest American contest conducted by the Discovery Channel and AOL.[294]

1.13.1 Eponymous places and buildings

More than 730 cities in the United States have streets named after King.[295] King County, Washington rededicated its name in his honor in 1986, and changed its logo to an image of his face in 2007.[296] The city government center in Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, is named in honor of King.[297]

In 1980, the U.S. Department of the Interior designated King's boyhood home in Atlanta and several nearby buildings the Martin Luther King, Jr. National Historic Site. In 1996, Congress authorized the Alpha Phi Alpha fraternity, of which King had been a member, to establish a foundation to manage fund raising and design of a national Martin Luther King, Jr. Memorial on the Mall in Washington, D.C.[298] King was the first African American and the fourth non-president honored with his own memorial in the National Mall area.[299] The memorial opened in August 2011[300] and is administered by the National Park Service.[301] The address of the monument, 1964 Independence Avenue, S.W., commemorates the year that the Civil Rights Act of 1964 became law.[302]

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1.15 See also

- Martin Luther King, Jr. authorship issues
- Sermons and speeches of Martin Luther King, Jr.
- *The Meeting*

Concepts:

- Christian radicalism
- Equality before the law

- Violence begets violence

General:

- List of American philosophers
- List of civil rights leaders
- List of peace activists

After Martin Luther King:

- Post–Civil Rights era in African-American history

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General

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- "Martin Luther King Jr. Collection", Morehouse College, RWWL
- The Martin Luther King, Jr. Papers Project
- FBI file on Martin Luther King, Jr.
- Martin Luther King, Jr.'s Nobel Peace Prize, Civil Rights Digital Library
- Works by or about Martin Luther King, Jr. in libraries (WorldCat catalog)

Speeches and interviews

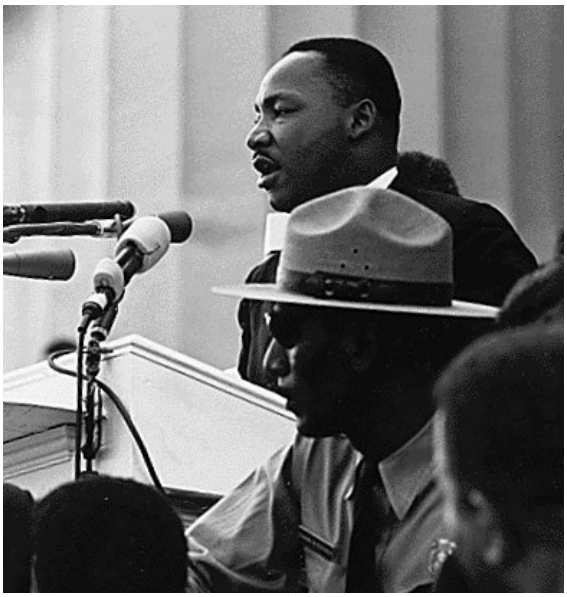
- Audio from April 1961 King, "The Church on the Frontier of Racial Tensions", speech at Southern Seminary
- "Martin Luther King, Jr. Historic Speeches and Interviews"
- The New Negro, King interviewed by J. Waites Waring
- "Interview with Dr. Kenneth Clark", PBS
- "Beyond Vietnam" speech text and audio
- King Institute Encyclopedia multimedia
- Why I Am Opposed to the War in Vietnam, sermon at the Ebenezer Baptist Church on April 30, 1967 (audio of speech with video 23:31)
- "Walk to Freedom", Detroit, June 23, 1963. Walter P. Reuther Library of Labor and Urban Affairs. Wayne State University.
- Chiastic outline of Martin Luther King, Junior's "I Have a Dream" speech

Chapter 2

I Have a Dream

For other uses, see I Have a Dream (disambiguation).

"**I Have a Dream**" is a public speech delivered by American civil rights activist Martin Luther King, Jr. on August 28, 1963, in which he calls for an end to racism in the United States. Delivered to over 250,000 civil rights supporters from the steps of the Lincoln Memorial during the March on Washington, the speech was a defining moment of the American Civil Rights Movement.[1]



Martin Luther King, Jr. delivering "I Have a Dream" at the 1963 Washington D.C. Civil Rights March.

Beginning with a reference to the Emancipation Proclamation, which freed millions of slaves in 1863,[2] King observes that: "one hundred years later, the Negro still is not free".[3] Toward the end of the speech, King departed from his prepared text for a partly improvised peroration on the theme "I have a dream", prompted by Mahalia Jackson's cry: "Tell them about the dream, Martin!"[4] In this part of the speech, which most excited the listeners and has now become its most famous, King described his dreams of freedom and equality arising from a land of slavery and hatred.[5] Jon Meacham writes that, "With a single phrase, Martin Luther King, Jr. joined Jefferson and Lincoln in the ranks of men who've shaped modern America".[6] The speech was ranked the top American speech of the 20th century in a 1999 poll of scholars of public address.[7]

2.1 Background



View from the Lincoln Memorial toward the Washington Monument on August 28, 1963

The March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom was partly intended to demonstrate mass support for the civil rights legislation proposed by President Kennedy in June. Martin Luther King and other leaders therefore agreed to keep their speeches calm, also, to avoid provoking the civil disobedience which had become the hallmark of the civil rights movement. King originally designed his speech as a homage to Abraham Lincoln's Gettysburg Address, timed to correspond with the 100-year centennial of the Emancipation Proclamation.[5]

2.1.1 Speech title and the writing process

King had been preaching about dreams since 1960, when he gave a speech to the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) called "The Negro and the American Dream". This speech discusses the gap between the American dream and reality, saying that overt white supremacists have violated the dream, and that "our federal government has also scarred the dream through its apathy and hypocrisy, its betrayal of the cause of justice". King suggests that "It may well be that the Negro is God's instrument to save the soul of America."[8][9] He had also delivered a "dream" speech in Detroit, in June 1963, when he marched on Woodward Avenue with Walter Reuther and the Reverend C. L. Franklin, and had rehearsed other parts.[10]

