

Martin Luther King, Jr.

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Chapter 1

Martin Luther King, Jr.

“Martin Luther King” and “MLK” redirect here. For other uses, see [Martin Luther King \(disambiguation\)](#) and [MLK \(disambiguation\)](#).

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

King became a civil rights activist early in his career. He led the 1955 Montgomery Bus Boycott and helped found the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) in 1957, serving as its first president. With the SCLC, King led an unsuccessful 1962 struggle against segregation in Albany, Georgia (the Albany Movement), and helped organize the 1963 nonviolent protests in Birmingham, Alabama. King also helped to organize the 1963 March on Washington, where he delivered his famous "I Have a Dream" speech. There, he established his reputation as one of the greatest orators in American history.

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

In 1968, King was planning a national occupation of Washington, D.C., to be called the Poor People's Campaign, when he was assassinated on April 4 in Memphis, Tennessee. His death was followed by riots in many U.S. cities.

King was posthumously awarded the Presidential Medal of Freedom and the Congressional Gold Medal. Martin Luther King, Jr. Day was established as a holiday in numerous cities and states beginning in 1971, and as a U.S. federal holiday in 1986. Hundreds of streets in the U.S. have been renamed in his honor, and a county in Washington State was also renamed for him. The Martin

Luther King, Jr. Memorial on the National Mall in Washington, D.C., was dedicated in 2011.

1.1 Early life and education



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

King was born on January 15, 1929, in Atlanta, Georgia, to Reverend Martin Luther King, Sr., and Alberta Williams King.^[1] King's legal name at birth was Michael King,^[2] and his father was also born Michael King, but the elder King changed his and his son's names following a 1934 trip to Germany to attend the Fifth Baptist World Alliance Congress in Berlin. It was during this time he chose to be called Martin Luther King in honor of the German reformer Martin Luther.^{[3][4]} King had Irish ancestry through his paternal great-grandfather.^{[5][6]}

King was a middle child, between an older sister, Willie Christine King, and a younger brother, Alfred Daniel Williams King.^[7] King sang with his church choir at the 1939 Atlanta premiere of the movie *Gone with the Wind*.^[8] King liked singing and music. King's mother, an accomplished organist and choir leader, took him to various churches to sing. He received attention for singing "I Want to Be More and More Like Jesus." King later became a member of the junior choir in his church.^[9]

King said his father regularly whipped him until he was

fifteen and a neighbor reported hearing the elder King telling his son “he would make something of him even if he had to beat him to death.” King saw his father’s proud and unafraid protests in relation to segregation, such as King Sr. refusing to listen to a traffic policeman after being referred to as “boy” or stalking out of a store with his son when being told by a shoe clerk that they would have to move to the rear to be served.^[10]

When King was a child, he befriended a white boy whose father owned a business near his family’s home. When the boys were 6, they attended different schools, with King attending a segregated school for African-Americans. King then lost his friend because the child’s father no longer wanted them to play together.^[11]

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

King was originally skeptical of many of Christianity’s claims. At the age of thirteen, he denied the bodily resurrection of Jesus during Sunday school.^[14] From this point, he stated, “doubts began to spring forth unrelentingly”.^{[15][14]} However, he later concluded that the Bible has “many profound truths which one cannot escape” and decided to enter the seminary.^[14]

Growing up in Atlanta, King attended Booker T. Washington High School. He became known for his public speaking ability and was part of the school’s debate team.^[16] King became the youngest assistant manager of a newspaper delivery station for the *Atlanta Journal* in 1942 at age 13.^[17] During his junior year, he won first prize in an oratorical contest sponsored by the Negro Elks Club in Dublin, Georgia. Returning home to Atlanta by bus, he and his teacher were ordered by the driver to stand so white passengers could sit down. King refused initially, but complied after his teacher informed him that he would be breaking the law if he did not go along with the order. He later characterized this incident as “the angriest I have ever been in my life”.^[16] A precocious student, he skipped both the ninth and the twelfth grades of high school.^[18] It was during King’s junior year that Morehouse College announced it would accept any high school juniors who could pass its entrance exam. At that time, most of the students had abandoned their studies to participate in World War II. Due to this, the school became desperate to fill in classrooms. At age 15, King passed the exam and entered Morehouse.^[16] The summer before his last year at Morehouse, in 1947, an eighteen-year-old King made the choice to enter the ministry after he concluded the church offered the most assuring way to answer “an inner urge to serve humanity”. King’s “inner urge” had begun developing and he made peace with the Baptist Church, as he believed he would be a “rational”

minister with sermons that were “a respectful force for ideas, even social protest.”^[19]

In 1948, he graduated from Morehouse with a B.A. degree in sociology, and enrolled in Crozer Theological Seminary in Chester, Pennsylvania, from which he graduated with a B.Div. degree in 1951.^{[20][21]} King’s father fully supported his decision to continue his education. King was joined in attending Crozer by Walter McCall, a former classmate at Morehouse.^[22] At Crozer, King was elected president of the student body.^[23] The African-American students of Crozer for the most part conducted their social activity on Edwards Street. King was endeared to the street due to a classmate having an aunt that prepared the two collard greens, which they both relished.^[24] King once called out a student for keeping beer in his room because of their shared responsibility as African-Americans to bear “the burdens of the Negro race.” For a time, he was interested in Walter Rauschenbusch’s “social gospel”.^[23] In his third year there, he became romantically involved with the daughter of an immigrant German woman working as a cook in the cafeteria. The daughter had been involved with a professor prior to her relationship with King. King had plans of marrying her, but was advised not to by friends due to the reaction an interracial relationship would spark from both blacks and whites, as well as the chances of it destroying his chances of ever pastoring a church in the South. King tearfully told a friend that he could not endure his mother’s pain over the marriage and broke the relationship off around six months later. He would continue to have lingering feelings, with one friend being quoted as saying, “He never recovered.”^[23]

King married Coretta Scott, on June 18, 1953, on the lawn of her parents’ house in her hometown of Heiberger, Alabama.^[25] They became the parents of four children: Yolanda King (b. 1955), Martin Luther King III (b. 1957), Dexter Scott King (b. 1961), and Bernice King (b. 1963).^[26] During their marriage, King limited Coretta’s role in the Civil Rights Movement, expecting her to be a housewife and mother.^[27]

King became pastor of the Dexter Avenue Baptist Church in Montgomery, Alabama, when he was twenty-five years old, in 1954.^[28]

1.1.1 Doctoral studies

See also: [Martin Luther King, Jr. authorship issues](#)

King began doctoral studies in systematic theology at Boston University and received his Ph.D. degree on June 5, 1955, with a dissertation on “A Comparison of the Conceptions of God in the Thinking of Paul Tillich and Henry Nelson Wieman”. An academic inquiry concluded in October 1991 that portions of his dissertation had been plagiarized and he had acted improperly. However, “[d]espite its finding, the committee said that ‘no thought

should be given to the revocation of Dr. King's doctoral degree,' an action that the panel said would serve no purpose."^{[29][30][31]} The committee also found that the dissertation still "makes an intelligent contribution to scholarship." However, a letter is now attached to King's dissertation in the university library, noting that numerous passages were included without the appropriate quotations and citations of sources.^[32]

1.2 Montgomery Bus Boycott, 1955

Main articles: [Montgomery Bus Boycott](#) and [Jim Crow laws § Public arena](#)

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



Rosa Parks with King, 1955

gomery, [Claudette Colvin](#), refused to give up her bus seat to a white man in compliance with [Jim Crow laws](#), laws in the US South that enforced racial segregation. King was on the committee from the Birmingham African-American community that looked into the case; because Colvin was pregnant and unmarried, [E.D. Nixon](#) and [Clifford Durr](#) decided to wait for a better case to pursue.^[33]

On December 1, 1955, [Rosa Parks](#) was arrested for refusing to give up her seat.^[34] The Montgomery Bus Boycott, urged and planned by Nixon and led by King, soon followed.^[35] The boycott lasted for 385 days,^[36] and the situation became so tense that King's house was bombed.^[37] King was arrested during this campaign, which concluded with a United States District Court ruling in *Browder v. Gayle* that ended racial segregation on all Montgomery public buses.^{[38][39]} King's role in the bus boycott transformed him into a national figure and the best-known spokesman of the civil rights movement.^[40]

1.3 Southern Christian Leadership Conference

In 1957, King, [Ralph Abernathy](#), [Fred Shuttlesworth](#), [Joseph Lowery](#), and other civil rights activists founded

the [Southern Christian Leadership Conference \(SCLC\)](#). The group was created to harness the moral authority and organizing power of black churches to conduct nonviolent protests in the service of civil rights reform. One of the group's inspirations was the crusades of evangelist [Billy Graham](#), who befriended King after he attended a Graham crusade in New York City in 1957.^[41] King led the SCLC until his death.^[42] The SCLC's 1957 [Prayer Pilgrimage for Freedom](#) was the first time King addressed a national audience.^[43] Other civil rights leaders involved in the SCLC with King included: [James Bevel](#), [Allen Johnson](#), [Curtis W. Harris](#), [Walter E. Fauntroy](#), [C. T. Vivian](#), [Andrew Young](#), [The Freedom Singers](#), [Charles Evers](#), [Cleveland Robinson](#), [Randolph Blackwell](#), [Annie Bell Robinson Devine](#), [Charles Kenzie Steele](#), [Alfred Daniel Williams King](#), [Benjamin Hooks](#), [Aaron Henry](#) and [Bayard Rustin](#).^[44]

On September 20, 1958, while signing copies of his book *Stride Toward Freedom* in Blumstein's department store in Harlem,^[45] King narrowly escaped death when [Izola Curry](#), a mentally ill black woman who believed he was conspiring against her with communists, stabbed him in the chest with a letter opener. After emergency surgery, King was hospitalized for several weeks, while Curry was found mentally incompetent to stand trial.^{[46][47]} In 1959, he published a short book called *The Measure of A Man*, which contained his sermons "What is Man?" and "The Dimensions of a Complete Life". The sermons argued for man's need for God's love and criticized the racial injustices of Western civilization.^[48]

[Harry Wachtel](#)—who joined King's legal advisor [Clarence B. Jones](#) in defending four ministers of the SCLC in a libel suit over a newspaper advertisement (*New York Times Co. v. Sullivan*)—founded a tax-exempt fund to cover the expenses of the suit and to assist the nonviolent civil rights movement through a more effective means of fundraising. This organization was named the "Gandhi Society for Human Rights". King served as honorary president for the group. Displeased with the pace of President Kennedy's addressing the issue of segregation, King and the Gandhi Society produced a document in 1962 calling on the President to follow in the footsteps of [Abraham Lincoln](#) and use an Executive Order to deliver a blow for Civil Rights as a kind of [Second Emancipation Proclamation](#) - Kennedy did not execute the order.^[49]

The FBI, under written directive from Attorney General [Robert F. Kennedy](#), began tapping King's telephone in the fall of 1963.^[50] Concerned that allegations of communists in the SCLC, if made public, would derail the administration's civil rights initiatives, Kennedy warned King to discontinue the suspect associations, and later felt compelled to issue the written directive authorizing the FBI to wiretap King and other SCLC leaders.^[51] [J. Edgar Hoover](#) feared Communists were trying to infiltrate the Civil Rights movement, but when no such evidence emerged, the bureau used the incidental details caught on



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

tape over the next five years in attempts to force King out of the preeminent leadership position.^[52]

King believed that organized, nonviolent protest against the system of southern segregation known as **Jim Crow laws** would lead to extensive media coverage of the struggle for black equality and voting rights. Journalistic accounts and televised footage of the daily deprivation and indignities suffered by southern blacks, and of segregationist violence and harassment of civil rights workers and marchers, produced a wave of sympathetic public opinion that convinced the majority of Americans that the **Civil Rights Movement** was the most important issue in American politics in the early 1960s.^{[53][54]}

King organized and led marches for blacks' right to **vote**, **desegregation**, **labor rights** and other basic civil rights.^[39] Most of these rights were successfully enacted into the law of the United States with the passage of the **Civil Rights Act of 1964** and the **1965 Voting Rights Act**.^{[55][56]}

King and the SCLC put into practice many of the principles of the **Christian Left** and applied the tactics of nonviolent protest with great success by strategically choosing the method of protest and the places in which protests were carried out. There were often dramatic stand-offs with segregationist authorities. Sometimes these confrontations turned violent.^[57]

Throughout his participation in the civil rights movement, King was criticized by many groups. This included opposition by more militant blacks such as Nation of Islam member Malcolm X.^[58] Stokely Carmichael was a separatist and disagreed with King's plea for racial integration because he considered it an insult to a uniquely African-American culture.^[59] Omali Yeshitela urged Africans to remember the history of violent European colonization and how power was not secured by Europeans through integration, but by violence and force.^[60]

1.3.1 Albany Movement

Main article: [Albany Movement](#)

The Albany Movement was a desegregation coalition formed in **Albany, Georgia**, in November 1961. In December, King and the SCLC became involved. The movement mobilized thousands of citizens for a broad-front nonviolent attack on every aspect of segregation within the city and attracted nationwide attention. When King first visited on December 15, 1961, he "had planned to stay a day or so and return home after giving counsel."^[61] The following day he was swept up in a mass arrest of peaceful demonstrators, and he declined bail until the city made concessions. According to King, "that agreement was dishonored and violated by the city" after he left town.^[61]

