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MARTIN LUTHER KING'S POSITION
IN THE BLACK POWER MOVEMENT
FROM 1955 to 1968

Honors Thesis

For

Dr. F. W. Gregory

In Partial Fulfillment of the Requirement for the Degree

Bachelor of Arts

University of Richmond

Carol Breit

1972

"For if a man has not discovered something that he will die for, he isn't fit to live...Man dies when he refuses to take a stand for that which is right. A man dies when he refuses to take a stand for that which is true. So we are going to stand up right here...letting the world know we are determined to be free."¹

From events in 1955 in Montgomery, Alabama, a citadel of Southern segregation practices and American racist attitudes, the Negro Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr. was to be pivoted to a pedestal of national prominence and of international fame. By 1958 King had become the symbol of the new black revolt locally, nationally, and internationally. Blacks had finally found a black leader to articulate their needs and demands to white America and for themselves. King's charismatic personality and powerful oratory drew both whites and blacks to him and to his cause. To some degree he unified the civil rights movement in the United States from 1957 to 1968. His power fluctuated within this period, and at times his strength lay only in his symbolic presence. King rose to the forefront of Negro leadership at a time when the black protest in America was changing to black revolution, and this new revolution needed a leader. Black America needed first, a symbol of the new flavor of the movement; second, a black leader who could vocalize the aspirations of all blacks, not just middle-class or intellectual blacks, and instill pride in them; third, one who could bring respectability and white support to the cause, and finally, a man who could unite the varied voices and activities of black leadership. Black leaders in America had always had a dual role to play; one for white America, and one for black America. White America saw the black leader as one to keep blacks content as second-class

citizens; black America saw the black leader as one to destroy the barriers preventing blacks from fully participating in American life as first-class citizens. Martin Luther King rejected white America's traditional role for him, and he told white and black Americans the same story-

We know through painful experience that freedom is never voluntarily given by the oppressor; it must be demanded by the oppressed. Frankly, I have never yet engaged in a direct action movement that was 'well-timed', according to the timetable of those who have not suffered unduly from the disease of segregation. For years now I have heard the word 'Wait!' It rings in the ear of every Negro with a piercing familiarity. This 'wait' has almost always meant 'never'. It has been a tranquilizing thalidomide, relieving the emotional stress for a moment, only to give birth to an ill-formed infant of frustration. We must come to see with the distinguished jurist of yesterday that 'justice too long delayed is justice denied.' We have waited for more than three hundred and forty years for our constitutional and God-given rights. The nations of Asia and Africa are moving with jet-like speed toward the goal of political independence, and we still creep at horse and buggy pace toward the gaining of a cup of coffee at a lunch counter.... There comes a time when the cup of endurance runs over, and men are no longer willing to be plunged into an abyss of injustice where they experience the bleakness of corroding despair.

King fervently and religiously believed in the ideals of truth, justice freedom, and equality for all men. He further had faith that these goals could be realized in the United States. He recognized the discrepancy between what America stood for and what she practiced; he wanted to close the gap between the ideal of racial equality and the reality of racial discrimination and segregation. He appealed to the morality and Christian goodness of white American by stressing that conditions could change and would change, because the white man was basically a good man who loved his fellow man. King appealed to the conscience of white America and what they knew should be righted. In this way, King gained the support of many whites who the Muslims and radicals alienated by preaching the evilness of white society and race hate. At first

King emphasized the evil in certain practices of the system, then finally, the evil in the essence of the system. Never did King preach that the white man himself was evil. According to King, whites and blacks both could be redeemed through the act of changing the system.

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 Georgian the sons of former slaves and the sons of former slaveholders 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 people's 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.

This is our hope. This is the faith that I go back to the Sourth with. With this faith we will be able to hew out of the mountain of despair a stone of hope.

Nonviolent direct action techniques were his tools of change. The theory of nonviolence had underlain the preaching of Negro leadership from the beginning either as the practical necessity of an oppressed minority or as a moral or philosophical faith. As early as the 1940's the veteran civil rights leader Asa Philip Randolph, President of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, pressed for better working conditions for blacks in organized labor. Randolph advocated mass civil disobedience in the form of boycotts and marches, and sponsored some successful mass meeting in 1942 until vicious riots in 1943 postponed such action. Randolph had even been called the American Gandhi. He influenced James Farmer, Bayard Rustin,

E.D. Nixon, and others who would later work with Martin Luther King. In 1942 a pacifistic theory of nonviolence had been institutionalized with the formation of the civil rights organization called the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE). However, the theory and practices had lain dormant for the most part until King clearly and passionately articulated a cohesive theory of nonviolence along with actions of direct confrontation with the individuals and communities who perpetrated the conditions of racial and discrimination and segregation. King effected two changes in the method of black protest: He advocated the Gandhian theory of nonviolence to support his techniques of direct action applied en masse against the unfair conditions existing in society. King was personally devoted to nonviolence as Gandhi was, not only as a practical means to break down racial barriers, but as an end in itself. As early as 1960 differences and dissension would arise within the civil rights movement and against King due to his idealistic stand on nonviolence. Those who opposed this idealism viewed nonviolence as a practical tool as long as it remained useful, that is, successful.

King did not advocate collective disobedience, rather he proposed disobedience to unjust laws and obedience to just laws;

One may well ask, 'How can you advocate breaking some laws and obeying others?' The answer is found in the fact that there are two types of laws: There are just laws and there are unjust laws, I would be the first to advocate obeying just laws. Conversely, one has a moral responsibility to disobey unjust laws. I would agree with Saint Augustine that 'An unjust law is no law at all.'

Now what is the difference between the two? How does one determine when a law is just or unjust? A just law is a man-made code that squares with the moral law or the law of God. An unjust law is a code that is out of harmony with the moral law... Any law that uplifts human personality is just. Any law that degrades human personality is unjust.

King justified breaking segregation statutes, because he found that segregation

was economically, politically, sociologically, and morally wrong. He urged obedience to the 1954 Supreme Court decision, because it was morally right; he urged disobedience to segregation laws. Unjust laws according to King were inflicted upon a minority by a majority and not binding on the majority.

An unjust law is a code inflicted upon a minority which the minority had no part in enacting or creating because they did not have the unhampered right to vote....There are some instances when a law is just on its face but unjust in its application....In no sense do I advocate evading or defying the law as the rabid segregationist would do. This would lead to anarchy. One who breaks an unjust law must do it openly, lovingly...and with a willingness to accept the penalty. I submit that an individual who breaks a law that conscience tells him is unjust, and willingly accepts the penalty by staying in jail to arouse the conscience of the community over its injustice, is in reality expressing the very highest respect for law...⁵

Another important part of King's civil disobedience involved his beliefs that the black protesters must act with Christian love. King never lost his love for his fellow man, be he black or white, integrationist or segregationist. He stood resolutely by his faith in the white man's basic goodness which could be brought to surface by the blacks' protesting, even through suffering in protest. King injected into Gandhian pacifism the teachings of Jesus Christ. He did not desert even in his darkest hours these ideas of Christian fellowship and love. Prayer offered a constant consolation to King and refreshed his spirit and faith when he felt despair. This admirable idealism of King's eventually lost supporters to the cause for King, and black power advocates drew from this loss. For the most part, though, King's "love thy enemy and forgive them, for they know not what they do", was amazingly enough successful. Thousands of protesters demonstrated nonviolently in the name of justice and love in the face of physical and emotional brutality.

King's theories and techniques functioned so successfully due to conditions in America in the late 1950's and the 1960's. The environment generated the black feelings necessary to bring about a black revolt as opposed to the black protest of previous years, and the white attitudes essential to the success of the revolt or at least the toleration of it. Conditions in the United States and the world had created a new Negro--an activist, and finally a militant. The 1954 Supreme Court decision threw out "separate, but equal" as the law of the land, but "separate, but unequal," still reigned in the cultural, social, economic, and political spheres of the entire system. In the late 1950's discrimination and segregation still flourished across the country. For the most part the Negro attended segregated schools which were inferior to white schools. Blacks acquired a second-rate education which entitled them to a second-rate job at second-rate pay. As late as 1961 the depressed economic condition of the Negro was a product of many forces.

These forces included discrimination against blacks in academic training, in vocational training, by labor organizations, by state employment offices, by employers, and by employment opportunities offered by the armed forces and the federal government.⁶ Because of discrimination and economic depression many blacks lived in substandard housing in ghettos. Nonwhite housing was not only of an inferior quality when compared with that of white housing, but the nonwhite dweller actually had to pay more for his housing. Economic depression led to a breakdown of family life and law-abiding behavior in the black community. The unemployment rate of blacks in the 1950's soared above that of the white unemployed and rose steadily through the sixties. Where America lacked in providing for her people, the Negro was hit the hardest.

The Negro was also segregated from the mainstream of American life in other ways. In the late fifties one-quarter of a million blacks in the

South were still disenfranchised. Earlier Supreme Court decisions outlawing segregation on transportation facilities were flagrantly ignored. There were either separate and inferior publicly owned recreational, cultural, and social facilities for blacks or none at all. A black skin represented a badge of inferiority and years of accomodation to discrimination, degredation, and humiliation.

In the middle fifties these same conditions were ripe for change. The extensive urbanization of the American Negro during and after World War II contirbuted greatly to this ripe environment. Many blacks were packed together in ghettos in Northern cities which increased their political power. In the South the growth of big cities and industrialization provided an increase in mobility and social fluidity for the black even within the segregated system. Blacks were increasingly exposed to cosmopolitanism and middle-class values and attitudes, and consequently aspired to lead middle-class lives. Communi-cations between black and black, and between black and white increased. Along with urbanization and industrialization came an improved economic position. This improved economic strength increased the buying power of the Negro com-munity, and made the white community, especially the businessmen, more acutely aware of their relationsip with the Negro worker and the Negro consumer.