The March on Washington Speech, known as "I Have a Dream Speech", has been shown to have had several versions, written at several different times.[11] It has no single version draft, but is an amalgamation of several drafts, and was originally called "Normalcy, Never Again". Little of this, and another "Normalcy Speech", ended up in the final draft. A draft of "Normalcy, Never Again" is housed in the Morehouse College Martin Luther King, Jr. Collection of the Robert W. Woodruff Library, Atlanta University Center and Morehouse College.[12] The focus on "I have a dream" comes through the speech's delivery. Toward the end of its delivery, noted African American gospel singer Mahalia Jackson shouted to King from the crowd, "Tell them about the dream, Martin."[13] King stopped delivering his prepared speech, and started "preaching", punctuating his points with "I have a dream."

The speech was drafted with the assistance of Stanley Levison and Clarence Benjamin Jones[14] in Riverdale, New York City. Jones has said that "the logistical preparations for the march were so burdensome that the speech was not a priority for us" and that, "on the evening of Tuesday, Aug. 27, [12 hours before the March] Martin still didn't know what he was going to say".[15]

Leading up to the speech's rendition at the Great March on Washington, King had delivered its "I have a dream" refrains in his speech before 25,000 people in Detroit's Cobo Hall immediately after the 125,000-strong Great Walk to Freedom in Detroit, June 23, 1963.[16][17] After the Washington, D.C. March, a recording of King's Cobo Hall speech was released by Detroit's Gordy Records as an LP entitled "The Great March To Freedom".[18]

2.2 The speech

Widely hailed as a masterpiece of rhetoric, King's speech invokes the Declaration of Independence, the Emancipation Proclamation, and the United States Constitution. Early in his speech, King alludes to Abraham Lincoln's Gettysburg Address by saying "Five score years ago..." In reference to the abolition of slavery articulated in the Emancipation Proclamation, King says: "It came as a joyous daybreak to end the long night of their captivity." Anaphora (i.e., the repetition of a phrase at the beginning of sentences) is employed throughout the speech. Early in his speech, King urges his audience to seize the moment; "Now is the time" is repeated three times in the sixth paragraph. The most widely cited example of anaphora is found in the often quoted phrase "I have a dream", which is repeated eight times as King paints a picture of an integrated and unified America for his audience. Other occasions include "One hundred years later", "We can never be satisfied", "With this faith", "Let freedom ring", and "free at last". King was the sixteenth out of eighteen people to speak that day, according to the official program.[19]

I still have a dream, a dream deeply rooted in the American dream – one day this nation will rise up and live up to its creed, "We hold these truths to be self evident: that all men are created equal." I have a dream...

"

"

Martin Luther King, Jr. (1963)[20]

Among the most quoted lines of the speech include "I have a dream that my four little children will one day live in a nation where they will not be judged by the color of their skin, but by the content of their character. I have a dream today!"[21]

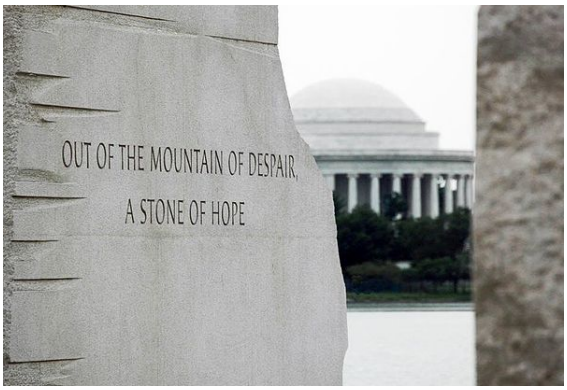
According to U.S. Representative John Lewis, who also spoke that day as the president of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, "Dr. King had the power, the ability, and the capacity to transform those steps on the Lincoln Memorial into a monumental area that will forever be recognized. By speaking the way he did, he educated, he inspired, he informed not just the people there, but people throughout America and unborn generations."[22]

The ideas in the speech reflect King's social experiences of the mistreatment of blacks. The speech draws upon appeals to America's myths as a nation founded to provide freedom and justice to all people, and then reinforces and transcends those secular mythologies by placing them within a spiritual context by arguing that racial justice is also in accord with God's will. Thus, the rhetoric of the speech provides redemption to America for its racial sins.[23] King describes the promises made by America as a "promissory note" on which America has defaulted. He says that "America has given the Negro people a bad check", but that "we've come to cash this check" by marching in Washington, D.C.

2.2.1 Similarities and allusions

Further information: Martin Luther King, Jr. authorship issues

King's speech uses words and ideas from his own speeches and other texts. For years, he had spoken about dreams, quoted from "My Country, 'Tis of Thee", and of course referred extensively to the Bible. The idea of constitutional rights as an "unfulfilled promise" was suggested by Clarence Jones.[8]



The line "With this faith we will be able to hew out of the mountain of despair a stone of hope" from the "I Have a Dream" speech served as inspiration for the The King National Memorial[24]

The closing passage from King's speech partially resembles Archibald Carey, Jr.'s address to the 1952 Republican National Convention: both speeches end with a recitation of the first verse of Samuel Francis Smith's popular patriotic hymn "America" ("My Country, 'Tis of Thee"), and the speeches share the name of one of several mountains from which both exhort "let freedom ring".[8]

King also is said to have built on Prathia Hall's speech at the site of a burned-down African American church in Terrell County, Georgia in September 1962, in which she used the repeated phrase "I have a dream".[25] (The church burned down after it was used for voter registration meetings.[26])

The speech also alludes to Psalm 30:5[27] in the second stanza of the speech. Additionally, King quotes from Isaiah 40:4-5 ("I have a dream that every valley shall be exalted..."[28]) and Amos 5:24 ("But let justice roll down like water..."[29]). He also alludes to the opening lines of Shakespeare's *Richard III* ("Now is the winter of our discontent / Made glorious summer...") when he remarks that "this sweltering summer of the Negro's legitimate discontent will not pass until there is an invigorating autumn..."