King returned in July 1962, and was sentenced to forty-five days in jail or a \$178 fine. He chose jail. Three days into his sentence, Police Chief Laurie Pritchett discreetly arranged for King's fine to be paid and ordered his release. "We had witnessed persons being kicked off lunch counter stools ... ejected from churches ... and thrown into jail ... But for the first time, we witnessed being kicked out of jail."^[62] It was later acknowledged by the King Center that Billy Graham was the one who bailed King out of jail during this time.^[63]

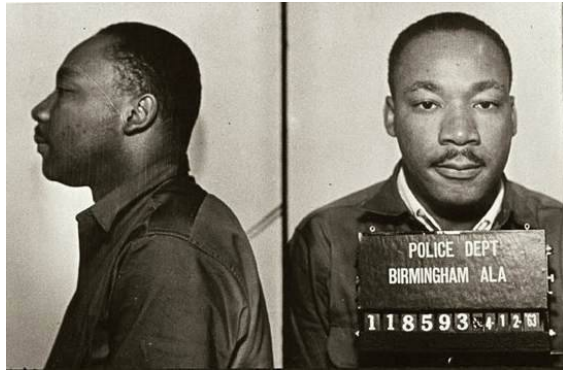
After nearly a year of intense activism with few tangible results, the movement began to deteriorate. King requested a halt to all demonstrations and a "Day of Penance" to promote nonviolence and maintain the moral high ground. Divisions within the black community and the canny, low-key response by local government defeated efforts.^[64] Though the Albany effort proved a key lesson in tactics for Dr. King and the national civil rights movement,^[65] the national media was highly critical of King's role in the defeat, and the SCLC's lack of results contributed to a growing gulf between the organization and the more radical SNCC. After Albany, King sought to choose engagements for the SCLC in which he could control the circumstances, rather than entering into pre-existing situations.^[66]

1.3.2 Birmingham campaign

Main article: [Birmingham campaign](#)

In April 1963, the SCLC began a campaign against racial segregation and economic injustice in **Birmingham, Alabama**. The campaign used nonviolent but intentionally confrontational tactics, developed in part by Rev. Wyatt Tee Walker. Black people in Birmingham, organizing with the SCLC, occupied public spaces with marches and sit-ins, openly violating laws that they considered unjust.

King's intent was to provoke mass arrests and "create a situation so crisis-packed that it will inevitably open the door to negotiation".^[67] However, the campaign's



King following his arrest in Birmingham

early volunteers did not succeed in shutting down the city, or in drawing media attention to the police's actions. Over the concerns of an uncertain King, SCLC strategist James Bevel changed the course of the campaign by recruiting children and young adults to join in the demonstrations.^[68] *Newsweek* called this strategy a Children's Crusade.^{[69][70]}

During the protests, the Birmingham Police Department, led by Eugene "Bull" Connor, used high-pressure water jets and police dogs against protesters, including children. Footage of the police response was broadcast on national television news and dominated the nation's attention, shocking many white Americans and consolidating black Americans behind the movement.^[71] Not all of the demonstrators were peaceful, despite the avowed intentions of the SCLC. In some cases, bystanders attacked the police, who responded with force. King and the SCLC were criticized for putting children in harm's way. But the campaign was a success: Connor lost his job, the "Jim Crow" signs came down, and public places became more open to blacks. King's reputation improved immensely.^[69]

King was arrested and jailed early in the campaign—his 13th arrest^[72] out of 29.^[73] From his cell, he composed the now-famous Letter from Birmingham Jail which responds to calls on the movement to pursue legal channels for social change. King argues that the crisis of racism is too urgent, and the current system too entrenched: "We know through painful experience that freedom is never voluntarily given by the oppressor; it must be demanded by the oppressed."^[74] He points out that the Boston Tea Party, a celebrated act of rebellion in the American colonies, was illegal civil disobedience, and that, conversely, "everything Adolf Hitler did in Germany was 'legal'".^[74] King also expresses his frustration with white moderates and clergymen too timid to oppose an unjust system:

I have almost reached the regrettable conclusion that the Negro's great stumbling block in his stride toward freedom is not the White Citizen's Council or the Ku Klux Klanner,

but the white moderate, who is more devoted to "order" than to justice; who prefers a negative peace which is the absence of tension to a positive peace which is the presence of justice; who constantly says: "I agree with you in the goal you seek, but I cannot agree with your methods of direct action"; who paternalistic-ally believes he can set the timetable for another man's freedom; who lives by a mythical concept of time and who constantly advises the Negro to wait for a "more convenient season".^[74]

1.3.3 St. Augustine, Florida

Main article: [St. Augustine movement](#)

In March 1964, King and the SCLC joined forces with Robert Hayling's then-controversial movement in St. Augustine, Florida. Hayling's group had been affiliated with the NAACP but was forced out of the organization for advocating armed self-defense alongside nonviolent tactics. Ironically, the pacifist SCLC accepted them.^[75] King and the SCLC worked to bring white Northern activists to St. Augustine, including a delegation of rabbis and the 72-year-old mother of the governor of Massachusetts, all of whom were arrested.^{[76][77]} During June, the movement marched nightly through the city, "often facing counter demonstrations by the Klan, and provoking violence that garnered national media attention." Hundreds of the marchers were arrested and jailed. During the course of this movement, the Civil Rights Act of 1964 was passed.^[78]

1.3.4 Selma, Alabama

Main article: [Selma to Montgomery marches](#)

In December 1964, King and the SCLC joined forces with the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) in Selma, Alabama, where the SNCC had been working on voter registration for several months.^[79] A local judge issued an injunction that barred any gathering of 3 or more people affiliated with the SNCC, SCLC, DCVL, or any of 41 named civil rights leaders. This injunction temporarily halted civil rights activity until King defied it by speaking at Brown Chapel on January 2, 1965.^[80]

1.3.5 New York City

On February 6, 1964, King delivered the inaugural speech of a lecture series initiated at the New School called "The American Race Crisis". No audio record of his speech has been found, but in August 2013, almost 50 years later, the school discovered an audiotape with 15

minutes of a question-and-answer session that followed King's address. In these remarks, King referred to a conversation he had recently had with **Jawaharlal Nehru** in which he compared the sad condition of many African Americans to that of India's *untouchables*.^[81]

1.4 March on Washington, 1963

Main article: **March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom**

King, representing the SCLC, was among the leaders of



March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom

the so-called "Big Six" civil rights organizations who were instrumental in the organization of the March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom, which took place on August 28, 1963. The other leaders and organizations comprising the Big Six were **Roy Wilkins** from the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People; **Whitney Young**, National Urban League; **A. Philip Randolph**, Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters; **John Lewis**, SNCC; and **James L. Farmer, Jr.**, of the Congress of Racial Equality.^[82]

The primary logistical and strategic organizer was King's colleague **Bayard Rustin**.^[83] For King, this role was another which courted controversy, since he was one of the key figures who acceded to the wishes of President **John F. Kennedy** in changing the focus of the march.^{[84][85]}

Kennedy initially opposed the march outright, because he was concerned it would negatively impact the drive for passage of civil rights legislation. However, the organizers were firm that the march would proceed.^[86] With the march going forward, the Kennedys decided it was important to work to ensure its success. President Kennedy was concerned the turnout would be less than 100,000. Therefore, he enlisted the aid of additional church leaders and the **UAW** union to help mobilize demonstrators for the cause.^[87]



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

The march originally was conceived as an event to dramatize the desperate condition of blacks in the southern U.S. and an opportunity to place organizers' concerns and grievances squarely before the seat of power in the nation's capital. Organizers intended to denounce the federal government for its failure to safeguard the civil rights and physical safety of civil rights workers and blacks. However, the group acquiesced to presidential pressure and influence, and the event ultimately took on a far less strident tone.^[88] As a result, some civil rights activists felt it presented an inaccurate, sanitized pageant of racial harmony; **Malcolm X** called it the "Farce on Washington", and the Nation of Islam forbade its members from attending the march.^{[88][89]}

The march did, however, make specific demands: an end to racial segregation in public schools; meaningful civil rights legislation, including a law prohibiting racial discrimination in employment; protection of civil rights workers from police brutality; a \$2 minimum wage for all workers; and self-government for Washington, D.C., then governed by congressional committee.^{[90][91][92]} Despite tensions, the march was a resounding success.^[93] More than a quarter of a million people of diverse ethnicities

attended the event, sprawling from the steps of the Lincoln Memorial onto the National Mall and around the reflecting pool. At the time, it was the largest gathering of protesters in Washington, D.C.'s history.^[93]

King delivered a 17-minute speech, later known as "I Have a Dream". In the speech's most famous passage—in which he departed from his prepared text, possibly at the prompting of Mahalia Jackson, who shouted behind him, "Tell them about the dream!"^{[94][95]}—King said:^[96]

I say to you today, my friends, so even though we face the difficulties of today and tomorrow, I still have a dream. It is a dream deeply rooted in the American dream.

I have a dream that one day this nation will rise up and live out the true meaning of its creed: 'We hold these truths to be self-evident: that all men are created equal.'

I have a dream that one day on the red hills of Georgia the sons of former slaves and the sons of former slave owners will be able to sit down together at the table of brotherhood.

I have a dream that one day even the state of Mississippi, a state sweltering with the heat of injustice, sweltering with the heat of oppression, will be transformed into an oasis of freedom and justice.

I have a dream that my four little children will one day live in a nation where they will not be judged by the color of their skin but by the content of their character.

I have a dream today.

I have a dream that one day, down in Alabama, with its vicious racists, with its governor having his lips dripping with the words of interposition and nullification; one day right there in Alabama, little black boys and black girls will be able to join hands with little white boys and white girls as sisters and brothers.

I have a dream today.

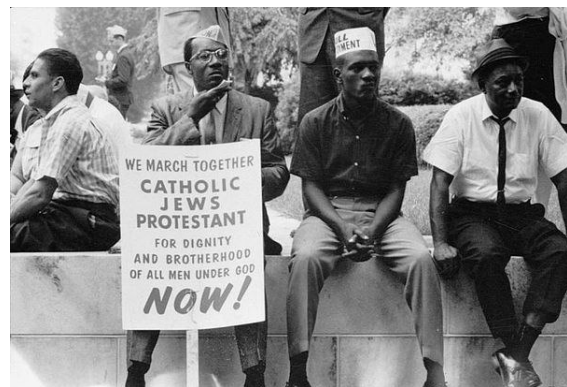
"I Have a Dream" came to be regarded as one of the finest speeches in the history of American oratory.^[97] The March, and especially King's speech, helped put civil rights at the top of the agenda of reformers in the United States and facilitated passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964.^{[98][99]}

The original, typewritten copy of the speech, including Dr. King's handwritten notes on it, was discovered in 1984 to be in the hands of George Raveling, the first African-American basketball coach of the University of Iowa. In 1963, Raveling, then 26, was standing near the podium, and immediately after the oration, impulsively asked King if he could have his copy of the speech. He got it.^[100]

1.5 Selma Voting Rights Movement and “Bloody Sunday”, 1965

Main article: [Selma to Montgomery marches](#)

Acting on James Bevel's call for a march from Selma to Montgomery, King, Bevel, and the SCLC, in partial collaboration with SNCC, attempted to organize the march to the state's capital. The first attempt to march on March 7, 1965, was aborted because of mob and police violence against the demonstrators. This day has become known as **Bloody Sunday**, and was a major turning point in the effort to gain public support for the Civil Rights Movement. It was the clearest demonstration up to that time of the dramatic potential of King's nonviolence strategy. King, however, was not present.^[101]



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

King met with officials in the Lyndon B. Johnson Administration on March 5 in order to request an injunction against any prosecution of the demonstrators. He did not attend the march due to church duties, but he later wrote, "If I had any idea that the state troopers would use the kind of brutality they did, I would have felt compelled to give up my church duties altogether to lead the line."^[102] Footage of police brutality against the protesters was broadcast extensively and aroused national public outrage.^[103]

King next attempted to organize a march for March 9. The SCLC petitioned for an injunction in federal court against the State of Alabama; this was denied and the judge issued an order blocking the march until after a hearing. Nonetheless, King led marchers on March 9 to the Edmund Pettus Bridge in Selma, then held a short prayer session before turning the marchers around and asking them to disperse so as not to violate the court order. The unexpected ending of this second march aroused the surprise and anger of many within the local movement.^[104] The march finally went ahead fully on March 25, 1965.^{[105][106]} At the conclusion of the march on the steps of the state capitol, King delivered a speech

that became known as "How Long, Not Long". In it, King stated that equal rights for African Americans could not be far away, "because the arc of the moral universe is long, but it bends toward justice".^{[lower-alpha 1][107][108]}

1.6 Chicago Open Housing Movement, 1966

Main article: [Chicago Freedom Movement](#)