Educational opportunities for blacks improved also. Better equipped to know his rights, articulate his grievances, and challenge his oppressors, the educated black, expecially the college student, began to rebel against the traditions of discrimination. The importance of the black student in the civil rights movement must not be understated. In part the movement can be seen as a rebellion against traditional parental standards, that is, acceptance and accomodation of an unfair system. These students were in their formative years when the 1954 decision was handed down and when King rose to power. For them a bright new future opened up, a future of equality before the law.

They refused to waste their time simply waiting for justice. They decided to demand it and work for it. The students feelings were aptly described in a manifesto called "An Appeal for Human Rights" drafted by students from six Negro Colleges in 1960;

" We do not intend to wait placidly for those rights which are already legally and morally ours to be meted out to us one at a time. Today's youth will not sit by submissively, while being denied all of the rights, privileges, and joys of life...."?

The students were forced at times to combat the conservatism of their parents and school officials. However, in the majority of cases and times, and once the revolt was on its way, the conservatism gave way to support and pride.

Conservatism was flexing its muscles all over America. Especially in the South membership in White Citizens' Councils greatly increased, and massive resistance to school desegregation and intimidation of black voters and black leaders solidified. At the same time, the white liberal's spirit was inclined to right the wrongs in America, as America had righted the evils of the world in World War II, if the motivating push could be found. White college students were prepared to correct the entire system , and they willingly and enthusiastically joined the black struggle.

Internationally the United States found it increasingly embarrassing to speak out against denials of human rights in foreign lands and flagrantly deny these same rights to some of its citizens. The emergence of independent states in Africa added pressure to the United States. Many black Americans identified with the African freedom movement which offered them living proof of the Negro's abilities; abilities which were not allowed to frustify in the United States.

The improved position of the Negro in the United States and in the world led to a revolution of expectations in the black brain and in the black heart.

Negroes recognized that they had a stake in the system; a lot that severely needed improvement, but nevertheless, a lot. The small gains that had been made increased the yearning for equality and the dissatisfaction with discrimination. As the civil rights movement made increased gains, expectations rose, as did intolerance of unfair conditions and as did frustration. By 1954 blacks were tired of the slow pace of acquiring their civil rights. In 1955 the black revolution¹ struck out against whitey's system of subjugation and the black system of subverting it. Blacks had lost faith in black leadership and traditional black methods of attaining freedom. When Martin Luther King appeared upon the scene, blacks were anxious to follow a new leader with new methods. King's intensity of feeling, magnetic personality, and eloquent speech exploded the bastion of Negro frustration, desire for change, and energy to act.

¹The Negro schools of thought are torn with dissension, giving birth to many insurgent factions....All are engaged in a war of bitter recriminations...while the long-suffering masses...(are) victims of the vanities, foibles, indiscretions and vaulting ambitions...of various leaderships.¹⁰

These are the words concerning black leadership and black civil rights organizations of Asa Philip Randolph in 1923. The truth of the statement not only applied then, but applies through the twentieth century. During the years from 1955 through 1968 the civil rights movement saw the growth of several new organizations and a proliferation of new young leaders. The different organizations adopted varying methods and even sometimes conflicting goals. The very purpose of the civil rights movement itself was stated differently in various circles. Along with ideological conflicts, disputes arose

due to personality clashes between leaders. Old organizations and old leaders lined up in the conservative camp; new groups and young leaders banded together in the militant camp. Conservatives appreciated the signs of progress of the fifties and sixties reflected by legislative acts, executive acts, Supreme Court decisions, and the new opportunities opening up in business, government, and the academic world. By the late sixties many conservatives began to view their role as one of exercising influence within established institutions, rather than fighting such institutions from the outside. In technique the conservative turned to overt protest as a last resort. The militant spoke for revolutionary change in the social structure and resort to violence when necessary to change it. The militant often advocated race chauvinism. In between the extremes fell those groups and leaders who advocated a type of coalition politics composed of blacks, white liberals, organized labor, and the white clergy. This coalition was to press for changes through mass direct action and confrontation--nonviolent for the most part, except in self-defense situations. These three categories broadly outline the trends of the civil rights movement from 1955 through 1968. One must remember though that the organizations and leaders fall along a continuum ranging from extreme conservatism to extreme militantism, and there are no neat and easy descriptive boxes into which they fit.

For a limited period Martin Luther King unified the dissident leaders and organizations, and the civil rights movement moved as a whole. However, at the same time that he temporarily unified the movement, he was helping to create and accelerate the growth of new factions and the growth of frustrations which would split the movement into more sharply defined groups. King stood in the vital center of the different organizations and leaders. He can be called a conservative-militant. His methods and goals grew more acti-

vist and militant as the movement grew increasingly activist and militant. King walked the shaky ground of mediator between conservatives and militants and compromiser of the methods of the two extremes. The positions shifted and King's stance vacillated at times. This fluidity of thought and flexibility in action separated King from many other civil rights leaders. For a while, he had the ability to compromise and lose face. King the middle-man was often praised for his worth compromises, however, he was also often severely castigated by both sides.

In his early career from about 1955 to 1960 King unified the civil rights movement, and for the most part, it moved as a whole. From 1960 to 1963 King largely played the part of centrist middle-man keeping the lines of communication open between conservatives and militants. By 1964 King was losing power quickly and the militants and conservatives were pushing farther and farther apart on the civil rights continuum. By 1968 King had failed to shift his centrist position to parallel the shift in the middle-ground of the movement, and a new power vacuum was already growing before his assassination. From 1955 to 1968 the flavor of the black revolt changed becoming increasingly militant--be it nonviolent or violent. King, because of his inability to realistically assess the mood of the revolution, or his dedication to nonviolence, or his premature death, or a mixture to some degree of all three variables, failed to move with the times. Therefore, he lost much of his tangible power in his role as unifier, in his role of rallier of the people, and in his role as vital center within the movement.

Before King's leadership the primary civil rights organization were the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), the National Urban League (Urban League), the Fellowship of Reconciliation (FOR), and the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters (Brotherhood). The NAACP eclipsed all of these organizations in the

first half of the twentieth century due to its ability to articulate black problems and to seek redress of these grievances. Founded in 1909 by middle-class intellectual blacks and liberal whites, the NAACP is the oldest civil rights organization. The biracial leadership has continued as has the largely middle-class membership. The NAACP claims the largest membership and the largest financial resources of any civil rights group through the twentieth century. The bulk of its resources has come from dues as opposed to the "philanthropic financial backbone" of most of the other organizations. Relying on peaceful protest and legal challenges involving court litigation and law enforcement, the NAACP has achieved much success in legal victories. In 1954 it achieved its crowning glory in Brown versus the Topeka Board of Education which hastened the overthrow of Jim Crowism. It is important to note that the NAACP consists of actually two organization (since 1939): The NAACP which aids individuals and other groups with funds and which supports a lobby in Washington, and the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund which litigates issues in court.

By 1954 the moderate program, the middle-class stance, and the very structured administration of the organization came under attack. The popularity of the NAACP declined increasingly in the late fifties and the sixties as the popularity of Martin Luther King rose, and as his program of nonviolent direct action and more militant programs appeared to be more effective to the masses. Roy Wilkins, the NAACP's Executive Secretary since 1955 and Executive Director since 1964, represents the NAACP's program and its appeal. Wilkin's formal, dignified, and middle-class stance clashes with the grass-rootsy, warm, and personal charisma of King, and conflicts with the arrogance and outspokenness of Stokeley Carmichael or H. Rap Brown.

In the same corner with Roy Wilkins and the NAACP, Whitney Young and

posture in the sixties CORE grew in prominence and power.

New organizations burst upon the scene in the late fifties and the sixties. These organizations reflected the changes that the black protest was undergoing. In 1957 Martin Luther King institutionalized his theory and techniques with the founding of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC). SCLC functions as a non-sectarian coordinating agency of individuals and organizations striving for full citizenship rights for blacks and total integration of blacks into the American system. While King was alive the activities of SCLC focused around his charismatic personality and symbolic power. SCLC primarily concerned itself with organizing a few major campaigns, lending support to campaigns already started, and raising funds. After King's death SCLC lost much of its power, for King was SCLC.

The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNICK) grew under King's auspices also. Organized in 1960 to channel student activities along nonviolent direct action techniques, SNICK has kept up an unrelenting battle to change the system in America, especially in the Deep South. SNICK has focused much attention on gaining for the Negro the opportunity to vote. SNICK participated in and initiated sit-ins, walk-ins, wade-ins and other activities in the sixties constantly exposing its members to jail sentences, harassment, and violent attacks. Howard Zinn, historian of the black revolution, has called SNICK members the "new abolitionists" and one of the most serious social forces in the nation in 1966--

These young rebels call themselves the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, but they are more a movement than an organization, for no bureaucratized structure can contain their spirit, no printed program capture the fierce and elusive quality of their thinking. And while they have no famous leaders, very little money, no inner access to the seats of national authority, they are clearly the front line of the Negro assault on the moral comfort of white America.

These are young radicals; the word "revolution" occurs again and again in their speech....They are prepared to use revolutionary means against the old order....

SNICK's program has followed the changes in the black revolt and developed along with it. SNICK grew increasingly militant in the sixties. John Lewis led SNICK in the early sixties until even his militancy did not reach left enough for the masses, and in 1966 Stokely Carmichael replaced him. Carmichael represented the young frustrated militant black who had been raised in an urban ghetto and was eager to demand and gain a genuine stake in the system.