2.3 The speech and rhetoric

The "I Have A Dream" speech can be dissected by using three rhetorical lenses: voice merging, prophetic voice, and dynamic spectacle.[30] Voice merging is the combining of one's own voice with religious predecessors. Prophetic voice is using rhetoric to speak for a population. A dynamic spectacle has origins from the Aristotelian definition as "a weak hybrid form of drama, a theatrical concoction that relied upon external factors (shock, sensation, and passionate release) such as televised rituals of conflict and social control."[31]

Voice merging is a common technique used amongst African American preachers. It combines the voices of previous preachers and excerpts from scriptures along with their own unique thoughts to create a unique voice. King uses voice merging in his peroration when he references the secular hymn "America". By using this technique, King adds a level of power to his rhetoric.

The rhetoric of King's speech can be compared to the rhetoric of Old Testament prophets. During King's speech, he speaks with urgency and crisis giving him a prophetic voice. The prophetic voice must "restore and sense of duty and virtue amidst the decay of venality."[32] An evident example is when King declares that "now is a time to make justice a reality for all of God's children."

"Given the context of the drama and tension of which it was situated", King's speech can be classified as a dynamic spectacle.[33] A dynamic spectacle is dependent on the situation in which it is used. It can be considered a dynamic spectacle because it happened at the correct time and place: during the Civil Rights Movement and the March on Washington.

2.4 Responses

The speech was lauded in the days after the event, and was widely considered the high point of the March by contemporary observers.[34] James Reston, writing for the *New York Times*, said that "Dr. King touched all the themes of the day, only better than anybody else. He was full of the symbolism of Lincoln and Gandhi, and the cadences of the Bible. He was both militant and sad, and he sent the crowd away feeling that the long journey had been worthwhile."[8] Reston also noted that the event "was better covered by television and the press than any event here since President Kennedy's inauguration", and opined that "it will be a long time before [Washington] forgets the melodious and melancholy voice of the Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. crying out his dreams to the multitude."[35] An article in the *Boston Globe* by Mary McGrory reported that King's speech "caught the mood" and "moved the crowd" of the day "as no other" speaker in the event.[36] Marquis Childs of *The Washington Post* wrote that King's speech "rose above mere oratory".[37]

An article in the *Los Angeles Times* commented that the "matchless eloquence" displayed by King—"a supreme orator" of "a type so rare as almost to be forgotten in our age"—put to shame the advocates of segregation by inspiring the "conscience of America" with the justice of the civil-rights cause.[38]

The Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) also noticed the speech, which provoked them to expand their COINTELPRO operation against the SCLC, and to target King specifically as a major enemy of the United States.[39] Two days after King delivered "I Have a Dream", Agent William C. Sullivan, the head of COINTELPRO, wrote a memo about King's growing influence:

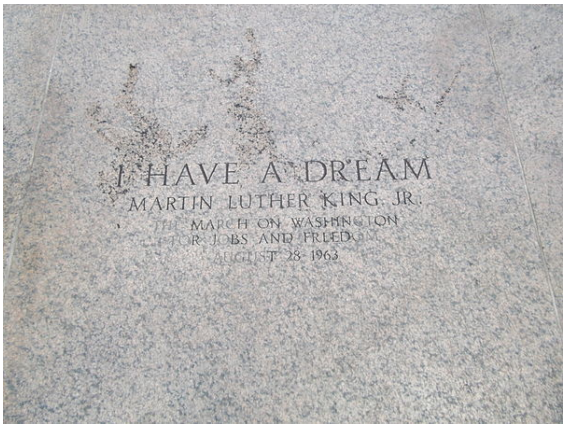
> In the light of King's powerful demagogic speech yesterday he stands head and shoulders above all other Negro leaders put together when it comes to influencing great masses of Negroes. We must mark him now, if we have not done so before, as the most dangerous Negro of the future in this Nation from the standpoint of communism, the Negro and national security.[40]

The speech was a success for the Kennedy administration and for the liberal civil rights coalition that had planned it. It was considered a "triumph of managed protest", and not one arrest relating to the demonstration occurred. Kennedy had watched King's speech on TV and been very impressed. Afterwards, March leaders accepted an invitation to the White House to meet with President Kennedy. Kennedy felt the March bolstered the chances for his civil rights bill.[41] Some of the more radical Black leaders who were present condemned the speech (along with the rest of the march) as too compromising. Malcolm X later wrote in his autobiography: "Who ever heard of angry revolutionaries swinging their bare feet together with their oppressor in lily pad pools, with gospels and guitars and 'I have a dream' speeches?"[5]

2.5 Legacy

The March on Washington put pressure on the Kennedy administration to advance its civil rights legislation in Congress.[42] The diaries of Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr., published posthumously in 2007, suggest that President Kennedy was concerned that if the march failed to attract large numbers of demonstrators, it might undermine his civil rights efforts.

In the wake of the speech and march, King was named Man of the Year by *TIME* magazine for 1963, and in 1964, he was the youngest person ever awarded the Nobel Peace Prize.[43] The full speech did not appear in writing until August 1983, some 15 years after King's death, when a transcript was published in *The Washington Post*.[3]



The location on the steps of the Lincoln Memorial from which King delivered the speech is commemorated with this inscription

In 1990, the Australian alternative comedy rock band Doug Anthony All Stars released an album called *Icon*. One song from *Icon*, "Shang-a-lang", sampled the end of the speech.