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



President Lyndon Johnson with King in 1966

Bevel, and others in the civil rights organizations tried to spread the movement to the North, with [Chicago](#) as their first destination. King and Ralph Abernathy, both from the middle class, moved into a building at 1550 S. Hamlin Ave., in the slums of [North Lawndale](#)^[109] on Chicago's West Side, as an educational experience and to demonstrate their support and empathy for the poor.^[110]

The SCLC formed a coalition with CCCO, Coordinating Council of Community Organizations, an organization founded by [Albert Raby](#), and the combined organizations' efforts were fostered under the aegis of the [Chicago Freedom Movement](#).^[111] During that spring, several white couple / black couple tests of real estate offices uncovered [racial steering](#): discriminatory processing of housing requests by couples who were exact matches in income, background, number of children, and other attributes.^[112] Several larger marches were planned and executed: in [Bogan](#), [Belmont Cragin](#), [Jefferson Park](#), [Evergreen Park](#) (a suburb southwest of Chicago), [Gage Park](#), [Marquette Park](#), and others.^{[111][113][114]}

Abernathy later wrote that the movement received a worse reception in Chicago than in the South. Marches, especially the one through [Marquette Park](#) on August 5, 1966, were met by thrown bottles and screaming throngs. Rioting seemed very possible.^{[115][116]} King's beliefs militated against his staging a violent event, and he negotiated an agreement with Mayor [Richard J. Daley](#) to cancel a march in order to avoid the violence that he feared would result.^[117] King was hit by a brick during one march but continued to lead marches in the face of personal

danger.^[118]

When King and his allies returned to the South, they left [Jesse Jackson](#), a seminary student who had previously joined the movement in the South, in charge of their organization.^[119] Jackson continued their struggle for civil rights by organizing the [Operation Breadbasket](#) movement that targeted chain stores that did not deal fairly with blacks.^[120]

1.7 Opposition to the Vietnam War

See also: [Opposition to the U.S. involvement in the Vietnam War](#)

King long opposed American involvement in the Vietnam War,^[121] but at first avoided the topic in public speeches in order to avoid the interference with civil rights goals that criticism of President Johnson's policies might have created.^[121] However, at the urging of SCLC's former Director of Direct Action and now the head of the [Spring Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam](#), [James Bevel](#),^[122] King eventually agreed to publicly oppose the war as opposition was growing among the American public.^[121] In an April 4, 1967, appearance at the [New York City Riverside Church](#)—exactly one year before his death—King delivered a speech titled "[Beyond Vietnam: A Time to Break Silence](#)".^[123] He spoke strongly against the U.S.'s role in the war, arguing that the U.S. was in Vietnam "to occupy it as an American colony"^[124] and calling the U.S. government "the greatest purveyor of violence in the world today".^[125] He also connected the war with economic injustice, arguing that the country needed serious moral change:

A true revolution of values will soon look uneasily on the glaring contrast of poverty and wealth. With righteous indignation, it will look across the seas and see individual capitalists of the West investing huge sums of money in Asia, Africa and South America, only to take the profits out with no concern for the social betterment of the countries, and say: "This is not just."^[126]

King also opposed the Vietnam War because it took money and resources that could have been spent on social welfare at home. The [United States Congress](#) was spending more and more on the military and less and less on [anti-poverty programs](#) at the same time. He summed up this aspect by saying, "A nation that continues year after year to spend more money on military defense than on programs of social uplift is approaching spiritual death".^[126] He stated that North Vietnam "did not begin to send in any large number of supplies or men until American forces had arrived in the tens of thousands",^[127] and accused the U.S. of having killed

a million Vietnamese, “mostly children”.^[128] King also criticized American opposition to North Vietnam’s land reforms.^[129]

King’s opposition cost him significant support among white allies, including President Johnson, Billy Graham,^[130] union leaders and powerful publishers.^[131] “The press is being stacked against me”, King said,^[132] complaining of what he described as a double standard that applauded his nonviolence at home, but deplored it when applied “toward little brown Vietnamese children”.^[133] *Life* magazine called the speech “demagogic slander that sounded like a script for *Radio Hanoi*”,^[126] and *The Washington Post* declared that King had “diminished his usefulness to his cause, his country, his people”.^{[133][134]}



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

The “Beyond Vietnam” speech reflected King’s evolving political advocacy in his later years, which paralleled the teachings of the progressive Highlander Research and Education Center, with which he was affiliated.^{[135][136]} King began to speak of the need for fundamental changes in the political and economic life of the nation, and more frequently expressed his opposition to the war and his desire to see a redistribution of resources to correct racial and economic injustice.^[137] He guarded his language in public to avoid being linked to communism by his enemies, but in private he sometimes spoke of his support for democratic socialism.^{[138][139]} In a 1952 letter to Coretta Scott, he said “I imagine you already know that I am much more socialistic in my economic theory than capitalistic ...”^[140] In one speech, he stated that “something is wrong with capitalism” and claimed, “There must be a better distribution of wealth, and maybe America must move toward a democratic socialism.”^[141] King had read Marx while at Morehouse, but while he rejected “traditional capitalism”, he also rejected communism because of its “materialistic interpretation of history” that denied religion, its “ethical relativism”, and its “political totalitarianism”.^[142]

King also stated in “Beyond Vietnam” that “true compassion is more than flinging a coin to a beggar ... it comes to see that an edifice which produces beggars

needs restructuring”.^[143] King quoted a United States official who said that, from Vietnam to Latin America, the country was “on the wrong side of a world revolution”.^[143] King condemned America’s “alliance with the landed gentry of Latin America”, and said that the U.S. should support “the shirtless and barefoot people” in the Third World rather than suppressing their attempts at revolution.^[143]

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

I have not urged a mechanical fusion of the civil rights and peace movements. There are people who have come to see the moral imperative of equality, but who cannot yet see the moral imperative of world brotherhood. I would like to see the fervor of the civil-rights movement imbued into the peace movement to instill it with greater strength. And I believe everyone has a duty to be in both the civil-rights and peace movements. But for those who presently choose but one, I would hope they will finally come to see the moral roots common to both.^[144]

Seeing an opportunity to unite civil rights activists and anti-war activists,^[122] Bevel convinced King to become even more active in the anti-war effort.^[122] Despite his growing public opposition towards the Vietnam War, King was also not fond of the hippie culture which developed from the anti-war movement.^[145] In his 1967 Massey Lecture, King stated:

The importance of the hippies is not in their unconventional behavior, but in the fact that hundreds of thousands of young people, in turning to a flight from reality, are expressing a profoundly discrediting view on the society they emerge from.^[145]

On January 13, 1968, the day after President Johnson’s State of the Union Address, King called for a large march on Washington against “one of history’s most cruel and senseless wars”.^{[146][147]}

We need to make clear in this political year, to congressmen on both sides of the aisle and to the president of the United States, that we will no longer tolerate, we will no longer vote for men who continue to see the killings of Vietnamese and Americans as the best way of advancing the goals of freedom and self-determination in Southeast Asia.^{[146][147]}

1.8 Poor People's Campaign, 1968

Main article: [Poor People's Campaign](#)

In 1968, King and the SCLC organized the “Poor People's Campaign” to address issues of economic justice. King traveled the country to assemble “a multiracial army of the poor” that would march on Washington to engage in nonviolent civil disobedience at the Capitol until Congress created an “economic bill of rights” for poor Americans.^{[148][149]}

The campaign was preceded by King's final book, *Where Do We Go from Here: Chaos or Community?*, which laid out his view of how to address social issues and poverty. King quoted from Henry George and George's book, *Progress and Poverty*, particularly in support of a guaranteed basic income.^{[150][151][152]} The campaign culminated in a march on Washington, D.C., demanding economic aid to the poorest communities of the United States.

King and the SCLC called on the government to invest in rebuilding America's cities. He felt that Congress had shown “hostility to the poor” by spending “military funds with alacrity and generosity”. He contrasted this with the situation faced by poor Americans, claiming that Congress had merely provided “poverty funds with miserliness”.^[149] His vision was for change that was more revolutionary than mere reform: he cited systematic flaws of “racism, poverty, militarism and materialism”, and argued that “reconstruction of society itself is the real issue to be faced”.^[153]

The Poor People's Campaign was controversial even within the civil rights movement. Rustin resigned from the march, stating that the goals of the campaign were too broad, that its demands were unrealizable, and that he thought that these campaigns would accelerate the backlash and repression on the poor and the black.^[154]

1.8.1 After King's death

The plan to set up a shantytown in Washington, D.C., was carried out soon after the April 4 assassination. Criticism of King's plan was subdued in the wake of his death, and the SCLC received an unprecedented wave of donations for the purpose of carrying it out. The campaign officially began in Memphis, on May 2, at the hotel where King was murdered.^[155]

Thousands of demonstrators arrived on the National Mall and established a camp they called “Resurrection City”. They stayed for six weeks.^[156]

1.9 Assassination and aftermath

Main article: [Assassination of Martin Luther King, Jr.](#)
On March 29, 1968, King went to Memphis, Tennessee,



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

in support of the black sanitary public works employees, represented by AFSCME Local 1733, who had been on strike since March 12 for higher wages and better treatment. In one incident, black street repairmen received pay for two hours when they were sent home because of bad weather, but white employees were paid for the full day.^{[157][158][159]}

On April 3, King addressed a rally and delivered his “I've Been to the Mountaintop” address at Mason Temple, the world headquarters of the Church of God in Christ. King's flight to Memphis had been delayed by a bomb threat against his plane.^[160] In the close of the last speech of his career, in reference to the bomb threat, King said the following:

And then I got to Memphis. And some began to say the threats, or talk about the threats that were out. What would happen to me from some of our sick white brothers?

Well, I don't know what will happen now. We've got some difficult days ahead. But it doesn't matter with me now. Because I've been to the mountaintop. And I don't mind. Like anybody, I would like to live a long life. Longevity has its place. But I'm not concerned about that now. I just want to do God's will. And He's allowed me to go up to the mountain. And I've looked over. And I've seen the promised land. I may not get there with you. But I want you to know tonight, that we, as a people, will get to the promised land. So I'm happy, tonight. I'm not worried about anything. I'm not fearing any man. Mine eyes have seen the glory of the coming of the Lord.^[161]

King was booked in room 306 at the Lorraine Motel,

owned by Walter Bailey, in Memphis. Abernathy, who was present at the assassination, testified to the United States House Select Committee on Assassinations that King and his entourage stayed at room 306 at the Lorraine Motel so often it was known as the “King-Abernathy suite”.^[162] According to Jesse Jackson, who was present, King’s last words on the balcony before his assassination were spoken to musician Ben Branch, who was scheduled to perform that night at an event King was attending: “Ben, make sure you play ‘Take My Hand, Precious Lord’ in the meeting tonight. Play it real pretty.”^[163]

King was shot at 6:01 p.m., April 4, 1968, as he stood on the motel’s second-floor balcony. The bullet entered through his right cheek, smashing his jaw, then traveled down his spinal cord before lodging in his shoulder.^{[164][165]} Abernathy heard the shot from inside the motel room and ran to the balcony to find King on the floor.^[166] Jackson stated after the shooting that he cradled King’s head as King lay on the balcony, but this account was disputed by other colleagues of King’s; Jackson later changed his statement to say that he had “reached out” for King.^[167]

After emergency chest surgery, King died at St. Joseph’s Hospital at 7:05 p.m.^[168] According to biographer Taylor Branch, King’s autopsy revealed that though only 39 years old, he “had the heart of a 60 year old”, which Branch attributed to the stress of 13 years in the Civil Rights Movement.^[169]

1.9.1 Aftermath

Further information: [King assassination riots](#)

The assassination led to a nationwide wave of race riots in Washington, D.C.; Chicago; Baltimore; Louisville; Kansas City; and dozens of other cities.^{[170][171]} Presidential candidate Robert F. “Bobby” Kennedy was on his way to Indianapolis for a campaign rally when he was informed of King’s death. He gave a short speech to the gathering of supporters informing them of the tragedy and urging them to continue King’s ideal of nonviolence.^[172] James Farmer, Jr., and other civil rights leaders also called for nonviolent action, while the more militant Stokely Carmichael called for a more forceful response.^[173] The city of Memphis quickly settled the strike on terms favorable to the sanitation workers.^[174]

President Lyndon B. Johnson declared April 7 a national day of mourning for the civil rights leader.^[175] Vice President Hubert Humphrey attended King’s funeral on behalf of the President, as there were fears that Johnson’s presence might incite protests and perhaps violence.^[176] At his widow’s request, King’s last sermon at Ebenezer Baptist Church was played at the funeral,^[177] a recording of his “Drum Major” sermon, given on February 4, 1968. In that sermon, King made a request that at his funeral no mention of his awards and honors be made, but that

it be said that he tried to “feed the hungry”, “clothe the naked”, “be right on the [Vietnam] war question”, and “love and serve humanity”.^[178] His good friend Mahalia Jackson sang his favorite hymn, “Take My Hand, Precious Lord”, at the funeral.^[179]