One of the oldest organizations of the most militant nature developed in the early thirties under the leadership of Elijah Muhammed. The Muslims, or Black Muslims, as they were referred to, accepted a new religion removed from Christianity and the white man's church. They believed the time would come when the black man would conquer the white man. They called for a separate black state, violent retaliation against the white man, unified black efforts and black self-help, and black pride in black achievement. Their doctrines gained many adherents and drew members away from the goals and methods of other civil rights organization in the sixties. In the late fifties until his assassination in 1965, Malcolm X was the major spokesman for the Black Muslims. His appealing rhetoric caused the membership rolls to swell.

The Black Muslims were a small minority in the fifties, but in the sixties nationalist and chauvinist protest organizations espousing not only black power, but black superiority, cropped up all over the country. The best-known of these groups is the Black Panther Party of Oakland, California organized in 1966. The Panthers have further hardened the lines between militants and moderates. They openly advocate violent confrontations along with other commendable goals seeking black pride and economic improvement.

These civil rights organizations that have been discussed functioned

at times together, at times separate, and at times against each other. Their individual growth and decay patterns reflect the stages through which the black revolution in the United States passed. From 1955 to 1968 the black protest movement shifted from the courtroom to the market place and to the polls. By 1955 the protest had passed from the stage of seeking legal equality for the most part through court litigation and law enforcement to the stage of seeking citizenship rights and social rights of blacks through nonviolent direct action. The leadership of the first half of the century was losing power. New leaders with more militant postures changed their programs to appeal to the masses and to all classes.

1954 to 1963 can be called a period of "creative disorder".

The activities of these years involved direct action techniques which complemented the paper work and court struggles necessary to gain legal protection and equality. Events increased pressures on legislative bodies, government officials, the Presidents, and the courts to provide blacks with their legal rights and assure them they would be granted. In this light, the activities were successful. This success led to dissatisfaction with its limitations. Only superficially had the black's social and economic position been affected; the majority of blacks still operated outside the mainstream of American life. Expectations and frustrations increased. Blacks grew dissatisfied with the failures of the nonviolent confrontations. Appeals to white America's sense of fair play obviously did not succeed; blacks turned to demanding fair play based on power, physical, economic, and political. Blacks desired more than a guarantee of their constitutional rights; they demanded economic and educational policies to insure the welfare of the culturally and economically deprived. They recognized that the entire system needed to be changed, not just a few institutions or practices.

"From sit-ins and freedom rides we have gone into rent strikes, boycotts, community organization, and political action. As a consequence of this natural evolution, the Negro today finds himself stymied by obstacles of far greater magnitude than the legal barriers he was attacking before; automation, urban decay, de facto segregation. These are problems which, while conditioned by Jim Crow, do not vanish upon its demise. They are more deeply rooted in our socio-economic order; they are the result of the total society's failure to meet not only the Negro's needs, but human needs generally."¹¹

From 1963 to 1968 the revolution passed into violent action demanding economic and social equality. America witnessed hundreds of violent uprisings against the established order. Black organizations which had acted with some unity from 1955 to 1963 splintered by 1964. *Leaders became younger, more militant, and more exemplary of the masses they led.*

Martin Luther King stepped into a power vacuum of black leadership in 1955. He brought a unity of purpose and action to the activities of the major civil rights organizations and attracted blacks from all classes. He attained two kinds of power: symbolic power and real power. Real power involved the exercise of achieving tangible gains, economically, socially, or politically, and the ability to clearly state the demands of the black movement, set the goals, and achieve these goals. Symbolic power involved the meaning that King represented for the movement and to the people; that is, the hope he inspired and the actions he motivated.

King's power was in a state of flux constantly. From 1954 to 1960 King held the most power that he would ever hold; He stood out above all other civil rights leaders in being the man who articulated the demands of blacks, set their goals, and channelled their actions to achieve these goals. King clearly had the real power to effect political gains. From 1960 to 1963 King's symbolic power was enhanced even more, but his real power was diminishing. By 1964 the black movement had splintered and organizations had separated many activities. King still retained his symbolic meaning for the movement and

jected to harassment and abuse on the buslines. Conditions on the buslines represented one small example of the oppressive system of segregation which hung over Montgomery. King had recently moved to Montgomery as the reverend of Dexter Avenue Church. As pastor of the church whose membership included the wealthiest, best-educated, and most influential blacks in the city, King automatically stepped into a position of leadership. The leadership in Montgomery had previously been unable to stir the placid Negro populace to action. King in his first year as pastor had joined the local NAACP and turned down the presidency of the group, participated in activities of the Alabama Council on Human Relations, and on his own organized several social service and political action committees among the members of his pastorate.

The day after Mrs. Parks' arrest, Negro leaders in the community forged to action. E.D. Nixon, a long-time activist and prominent member of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters and the state NAACP, brought together the black leaders in the community to organized a one day boycott of the Montgomery buslines. E.D. Nixon, Reverend Ralph Abernathy, pastor of the First Baptist Church, Reverend L. Roy Bennett, President of the International Ministerial Alliance, and Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr. formed the core of the group preparing the boycott. King was elected President of the new community organization, the Montgomery Improvement Association (MIA), which was formed to follow through after the one-day boycott. Even though he had the least experience and was the least well-known of the men, King had one outstanding advantage over the other leaders in that he was not identified with any one group of the faction-ridden Negro leadership.

King and the MIA staged a three hundred and eighty-two day boycott of the Montgomery buslines which was ninety-five percent effective! The Negroes in the community, rich and poor, intellectuals and working-class, all responded

enthusiastically. King succeeded in taking the rifraf out of trouble and pushing them into a dignified and legitimate course of protest. Negroes in other communities responded with their own boycotts, as in Tallahassee, Atlanta and other cities. King provided them with the vehicle to release years of pent-up emotion and frustration. King and other MIA leaders negotiated with city officials and buslines officials off and on the whole time. Their demands grew as negotiations dragged on and city officials began to harass black leaders and the black community with a new "got-tough" policy. King himself was hounded and finally arrested on a speeding charge--thirty-five miles-per-hour in a twenty-five miles-per-hour zone.-- This was the first of many future arrests designed to foil King's activities and discredit him. Abuses more strongly united the black community.

King's unchallenged leadership role was not immediately discernable. However, on January 30, 1956 King's home was bombed and crowds of armed blacks were prepared to strike back violently. From his front porch King faced the crowd, and he controlled the anger of the people preventing a bloodbath with his words:

"Don't get panicky! Don't do anything panicky at all! If you have weapons, take them home! if you do not have them, please do not seek to get them. We cannot solve this problem through retaliatory violence.... We must love our white brothers no matter what they do to us!"¹²

For the time being, the people accepted King's method even as they faced white abuse and violence. "Our method will be that of persuasion, not coercion. We will only say to the people, 'Let your conscience be your guide.'" Our actions must be guided by the deepest principles of our Christian faith. Love must be our regulating ideal.¹³ From this point on King led the movement, guided the movement, and became a living symbol of it. Any man who could face the threat of death and not seek retaliatory action, but still be committed

to nonviolence, represented a man and an idea to whom people could be committed. Black America followed him and took pride in him; white America breathed a sigh of relief, and part of white America applauded King. The media let the entire country know of King's greatness. King's later loss of control over the violent tendencies within the movement indicated a loss of leadership power.

The boycott was brought to its closing stages on November 13, 1956 when the United States Supreme Court declared Alabama's state and local laws requiring segregation on buses unconstitutional. In the end the method of the NAACP had proven to be the most satisfactory one in gaining legal rights. However, above all, as King later commented, "Our real victory is not so much the desegregation of the buses as it is a new sense of dignity and destiny."¹⁴ The impact of King on the black movement and the impact of the movement on King changed the flavor of black protest and transformed King. This dual impact was to shape the history in the United States in the years to follow. "Such a phenomenon in history can never be forgotten, inasmuch as it has disclosed in human nature the rudiment of and the capacity for better things which, prior to this, no student of political science had deduced from the previous course of events."¹⁵ King gave blacks a new method to complement the old ones. Boycotts and acts of civil disobedience added pressure to compel legislative bodies, courts, Presidents and individuals to act. By channelling aggressiveness into a legitimate course of action, King allowed blacks to release their frustrations without resort to violence. The lack of violence allowed liberal and moderate whites to applaud black activities, provide financial support, and even sometimes join the cause. White acts of terror appeared brutal and uncalled for in light of black passivity.

King became a national leader. He stepped into the power vacuum of black factionalism to unite black action under the banner of nonviolence.

He had set the idea in motion and nonviolent direct action appeared to be the answer to the black's dilemma of what course of action to take. King advocated a showdown situation of forced face-to-face community to community meetings to implement change. This type of action abandoned the mainstream of traditional Negro leadership techniques which shied away from conflict situations and direct appeal to the masses as being inflammatory. According to King⁴, Pressure, even conflict, was an unfortunate but necessary element in social change.⁴⁶ Other black leaders however, were willing to support King's activities and stand with him. King had struck upon a happy middle-ground between activists and conservatives of the black movement. Militants and black nationalists at this time only pushed support to King's middle-ground. Later, King would lose supporters to the militant concept of confrontation and conflict; the seeds for these ideas can be found in his own system.

King's ideas were institutionalized with the founding of SCLC with King at its head in January, 1957. At first a regional organization, within a year SCLC had developed into a national organization. According to King SCLC's major goals were to "aid blacks in asserting their human dignity through Christian love and acts of nonviolence". In its formative years SCLC primarily concerned itself with desegregation of transportation facilities and voter registration projects. King's weaknesses in administration would be revealed in the activities of SCLC. His oratory, his character, his charisma, and his sense of history would not always make up for the deficit in administrative ability.