In 2002, the Library of Congress honored the speech by adding it to the United States National Recording Registry.[44] In 2003, the National Park Service dedicated an inscribed marble pedestal to commemorate the location of King's speech at the Lincoln Memorial.[45]

On August 26, 2013, UK's BBC Radio 4 broadcast "God's Trombone", in which Gary Younge looked behind the scenes of the speech and explored "what made it both timely and timeless".[46]

On August 28, 2013, thousands gathered on the mall in Washington D.C. where King made his historic speech to commemorate the 50th anniversary of the occasion. In attendance were former U.S. Presidents Bill Clinton and Jimmy Carter, and President Barack Obama, who addressed the crowd and spoke on the significance of the event. Many of King's family were in attendance.[47]

2.6 Copyright dispute

Because King's speech was broadcast to a large radio and television audience, there was controversy about its copyright status. If the performance of the speech constituted "general publication", it would have entered the public domain due to King's failure to register the speech with the Register of Copyrights. However, if the performance only constituted "limited publication", King retained common law copyright. This led to a lawsuit, *Estate of Martin Luther King, Jr., Inc. v. CBS, Inc.*, which established that the King estate does hold copyright over the speech and had standing to sue; the parties then settled. Unlicensed use of the speech or a part of it can still be lawful in some circumstances, especially in jurisdictions under doctrines such as fair use or fair dealing. Under the applicable copyright laws, the speech will remain

under copyright in the United States until 70 years after King's death, therefore until 2038.[48]

2.7 Original copy of the speech

As King waved goodbye to the audience, he handed George Raveling the original typewritten "I Have a Dream" speech.[49] Raveling, an all-American basketball player from Villanova, had volunteered as a security guard for the event and was on the podium with King at that moment.[50] Raveling still has custody of the original copy and has been offered as high as $3,000,000 for it, but claims to have no intention of selling it, with plans on leaving it to his children instead.[51][52]

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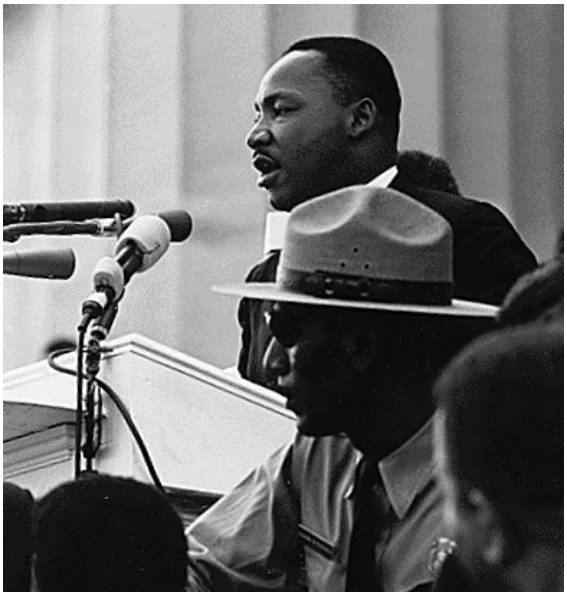
2.9 External links

- Full text at the BBC
- Video of "I Have a Dream" speech, from LearnOutLoud.com
- I Have a Dream Text and Audio from AmericanRhetoric.com
- Deposition concerning recording of the "I Have a Dream" speech
- Lyrics of the traditional spiritual "Free At Last"
- MLK: Before He Won the Nobel - slideshow by *Life magazine*
- Chiastic outline of Martin Luther King, Junior's I Have a Dream speech

Coordinates: 38°53′21.48″N 77°3′0.40″W / 38.8893000°N 77.0501111°W

Chapter 3

Sermons and speeches of Martin Luther King, Jr.



Martin Luther King, Jr. at the podium on the steps of the Lincoln Memorial in August 1963.

The **sermons and speeches of Martin Luther King, Jr.** comprise an extensive catalog of American writing and oratory — some of which are internationally well-known, while others remain unheralded, and some await re-discovery.

Martin Luther King, Jr. was a prominent African-American clergyman, a civil rights leader, and a Nobel laureate.[1]

King himself observed, "In the quiet recesses of my heart, I am fundamentally a clergyman, a Baptist preacher."[2]

3.1 Speechwriter and orator

The famous "I Have a Dream" address was delivered in August 1963 from the steps of the Lincoln Memorial in Washington, D.C. Less well-remembered are the early sermons of that young, 25-year-old pastor who first began preaching at the Dexter Avenue Baptist Church in Montgomery, Alabama in 1954.[3] As a political leader in the Civil Rights Movement and as a modest preacher in a Baptist church, King evolved and matured across the span of a life cut short. The range of his rhetoric was anticipated and encompassed within "The Three Dimensions of a Complete Life," which he preached as his trial sermon at Dexter Avenue Baptist Church in 1954 and every year thereafter for the rest of his life.[4]

3.1.1 Sermons

- 1953 — "The Three Dimensions of a Complete Life."[5]
- 1954 — "Rediscovering Lost Values," February 28, 1954.
- 1956 — "Paul's Letter to American Christians," November 4, 1956.
- 1957 — "The Birth of a New Nation," April 7, 1957.
- 1957 — "Loving Your Enemies," November 17, 1957.
- 1963 — "Eulogy for the Martyred Children," September 18, 1963. (Birmingham, Alabama)
- 1965 — "How Long, Not Long.", also known as "Our God Is Marching On," March 25, 1965 . (Montgomery, Alabama)

Main article: How Long, Not Long

> *How long? Not long, because the arc of the moral universe is long, but it bends toward justice.*
> *They told us we wouldn't get here*, used by then US-presidential candidate Barack Obama in his victory-speech (first preliminary) in Ohio 2008.