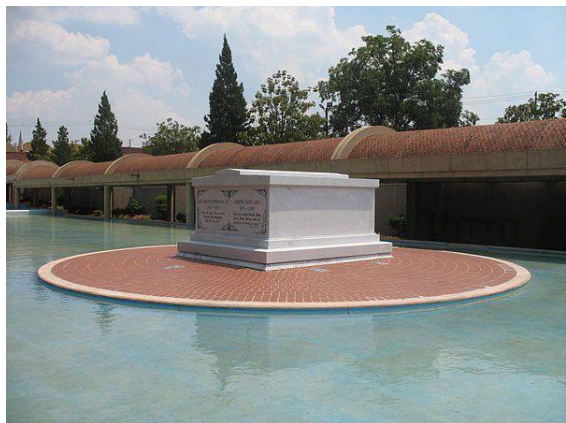
Two months after King’s death, escaped convict James Earl Ray was captured at London Heathrow Airport while trying to leave the United Kingdom on a false Canadian passport in the name of Ramon George Sneyd on his way to white-ruled Rhodesia.^[180] Ray was quickly extradited to Tennessee and charged with King’s murder. He confessed to the assassination on March 10, 1969, though he recanted this confession three days later.^[181] On the advice of his attorney Percy Foreman, Ray pled guilty to avoid a trial conviction and thus the possibility of receiving the death penalty. He was sentenced to a 99-year prison term.^{[181][182]} Ray later claimed a man he met in Montreal, Quebec, with the alias “Raoul” was involved and that the assassination was the result of a conspiracy.^{[183][184]} He spent the remainder of his life attempting, unsuccessfully, to withdraw his guilty plea and secure the trial he never had.^[182]

1.9.2 Allegations of conspiracy

Ray’s lawyers maintained he was a scapegoat similar to the way that John F. Kennedy assassin Lee Harvey Oswald is seen by conspiracy theorists.^[185] Supporters of this assertion say that Ray’s confession was given under pressure and that he had been threatened with the death penalty.^{[182][186]} They admit Ray was a thief and burglar, but claim he had no record of committing violent crimes with a weapon.^[184] However, prison records in different U.S. cities have shown that he was incarcerated on numerous occasions for charges of armed robbery.^[187] In a 2008 interview with CNN, Jerry Ray, the younger brother of James Earl Ray, claimed that James was smart and was sometimes able to get away with armed robbery. Jerry Ray said that he had assisted his brother on one such robbery. “I never been with nobody as bold as he is,” Jerry said. “He just walked in and put that gun on somebody, it was just like it’s an everyday thing.”^[187]

Those suspecting a conspiracy in the assassination point to the two successive ballistics tests which proved that a rifle similar to Ray’s Remington Gamemaster had been the murder weapon. Those tests did not implicate Ray’s specific rifle.^{[182][188]} Witnesses near King at the moment of his death said that the shot came from another location. They said that it came from behind thick shrubbery near the boarding house—which had been cut away in the days following the assassination—and not from the boarding house window.^[189] However, Ray’s fingerprints were found on various objects (a rifle, a pair of binoculars, articles of clothing, a newspaper) that were left in the bathroom where it was determined the gunfire came from.^[187] An examination of the rifle containing Ray’s fingerprints also determined that at least one shot was

fired from the firearm at the time of the assassination.^[187]



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

In 1997, King's son Dexter Scott King met with Ray, and publicly supported Ray's efforts to obtain a new trial.^[190]

Two years later, Coretta Scott King, King's widow, along with the rest of King's family, won a wrongful death claim against Loyd Jowers and "other unknown co-conspirators". Jowers claimed to have received \$100,000 to arrange King's assassination. The jury of six whites and six blacks found in favor of the King family, finding Jowers to be complicit in a conspiracy against King and that government agencies were party to the assassination.^{[191][192]} William F. Pepper represented the King family in the trial.^[193]

In 2000, the U.S. Department of Justice completed the investigation into Jowers' claims but did not find evidence to support allegations about conspiracy. The investigation report recommended no further investigation unless some new reliable facts are presented.^[194] A sister of Jowers admitted that he had fabricated the story so he could make \$300,000 from selling the story, and she in turn corroborated his story in order to get some money to pay her income tax.^{[195][196]}

In 2002, *The New York Times* reported that a church minister, Rev. Ronald Denton Wilson, claimed his father, Henry Clay Wilson—not James Earl Ray—assassinated King. He stated, "It wasn't a racist thing; he thought Martin Luther King was connected with communism, and he wanted to get him out of the way." Wilson provided no evidence to back up his claims.^[197]

King researchers David Garrow and Gerald Posner disagreed with William F. Pepper's claims that the government killed King.^[198] In 2003, Pepper published a book about the long investigation and trial, as well as his representation of James Earl Ray in his bid for a trial, laying out the evidence and criticizing other accounts.^[199] King's friend and colleague, James Bevel, also disputed the argument that Ray acted alone, stating, "There is no way a ten-cent white boy could develop a plan to kill a million-

dollar black man."^[200] In 2004, Jesse Jackson stated:

The fact is there were saboteurs to disrupt the march. And within our own organization, we found a very key person who was on the government payroll. So infiltration within, saboteurs from without and the press attacks. ... I will never believe that James Earl Ray had the motive, the money and the mobility to have done it himself. Our government was very involved in setting the stage for and I think the escape route for James Earl Ray.^[201]

1.10 Legacy



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

King's main legacy was to secure progress on civil rights in the U.S. Just days after King's assassination, Congress passed the **Civil Rights Act of 1968**.^[202] Title VIII of the Act, commonly known as the Fair Housing Act, prohibited discrimination in housing and housing-related transactions on the basis of race, religion, or national origin (later expanded to include sex, familial status, and disability). This legislation was seen as a tribute to King's struggle in his final years to combat residential discrimination in the U.S.^[202]

Internationally, King's legacy includes influences on the **Black Consciousness Movement** and **Civil Rights Movement** in South Africa.^{[203][204]} King's work was cited by and served as an inspiration for South African leader **Albert Lutuli**, who fought for racial justice in his country and was later awarded the Nobel Prize.^[205] The day following King's assassination, school teacher Jane Elliott conducted her first "Blue Eyes/Brown Eyes" exercise with her class of elementary school students in Riceville, Iowa. Her purpose was to help them understand King's death as it related to racism, something they little understood as they lived in a predominantly white community.^[206] King has become a national icon in the history of American liberalism and American progressivism.^[207]



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

King's wife, Coretta Scott King, followed in her husband's footsteps and was active in matters of social justice and civil rights until her death in 2006. The same year that Martin Luther King was assassinated, she established the King Center in Atlanta, Georgia, dedicated to preserving his legacy and the work of championing nonviolent conflict resolution and tolerance worldwide.^[208] Their son, Dexter King, serves as the center's chairman.^{[209][210]} Daughter Yolanda King, who died in 2007, was a motivational speaker, author and founder of Higher Ground Productions, an organization specializing in diversity training.^[211]

Even within the King family, members disagree about



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

his religious and political views about gay, lesbian, bisexual and transgender people. King's widow Coretta said publicly that she believed her husband would have supported gay rights.^[212] However, his youngest child, Bernice King, has said publicly that he would have been opposed to gay marriage.^[213]

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

I'd like somebody to mention that day that Martin Luther King Jr. tried to give his life serving others. I'd like for somebody to say that day that Martin Luther King Jr. tried to love somebody.

I want you to say that day that I tried to be right on the war question. I want you to be able to say that day that I did try to feed the hungry. I want you to be able to say that day that I did try in my life to clothe those who were naked. I want you to say on that day that I did try in my life to visit those who were in prison. And I want you to say that I tried to love and serve humanity.

Yes, if you want to say that I was a drum major. Say that I was a drum major for justice. Say that I was a drum major for peace. I was a drum major for righteousness. And all of the other shallow things will not matter. I won't have any money to leave behind. I won't have the fine and luxurious things of life to leave behind. But I just want to leave a committed life behind.^{[173][214]}

1.10.1 Martin Luther King, Jr. Day

Main article: [Martin Luther King, Jr. Day](#)

Beginning in 1971, cities such as St. Louis, Missouri, and states established annual holidays to honor King.^[215] At

the White House Rose Garden on November 2, 1983, President Ronald Reagan signed a bill creating a federal holiday to honor King. Observed for the first time on January 20, 1986, it is called **Martin Luther King, Jr. Day**. Following President George H. W. Bush's 1992 proclamation, the holiday is observed on the third Monday of January each year, near the time of King's birthday.^{[216][217]} On January 17, 2000, for the first time, Martin Luther King, Jr. Day was officially observed in all fifty U.S. states.^[218] **Arizona** (1992), **New Hampshire** (1999) and **Utah** (2000) were the last three states to recognize the holiday. Utah previously celebrated the holiday at the same time but under the name **Human Rights Day**.^[219]

1.10.2 Liturgical commemorations

King is remembered as a martyr by the Episcopal Church in the United States of America with an annual feast day on the anniversary of his death, April 4.^[220] The Evangelical Lutheran Church in America commemorates King liturgically on the anniversary of his birth, January 15.^[221]

1.10.3 UK legacy and The Martin Luther King Peace Committee

In the United Kingdom, The Northumbria and Newcastle Universities Martin Luther King Peace Committee^[222] exists to honour King's legacy, as represented by his final visit to the UK to receive an honorary degree from Newcastle University in 1967.^[223] The Peace Committee operates out of the chaplaincies of the city's two universities, Northumbria and Newcastle, both of which remain centres for the study of Martin Luther King and the US Civil Rights Movement. Inspired by King's vision, it undertakes a range of activities across the UK as it seeks to "build cultures of peace."

1.11 Ideas, influences, and political stances

1.11.1 Religion

As a Christian minister, King's main influence was Jesus Christ and the Christian gospels, which he would almost always quote in his religious meetings, speeches at church, and in public discourses. King's faith was strongly based in Jesus' commandment of *loving your neighbor as yourself*, *loving God above all*, and *loving your enemies*, praying for them and blessing them. His nonviolent thought was also based in the injunction to *turn the other cheek* in the *Sermon on the Mount*, and Jesus' teaching of putting the sword back into its place (Matthew

26:52).^[224] In his famous *Letter from Birmingham Jail*, King urged action consistent with what he describes as Jesus' "extremist" love, and also quoted numerous other **Christian pacifist** authors, which was very usual for him. In another sermon, he stated:

Before I was a civil rights leader, I was a preacher of the Gospel. This was my first calling and it still remains my greatest commitment. You know, actually all that I do in civil rights I do because I consider it a part of my ministry. I have no other ambitions in life but to achieve excellence in the Christian ministry. I don't plan to run for any political office. I don't plan to do anything but remain a preacher. And what I'm doing in this struggle, along with many others, grows out of my feeling that the preacher must be concerned about the whole man.^{[225][226]}

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

1.11.2 Nonviolence



King at the 1963 Civil Rights March on Washington, D.C.

Veteran African-American civil rights activist Bayard Rustin was King's first regular advisor on nonviolence.^[227] King was also advised by the white activists Harris Wofford and Glenn Smiley.^[228] Rustin and Smiley came from the **Christian pacifist** tradition, and Wofford and Rustin both studied Gandhi's teachings. Rustin had applied nonviolence with the *Journey of Reconciliation* campaign in the 1940s,^[229] and Wofford had been promoting Gandhism to Southern blacks since the early 1950s.^[228] King had initially known little about Gandhi and rarely used the term "nonviolence" during his early years of activism in the early 1950s. King initially believed in and practiced self-defense, even obtaining guns in his household as a means of defense against possible attackers. The pacifists guided King by

showing him the alternative of nonviolent resistance, arguing that this would be a better means to accomplish his goals of civil rights than self-defense. King then vowed to no longer personally use arms.^{[230][231]}

In the aftermath of the boycott, King wrote *Stride Toward Freedom*, which included the chapter *Pilgrimage to Non-violence*. King outlined his understanding of nonviolence, which seeks to win an opponent to friendship, rather than to humiliate or defeat him. The chapter draws from an address by Wofford, with Rustin and Stanley Levison also providing guidance and ghostwriting.^[232]

Inspired by Mahatma Gandhi's success with nonviolent activism, King had "for a long time ... wanted to take a trip to India".^[233] With assistance from Harris Wofford, the American Friends Service Committee, and other supporters, he was able to fund the journey in April 1959.^{[234][235]} The trip to India affected King, deepening his understanding of nonviolent resistance and his commitment to America's struggle for civil rights. In a radio address made during his final evening in India, King reflected, "Since being in India, I am more convinced than ever before that the method of nonviolent resistance is the most potent weapon available to oppressed people in their struggle for justice and human dignity".