Tribute poured into laud King. National magazines such as Time and black magazines such as Jet and Ebony wrote articles praising King. Some called him a new Moses. In May of 1957 King received the Spingarn Medal which is annually awarded by the NAACP to the person making the largest contribution in the field of race relations. King began to receive honorary degrees from

colleges and he was constantly sought after to give speeches all over the country (even before the platform committee of the Democratic National Convention in August of 1957)

On May 17, 1957 in Washington, D.C. King was the man of the hour at the Prayer Pilgrimage sponsored by the leading civil rights organizations and black leaders of the day. King shared the leadership of the event with A. Philip Randolph and Roy Wilkins, but the crowd's response to King as he spoke to 35,000 demonstrators from thirty states before the Lincoln Memorial made it clear that he was their man. King criticized both political parties, the executive department and the legislative department. He called for help and action from the federal government, white liberals, Southern white moderates, and blacks themselves. Above all, King stressed the need for the blacks to be able to exercise their right to vote:

"Give us the ballot and we will no longer plead-we will write the proper laws on the books. Give us the ballot and we will fill the legislature with men of goodwill. Give us the ballot and we will get the people judges who love mercy. Give us the ballot and we will quietly, lawfully, implement the May 17, 1954, decision of the Supreme Court.... Give us the ballot and we will transform the salient misdeeds of the bloodthirsty mobs into the calculated good deeds of orderly citizens."¹⁷

This seemingly moderate speech contained within it foundations for the cry of black power of the late sixties. King's demand of the right to vote showed a mature recognition of the realities of power in the United States. His objective, to give blacks political control, represented what Malcolm X later called a form of Black power. King worked toward this goal through the SCLC's "Crusade for Citizenship", a drive to encourage blacks in the South to register to vote, teach them how to register, and teach them to utilize their right to vote.

During this period King enjoyed a remarkable degree of superiority

in leadership power. Criticisms though were not altogether vacant. Roy Wilkins and King not only disagreed on methods, but also clashed on the basis of personality. Wilkins' conservative, formal and dignified approach was totally alien to King's emotionalism and informality. Wilkins inflexibility concerning tactical moves sharply contrasted with King's easy adaptability to new methods as long as they did not conflict with his nonviolent ideas. Reporters tried to emphasize the split between Wilkins and King, forgetting the two men and their respective organizations often worked together. To squelch rumors King took out two life memberships in the NAACP, one for himself and one for the MIA. However, the gap between Wilkins and King widened as the years passed.

The split between Wilkins and King reflected the rift between the conservatism of the old guard and the activism of the new protesters. The NAACP and the Urban League were attacked from within their own organizations for their adherence to the old techniques of protest. Activists of the Urban League formed an ad hoc committee called "the Disturbed Committee of the Executive Secretaries Council" to demand a more militant program of action. Edwin C. Berry, chairman of the committee, reflected the dissident view

"This is the last half of the twentieth century, the age of sputniks as well as the age of urban sprawl....They (Negroes) are no longer willing to be half-slave and half-free. They are at war with the status quo, and will no longer accept the leadership of any agency or organization that does not know this and will not act on it forthrightly. People who do not mean business do not walk with Martin Luther King or stand with Daisy Bates.... Uncle Tom's day is over and Uncle Thomas' days are numbered. (Uncle Thomas is an Uncle Tom with a college degree and a Brooks Brothers suit.)"

Within the NAACP local and national voices spoke out in criticism of Wilkins and the failure of the NAACP to meet the needs of the times. Jackie Robinson, a board member of the NAACP, called for a new aggressive policy to reach the little man. In 1959 in Monroe County, North Carolina,

local NAACP President Robert F. Williams formed an armed guard to exchange gunfire with Klansmen and police after repeated nonviolent efforts to work out problems had failed. "The Montgomery bus boycott," he wrote, "was a great victory for American democracy," but not the solution for every situation.¹⁹ In August of 1958 NAACP Youth Council exploded in sit-ins. Within the NAACP Voices also spoke out against King's theory that boycotts would develop into the pattern of protest in many parts of the South. King and Wilkins were both condemned in 1957 when they bypassed the convictions of five hundred black spokesmen and three hundred leadership organizations and gave their reluctant endorsement to the Senate's watered-down Civil Rights Bill of 1957. The black press even spoke out against the endorsement.

King was attacked from both sides. The conservative elements criticized his proposals for massive stand-ins in Southern polling booths and study-ins in segregated Southern schools. The militants, who at this time commanded a small following, criticized King's policies of reconciliation and love for the white man. King viewed his protest methods not as ends in themselves, but as he said,

"It is true that as we struggle for freedom in America, we will have to boycott at times. But we must remember, as we do so, that a boycott is not an end in itself.... But the end is reconciliation; the end is redemption; the end is the creation of the beloved community."²⁰

King implored his followers to refrain from violence. "Blood," he said, "may flow in the streets of Montgomery before we receive our freedom, but it must be our blood that flows and not that of the white man."²¹ The Black Muslims scoffed at King's approach; they embraced violence in self-defense or in retaliation, and they preached hate. As early as September, 1958, King was heckled by black nationalists as he spoke to crowds in Harlem. This incident foreshadowed the opposition to King's methods which would gain strength through the

sixties, particularly in Northern urban ghettos. Blacks in Northern ghettos began to hang onto every word of Malcolm X and his Black Muslim creed.

In April, 1959 the failure of the activities of the previous years were cruelly exposed and brought to a head by the lynching of a Negro youth, Mack James Parker, in Poplarville, Mississippi. Such open defiance of the Civil Rights Commission and other federal agencies and the law itself in the South showed the need for clearer laws protecting the Negro and for better enforcement of the laws. The Civil Rights Commission had been created by the Civil Rights Bill of 1957. The Commission had the power to investigate discriminatory conditions in the United States and recommend corrective measure to the President. The 1957 bill further provided for the appointment of an Assistant Attorney General to oversee race relations, and strengthened certain civil rights provisions of the United States Code. The bill did not do enough. Nor did President Eisenhower nor Vice-President Nixon emerge as catalysts of the black strive for justice. They both ignored the proposals made by King and other leaders to them in meetings in June of 1958 and June of 1957. Eisenhower's support began and ended when he yielded to international pressure and sent federal troops to Little Rock, Arkansas in 1957 to secure the admittance of black students to the University of Arkansas amid white violence.

To the minimal-tangible gains of the late fifties whites reacted with increased hostility. Frequent bombings, beatings, denial of legal rights, and even police brutality increased in many areas of the South. Blacks reacted with increased activism and the threat that underlying violent strains would burst out in the face of white violence and continued discrimination.

King as Jet magazine referred to him in 1957 was truly a "Man on the Go". As a national figure he gave hundreds of speeches, led numerous campaigns, and rallied the people to his cause. As an international figure he travelled to Europe, Asia, and Africa popularizing the black strive for freedom and allying it with the world drive for peace. This early uniting of the black

case with an overall freedom cause foreshadowed a later cause of King's loss of power.

By 1959 King felt that his efforts needed to be intensified to bring pressure upon government and upon individuals and to meet the black needs for active protest. King rejected the token integration of the years from 1954 to 1959; he called it "a new form of discrimination covered up with certain niceties and complexities."²² He stood steadfastly to his theories of nonviolence holding that "...and this is where nonviolent resistance breaks with Communism and with all of those systems which argue that the end justifies the means, because we realize that the end is pre-existent in the means. In the long run of history, destructive means cannot bring about constructive ends."²³ He did not fail though to recognize the threat of violence that lurked within America due to the environment. "...a climate of hatred and bitterness so permeates areas of our nation that inevitably deeds of extreme violence must erupt...."²⁴ commented King.

In December in 1959 King talked of the "proper psychological moment" as having arrived in the United States to forge ahead with bold new advances in the black struggle for equality:

"we must not let the present strategic opportunity pass. Very soon our new program will be announced. Not only will it include a stepped-up campaign of voter registration, but a full-scale assault will be made upon discrimination and segregation in all forms. We must train our youth and adult leaders in the techniques of social change through nonviolent resistance. We must employ new methods of struggle, involving the masses of the people!"²⁵

King had accurately assessed conditions, and from 1960 to 1963 King participated in bold new advances against discrimination and segregation in the South. During these years King reaped the harvest of the seeds he had sown from 1955 to 1960. The period opened with sit-ins and freedom rides, some erupting spontaneously and others starting after careful planning. Campaigns were undertaken to overthrow the inequities of the law and law enforcement in cities all over the South. King's presence provided a rallying point around which the protesters flocked, and his symbolic bearing extended in power. King not only shaped his actions to suit events, but also initiated actions to shape events. He attempted to augment his real power through tangible gains and to prove the value of nonviolent methods. King's theories reached their peak in popularity, but King's real power was being eroded. Faith in nonviolent techniques was being undermined by the failure of campaigns to make real gains and the increased frequency of brutal attacks by whites upon blacks. Greater numbers of blacks considered abandoning nonviolent methods as they were dissatisfied with the slow pace of conciliatory tactics.

Blacks demanded not just bare amelioration within an unjust system, not just the removal of discrimination, nor the creation of integrated public facilities. They began to insist upon acceptance as human beings and their right to be included as human beings in every aspect of life. They cried "Freedom Now"! The "civil rights movement" came to be called the "freedom movement". By 1963 many of those who had called themselves nonviolent resisters, then nonviolent freedom fighters, referred to themselves as simply "freedom fighters".