- 1966 — "Guidelines for a Constructive Church", Delivered at Ebenezer Baptist Church, Atlanta, Georgia, on 5 June 1966.
- 1967 — "Why Jesus Called A Man A Fool," also known as "A Knock at Midnight," August 27, 1967. (Chicago, Illinois) -- *see* Video on YouTube
- 1968 — "The Drum Major Instinct", February 4, 1968. (Atlanta, Georgia)
- 1968 — "Remaining Awake Through a Great Revolution", March 31, 1968. Delivered at the National Cathedral in Washington, D.C.
- 1968 — *I've Been to the Mountaintop*," April 3, 1968. (Memphis, Tennessee)

Main article: I've Been to the Mountaintop

> His final speech, and his final words in public: *I'm not worried about anything. I'm not fearing any man. Mine eyes have seen the glory of the coming of the Lord.*

- 1968 — "*Why America May Go to Hell*", planned to be delivered on April 7, 1968 but never delivered due to his assassination.[6]

3.1.2 Speeches

This is an incomplete list that may never be able to satisfy particular standards for completeness. You can help by expanding it with reliably sourced entries.

3.2 Notes

[1] Nobel Prize: Martin Luther King bio

[2] Lischer, Richard. (2001). *The Preacher King,* p. 3.

[3] Fuller, Linda K. (2004). *National Days/National Ways: Historical, Political, And Religious Celebrations around the World,* p. 314.

[4] Lischer, p. 66.

[5] Lischer, p. 81.

[6] Vern E. Smith; Jon Meacham (1998). "Martin Luther King Jr.: The Legacy". Washington Post.

[7] "CBS to broadcast story on long-lost MLK speech at UD"

[8] In a follow-up letter, Dr. King remarked:

> Words are inadequate for me to say how honored I was to be the recipient of the Margaret Sanger Award. This award will remain among my most cherished possessions. While I cannot claim to be worthy of such a signal honor, I can assure you that I accept it with deep humility and sincere gratitude. Such a wonderful expression of support is of inestimable value for the continuance of my humble efforts... I am happy to be the recipient of the Margaret Sanger Award and I can assure you that this distinct honor will cause me to work even harder for a reign of justice and a rule of love all over our nation. "Family Planning — A Special and Urgent Concern"

[9] "The Other America". Grosse Pointe Historical Society. Retrieved March 21, 2010.

- Speech given at McFarlin Auditorium, Southern Methodist University March 17, 1966, drawn from same sources as April 10, 1957 St. Louis, Mo. speech.

Speech can be heard at: http://www.smu.edu/audio/mlk-at-smu-17march1966.wma

3.3 References

- Fuller, Linda K. (2004). *National Days/National Ways: Historical, Political, And Religious Celebrations Around The World.* Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Publishing Group. 10-ISBN 0-275-97270-4; 13-ISBN 978-0-275-97270-7
- Lischer, Richard. (1997). *The Preacher King: Martin Luther King, Jr. and the Word That Moved America.* New York: Oxford University Press. 10-ISBN 0-19-511132-X: 13-ISBN 978-0-19-511132-3

3.4 External links

- "Why I Am Opposed to the War in Vietnam" 1967 -- *see* Video on YouTube
- "A Knock at Midnight," 1967 -- *see* Video on YouTube
- '"Beyond Vietnam," 1967
- A longer list of speeches & sermons
- Martin Luther King: His Triumphs - a slideshow by *Life magazine*
- Tavis Smiley on Rev. Martin Luther King and His Opposition to the Vietnam War - video by *Democracy Now!*

- “Episode 2 -- MLK: A Call to Conscience: -- Tavis Smiley Reports. The second episode of Tavis Smiley Reports examines Martin Luther King, Jr.'s stand against the Vietnam War and the influence of his legacy today. Tavis speaks with scholars and friends of King, including Cornel West, Vincent Harding and Susannah Heschel.” March 31, 2010

Chapter 4

Martin Luther King, Jr. authorship issues

Authorship issues concerning Martin Luther King, Jr. center on claims of Martin Luther King, Jr. having committed plagiarism. These issues fall into two general categories: one is his academic research papers (including his doctoral dissertation), and the other is his speeches.

4.1 Dissertation and other academic papers

Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.'s papers were donated by his wife Coretta Scott King to Stanford University's King Papers Project. During the late 1980s, as the papers were being organized and catalogued, the staff of the project discovered that King's doctoral dissertation at Boston University, titled *A Comparison of the Conception of God in the Thinking of Paul Tillich and Henry Nelson Wieman*, included large sections from a dissertation written by another student (Jack Boozer) three years earlier at Boston University.[1][2]

As Clayborne Carson, director of the King Papers Project at Stanford University, has written, "instances of textual appropriation can be seen in his earliest extant writings as well as his dissertation. The pattern is also noticeable in his speeches and sermons throughout his career."[3]

Boston University, where King received his Ph.D. in systematic theology, conducted an investigation that found he appropriated[3] and plagiarized major portions of his doctoral thesis from various other authors who wrote about the topic.[4][5]

According to civil rights historian Ralph E. Luker, who worked on the King Papers Project directing the research on King's early life, King's paper *The Chief Characteristics and Doctrines of Mahayana Buddhism*[6] was taken almost entirely from secondary sources.[7] He writes:

> Moreover, the farther King went in his academic career, the more deeply ingrained the patterns of borrowing language without clear attribution became. Thus, the plagiarism in his dissertation seemed to be, by then, the product of his long-established practice.[7]

The incident was first reported in the December 3, 1989, edition of the *Sunday Telegraph* by Frank Johnson, titled "Martin Luther King—Was He a Plagiarist?" The incident was then reported in U.S. in the November 9, 1990, edition of the *Wall Street Journal*, under the title of "To Their Dismay, King Scholars Find a Troubling Pattern". Several other newspapers then followed with stories, including the *Boston Globe* and the *New York Times*. Although Carson believed Dr. King had acted unintentionally,[8] he also stated that Dr. King had been sufficiently well acquainted with academic principles and procedures to have understood the need for extensive footnotes, and he was at a loss to explain why Dr. King had not used them.[8]