Bayard Rustin's open homosexuality, support of democratic socialism, and his former ties to the Communist Party USA caused many white and African-American leaders to demand King distance himself from Rustin,^[236] which King agreed to do.^[237] However, King agreed that Rustin should be one of the main organizers of the 1963 March on Washington.^[238]

King's admiration of Gandhi's nonviolence did not diminish in later years. He went so far as to hold up his example when receiving the Nobel Peace Prize in 1964, hailing the "successful precedent" of using nonviolence "in a magnificent way by Mohandas K. Gandhi to challenge the might of the British Empire ... He struggled only with the weapons of truth, soul force, non-injury and courage."^[239]

Gandhi seemed to have influenced him with certain moral principles,^[240] though Gandhi himself had been influenced by *The Kingdom of God Is Within You*, a nonviolent classic written by Christian anarchist Leo Tolstoy. In turn, both Gandhi and Martin Luther King had read Tolstoy, and King, Gandhi and Tolstoy had been strongly influenced by Jesus' Sermon on the Mount. King quoted Tolstoy's *War and Peace* in 1959.^[241]

Another influence for King's nonviolent method was Henry David Thoreau's essay *On Civil Disobedience*, which King read in his student days. He was influenced by the idea of refusing to cooperate with an evil system.^[242] He also was greatly influenced by the works of Protestant theologians Reinhold Niebuhr and Paul Tillich,^[243] as well as Walter Rauschenbusch's *Christianity and the Social Crisis*. King also sometimes used the concept of "agape" (brotherly Christian love).^[244] However, after

1960, he ceased employing it in his writings.^[245]

Even after renouncing his personal use of guns, King had a complex relationship with the phenomenon of self-defense in the movement. He publicly discouraged it as a widespread practice, but acknowledged that it was sometimes necessary.^[246] Throughout his career King was frequently protected by other civil rights activists who carried arms, such as Colonel Stone Johnson,^[247] Robert Hayling, and the Deacons for Defense and Justice.^{[248][249]}

1.11.3 Politics

As the leader of the SCLC, King maintained a policy of not publicly endorsing a U.S. political party or candidate: "I feel someone must remain in the position of non-alignment, so that he can look objectively at both parties and be the conscience of both—not the servant or master of either."^[250] In a 1958 interview, he expressed his view that neither party was perfect, saying, "I don't think the Republican party is a party full of the almighty God nor is the Democratic party. They both have weaknesses ... And I'm not inextricably bound to either party."^[251] King did praise Democratic Senator Paul Douglas of Illinois as being the "greatest of all senators" because of his fierce advocacy for civil rights causes over the years.^[252]

King critiqued both parties' performance on promoting racial equality:

Actually, the Negro has been betrayed by both the Republican and the Democratic party. The Democrats have betrayed him by capitulating to the whims and caprices of the Southern Dixiecrats. The Republicans have betrayed him by capitulating to the blatant hypocrisy of reactionary right wing northern Republicans. And this coalition of southern Dixiecrats and right wing reactionary northern Republicans defeats every bill and every move towards liberal legislation in the area of civil rights.^[253]

Although King never publicly supported a political party or candidate for president, in a letter to a civil rights supporter in October 1956 he said that he was undecided as to whether he would vote for Adlai Stevenson or Dwight Eisenhower, but that "In the past I always voted the Democratic ticket."^[254] In his autobiography, King says that in 1960 he privately voted for Democratic candidate John F. Kennedy: "I felt that Kennedy would make the best president. I never came out with an endorsement. My father did, but I never made one." King adds that he likely would have made an exception to his non-endorsement policy for a second Kennedy term, saying "Had President Kennedy lived, I would probably have endorsed him in 1964."^[255] In 1964, King urged his supporters "and all people of goodwill" to vote

against Republican Senator **Barry Goldwater** for president, saying that his election “would be a tragedy, and certainly suicidal almost, for the nation and the world.”^[256] King supported the ideals of democratic socialism, although he was reluctant to speak directly of this support due to the anti-communist sentiment being projected throughout America at the time, and the association of socialism with communism. King believed that capitalism could not adequately provide the basic necessities of many American people, particularly the African American community.^[257]

1.11.4 Compensation

King stated that black Americans, as well as other disadvantaged Americans, should be compensated for historical wrongs. In an interview conducted for *Playboy* in 1965, he said that granting black Americans only equality could not realistically close the economic gap between them and whites. King said that he did not seek a full restitution of wages lost to slavery, which he believed impossible, but proposed a government compensatory program of \$50 billion over ten years to all disadvantaged groups.^[258]

He posited that “the money spent would be more than amply justified by the benefits that would accrue to the nation through a spectacular decline in school dropouts, family breakups, crime rates, illegitimacy, swollen relief rolls, rioting and other social evils”.^[259] He presented this idea as an application of the **common law** regarding settlement of unpaid labor, but clarified that he felt that the money should not be spent exclusively on blacks. He stated, “It should benefit the disadvantaged of *all* races”.^[260]

1.11.5 The lack of attention given to family planning

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

Recently, the press has been filled with reports of sightings of **flying saucers**. While we need not give credence to these stories, they allow our imagination to speculate on how visitors from outer space would judge us. I am afraid they would be stupefied at our conduct. They would observe that for death planning we spend billions to create **engines** and **strategies** for war. They would also observe that we spend millions to prevent death by disease and other causes. Finally they would observe that we spend paltry sums for **population planning**, even though its **spontaneous growth** is an urgent threat to life on our planet. Our visitors

from outer space could be forgiven if they reported home that our planet is inhabited by a race of insane men whose future is bleak and uncertain.

There is no human circumstance more tragic than the persisting existence of a harmful condition for which a remedy is readily available. **Family planning**, to relate population to **world resources**, is possible, practical and necessary. Unlike **plagues of the dark ages** or contemporary diseases we do not yet understand, the modern plague of **overpopulation** is soluble by means we have discovered and with resources we possess.

What is lacking is not sufficient knowledge of the solution but universal consciousness of the gravity of the problem and education of the billions who are its victims...^{[261][262]}

1.12 FBI and King's personal life

1.12.1 FBI surveillance and wiretapping

FBI director **J. Edgar Hoover** personally ordered surveillance of King, with the intent to undermine his power as a civil rights leader.^{[131][263]} According to the **Church Committee**, a 1975 investigation by the U.S. Congress, “From December 1963 until his death in 1968, Martin Luther King Jr. was the target of an intensive campaign by the Federal Bureau of Investigation to ‘neutralize’ him as an effective civil rights leader.”^[264]

The Bureau received authorization to proceed with wiretapping from Attorney General **Robert F. Kennedy** in the fall of 1963^[265] and informed President **John F. Kennedy**, both of whom unsuccessfully tried to persuade King to dissociate himself from **Stanley Levison**, a New York lawyer who had been involved with Communist Party USA.^{[266][267]} Although Robert Kennedy only gave written approval for limited wiretapping of King's phones “on a trial basis, for a month or so”,^[268] Hoover extended the clearance so his men were “unshackled” to look for evidence in any areas of King's life they deemed worthy.^[269] The Bureau placed wiretaps on Levison's and King's home and office phones, and bugged King's rooms in hotels as he traveled across the country.^{[266][270]} In 1967, Hoover listed the SCLC as a black nationalist hate group, with the instructions: “No opportunity should be missed to exploit through counterintelligence techniques the organizational and personal conflicts of the leaderships of the groups ... to insure the targeted group is disrupted, ridiculed, or discredited.”^{[263][271]}

1.12.2 NSA monitoring of King's communications

In a secret operation code-named "Minaret", the National Security Agency (NSA) monitored the communications of leading Americans, including King, who criticized the U.S. war in Vietnam.^[272] A review by the NSA itself concluded that Minaret was "disreputable if not outright illegal."^[272]

1.12.3 Allegations of communism

For years, Hoover had been suspicious about potential influence of communists in social movements such as labor unions and civil rights.^[273] Hoover directed the FBI to track King in 1957, and the SCLC as it was established (it did not have a full-time executive director until 1960).^[52] The investigations were largely superficial until 1962, when the FBI learned that one of King's most trusted advisers was New York City lawyer Stanley Levison.^[274]

The FBI feared Levison was working as an "agent of influence" over King, in spite of its own reports in 1963 that Levison had left the Party and was no longer associated in business dealings with them.^[275] Another King lieutenant, Hunter Pitts O'Dell, was also linked to the Communist Party by sworn testimony before the House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC).^[276] However, by 1976 the FBI had acknowledged that it had not obtained any evidence that King himself or the SCLC were actually involved with any communist organizations.^[264]

For his part, King adamantly denied having any connections to communism, stating in a 1965 *Playboy* interview that "there are as many Communists in this freedom movement as there are Eskimos in Florida".^[277] He argued that Hoover was "following the path of appeasement of political powers in the South" and that his concern for communist infiltration of the Civil Rights Movement was meant to "aid and abet the salacious claims of southern racists and the extreme right-wing elements".^[264] Hoover did not believe King's pledge of innocence and replied by saying that King was "the most notorious liar in the country".^[278] After King gave his "I Have A Dream" speech during the March on Washington on August 28, 1963, the FBI described King as "the most dangerous and effective Negro leader in the country".^[270] It alleged that he was "knowingly, willingly and regularly cooperating with and taking guidance from communists".^[279]

The attempt to prove that King was a communist was related to the feeling of many segregationists that blacks in the South were happy with their lot but had been stirred up by "communists" and "outside agitators".^[280] However, the 1950s and '60s Civil Rights Movement arose from activism within the black community dating back to before World War I. King said that "the Negro revolution is a genuine revolution, born from the same womb that produces all massive social upheavals—the womb of

intolerable conditions and unendurable situations."^[281]

1.12.4 Adultery



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

Having concluded that King was dangerous due to communist infiltration, the FBI shifted to attempting to discredit King through revelations regarding his private life. FBI surveillance of King, some of it since made public, attempted to demonstrate that he also engaged in numerous extramarital affairs.^[270] Lyndon Johnson once said that King was a "hypocritical preacher".^[282]

Ralph Abernathy stated in his 1989 autobiography *And the Walls Came Tumbling Down* that King had a "weakness for women", although they "all understood and believed in the biblical prohibition against sex outside of marriage. It was just that he had a particularly difficult time with that temptation".^[283] In a later interview, Abernathy said that he only wrote the term "womanizing", that he did not specifically say King had extramarital sex and that the infidelities King had were emotional rather than sexual.^[284] Abernathy criticized the media for sensationalizing the statements he wrote about King's affairs,^[284] such as the allegation that he admitted in his book that King had a sexual affair the night before he was assassinated.^[284] In his original wording, Abernathy had claimed he saw King coming out of his room with a lady when he awoke the next morning and later claimed that "he may have been in there discussing and debating and trying to get her to go along with the movement, I don't know."^[284]

In his 1986 book *Bearing the Cross*, David Garrow wrote about a number of extramarital affairs, including one woman King saw almost daily. According to Garrow, "that relationship ... increasingly became the emotional

centerpiece of King's life, but it did not eliminate the incidental couplings ... of King's travels." He alleged that King explained his extramarital affairs as "a form of anxiety reduction". Garrow asserted that King's supposed promiscuity caused him "painful and at times overwhelming guilt".^[285] King's wife Coretta appeared to have accepted his affairs with equanimity, saying once that "all that other business just doesn't have a place in the very high level relationship we enjoyed."^[286] Shortly after *Bearing the Cross* was released, civil rights author **Howell Raines** gave the book a positive review but opined that Garrow's allegations about King's sex life were "sensational" and stated that Garrow was "amassing facts rather than analyzing them".^[287]

The FBI distributed reports regarding such affairs to the executive branch, friendly reporters, potential coalition partners and funding sources of the SCLC, and King's family.^[288] The Bureau also sent anonymous letters to King threatening to reveal information if he did not cease his civil rights work.^[289] One such letter sent to King just before he received the Nobel Peace Prize read, in part:

KING,

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

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

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

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

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

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

The so-called "suicide letter",^[290] mailed anonymously by the FBI

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

fraudulent self is bared to the nation.^[291]

A tape recording of several of King's extramarital liaisons, excerpted from FBI wiretaps, accompanied the letter.^[292] King interpreted this package as an attempt to drive him to suicide,^[293] although William Sullivan, head of the Domestic Intelligence Division at the time, argued that it may have only been intended to "convince Dr. King to resign from the SCLC".^[264] King refused to give in to the FBI's threats.^[270]

Judge John Lewis Smith, Jr., in 1977 ordered all known copies of the recorded audiotapes and written transcripts resulting from the FBI's electronic surveillance of King between 1963 and 1968 to be held in the National Archives and sealed from public access until 2027.^[294]

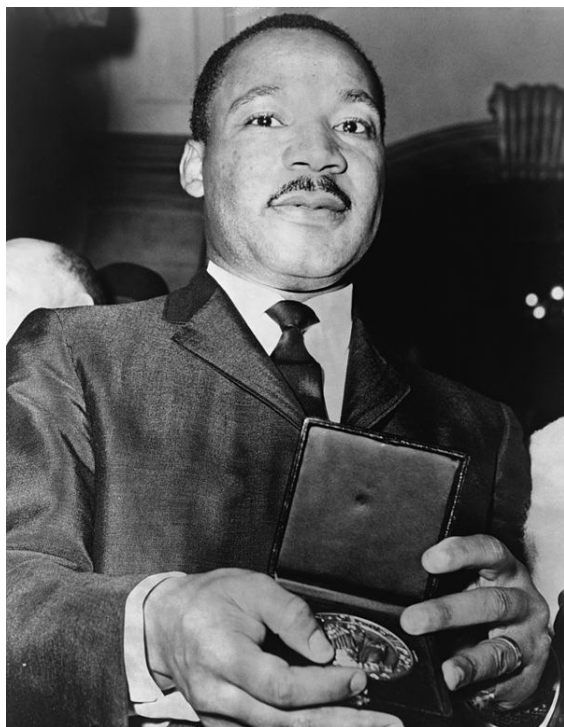
1.12.5 Police observation during the assassination