The massive sit-ins beginning in 1960 represented the fruits of King's dreams. On February 1, 1960 four black students from North Carolina Agriculture and Technical College sat down at a lunch counter in the Woolworth's in Greensboro, North Carolina. Refused service, they continued to sit from

10 a.m. to 12:30 p.m., returning daily in increasing numbers. Four days later the movement spread to Duke University and North Carolina College. Two weeks later students held sit-ins in South Carolina, Tennessee and Virginia. By spring sit-ins, kneel-ins, stand-ins, and other variations of the method were being staged at lunch counters, in department stores, in supermarkets, in theatres, and in libraries all over the South except in Mississippi. Mass marches often supplemented the sit-in technique. Northern students supported the activities in different ways ranging from fund-raising to picketing local stores. The sit-in arose spontaneously and followed no uniform pattern except that the protesters were almost always arrested.

Civil rights organizations and leaders immediately entered the scene. CORE and FCR sent field representatives and opened workshops to instruct students in nonviolent methods. CORE played a major role in shaping the course of sit-ins which had started on their own, in negotiating with officials, and in introducing protest activities. SCLC got involved locally in a position of leadership in Nashville, Tallahassee, and Montgomery. More important than direct participation and guidance was King's overall contribution of structuring the dissent. The protesters looked to King as their symbolic leader. Even if he were physically absent, his presence was always felt, and the question of what King would have done was often raised. Thus, a distinction between King as head of SCLC and King as the voice of the nonviolent movement would always be made. This moral authority was never challenged; his organizational strategy often came under fire. At this point though, even the strongest critics of King admitted that "...there's no getting around the fact that King is the one. He may not be the best possible leader, but he's the leader." 26

Under King's auspices SNICK was founded in 1960 to channel student activities along Kingian methods. SNICK's statement of purpose read

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"We affirm the philosophical or religious ideal of nonviolence as the foundation of our purpose, the presupposition of our faith and the manner of our action. Nonviolence as it grows from Judaic-Christian tradition seeks a social order of justice permeated by love. Integration of human endeavor represents the first step toward such a society...."²⁷

This statement seemed to confirm SNICK's alliance with King and SCLC. SNICK's growing membership body honored King as a pioneer, but some of them did not find King radical enough. They accepted nonviolence as a tactic to gain certain tangible results, but they rejected it as an end in itself. King demanded an absolute commitment to nonviolence which they could not give. Even James Lawson, King's own aide, viewed nonviolence as a political weapon, and he exercised much influence over the students during SNICK's founding. SNICK's accent on action, rather than nonviolence and love contained a threat to King's leadership.

While CORE, SCLC, and SNICK actively involved themselves in the struggle as organizations, the NAACP and the Urban League remained on the periphery of the action. "The demonstrations are not something we planned. The students moved on their own. We didn't know what was going on until it happened. However, it should be kept in mind that many of the students involved are NAACP people," stated NAACP Public Relations Director Henry Moon. Lester Grange, Executive Director of the Urban League, talked of demonstrations as being "therapeutic for those engaged in them and a solemn warning to the nation at large," but asserted that "...the League does not function in the area of public demonstrations."²⁸

The sit-ins achieved some tangible gains. Department stores, lunch counters, and other facilities slowly desegregated in many communities in various parts of the nation. President Eisenhower had admired the efforts of the protesters, and Attorney General William P. Rogers met with representatives of national variety stores and extracted a promise that negotiations with blacks

would begin. By August, 1960 lunch counters in sixty-nine Southern communities had been desegregated. In May, 1960 the Civil Rights Act was passed to impede interracial violence without eroding the power and authority of local and state officials. The act required local officials to preserve voting registration records and produce them on demand for federal inspection. It also established federal voting referees who could enroll black voters where a previous pattern of discrimination could be shown. During the sixties the Supreme Court ruled in several cases upholding the right of protesters to demonstrate, thusly, relieving the anxieties and ending the jail sentences of many students. Above all, the student movement, that is, the power of the black youth surfaced. Over 70,000 people, the majority of them black students had staged over 800 sit-ins in more than 100 cities. The direct-action movement was gaining followers. King's ability to control the youth power in the movement in 1960 diminished tremendously by 1963.

In 1961 and 1962 "freedom rides" followed the sit-ins. Sponsored and planned by CORE, freedom rides referred to bus trips taken by blacks and whites to test illegal segregation laws relating to interstate transportation and terminal facilities. CORE designed the rides to dramatize the lack of Southern compliance with court orders and rulings of the Interstate Commerce Commission (ICC) banning segregation. The freedom riders left from Washington, D.C. and encountered no difficulties until they arrived in Alabama and Mississippi. In Montgomery, Alabama mob action threatened the freedom riders. Many were beaten while police watched and did nothing to restrain the attackers. President Kennedy sent in 400 federal marshalls to maintain order due to the mob violence. Governor Patterson of Alabama initially resisted federal authority, but eventually under Presidential pressure he called out the National Guard to restore order. Federal courts were forced to enjoin Montgomery city officials, individuals, and organizations to protect the riders and allow them to continue

on their way. In Mississippi similar events occurred. New freedom riders replaced those who had to return to their homes and those who were beaten too badly to continue. More than 300 freedom riders were arrested and convicted; many were harassed and brutally beaten. The crisis situation pushed the federal government into intervening to protect riders, and new ICC rulings outlawing segregation were issued.

King's involvement in the freedom rides was mostly marginal to the events. He did play an important part in rallying public opinion. Much criticism had been voiced against the tactics of the freedom riders by white liberal and black conservatives. King defended their tactics and goals. King served as the spokesman for the coordinating committee of the freedom rides. He had rushed to Montgomery to draw public attention to the events and put pressure on federal authorities to act. While black and white moderates and conservatives criticized King's support for the rides, young students criticized him for failing to take a freedom ride. Many members of SNICK spoke of a cult of personality, and sarcastically called him "de Lawd". They felt he had remained above the battle or outside of it.

At the same time, much controversy revolved around the conspicuous absence of Bayard Rustin, King's private assistant and organizer from 1956 to 1959, from SCLC activities. Rustin had resigned from the staff when Adam Clayton Powell had threatened to discredit SCLC and Rustin by emphasizing Rustin's socialist connections. Many thought that King had forced Rustin to resign, although he had done no such thing. King lost much moral credit with the young who felt King had pressured Rustin and bowed to Powell's demands.

King needed a definitive act to assert his revolutionary character, and to bring together his unravelling following. He and his advisers chose Albany, Georgia as the place to take a stand. Albany was the fifth-largest and one of the fastest-growing cities in Georgia. Albany's population was

one-third black--1% of the blacks were wealthy, 10% were middle-class, and 89% were poor. For all blacks, it was a white man's town where violent acts against blacks were committed without a second thought. In the fall of 1961 the NAACP Youth Council of Albany decided to integrate bus terminal facilities in the city. Five students and two adults attempted to be served at the bus station lunch counter, were refused service, and were then arrested. The protesters then took their case to court and awaited the decision, a wait which would probably have been two to three years. SNICK affiliates in Atlanta followed up the arrests by launching freedom rides into Albany and mobilizing local blacks to support them. Hundreds of students, black and white, were jailed for violating state and local segregation laws. Hundreds of demonstrators were beaten. As the jailing and beatings grew in number, blacks of all classes joined the protest in the streets. The Albany Movement, modelled after the MIA, was formed under the leadership of Dr. C.T. Anderson, a local black leader, to unite all the protesting groups. Negotiations with city officials constantly broke down and were resumed, broke down again and were resumed.

At this point at the request of Dr. Anderson King and Wyatt Walker, his principal aide, entered the Albany crisis. Walker had already been providing SNICK with the funds to operate in Albany, and tension existed between SNICK leaders and Walker. King's presence heightened the protesters enthusiasm. The Albany Movement undertook a number of activities. They initiated a selective buying campaign to apply pressure to Albany businessmen, they executed a boycott of the city's business, they sponsored voter education meetings, and they planned mass marches and demonstrations. Tension in the city mounted. Not just national opinion, but world opinion focused on Albany when King was jailed along with other black leaders. King announced that he would remain in jail until Albany city officials consented to desegregation of public facilities. The secondary leadership continued daily negotiations

with city officials, but made no progress. The city verged on a race riot. Someone had to give. King elected to accept bond and left jail. The tension snapped, and the Albany Movement collapsed.

Criticisms of King mounted to a new level. Many lost faith in his ability to lead them to the promised land. Albany was viewed by some as a personal failure for King as a leader, and by some as a failure of King's methods. Why did he leave the jail? King later commented on the Albany campaign:

"Looking back over it, I'm sorry I was bailed out. I didn't understand at the time what was happening. We thought that the victory had been won. When we got out, we discovered it was all a hoax. We had lost a real opportunity to redo Albany, and we lost an initiative that we never regained."

Where had he failed? King expressed his own opinion--

"We attacked the political power structure instead of the economic power structure. You don't win against a political power structure where you don't have the votes. But you can win against an economic power structure when you have the economic power to make the difference between a merchant's Profit and loss."

King's own answer analyzed the failure in somewhat limited terms.

King had failed in Albany for multiple reasons. He allowed himself to be pushed into leadership action without adequate preparation and with a faction-ridden body of followers that he never really commanded. King failed to assert his leadership and unify the various groups. The Albany consequently lacked organizational and administrative unity and follow-through. The movement spread its activities in too many areas.