Boston University decided not to revoke his doctorate, saying that although King acted improperly, his dissertation still "makes an intelligent contribution to scholarship."[4] The committee also dismissed allegations that King plagiarized writings which he used to develop his organization and chapter headings.[4] However, a letter is now attached to King's dissertation in the university library, noting that numerous passages were included without the appropriate quotations and citations of sources.[1][4][9]

Ralph Luker has questioned whether King's professors at the Crozer Theological Seminary held him to lower standards because he was an African-American, citing as evidence the fact that King received lower marks (a C+ average) at the historically black Morehouse College than at Crozer, where he was a minority being graded mostly by white teachers and received an A− average.[7][10] Boston University has denied that King received any special treatment.[1]

The Martin Luther King, Jr. Papers Project addresses authorship issues on pp. 25–26 of Volume II of The Papers of Martin Luther King, Jr., entitled "Rediscovering Precious Values, July 1951 – November 1955", Clayborne Carson, Senior Editor. Following is an excerpt from these pages:

> The readers of King's dissertation, L. Harold DeWolf and S. Paul Schilling, a professor of systematic theology who had recently arrived at Boston University, failed to notice

King's problematic use of sources. After reading a draft of the dissertation, DeWolf criticized him for failing to make explicit "presuppositions and norms employed in the critical evaluation," but his comments were largely positive. He commended King for his handling of a "difficult" topic "with broad learning, impressive ability and convincing mastery of the works immediately involved." Schilling found two problems with King's citation practices while reading the draft, but dismissed these as anomalous and praised the dissertation in his Second Reader's report....

As was true of King's other academic papers, the plagiaries in his dissertation escaped detection in his lifetime. His professors at Boston University, like those at Crozer, saw King as an earnest and even gifted student who presented consistent, though evolving, theological identity in his essays, exams and classroom comments.... Although the extent of King's plagiaries suggest he knew that he was at least skirting academic norms, the extant documents offer no direct evidence in this matter. Thus he may have simply become convinced, on the basis of his grades at Crozer and Boston, that his papers were sufficiently competent to withstand critical scrutiny. Moreover, King's actions during his early adulthood indicate that he increasingly saw himself as a preacher appropriating theological scholarship rather than as an academic producing such scholarship.

4.2 Speeches

King delivered his "I Have a Dream" speech at the 1963 Washington D.C. Civil Rights March. Approaching the end of his prepared speech, King departed from his prepared text[11] for a partly improvised peroration on the theme of "I have a dream", possibly prompted by Mahalia Jackson's repeated cry, "Tell them about the dream, Martin!"[12][13] This closing section partially resembles Archibald Carey, Jr.'s address to the 1952 Republican National Convention.[11] The similarity is that both speeches end with a recitation of the first verse of Samuel Francis Smith's popular patriotic hymn "America" ("My Country, 'Tis of Thee"), and the speeches share the name of one of several mountains.[14][15]

King and Carey had corresponded in the years between the two speeches.[11][16] As early as 1956, King had given addresses elaborating on the lines from the song,[17] and according to Clayborne Carson, by 1957 this theme had become part of King's oratorical repertoire.[11][18]

Keith Miller, in *Voice of Deliverance: The Language of Martin Luther King, Jr. and Its Sources* and elsewhere,[19] argues that such "borrowing", which he terms "voice merging", follows in a long tradition of folk preaching, particularly in the African-American church, and should not necessarily be termed plagiarism. On the contrary, he views King's skillful combination of language from different sources as a major oratorical skill.

4.3 Notes

[1] Radin, Charles A. (1991-10-11). "Panel Confirms Plagiarism by King at BU". The Boston Globe. p. 1.

[2] "Boston U. Panel Finds Plagiarism by Dr. King". The New York Times. October 11, 1991. Retrieved 2011-03-14.

[3] Carson, Clayborne (1993). George Bornstein and Ralph G. Williams, ed. "Editing Martin Luther King, Jr.: Political and Scholarly Issues". *Palimpsest: Editorial Theory in the Humanities* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press): 305–316. Retrieved 2011-03-15

[4] "Martin Luther King". snopes.com. Retrieved 2014-11-25.

[5] "Boston University". *King Encyclopedia*. Stanford University. Retrieved 2011-03-14.

[6] "The Chief Characteristics and Doctrines of Mahayana Buddhism". Retrieved 2011-03-14.

[7] Ralph E. Luker (2004-12-21). "On Martin Luther King's Plagiarism ...". *CLIOPATRIA: A Group Blog*. History News Network hnn.us. Retrieved 2011-03-01.

[8] Anthony De Palma (November 10, 1990). "Plagiarism Seen by Scholars In King's Ph.D. Dissertation". New York Times. Retrieved November 25, 2014.

[9] "King's Ph.D. dissertation, with attached note". Retrieved 2011-03-14.

[10] Ralph E. Luker (2004-12-21). "Grades and Patronage". *CLIOPATRIA: A Group Blog*. History News Network hnn.us. Retrieved 2011-03-14.

[11] "I Have a Dream (28 August 1963)". Retrieved 2011-03-14.

[12] See Taylor Branch, Parting the Waters: America in the King Years 1954-1963.

[13] Brinkley, Douglas (August 28, 2003). "Guardian of The Dream". Time Magazine. Retrieved 2011-03-14

[14] ""I Have a Dream" (28 August 1963)". The Martin Luther King, Jr. Research and Education Institute. Retrieved 2011-03-14.

[15] Hansen, D. D. (2003). *The Dream: Martin Luther King, Jr., and the Speech that Inspired a Nation*. New York, NY: Harper Collins. p. 108.
Carey's speech ended:

> We, Negro Americans, sing with all loyal Americans: My country 'tis of thee, Sweet land of liberty, Of thee I sing. Land where my fathers died, Land of the Pilgrims' pride From every mountainside Let freedom ring! That's exactly what we mean--from every mountain side, let freedom ring. Not only from the Green Mountains and White Mountains of Vermont and New Hampshire; not only from the Catskills of New York; but from the Ozarks in Arkansas, from the Stone Mountain in Georgia, from the Blue Ridge Mountains of Virginia--let it ring not only for the minorities of the United States, but for the persecuted of Europe, for the rejected of Asia, dis(en)franchised of South Africa and for the disinherited of all the earth--may the Republican Party, under God, from every mountainside, LET FREEDOM RING.