Across from the Lorraine Motel, next to the boarding house in which James Earl Ray was staying, was a fire station. Police officers were stationed in the fire station to keep King under surveillance.^[295] Agents were watching King at the time he was shot.^[296] Immediately following the shooting, officers rushed out of the station to the motel. Marrell McCollough, an undercover police officer, was the first person to administer first aid to King.^[297] The antagonism between King and the FBI, the lack of an all points bulletin to find the killer, and the police presence nearby led to speculation that the FBI was involved in the assassination.^[298]

1.13 Awards and recognition

King was awarded at least fifty honorary degrees from colleges and universities.^[299] On October 14, 1964, King became the youngest recipient of the Nobel Peace Prize, which was awarded to him for leading nonviolent resistance to racial prejudice in the U.S.^[300] In 1965, he was awarded the American Liberties Medallion by the American Jewish Committee for his "exceptional advancement of the principles of human liberty".^{[299][301]} In his acceptance remarks, King said, "Freedom is one thing. You have it all or you are not free."^[302]

In 1957, he was awarded the Spingarn Medal from the NAACP.^[303] Two years later, he won the Anisfield-Wolf Book Award for his book *Stride Toward Freedom: The Montgomery Story*.^[304] In 1966, the Planned Parenthood Federation of America awarded King the Margaret Sanger Award for "his courageous resistance to bigotry and his lifelong dedication to the advancement of social justice and human dignity".^[305] Also in 1966, King was elected as a fellow of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences.^[306] In November 1967 he made a 24 hour



Martin Luther King, Jr., showing his medallion received from Mayor Wagner

trip to the United Kingdom to receive an honorary degree from Newcastle University, being the first African American to be so honoured by Newcastle.^[307] In a moving impromptu acceptance speech,^[308] he said

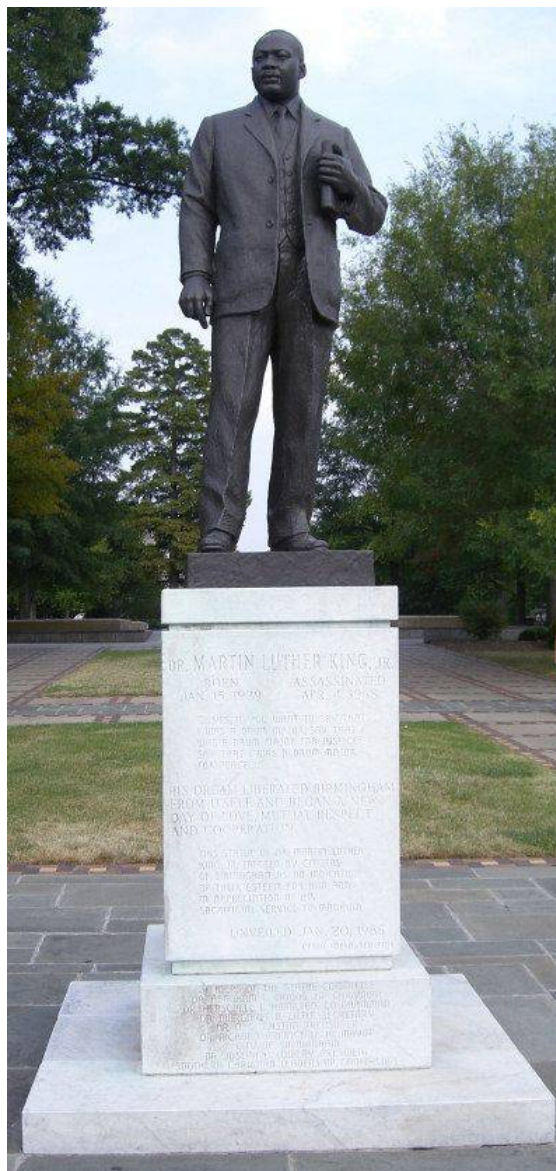
There are three urgent and indeed great problems that we face not only in the United States of America but all over the world today. That is the problem of racism, the problem of poverty and the problem of war.

In 1971 he was posthumously awarded a Grammy Award for Best Spoken Word Album for his *Why I Oppose the War in Vietnam*.^[309]

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

Martin Luther King, Jr., was the conscience of his generation. He gazed upon the great wall of segregation and saw that the power of love could bring it down. From the pain and exhaustion of his fight to fulfill the promises of our founding fathers for our humblest citizens, he wrung his eloquent statement of his dream for America. He made our nation stronger because he made it better. His dream sustains us yet.^[310]

King and his wife were also awarded the Congressional Gold Medal in 2004.^[311]



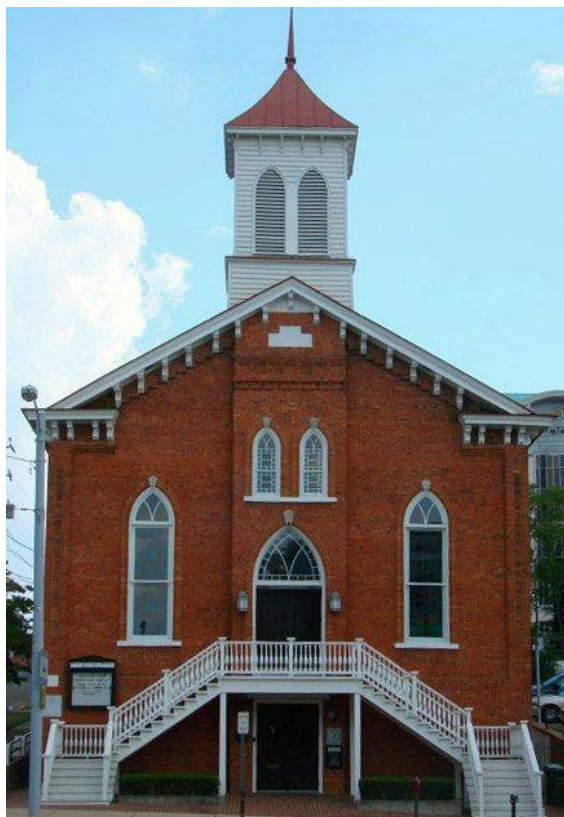
Statue of King in Birmingham's Kelly Ingram Park

King was second in Gallup's List of Most Widely Admired People of the 20th Century.^[312] In 1963, he was named *Time* Person of the Year, and in 2000, he was voted sixth in an online "Person of the Century" poll by the same magazine.^[313] King placed third in the Greatest American contest conducted by the Discovery Channel and AOL.^[314]

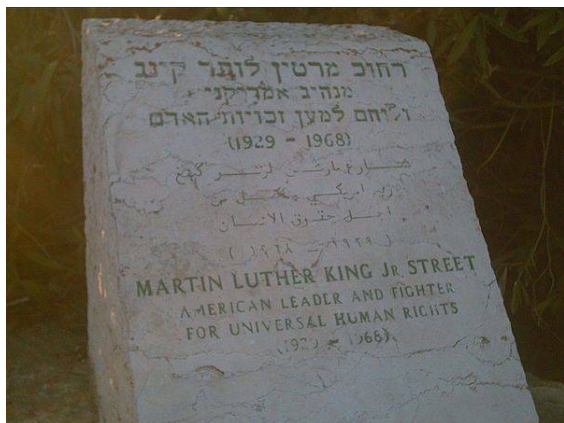
1.13.1 Memorials and eponymous places and buildings

There are numerous memorials to King in the United States, including:

- More than 730 cities in the United States have streets named after King.^[315]
- King County, Washington, rededicated its name in



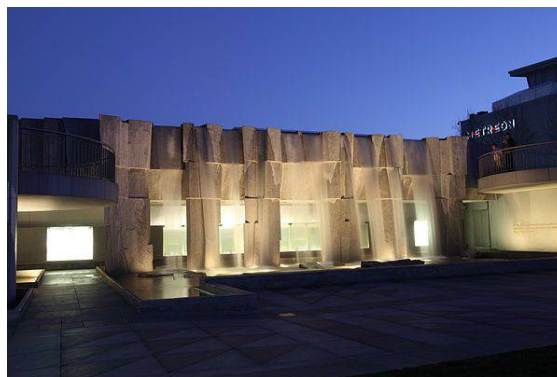
Dexter Avenue Baptist Church, where King ministered, was re-named Dexter Avenue King Memorial Baptist Church in 1978.



Martin Luther King Jr. Street at Liberty Bell Park in Jerusalem, Israel

his honor in 1986, and changed its logo to an image of his face in 2007.^[316]

- The city government center in Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, is named in honor of King.^[317]
- In 1980, the U.S. Department of the Interior designated King's boyhood home in Atlanta and several nearby buildings the Martin Luther King, Jr. National Historic Site.^[318]
- A bust of Dr. King was added to the "gallery of



Martin Luther King, Jr. Memorial in Yerba Buena Gardens

notables" in the United States Capitol in 1986, portraying him in a "restful, nonspeaking pose."^[319]

- The beginning words of King's "I Have a Dream" speech are etched on the steps of the Lincoln Memorial, at the place where King stood during that speech.^[320] These words from the speech—"five short lines of text carved into the granite on the steps of the Lincoln Memorial"—were etched in 2003, on the 40th anniversary of the march to Washington, by stone carver Andy Del Gallo, after a law was passed by Congress providing authorization for the inscription.^[320]
- In 1996, Congress authorized the Alpha Phi Alpha fraternity, of which King is still a member, to establish a foundation to manage fund raising and design of a national Martin Luther King, Jr. Memorial on the National Mall in Washington, D.C.^[321] King was the first African American and the fourth non-president honored with his own memorial in the National Mall area.^[322] The memorial opened in August 2011^[323] and is administered by the National Park Service.^[324] The address of the monument, 1964 Independence Avenue, S.W., commemorates the year that the Civil Rights Act of 1964 became law.^[325]
- The *Landmark for Peace Memorial* in Indianapolis, Indiana^[318]
- The *Homage to King* sculpture in Atlanta, Georgia^[318]
- *The Dream* sculpture in Portland, Oregon
- The National Civil Rights Museum, at the Lorraine Motel in Memphis, Tennessee, where King died^[318]
- Brown Chapel A.M.E. Church in Selma, Alabama^[318]
- On October 11, 2015, the Atlanta Journal-Constitution reported a proposed "Freedom Bell" may be installed atop Stone Mountain honoring King and his I Have A Dream speech, specifically

the line “Let freedom ring from Stone Mountain of Georgia.”^[326]

Numerous other memorials honor him around the world, including:

- The Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr. Church in Debrecen, Hungary^[318]
- The King-Luthuli Transformation Center in Johannesburg, South Africa^[318]
- The Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr. Forest in Israel's Southern Galilee region (along with the Coretta Scott King Forest in Biriya Forest, Israel)^[318]
- The Martin Luther King, Jr. School in Accra, Ghana^[318]
- The Gandhi-King Plaza (garden), at the India International Center in New Delhi, India
- In Norfolk, Virginia stands a memorial in honor of King. The 83-foot-high granite obelisk was conceived by former Norfolk Councilman and General District Court Judge Joseph A. Jordan Jr.^{[327][328]}

1.14 Five Dollar Bill

On April 20, 2016 Treasury Secretary Jacob Lew announced that the \$5, \$10, and \$20 would all undergo redesign prior to 2020. Lew said that while Lincoln would remain on the obverse of the \$5 bill, the reverse would be redesigned to depict various historical events that had occurred at the Lincoln Memorial. Among the planned designs are images from King's "I Have a Dream" speech and the 1939 concert by opera singer Marian Anderson.^[329]

1.15 Works

- *Stride Toward Freedom: The Montgomery Story* (1958) ISBN 978-0-06-250490-6
- *The Measure of a Man* (1959) ISBN 978-0-8006-0877-4
- *Strength to Love* (1963) ISBN 978-0-8006-9740-2
- *Why We Can't Wait* (1964) ISBN 978-0-8070-0112-7
- *Where Do We Go from Here: Chaos or Community?* (1967) ISBN 978-0-8070-0571-2
- *The Trumpet of Conscience* (1968) ISBN 978-0-8070-0170-7

- *A Testament of Hope: The Essential Writings and Speeches of Martin Luther King, Jr.* (1986) ISBN 978-0-06-250931-4
- *The Autobiography of Martin Luther King, Jr.* (1998), ed. Clayborne Carson ISBN 978-0-446-67650-2
- “*All Labor Has Dignity*” (2011) ed. Michael Honey ISBN 978-0-8070-8600-1
- “*Thou, Dear God*”: *Prayers That Open Hearts and Spirits* Collection of Dr. King's prayers. (2011), ed. Dr. Lewis Baldwin ISBN 978-0-8070-8603-2
- *MLK: A Celebration in Word and Image* Photographed by Bob Adelman, introduced by Charles Johnson ISBN 978-0-8070-0316-9