"There has been no consistent, clear-cut plan of action....Today (fall, 1962), the movement continues with a kind of haphazard organization sustained only by that flood of common resolve which has marked the Negro militants.

while there are advantages to such fluidity, there are also drawback....Moreover, there are advantages to singling out a particular

goal and concentrating on it. This is an approach not only tactically sound for Negro protest but (it) also creates a climate favorable to a negotiated solution. The community is presented with a specific, concrete demand rather than a quilt of grievances.³²

The selective buying campaign in Albany had failed, because neither King nor the other Albany leaders thought out ahead of time that it cost blacks more than it did white merchants. The blacks in Albany did not comprise a large enough market to exert much economic leverage. Furthermore, retailers, the object of the boycott did not figure importantly in the city's political power structure. The bus boycott merely put the company out of business.

Wyatt Walker tried to minimize the failure of Albany and reiterate King's feelings in stating, "Albany is a mile out in the early stage of nonviolent revolution. Our nonviolent revolution is not yet full-grown. I do not know if it will ever come to adulthood, but I pray that it will."³³

King and Walker miscalculated the stage that the revolution had reached.

Albany represented one of the peak campaigns of black adherence to nonviolence in the face of failure and in the face of white violence. From 1962 to 1964 blacks in Albany continued to nonviolently gain their demands. Tangible gains were finally made in 1964. In that year Albany Negroes secured their right to conduct peaceful protest marches from a federal injunction, and public facilities were desegregated by the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

"There were nearly 350,000 people in Birmingham, Alabama in 1963; almost all of those who were black would have preferred to live elsewhere."³⁴ Birmingham was the most segregated city in America. King needed a proving ground for his methods and his own abilities; he chose Birmingham. He planned and organized his strategy well in advance. The groundwork for "Project C", as plans for Birmingham were called, was laid by conducting workshops in nonviolent techniques, recruiting people prepared to go to jail, and meeting with local leaders ahead of time. King even bided his time until

elections for mayor had taken place, in order that his demonstration would not cause a white backlash in the election. The conflicts with local leaders that had hurt Albany were absent in Birmingham, due to the pre-faction planning and the willingness of Reverend Fred Shuttlesworth, the controlling black leader in Birmingham, and his organization, the Alabama Christian Movement for Human Right (ACMHR), to allow King to dominate events.

King knew that his demands would bring a negative response. He demanded fair hiring practices, biracial community committees, and desegregation of public facilities. He knew that the peaceful demonstrations he was organizing would bring repressive measures from the police and hostility from the community. This conflict situation was a part of the theory behind King's planning. Walker explained: "We've got to have a crisis to bargain with. To take a moderate approach, hoping to get white help, doesn't work. They nail you to the cross, and it saps the enthusiasm of the followers. You've got to have a crisis." ³⁵

Many crises were precipitated during the campaign. After opening demonstrations in the form of token sit-ins in the spring of 1963, critics of King's "untimely" move were voiced by Attorney General Robert Kennedy, Billy Graham, and conservative blacks in the community and ⁱⁿ the nation. In the face of police brutality, white hostility, and the certainty of mass arrests and beatings, King made a bold move. He committed high school and grammar school children to his front lines. ³⁶ "Martin Luther King is a chump, not a champ," ³⁶ voiced Malcolm X. However, King's tactic was successful. ^{picture of the} The revolting brutality of "Bull" Connor, the Public Safety Commissioner, and of his men as they used clubs, fire hoses, and dogs against the peaceful marchers, flashed across the globe. The media condemned such inhuman actions, and the public eye focused on Birmingham. The black community united; conservatives and activists marched together. Whites from across the country, especially the

clergy, flocked to Birmingham. Connor's brutal tactics continued and thousands of arrests were made including King's at one time. "The civil rights movement," said President Kennedy in a meeting later with King, "owes Bull Connor as much as it owes Abraham Lincoln!"¹³⁷ Bull Connor's outrageous actions brought national and international pressure to bear on community leaders in Birmingham. An agreement was reached to implement a program to phase-out segregation policies. Birmingham events had a strong impact on President Kennedy. He ceased depending on mild executive manipulative acts, and he recognized the need for a civil rights bill. The Justice Department soon after began drawing up a new bill covering voting rights, employment, and the end of segregation in public facilities to be submitted to Congress. Kennedy developed into a strong ally of King and the civil rights movement. Although he did not always act, Kennedy always listened to King and he was the first President to appear before the nation and declare that race discrimination was a moral issue. Birmingham had also aroused the white liberal's conscience. The need for urgent action on the part of individual whites was exposed.

Had Birmingham satisfied King's need for a proving ground for nonviolence? Segregation and white attacks on blacks would continue in Birmingham as delaying tactics against the Supreme Court decision of May 20, 1963 outlawing segregation and reversing the convictions of blacks arrested for defying them. On September 14, 1963 white hoodlums bombed a black church killing four little black girls attending Sunday School. The violent white backlash flourished in other Southern cities as well in the months following the Birmingham campaign. Mississippi's NAACP leader Medgar Evers was assassinated outside his home in June of 1963. Increasing doubt was cast on the effectiveness of King's tactics in gaining tangible results. During the Birmingham struggle blacks had rioted after the bombing of Reverend A.D.

King's home (King's brother and fellow activist in the movement). In Birmingham King had kept black violence at a minimum, but he was virtually sitting on a powder keg. The permanently depressed strata of people at the bottom of the working class would pose a threat to King's nonviolent movement. He failed to keep these people within his movement in the following years, as they flocked to Malcolm X's or Stokely Carmichael's platform.

King had reached the peak of his career. In ~~January 1964~~ King was chosen "Man of the Year" by Time magazine. He was also nominated for the Nobel Peace Prize in 1963, and he would receive it in 1964. In August of 1963 the leading civil rights organizations and their heads sponsored a March on Washington to dramatize the black people's demand for freedom and to apply pressure to the federal government to act. A. Philip Randolph headed the organizing committee; Bayard Rustin organized the March; Roy Wilkins, James Farmer, Whitney Young, and John Lewis played an active part in the March; but, King again was the man of the hour. His famous "I Have a Dream" speech deeply moved approximately 200,000 citizens who had marched to Washington to show their commitment to the freedom cause.

The March was a symbol of the unity of black leadership and the civil rights movement, and King's speech dealt with meaning, not action. The unity was superficial, and King's power in the following years would increasingly rest on his meaning as a symbol. Indicative of the false security of the March was the first draft of the speech that SNICK's John Lewis had prepared to deliver. He was forced to change the gist of it, because more conservative elements threatened to quit the March if changes were not made. Lewis's original draft read, "We will march through the South, through the heart of Dixie, the way Sherman did. We shall pursue our own scorched-earth policy and burn Jim Crow to the ground, non-violently." The changed speech

read that blacks would march through the South "with the spirit of love and with the spirit of dignity that we have shown here today." 38

The conflict over Lewis' speech reflected the hardening of the lines of polarization between civil rights organizations by 1963, the growing difficulties that King would have in keeping the lines of communication open between them, and the problem that King would have in keeping his own followers committed to nonviolence. Although Whitney Young had become more outspoken and "militant", taking a firmer stand with white businessmen, the Urban League remained the most conservative of the civil rights organizations. The NAACP was often chided for its moderation and loss of touch with the people. Nevertheless, in 1963 it still offered the most varied program of protest including court litigation, lobbying for civil rights legislation, scattered involvement in direct action campaigns, and above all, financially aiding other civil rights organizations, local and national, and individuals. The youth secretary of the NAACP had organized and reactivated college and youth chapters in the Southern and border states with the intent of promoting direct-action campaigns.

Even with its varied program and strong financial aid the NAACP was eclipsed in visible popularity by CORE and SNICK. That is, blacks were actively protesting nonviolently and violently. CORE and SNICK played major roles in initiating such action and in following through with the plans. By 1962 SNICK had ceased to be a coordinator of college group; it was composed of a staff of activists and field representatives who stimulated action and participated in it. SNICK affiliates appealed mostly to the working-class people and the youth. CORE joined SNICK in technique and appeal. In 1963 CORE protesters in New York, Philadelphia, Chicago, and Detroit dumped trash at city halls to dramatize the problems of the urban ghetto. CORE and SNICK both recognized the urgency of conditions in the North. By 1963 they had extended operations to the urban ghettos there. By 1963 SNICK and CORE

were undergoing transitional growing pains. They vacillated in their protest stance and within the organizations militants ranged from the far left to close to the center.

In 1963 King still retained a position of primacy in the ranks of black leadership. However, King and SCLC were fast losing influence over SNICK and CORE. King stood in between the conservatism of the Urban League and the NAACP on the right and the race chauvinism of the Black Muslims on the left. SNICK and CORE had shifted more toward the left, and King was unable to check this movement. By 1963 growing pains led to growing frustrations and impatience. The failures of nonviolent methods, the backlash of white bigots, and the apathy of the majority of white moderates, all contributed to an attitudinal change toward nonviolence. Nonviolence was to be used where it worked, self-defense was to be employed where it worked, and new methods were to be tried. "Offending the white man was proving more effective than pleasing him." ⁴³ Malcolm X's words on King and nonviolence in 1958 reflected the feeling of SNICK and CORE people in 1963:

The white man supports Reverend Martin Luther King, subsidizes Reverend Martin Luther King, so that Reverend Martin Luther King can continue to teach the Negroes to be defenseless--that's what you mean by nonviolent--be defenseless in the face of one of the most cruel beasts that has ever taken people into captivity--that's this American white man, and they have proved it throughout the country by the police dogs and the police clubs....Just as Uncle Tom, back during slavery, used to keep the Negroes from resisting the bloodhound or resisting the Klu Klux Klan by teaching them to love their enemies or pray for those who use them despitefully, today Martin Luther King is just a twentieth-century or modern Uncle Tom or religious Uncle Tom....