[16] "Carey, Archibald J., Jr. (1908-1981)". The Martin Luther King, Jr. Research and Education Institute. Retrieved 2011-03-14.

[17] Clayborne Carson, ed. (1997). *The Papers of Martin Luther King, Jr: Birth of a new age, December 1955-December 1956*. University of California Press. pp. 462, 479. ISBN 978-0-520-07952-6. See 1956, December 3 and Dec 17

[18] Carson, Clayborne (Spring 2009). "King, Obama, and the Great American Dialogue" **59** (1). American Heritage Magazine. By the time King spoke in St. Louis in 1957, Carey's refrain had become part of his vast memorized oratorical repertory: 'As I heard a great orator say some time ago,' King remarked, 'freedom must ring from every mountainside.'

[19] Keith D. Miller (ed.). "Martin Luther King, Jr. (1929-1968): Major Themes, Historical Perspectives, and Personal Issues". Retrieved 2011-03-14.

4.4 References

- "To Their Dismay, King Scholars Find a Troubling Pattern". *Wall Street Journal*, Nov. 9 1990, p. A1.
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- Thelen, David (1991). "Becoming Martin Luther King, Jr.: An Introduction". *The Journal of American History* **78** (1): 11–22. doi:10.2307/2078080. JSTOR 2078080.

4.5 External links

- University of British Columbia policy on plagiarism (2005 archived webpage) - Specific MLK examples highlighted