1.16 See also

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

Concepts

- Equality before the law
- Violence begets violence

General

- List of civil rights leaders
- List of peace activists

After Martin Luther King

- Post-Civil Rights era in African-American history

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1.17.1 Notes

[1] Though commonly attributed to King, this expression originated with 19th-century abolitionist Theodore Parker.^[107]

1.17.2 Citations

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- ## 1.18 External links
- ### General
- [Martin Luther King, Jr.](#) at DMOZ
 - [The King Center](#)
 - “[Martin Luther King, Jr. Collection](#)”, Morehouse College, RWWL
 - [The Martin Luther King, Jr. Papers Project](#)
 - [FBI file on Martin Luther King, Jr.](#)
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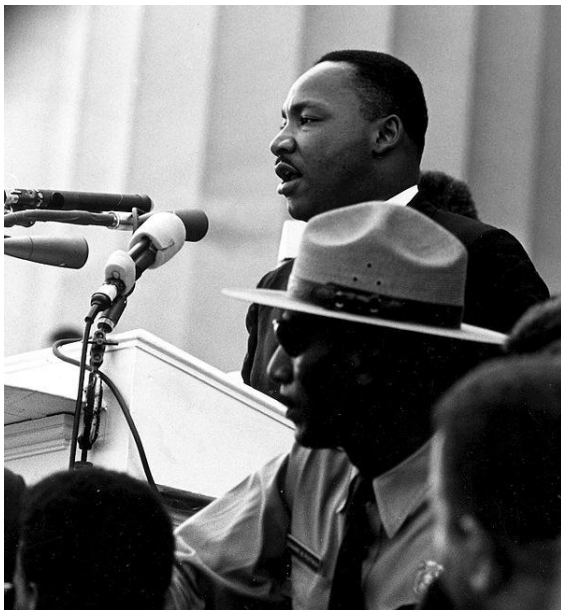
- Works by Martin Luther King, Jr. at Project Gutenberg
- Works by or about Martin Luther King, Jr. at Internet Archive
- Westminster Abbey: Martin Luther King, Jr.
- Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. at Buffalo, digital collection of Dr. King's visit and speech in Buffalo, New York on November 9, 1967, from the University at Buffalo Libraries
- King and Parks at Highlander Folk School. *The Rebellious Life of Mrs. Rosa Parks*.

Speeches and interviews

- Audio from April 1961 King, "The Church on the Frontier of Racial Tensions", speech at Southern Seminary
- "Martin Luther King, Jr. Historic Speeches and Interviews"
- The New Negro, King interviewed by J. Waites Waring
- "Interview with Dr. Kenneth Clark", PBS
- "Beyond Vietnam" speech text and audio
- King Institute Encyclopedia multimedia
- "Why I Am Opposed to the War in Vietnam", sermon at the Ebenezer Baptist Church on April 30, 1967 (audio of speech with video 23:31)
- "Walk to Freedom", Detroit, June 23, 1963. Walter P. Reuther Library of Labor and Urban Affairs. Wayne State University.
- Chiastic outline of Martin Luther King, Jr.'s "I Have a Dream" speech
- Digitized images of Jim Curtis photograph collection on Civil Rights in Kentucky, 1964. March on Frankfort led by Martin Luther King, Jr. and Jackie Robinson. Housed at the University of Kentucky Special Collections Research Center

Chapter 2

Sermons and speeches of Martin Luther King, Jr.



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

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

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

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

2.1 Speechwriter and orator

The famous “I Have a Dream” address was delivered in August 1963 from the steps of the Lincoln Memorial in Washington, D.C. Less well-remembered are the early sermons of that young, 25-year-old pastor who first be-

gan preaching at the Dexter Avenue Baptist Church in Montgomery, Alabama in 1954.^[3] As a political leader in the Civil Rights Movement and as a modest preacher in a Baptist church, King evolved and matured across the span of a life cut short. The range of his rhetoric was anticipated and encompassed within “The Three Dimensions of a Complete Life,” which he preached as his trial sermon at Dexter Avenue Baptist Church in 1954 and every year thereafter for the rest of his life.^[4]

2.1.1 Sermons

- 1953 – “The Three Dimensions of a Complete Life.”^[5]
- 1954 – “Rediscovering Lost Values,” February 28, 1954.
- 1956 – “Paul’s Letter to American Christians,” November 4, 1956.
- 1957 – “The Birth of a New Nation,” April 7, 1957.
- 1957 – “Loving Your Enemies,” November 17, 1957.
- 1963 – “Eulogy for the Martyred Children,” September 18, 1963. (Birmingham, Alabama)
- 1965 – “How Long, Not Long,” also known as “Our God Is Marching On,” March 25, 1965 . (Montgomery, Alabama)
- 1966 – “Guidelines for a Constructive Church”, Delivered at Ebenezer Baptist Church, Atlanta, Georgia, on 5 June 1966.
- 1967 – “The Three Dimensions Of A Complete Life”, Delivered at New Covenant Baptist Church, Chicago, Illinois, on April 9, 1967.
- 1967 – “Why Jesus Called A Man A Fool,” also known as “A Knock at Midnight,” Delivered at Mt. Pisgah Missionary Baptist Church, Chicago, Illinois, on August 27, 1967. (Chicago, Illinois) -- see Video on YouTube

- 1968 – “The Drum Major Instinct”, February 4, 1968. (Atlanta, Georgia)
- 1968 – “Remaining Awake Through a Great Revolution”, March 31, 1968. Delivered at the National Cathedral in Washington, D.C.
- 1968 – *I’ve Been to the Mountaintop*,” April 3, 1968. (Memphis, Tennessee)
- 1968 – “*Why America May Go to Hell*”,^[6] planned to be delivered on April 7, 1968 but never delivered due to his assassination.^[7]
- Speech given at McFarlin Auditorium, Southern Methodist University March 17, 1966, drawn from same sources as April 10, 1957 St. Louis, Mo. speech.

2.1.2 Speeches

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

2.2 Notes

- [1] Nobel Prize: Martin Luther King bio
- [2] Lischer, Richard. (2001). *The Preacher King*, p. 3.
- [3] Fuller, Linda K. (2004). *National Days/National Ways: Historical, Political, And Religious Celebrations around the World*, p. 314.
- [4] Lischer, p. 66.
- [5] Lischer, p. 81.
- [6] “Martin After Elijah: ‘America May Go To Hell’”. *noirg.org*. Retrieved 2016-04-05.
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- [8] “CBS to broadcast story on long-lost MLK speech at UD”
- [9] In a follow-up letter, Dr. King remarked:

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

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2.4 External links

- “Why I Am Opposed to the War in Vietnam” 1967 -- see Video on YouTube
- “A Knock at Midnight,” 1967 -- see Video on YouTube
- “Beyond Vietnam,” 1967
- A longer list of speeches & sermons
- Martin Luther King: His Triumphs - a slideshow by *Life magazine*
- Tavis Smiley on Rev. Martin Luther King and His Opposition to the Vietnam War - video by *Democracy Now!*
- “Episode 2 -- MLK: A Call to Conscience: -- Tavis Smiley Reports. The second episode of Tavis Smiley Reports examines Martin Luther King, Jr.'s stand against the Vietnam War and the influence of his legacy today. Tavis speaks with scholars and friends of King, including Cornel West, Vincent Harding and Susannah Heschel.” March 31, 2010

Chapter 3

Assassination of Martin Luther King, Jr.

Martin Luther King, Jr., was an American clergyman and civil rights leader who was fatally shot at the Lorraine Motel in Memphis, Tennessee, on Thursday, April 4, 1968, at the age of 39. King was rushed to St. Joseph's Hospital, where he was pronounced dead at 7:05 p.m. that evening. He was a prominent leader of the Civil Rights Movement and Nobel Peace Prize laureate who was known for his use of nonviolence and civil disobedience.

James Earl Ray, a fugitive from the Missouri State Penitentiary, was arrested on June 8, 1968, in London at Heathrow Airport, extradited to the United States, and charged with the crime. On March 10, 1969, Ray entered a plea of guilty and was sentenced to 99 years in the Tennessee State Penitentiary.^[1] Ray later made many attempts to withdraw his guilty plea and be tried by a jury, but was unsuccessful; he died in prison on April 23, 1998, at the age of 70.^[2]

3.1 Background

3.1.1 King on death

King received frequent death threats due to his prominence in the Civil Rights Movement. He had confronted the risk of death and made that recognition part of his philosophy. He taught that murder could not stop the struggle for equal rights. After the assassination of U.S. President John F. Kennedy in 1963 Dr. King told his wife, Coretta, "This is what is going to happen to me also. I keep telling you, this is a sick society."^{[3][4]}

3.1.2 Memphis

See also: Memphis Sanitation Strike

King traveled to Memphis, Tennessee, in support of striking African American city sanitation workers. The workers had staged a walkout on February 11, 1968, to protest unequal wages and working conditions imposed by then-mayor Henry Loeb. At the time, Memphis paid black workers significantly lower wages than whites. Sev-

eral sanitation workers had been killed on the job due to unsafe working conditions. In addition, unlike white workers, black workers received no pay if they stayed home during bad weather; consequently, most black people were compelled to work even in driving rain and snow storms.^{[5][6][7]}

On April 3, King returned to Memphis to address a gathering at the Mason Temple (World Headquarters of the Church of God in Christ). His airline flight to Memphis was delayed by a bomb threat against his plane but he made his planned speech.^{[8][9]} King delivered the last speech of his life, now known as the "I've Been to the Mountaintop" address. As he neared the close, he referred to the bomb threat:

And then I got to Memphis. And some began to say the threats... or talk about the threats that were out. What would happen to me from some of our sick white brothers?

Well, I don't know what will happen now. We've got some difficult days ahead. But it doesn't matter with me now. Because I've been to the mountaintop. [applause] And I don't mind. Like anybody, I would like to live a long life. Longevity has its place. But I'm not concerned about that now. I just want to do God's will. And He's allowed me to go up to the mountain. And I've looked over. And I've *seen* the promised land. I may not get there with you. But I want you to know tonight, that we, as a people, will get to the promised land! [applause] And so I'm happy, tonight. I'm not worried about anything. I'm not fearing any man. My eyes have seen the glory of the coming of the Lord!^[10]

3.2 Assassination

On Thursday, April 4, 1968, King was staying in room 306 at the Lorraine Motel in Memphis. The motel was owned by businessman Walter Bailey and named after his wife. Reverend Ralph David Abernathy, a colleague and friend, later told the House Select Committee on Assas-



Wide view of the Lorraine Motel and the boarding house from which James Earl Ray fired the fatal shot from a second-floor bathroom window (to the left of the pole).



The motel is now part of the complex of the National Civil Rights Museum. The wreath marks the approximate spot where King was shot.

sinations that he and King had stayed in room 306 at the Lorraine Motel so often that it was known as the “King-Abernathy Suite”.^[11]

According to biographer Taylor Branch, King’s last words were to musician Ben Branch, who was scheduled to perform that night at a planned event. King said, “Ben, make sure you play ‘Take My Hand, Precious Lord’ in the meeting tonight. Play it real pretty.”^[12]

King had gone out onto the balcony and was standing near his room when he was struck at 6:01 p.m., by a single .30-06 bullet fired from a Remington Model 760.^[13] The bullet entered through King’s right cheek, breaking his jaw and several vertebrae as it traveled down his spinal cord, severing his jugular vein and major arteries in the process, before lodging in his shoulder. The force of the shot ripped off King’s necktie. King fell violently backward onto the balcony, unconscious.

Shortly after the shot was fired, witnesses saw a man (believed to be Ray) fleeing from a rooming house across the street from the Lorraine Motel. Ray had been renting a room there. Police found a package dumped close to the site, which included a rifle and binoculars, both marked with Ray’s fingerprints. Ray had purchased the rifle under an alias six days earlier. A worldwide manhunt was triggered, which culminated in the arrest of Ray at London Heathrow Airport two months later.^[14]

At the time, Abernathy heard the shot from inside the motel room and ran to the balcony to find King on the deck,

bleeding profusely from the wound in his cheek.^{[13][15]} Andrew Young, a colleague from the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), first believed King was dead, but found he still had a pulse.^[16]

King was rushed to St. Joseph’s Hospital, where doctors opened his chest and performed cardiopulmonary resuscitation. He never regained consciousness and was pronounced dead at 7:05 p.m. According to Taylor Branch, King’s autopsy revealed that his heart was in the condition of a 60-year-old man, which Branch attributed to the stress of King’s 13 years in the Civil Rights Movement.^[17]

3.3 Responses

3.3.1 Coretta Scott King

Mrs King had difficulty settling her children with the news that their father was deceased. She received a large number of telegrams, including one from Lee Harvey Oswald’s mother, which she regarded as the one that touched her the most.^[18]

3.3.2 Within the movement

For some, King’s assassination meant the end of the strategy of nonviolence.^[19] Others in the movement reaffirmed the need to carry on King’s work. Leaders within the SCLC confirmed that they would carry on the Poor People’s Campaign that year despite his loss.^[20] Some black leaders argued the need to continue King’s tradition of nonviolence.^[19]

3.3.3 Robert F. Kennedy speech



Kennedy giving his speech.