The assassination of President Kennedy in November of 1963 impressed even more strongly upon King the necessity to change the climate of hatred.

in the United States which cultivated violent acts. King wisely feared the potential of violence in the black community. The roots of discontent which were buds from 1960 through 1963 were nurtured by the events of these years, and grew into full-fledged fruits of violent protest from 1964 into King's assassination and after his assassination.

By 1964 King recognized several important facts which shaped his activities from 1964 through 1968. "For years," King says, "I labored with the idea of reforming the existing institutions of the society, a little change here, a little change there. Now I feel quite differently. I think you've got to have a reconstruction of the entire society, a revolution of values."

King realized the urgent need to meet the demands of the problems of the Northern ghettos and of Northern segregation. The ghettos needed massive economic aid. King reaffirmed his belief that the federal government needed to act immediately in the areas of voter registration, housing, employment, and education. The 1960 Civil Rights Act had proven inadequate, and King stressed the need for a new definitive act. Above all, he recognized the threat of impending violence coming from the black community. The targets of the black revolution were shifting from Southern lunch counters and polling booths to Northern ghettos and to black pocketbooks and breakfast tables. The new targets carried more potential violence.

King clearly identified the problem areas and what needed to be done. His nonviolent methods though were unable to bring about the changes. Therefore, King was unable to assert primary leadership over other organizations leaders during the years from 1964 until his death in 1968. During these years King attempted to recover his diminishing real power. The campaigns were failures in this respect. They exposed the new trends of black revolt and brought new leaders to the forefront with whom King was forced to share direction of the movement.

King began a campaign in St. Augustine, Florida in the spring of 1964. St. Augustine was almost a totally segregated city. King and black demonstrators waged stand-ins and marches. White reaction in St. Augustine ranged from arrests, police brutality, and harassment and beatings from the white community while the police watched. King called St. Augustine "the most lawless community that we've ever worked in in the whole struggle over the past few years."⁴² Appeals for federal intervention went unheeded. In June a Birmingham type of agreement was affected, and King proclaimed victory.

The victory cry was premature. Conditions in St. Augustine did not change. St. Augustine was a failure along the lines of Albany. King had underestimated the white power structure in the city and the power of the white terrorists. If anything the St. Augustine events had only applied pressure on the legislature to pass the Civil Rights Bill of 1964, which it did on July 2, 1964. This act was the long-awaited fruits of President John Kennedy's labors in 1963 and President Lyndon Baines Johnson's efforts in 1964.

By 1964 demonstrations had reached the point of diminishing returns. The South used massive repression and white segregationists inflicted terror within the black communities to keep blacks in their place. Only minimal concessions had been made in the North and the South. The Civil Rights Act had ignored the crucial problems of employment and housing. In 1964 black unemployment hit the 1930 depression level. The urban ghettos seethed with discontent. The failure in St. Augustine and the murder of three civil rights workers in Mississippi fed black anger.

In 1964 riots broke out in Harlem, Rochester, Jersey City, Dixmoor, Illinois, Paterson, New Jersey, Cleveland, Chicago, and Philadelphia. King spoke out against the riots, but they convinced him of the necessity of a deeper involvement of all blacks in the philosophy of nonviolence and of the necessity of a successful campaign on his part to prove the practicality of

nonviolence.

In March, 1965 King turned to Selma, Alabama to stage his campaign of voter registration. The Civil Rights Bill of 1964 had proven inadequate in Selma and in other parts of the South. Blacks still did not exercise their political potential due to white intimidation and fear of economic reprisals. Voter registrations drives and workshops were still a necessity. On March 7 King's lieutenants joined with SNICK'S John Lewis in leading a Selma-to-Montgomery march to protest the slaying of Jimmie Lee Jackson, a black civil rights worker, and the arrests of almost one thousand demonstrators. The protesters were brutally beaten by state troopers and sheriff's deputies as they began their trek. Reverend James Reeb, a white Unitarian minister, died later in the hospital. The media flashed the scene across a horrified nation, and thousands of sympathetic blacks and whites fished to Selma.

Friction arose between King and SNICK'S John Lewis and James Forman. SNICK accused King of chickening out of the march, because he knew ahead of time of the intent of the officials. Further complications arose when a federal court injunction was issued against the proposed march. Militants wanted to go ahead with the march; King vacillated. SNICK began to initiate action on its own. In order to reunite the movement King joined with SNICK to lead clergymen from all over the United States in defiance of the injunction. King led the marchers across Edmund Pettus Bridge right outside of Selma and stopped fifty feet from ranks of armed state troopers. The marchers were warned to turn back. King chose to turn the crowd around. This decision was a costly one. King had deserted the militants, and they in turn abandoned King's theories and leadership. When it was later disclosed that King had made a pre-march agreement with officials to cut it short, militants were enraged.

King announced after the aborted march:

"At least we had to get to the point where the brutality took place. And we made it clear when we got there that we were going to have some form of protest and worship. I can assure you that something happened in Alabama that's never happened before. When Negroes and whites can stand on Highway 80 and have a mass meeting, things aren't that bad."

However, Eldridge Cleaver, a

However, Eldridge Cleaver, a SNICK staff member, more astutely analysed

what happened:

"If the police had turned them back by force, all those nuns, priests, rabbis, preachers, and distinguished ladies and gentlemen old and young - as they had done the Negroes a week earlier - the violence and brutality of the system would have been ruthlessly exposed. Or, if, seeing King determined to lead them on to Montgomery, the troopers had stepped aside to avoid precisely the confrontation that Washington would not have tolerated, it would have signaled the capitulation of the militant white South."

Two weeks later the march was completed; but the campaign had already been lost. King had lost much ground with the militants.

Selma's campaign had succeeded in putting pressure on the President and on the legislature to execute a voting rights bill guaranteeing and protecting the Negroes' right to vote. It was passed in August of 1965. King still exercised much power in gaining action from the Executive branch of government. Johnson had sent federal troops to Selma to protect the marchers, and he had put pressure on Governor Wallace to protect the marchers. After the brutal beating of March 7, Johnson had spoken to the nation about civil rights like no other President before him;

"What happened in Selma is part of a far larger movement which reaches into every section and state of America. It is the effort of American Negroes to secure for themselves the full blessings of American life.

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Their cause must be our cause too. Because it's not just Negroes, but really it's all of us, who must overcome the crippling legacy of bigotry and injustice.

And we shall overcome. ^{47b}

When King no longer was counted as a confidante of Johnson's, much of his power diminished.

The Watts riot of the summer of 1965 threw up to King the despair and anger of blacks in the ghetto. These people felt locked out of the American dream and powerless to effect any change in their destinies. Dilapidated housing, high rents, unsanitary conditions, poverty, unemployment and violence as a way of life had pushed blacks to strike out against whitey's system. Watts was the most destructive civil disorder in the nation's peacetime history. Ten thousand rioters had attacked white motorists, burned autos, looted and burned businesses, and exchanged shots with the police. King said after Watts--

"The insistent question is whether that movement will be violent or nonviolent...." ⁴⁷

in referring to the Negro revolt in the Northern ghettos.

"While Negroes in the South made history with nonviolence, wrote King, those in the Northern ghettos had been 'spontaneously testing violence' and finding advocates who argued persuasively that this was the only way to get results. The trouble with violence, however, is that it can be crushed by superior force, while a truly large-scale nonviolent march, without damage to persons or goods, 'can draw as much attention to their grievances as the outbreak at Watts.'" ⁴⁸

King's next campaign moved north to the urban ghettos to prove that nonviolence still represented a viable theory and effective method. In February of 1966 King moved into the slums on the West Side in Chicago, Illinois. This was the black ghetto where 7.6% of the 140,000 blacks were

without jobs, and where 80% of the building were over sixty-years old and in poor repair. This was the black ghetto where the powerful political machine of Mayor Daley kept blacks under control and out of power. In sharing every day life with the people in the slums King came to realize that integrated bathrooms and restaurants were totally irrelevant to the lives of blacks trapped in ghetto poverty. King came to understand why nonviolence was being rejected by greater numbers of blacks. King's goals in Chicago involved improving the economic plight of the ghetto masses and gaining political power for them through nonviolent methods.

King's tactics in Chicago involved mass demonstrations and marches and negotiations with the city's power structure. These tactics failed in large part because of King's inability to unify the various organization in Chicago including affiliates of SNICK, CORE, the NAACP, and the Urban League. King's militant acts were frequently opposed by black middle-class politicians who were allied with the city's power structure, and by conservative blacks. William L. Dawson, a black Congressman from Illinois and "H.N.I.C. (Head Nigger in Charge)" for Mayor Daley, mobilized blacks against King's efforts. At one time black clergymen demanded that King get out of town. King faced not just white bigotry in Chicago, but white bigotry and corruption allied with black corruption and greed. This opposition from within hurt King's efforts considerably.

King's conciliatory measures were constantly challenged by the militants. Members of SNICK and CORE pressed for stronger measures such as marches into Cicero, an all-white wealthy residential area outside of Chicago. For months, King and the militants exchanged bitter accusations against each other's methods. Finally, the Cicero march was made by King and a minority of CORE members and local militants amid hostile whites throwing bottles and rocks and the

protection of 20000 National Guardsmen . King by this time had extracted a settlement promising openhousing in Chicago. The implementation of this agreement remained to be seen. Militants felt that they had been abandoned again. But, by this time, they had lost faith in King and his methods and had not expected him to do the job.