4.6 Text and image sources, contributors, and licenses

4.6.1 Text

- **Martin Luther King, Jr.** *Source:* http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Martin%20Luther%20King%2C%20Jr.?oldid=642977563 *Contributors:* AxelBoldt, Magnus Manske, Peter Winnberg, Derek Ross, Mav, Zundark, The Anome, RobLa, Jeronimo, Gareth Owen, DanKeshet, Guppie, Ed Poor, XJaM, Toby Bartels, SJK, William Avery, SimonP, Ktsquare, Graham, Heron, Hotlorp, Youandme, Hephaestos, JDG, AdamWill, Leandrod, Edward, Nealmcb, Kchishol1970, Infrogmation, JohnOwens, Michael Hardy, Booyabazooka, Norm, Vera Cruz, MartinHarper, Tannin, Wapcaplet, Ixfd64, Bcrowell, Lquilter, Yann, Plasticlax, Ooooooooo, Paul A, Minesweeper, Card, Looxix, Radicalsubversiv, Ahoerstemeier, HarmonicSphere, Haakon, Mac, Ronz, Stevenj, Robert M. 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Goode, Lexisdavis92, Paoz, Freshlemon35, LheaJLove, Pandaman24, EstherLois, DumZiBoT, Steveozone, Capitalwiki, Jeffn8r, Temarininja, Rikuansem13, AgnosticPreachersKid, Therock40756, RogDel, Boscochumnar, DougieFresh08, Sissybear96, Thethethethe5555, Modyou, Prlambert76, Zerkon, Cadenski, Masterbob92, WikHead, Corker1, SilvonenBot, Oboylej, Joearmacost, Jd027, Spoonkymonkey, Tim010987, Al tally, Teenagercricket, Bean1000, Sgpsaros, Bloodmort, Good Olfactory, Saxonthedog, Idag, TFBCT1, Voltairean, DanTheShrew, Kbdankbot, Skatertobes, B Fizz, Spongebobwifey, Addbot, Paper Luigi, Blcarson, Hyperman585, Mziebell1234, Shawisland, Brakiton, Pandagirlbeth, Dunnsworth, StedmanStang, Mattcontinental, MC Prank, Willdingman, Lov3-sp3ll-14, Årvasbåo, Compson1, Jayhogart, Lux.et.veritas123, Noozgroop, FourThousandTwelve, Cst17, Trevormario'n, MrOllie, Protonk, Kaj1mada, Ooscar713, Andyahaziz, Foxcloud, Hawk08210, AndersBot, Debresser, AnnaFrance, Jwjecha, Shakirul1, LinkFA-Bot, Naidevinci, Hungar111, Numbo3-bot, Mragsdale, Alanscottwalker, Tide rolls, Romanskolduns, Tarheelz123, Samuel Pepys, Jarble, Senior Fellow, JEN9841, Jim, Geasterb, Markvo, Legobot, Luckas-bot, Yobot, Granpuff, Themfromspace, Ptbotgourou, Ekinerkan, CoolDog1001, Echina, Amirobot, Kahn Souphanousinphone, CENSEI, Nallimbot, Reenem, Ayrton Prost, Alexkin, FeydHuxtable, Rapidfire squad, Bility, Marfire, Cuba Sera Libre, AnomieBOT, Morahman7vn, Rubinbot, Void2258, Dwayne, Gentil Hibou, Bobisbob2, Kingpin13, Justme89, Sourcechecker419, TParis, Guff2much, Wandering Courier, Citation bot, Kasaalan, Williamsburgland, Dan Murphy, ArthurBot, Quebec99, 22star, Xqbot, Jayarathina, Mattjtanner, Nash16, I Feel Tired, Dhruvhemmady, St.nerol, Stars4change, Davshul, Ernest Peiris, Jjohnston90, Tomwsulcer, Srich32977, Orochimaru01, UnitedPress, Almabot, ArmTheInsane, Novonium, Mynameinc, GrouchoBot, Nayvik, Frosted14, GovernorMoss, Studiedgenius, Mark Schierbecker, Carrite, H.JOY., AlasdairEdits, GhalyBot, Moxy, Macgroover, Shadowjams, Learner001, Hornymanatee, AZ8196, Cekli829, Tktru, Firenelson36, Jrzyboy, Hyperboreer, FrescoBot, Sophisticatedcat, Kierzek, Tobby72, Upinews, Olithrow, Physteacher, Jpoisson15, Pan.avii, D'ohBot, A1maxmad, Decimator1, Citation bot 1, Dodge rambler, Akinari42, Ntse, Alexanderaltman, Cookiebear344, Jeremjay24, Snicklefritze, NegrosRnotPeople, Migueldanerd, Wafflenag23, Mada poo, Eden Thinker, Jonesey95, Tinton5, Canistabbats, Tomcat7, Fat&Happy, Bigdok, Lars Washington, Snooker, Motorizer, Glany222, Plasticspork, Jauhienij, Sienic, Kgrad, FoxBot, Indexme, TobeBot, JokerXtreme, Dchestnykh, Ksteinhoff, Ravenperch, GregKaye, LilyKitty, Aoidh, VarietyPerson, Diannaa, Ridiculus mus, Sophia2009, Lord of the Vulcans, RjwilmsiBot, MShabazz, Ripchip Bot, Cstanford.math, Bhawani Gautam, Bossanoven, Noommos, James Brian Ellis, Sbrianhicks, Amyhollandfan, Christoph Braun, EmausBot, Wookiee123, John of Reading, WikitanvirBot, Ghostofnemo, Mihernan, Timothyjchambers, Conung, Fellytone, Farragutful, Juniperjoline1, RenamedUser01302013, Bull Market, Avpolk, Hohho56oy, Jim Michael, Nissenbaum, Alyssahassan, Lamb99, Shearonink, Kkm010, ZéroBot, John Cline, Illegitimate Barrister, Moorglade, Liquidmetalrob, Shabbirraju, Neun-x, Themagicnipple4, The Nut, McYel, H3llBot, Zloyvolsheb, SporkBot, Wikignome0530, Dagko, Rostz, Jkb24, Peace is contagious, Dante8, Judyholiday, SBaker43, ChuispastonBot, RayneVanDunem, Rusted AutoParts, Qpzmghfj, Ebehn, Special Cases, WoodyAllenGuy, Markg17, Will Beback Auto, ClueBot NG, Unterguggen, Kakorot, Sleddog116, Goose friend, Brett2829, CallidusUlixes, Ftoner882, Snotbot, Dee11john, RajaNeela1993, Mr. D. 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Parrot, MarkSutton, Slakr, Dj3500, Werdan7, Kurokuma, Sinistrum, Jstupple7, TastyPoutine, AEMoreira042281, Zapvet, Ryanjunk, NinjaCharlie, Kevin W., ShaleZero, BranStark, Iridescent, Toddsschneider, Joseph Solis in Australia, Roswell native, UncleDouggie, Igoldste, Blehfu, Marysunshine, Civil Engineer III, Courcelles, Chovain, Tawkerbot2, Plasma Twa 2, Spcm3300, JForget, Nimuaq, Dycedarg, Crownjewel82, Hnc197, PegArmPaul, Linus M., Schweiwikist, KnightLago, FinFangFoom, Dgw, AshLin, WeggeBot, Tbq, Ken Gallager, Billyb, Kribbeh, Cydebot, Mato, Nick Wilson, Gogo Dodo, JFreeman, Bazzargh, Master son, M a s, DumbBOT, Sharonlees, Filo23, Jguard18, Prof75, Thijs!bot, Epbr123, TonyTheTiger, N5iln, Mojo Hand, Charly0731, JustAGal, Nick Number, Big Bird, Mentifisto, AntiVandalBot, The Obento Musubi, Littlecruiser, Voyaging, Kertraon, Bigtimepeace, Littlebtc, Jj137, Malcolm, Elaragirl, Ashleyy osaurus, Figma, Golgofrinchian, Saira 786, JAnDbot, Husond, MER-C, Txomin, Instinct, Andonic, CooliLowe, Y2kcrazyjoker4, Canjth, Pedro, Bongwarrior, VoABot II, JNW, Jéské Couriano, Khalidkhoso, Yarilo2, Ingemar Smith, Kevinmon, Subjectivity is Truth, BrianGV, Catgut, Galileo01, Eiyuu Kou, Cgingold, Sgr927, 28421u2232nfenfcenc, Ciaccona, Schumi555, DerHexer, Esanchez7587, Yavoh, MartinBot, Tamerd, Poeloq, Anaxial, Sm8900, Tgeairn, Svanatter, J.delanoy, Trusilver, Svetovid, Uncle Dick, Extransit, Acalamari, Bilbobee, Coppertwig, Berserkerz Crit, Vanished User 4517, Ahuskay, Ontarioboy, Kraftlos, Mufka, Group29, Sunderland06, Ionescuac, Mossburg (usurped), Juliancolton, Que-Can, Remember the dot, Pdcook, Andy Marchbanks, Martial75, Scewing, CardinalDan, Spellcast, Zillaman2006, Sparklism, MBlue2020, Malik Shabazz, ABF, Bry9000, Sjones23, Dominics Fire, SergioCQH, Philip Trueman, Martinevans123, Oshwah, Wildblueguy, GDonato, Dphilli8, Anonymous Dissident, Qxz, Anna Lincoln, Steven J. 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- **Sermons and speeches of Martin Luther King, Jr.** *Source:* http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Sermons%20and%20speeches%20of%20Martin%20Luther%20King%2C%20Jr.?oldid=642957800 *Contributors:* DePiep, Koavf, Ground Zero, MacMog, Tom Morris, Chris the speller, Darth Panda, Davydog, Cydebot, Fayenatic london, Magioladitis, Markbratanov, Malik Shabazz, Philip Trueman, Truthanado,

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4.6.2 Images

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