Militants worked with King at times, but at the same time, they acted on their own. King no longer controlled events, he participated in them on an equal basis with other leaders. By 1966 radical leadership had taken over the control of SNICK and CORE. James Farmer resigned his position as Executive Director, and in January of 1966, Floyd McKissick was elected to succeed him. McKissick launched upon a career of "fire-eating" bravado to keep CORE and the civil rights movement in the headlines of the newspaper. He embraced black power, but remained active in the Democratic political party. McKissick did not reach as far left as SNICK's new chairman in 1966, Stokely Carmichael. Under Carmichael's leadership SNICK moved farther away from the theory of non-violence toward a practical theory of power politics backed up by violent acts. Upon Carmichael's succession John Lewis severed his ties with SNICK affirming, 'I'm not prepared to give up my personal commitment to nonviolence.'

Carmichael told blacks:

For too many years, black Americans marched and had their heads broken and got shot. They were saying to the country, 'Look, you guys are supposed to be nice guys and we are only going to do what we are supposed to do-why do you beat us up,....After years of this, we are at almost the same point-because we demonstrated from a position of weakness.

He proposed to demonstrate from a position of strength--black power. Carmichael popularized the cry of "Black Power", and militant organizations became participants not in the civil rights movement, but the black power movement. Black power

had been built on the foundations that King had laid. It simply meant some form of black control in politics and in economics. It could further be extended to mean black pride and black self-help. Carmichael stretched it to mean that blacks create their own political parties. Carmichael's leadership action was centered around his incitement of local groups to act, and his instilling of black pride and arrogance into the souls of blacks with his inflammatory rhetoric.

King had drifted to Carmichael's and other militants view of the world, but he could not accept their methods. The ever-widening gap between King and the militants, and between the militants and the conservatives was evidenced by events during the Meredith March in June of 1966. James Meredith decided to march across Mississippi to Jackson to perk up black interest during the week of the primary election. Meredith was wounded on his way. National civil rights leaders rushed to the Memphis hospital to plan strategy for the continuation of the March. The rift between black moderates and militants could not be healed. Wilkins and Young urged a public statement citing specific, attainable goals. Carmichael and McKissick wanted to issue a frontal attack on the Southern Establishment. The compromise statement was signed by King, Carmichael, and McKissick. Wilkins and Young dropped out of the March. King, Carmichael and McKissick completed the March, but tension among them remained. McKissick and Carmichael objected to white sympathizers joining the March; King insisted on an integrated March. The real issue between King and Carmichael surfaced when the marchers reached Greenwood, Mississippi. Carmichael mounted the platform and cried out for "Black Power", to the crowds who responded enthusiastically. Carmichael had known of King's objections to the term. He later confessed to King, 'Martin, I deliberately raised the issue here to force you to take a stand for black power.' King replied, 'I have been used

before; one more time will not hurt. ~~5~~

But it did hurt. King's vacillating stance on black power lost him militant followers who embraced it and conservative followers who condemned it. King in action and language was actually embracing the black power theories, except in their resort to violence. He was trying to combat the violent forces unleashed by Carmichael's call for black power. King planned a "Poor People's March on Washington" for the spring of 1968. The March was to be a proving ground for nonviolence. It was to show that thousands of blacks could demonstrate nonviolently. Bayard Rustin, chief organizer of previous marches, advised King against the effort. He refused to participate in it feeling that King no longer could control the masses.

The truth of these feelings was evidenced by the increased outbreaks of violence in 1966 and 1967 all over the country, especially in the North. H. Rap Brown, Carmichael's successor as national chairman of SNICK in 1967, urged blacks "to wage guerilla warfare on the honky white man",⁵⁸ and they did. Riots broke out in over one hundred cities and anarchy reigned in two cities for three days. The 1967 riots were bloodier, costlier, and bigger than any race riots in America's history.

While America racked with violence King spoke out against the violence at home and the violence America was perpetrating abroad in the Vietnam War. King's criticisms of American involvement in the war allied him with militants, but alienated him from conservatives and moderates, and even more important, from the federal government. President Johnson turned his back on King once King joined the Peace Movement. King as early as 1966 had spoken out against the war, and in 1967 and 1968 he spoke at peace rallies across the country. King's decision to join the Peace Movement in the United States was called the tragic decision of his career.

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"The tragedy", one moderate elder said, 'is not that King is going to the peace issue, but that he's leaving civil rights. Instead of providing the inspirational leadership, the magnetism, he's diverting energy and attention from the basic problems of poverty and discrimination. And how are we going to denounce Lyndon Baines Johnson one day and the next day ask him for money for poverty.'⁴⁷

In April of 1968 King took part in his last campaign. He rushed to Memphis, Tennessee to support the cause of striking garbage collectors which had grown in a black movement. King stepped into a highly volatile situation. Local gangs of black youths were ready to initiate violent action. King believed that "Nonviolence is on trial in Memphis."⁵² He was unable to control the marchers though as they fought back in self-defense at first, and finally as they strike out in retaliatory measures. On April 4, 1968 in the middle of the Memphis campaign, King was assassinated.

"I'm worried to death. A man who hits the peak at twenty-seven has a tough job ahead. People will be expecting me to pull rabbits out the hat for the rest of my life."⁵⁵ King had made this statement in 1957 after the success of the Montgomery boycott and his immediate rise to prominence in the ranks of black leadership. Its truth could not be refuted. When King failed to perform miracles or meet with success, blacks turned away from his theories and his methods. His real power faded drastically. His symbolic meaning for blacks and whites never faded and never died, but the nonviolent movement as King wished it to be died when he died.

FOOTNOTES

¹"Speeches by Dr. Martin Luther King", Negro History Bulletin, (1967-1968), XXX-XXXI, 22.

²John Hope Franklin, The Negro in Twentieth Century America (New York, 1967), 157-158.

³Rayford W. Logan and Michael R. Winston, The Negro in the United States (New York, 1971), 142.

⁴Franklin, Twentieth Century America, 158.

⁵Ibid., 159.

⁶Information from the Report of the Civil Rights Commission of 1961.

⁷W. Haywood Burns, The Voices of Protest in America (New York, 1963), 46.

⁸August Meier and Elliott Rudwick, From Plantation to Ghetto (New York, 1970), 251.

⁹Franklin, Twentieth Century America (New York, 1967), 170.

¹⁰Ibid., 174.

¹¹Norval D. Glenn and Charles M. Bonjean, Blacks in the United States (San Francisco, 1969), 337.

¹²William Robert Miller, Martin Luther King, Jr. (New York, 1968), 45-46.

¹³Ibid., 39.

¹⁴Ibid., 74.

¹⁵Lerone Bennett, Jr., What Manner of Man (Chicago, 1968), 60.

¹⁶Ibid., 81.

¹⁷Ibid., 87.

¹⁸Ibid., 88.

¹⁹Miller, King, 82.

²⁰Ibid., 55.

²¹Bennett, Manner of Man, 88.

²²Benjamin Quarles, "Martin Luther King in History", Negro History Bulletin (1967-1968), XXX-XXXXXI, 47.

²³"The American Dream", Negro History Bulletin (1967-1968), XXX-XXXI, 14.

- 24 Bennett, Manner of Man, 101.
- 25 Ibid., 112.
- 26 Miller, King, 91.
- 27 Ibid., 93.
- 28 Louis E. Lomax, "The Negro Revolt against Negro Leaders", Harper's (1960), CCXX, 43.
- 29 Ibid., 15.
- 30 "Man of the Year", Time (1964), LXXXIII, 15.
- 31 Ibid., 15.
- 32 Miller, King, 128.
- 33 David L. Lewis, King (New York, 1970), 169.
- 34 Ibid., 171.
- 35 "Man", Time, 15.
- 36 Louis E. Lomax, When the Word is Given (New York, 1963), 83.
- 37 "Man", Time, 16.
- 38 Benjamin Muse, The American Negro Revolution (Indiana, 1968), 15.
- 39 Ibid., 15.
- 40 Ibid., 30.
- 41 Lomax, Word, 203.
- 42 "The Second Coming of Martin Luther King", Harper's (1967), CCXXV, 48.
- 43 Miller, King, 281.
- 44 Lewis, King, 281.
- 45 Ibid., 282.
- 46 Miller, King, 214.
- 47 Ibid., 231.
- 48 Ibid., 231.
- 49 Muse, Revolution, 234.
- 50 Franklin, Twentieth Century America, 176.

- 51 Eric C. Lincoln, Martin Luther King, Jr. (New York, 1970), 164.
- 52 Ibid., 164.
- 53 Logan and Winston, Negro in the United States, 79.
- 54 "Which Way for the Negro Now", Newsweek (1967), 33.
- 55 Bennett, Manner of Man, 81.
- 56 Miller, King, 32.
- 57 Bennett, Manner of Man, 56.
- 58 Miller, King, 32-33.
- 59 Ibid., 31-32.
- 60 Bennett, Manner of Man, 59; Miller, King, 34.
- 61 Miller, King, 36-37.
- 62 Bennett, Manner of Man, 58.
- 63 Miller, King, 41.
- 64 Bennett, Manner of Man, 83.
- 65 Miller, King, 41-43.
- 66 Bennett, Manner of Man, 70.
- 67 Ibid., 77.
- 68 Ibid., 81.
- 69 Meier and Rudwick, Plantation to Ghetto, 266.
- 70 Bennett, Manner of Man, 82.
- 71 Ibid., 78.
- 72 Ibid., 79.
- 73 Ibid., 79.
- 74 Ibid., 86.
- 75 Miller, King, 63.
- 76 Bennett, Manner of Man, 88.
- 77 Lomax, "Negro Revolt", 46.
- 78 Bennett, Manner of Man, 98.
- 79 Ibid., 104.

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4. "Doctor King's Legacy", Commonwealth LXXXVIII (April, 1968), 125-6.

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