Main article: Robert F. Kennedy’s speech on the assassination of Martin Luther King, Jr.

That night New York Senator Robert F. Kennedy, running to gain the presidential nomination to represent the Democratic Party, spoke about the assassination. Kennedy had spoken earlier that day in Indiana^[21] and learned about the shooting before boarding a plane to Indianapolis. He had a last speech scheduled there, in a predominantly black neighborhood of the city. His press secretary Frank Mankiewicz suggested that he ask the audience to pray for the King family and to follow King's practice of nonviolence.^[22] The men did not learn that King had died until they landed in Indianapolis.

Mankiewicz and speechwriter Adam Walinsky drafted notes for Kennedy's use, but he refused them, using some he likely had written during the ride to the site.^[23] The Chief of Police in Indianapolis advised Kennedy that he could not provide protection and was worried he would be at risk in talking about the death of the revered leader.^[24] Kennedy decided to go ahead. Standing on a flatbed truck, Kennedy spoke for four minutes and fifty-seven seconds.^[25]

He was the first to tell the audience that King had died; some of the attendees screamed and wailed in grief. Several of Kennedy's aides were even worried that the delivery of this information would result in a riot.^[26] When the audience quieted, Kennedy acknowledged that many would be filled with anger. He said: "For those of you who are black and are tempted to fill with—be filled with hatred and mistrust of the injustice of such an act, against all white people, I would only say that I can also feel in my own heart the same kind of feeling. I had a member of my family killed, but he was killed by a white man." These remarks surprised his aides, who had never heard him speak publicly of his brother John F. Kennedy's death.^[27] Kennedy said that the country had to make an effort to "go beyond these rather difficult times", and quoted a poem by the Greek playwright Aeschylus, "Even in our sleep, pain which cannot forget falls drop by drop upon the heart until, in our own despair, against our will, comes wisdom through the awful grace of God." In conclusion, Kennedy said that the country needed and wanted unity between blacks and whites, and asked the audience members to pray for the King family and the country, quoting the Greeks again.

His speech was credited in part with preventing post-assassination rioting in Indianapolis, on a night where such events broke out in major cities across the country.^[28] It is widely considered one of the greatest speeches in American history.^[29]

3.3.4 President Lyndon B. Johnson

President Lyndon B. Johnson was in the Oval Office that evening, planning a meeting in Hawaii with Vietnam War military commanders. After press secretary George Christian informed him at 8:20 p.m. of the assassination, he canceled the trip to focus on the nation. He as-

signed Attorney General Ramsey Clark to investigate the assassination in Memphis. He made a personal call to Dr. King's wife, Coretta Scott King, and declared April 7 a national day of mourning, on which the U.S. flag would be flown at half-staff.^[30]

3.3.5 Riots

Main article: King assassination riots

Colleagues of Dr. King in the Civil Rights Movement called for a nonviolent response to the assassination, to honor his most deeply held beliefs. James Farmer, Jr., said:

Dr. King would be greatly distressed to find that his blood had triggered off bloodshed and disorder... I think instead the nation should be quiet; black and white, and we should be in a prayerful mood, which would be in keeping with his life. We should make that kind of dedication and commitment to the goals which his life served to solving the domestic problems. That's the memorial, that's the kind of memorial we should build for him. It's just not appropriate for there to be violent retaliations, and that kind of demonstration in the wake of the murder of this pacifist and man of peace.^[31]

However, the more militant Stokely Carmichael called for forceful action, saying:

White America killed Dr. King last night. She made it a whole lot easier for a whole lot of black people today. There no longer needs to be intellectual discussions, black people know that they have to get guns. White America will live to cry that she killed Dr. King last night. It would have been better if she had killed Rap Brown and/or Stokely Carmichael, but when she killed Dr. King, she lost.^[31]

Despite the urging for calm by many leaders, a nationwide wave of riots erupted in more than 100 cities.^[32] After the assassination, the city of Memphis quickly settled the strike on favorable terms to the sanitation workers.^{[33][34]}

3.3.6 Reactions

On April 8, King's widow, Coretta Scott King, together with the couple's four small children, led a crowd estimated at 40,000 "in a silent march through the streets of Memphis to honor the fallen leader and support the cause of the city's black sanitation workers".^[35]



Garment workers listen to the funeral service for Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr., on a portable radio. April 9, 1968

The next day, funeral rites for King were held in his hometown of Atlanta, Georgia. The service at Ebenezer Baptist Church was nationally televised, as were these other events. A funeral procession transported King's body for 3.5 miles through the streets of Atlanta, followed by more than 100,000 mourners, from the church to his alma mater of Morehouse College. A second service was held there before the burial.^[35]

In the wake of King's assassination, journalists reported some callous or hostile reactions from parts of white America, particularly in the South. David Halberstam, who reported on King's funeral, recounted a comment heard at an affluent white dinner party:

One of the wives—station wagon, three children, forty-five-thousand-dollar house—leaned over and said, “I wish you had spit in his face for me.” It was a stunning moment; I wondered for a long time afterwards what King could possibly have done to her, in what conceivable way he could have threatened her, why this passionate hate.^[36]

But reporters also recounted that many whites were grief-stricken at the leader's death. In some cases, the shock of events altered opinions. A survey later sent to a group of college trustees revealed that their opinions of King had risen after his assassination.^[37] *The New York Times* praised King in an editorial, calling his murder a “national disaster” and his cause “just”.^{[37][38]}

Public figures generally praised King in the days following his death. Others expressed political ideology. Governor George Wallace of Alabama, known as a segregationist, described the assassination as a “senseless, regrettable act”.^[19] But Governor Lester Maddox of Georgia called King “an enemy of our country” and threatened to “personally raise” the state capitol flag back from half-staff. California Governor Ronald Reagan described the assassination as “a great tragedy that began when we be-

gan compromising with law and order and people started choosing which laws they'd break”. Strom Thurmond, South Carolina Senator, wrote to his constituents: “We are now witnessing the whirlwind sowed years ago when some preachers and teachers began telling people that each man could be his own judge in his own case.”^[39]

3.4 FBI investigation

The Federal Bureau of Investigation was assigned the lead to investigate King's death. J. Edgar Hoover, who had previously made efforts to undermine King's reputation, told Johnson that his agency would attempt to find the culprit(s).^[30] Many documents related to this investigation remain classified, and are slated to remain secret until 2027. In 2010, as in earlier years, some argued for passage of a proposed Records Collection Act, similar to a 1992 law concerning the Kennedy assassination, in order to require the immediate release of the records. The measure did not pass.

3.5 Funeral

Main article: Funeral of Martin Luther King, Jr.

President Lyndon B. Johnson declared April 7 a national day of mourning for Rev. King. A crowd of 300,000 attended his funeral two days later on April 9.^[30] Vice President Hubert Humphrey attended on behalf of Johnson, who was at a meeting on the Vietnam War at Camp David. (There were fears that Johnson might be hit with protests and abuses over the war if he attended). At his widow's request, King's last sermon at Ebenezer Baptist Church was played at the funeral; it was a recording of his “Drum Major” sermon, given on February 4, 1968. In that sermon, he asked that at his funeral no mention of his awards and honors be made, but that it be said that he tried to “feed the hungry”, “clothe the naked”, “be right on the [Vietnam] war question”, and “love and serve humanity”.

3.6 James Earl Ray

3.6.1 Capture and guilty plea

The FBI investigation found fingerprints on various objects left in the bathroom from where the gunfire had come. Evidence included a Remington Gamemaster rifle from which at least one shot had been fired. The fingerprints were traced to an escaped white convict named James Earl Ray.^[40] Two months after King's death, Ray was captured at London's Heathrow Airport while trying to leave the United Kingdom for either Angola, Rhodesia

or South Africa^[41] on a false Canadian passport in the name of Ramon George Sneyd.^[42] Ray was quickly extradited to Tennessee and charged with King's murder.

He confessed to the assassination on March 10, 1969. On the advice of his attorney Percy Foreman, Ray took a guilty plea to avoid a trial conviction and potential sentencing under the death penalty. Ray was sentenced to a 99-year prison term; he recanted his confession three days later.^[43]

Ray fired Foreman as his attorney and claimed that a man he met in Montreal with the alias "Raul" was involved, as was Ray's brother Johnny, but that he was not. He said through his new attorney Jack Kershaw that although he did not "personally shoot King", he may have been "partially responsible without knowing it", hinting at a conspiracy. In May 1977, Kershaw presented evidence to the House Select Committee on Assassinations that he believed exonerated his client, but tests did not prove conclusive. Kershaw also claimed Ray was somewhere else when the shots were fired, but he could not find a witness to corroborate the claim.^[44]

3.6.2 Escape

Ray and seven other convicts escaped from Brushy Mountain State Penitentiary in Petros, Tennessee, on June 10, 1977. They were recaptured on June 13, three days later, and returned to prison.^[45] A year was added to Ray's sentence, totaling it to 100 years.

Ray worked for the remainder of his life attempting (unsuccessfully) to withdraw his guilty plea and secure a full trial. In 1997, Martin Luther King's son Dexter King met with Ray; he publicly supported Ray's efforts to obtain a retrial.^[46]

Dr. William Pepper remained James Earl Ray's attorney until Ray's death. He carried on the effort to gain a trial on behalf of the King family. The King family does not believe that Ray was responsible, but that there was a conspiracy by elements of the government against King.^[47]

3.6.3 Death

Ray died in prison on April 23, 1998, at the age of 70 from kidney and liver failure, caused by hepatitis C (probably contracted as a result of a blood transfusion given after a stabbing while at Brushy Mountain State Penitentiary).

3.7 Conspiracy theories

3.7.1 Loyd Jowers

In December 1993, Loyd Jowers, a white man from Memphis, appeared on ABC's *Prime Time Live*. He had gained attention by claiming an alleged conspiracy involving the Mafia, the U.S. government, and himself to kill King. According to Jowers, Ray was a scapegoat, and not directly involved in the shooting.

According to the Department of Justice, Jowers had inconsistently identified different people as Dr. King's assassin since 1993. He had alternatively claimed that the shooter was: (1) an African American man who was on South Main Street on the night of the assassination (the "Man on South Main Street"); (2) Raul; (3) a white "Lieutenant" with the Memphis Police Department; and (4) a person whom he did not recognize. The Department does not consider Jowers' accusations credible, and refers to two of the accused individuals by pseudonym.^[note 1] DOJ has stated the evidence allegedly supporting the existence of a third assassin, "Raoul", is dubious.^[48] Loyd had business interests in the vicinity of the assassination site.

Coretta Scott King v. Loyd Jowers

In 1999, the King family filed a civil case against Jowers and unnamed co-conspirators for the wrongful death of Dr. King. The case, *Coretta Scott King, et al. vs. Loyd Jowers et al.*, Case No. 97242, was tried in the circuit court of Shelby County, Tennessee, from November 15 to December 8, 1999.

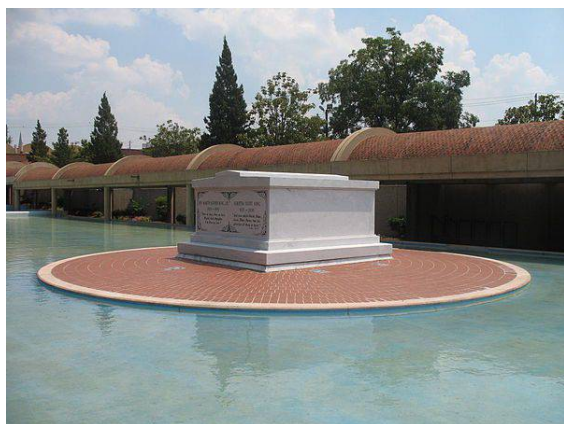
Attorney William F. Pepper, representing the King family, presented evidence from 70 witnesses and 4,000 pages of transcripts. Pepper alleges in his book, *An Act of State* (2003), that the evidence implicated the FBI, the CIA, the US Army, the Memphis Police Department, and organized crime in the murder of Dr. King.^[49] The suit alleged government involvement, however no government officials or agencies were named or made a party to the suit, so there was no defense or evidence presented or refuted by the government.^[50] The jury found defendant Loyd Jowers and unknown co-defendants civilly liable for participation in a conspiracy to assassinate King in the amount of \$100. Members of King's family acted as plaintiffs.^[51]

Excerpt:

THE COURT: In answer to the question did Loyd Jowers participate in a conspiracy to do harm to Dr. Martin Luther King, your answer is yes. Do you also find that others, including governmental agencies, were parties to this conspiracy as alleged by the defendant? Your answer to that one is also yes. And the total amount of damages you find for the plaintiffs entitled to is one hundred dollars. Is that your verdict?

THE JURY: Yes (In unison).^[51]

After hearing no evidence from the government, and only testimony and pleadings cooperatively submitted by the plaintiffs and Jowers, the jury—six blacks and six whites—found that King had been the victim of assassination by a conspiracy involving the Memphis police as well as federal agencies. Local assistant district attorney John Campell, who was not involved in the case, commented that the case was flawed and “overlooked so much contradictory evidence that never was presented”.^[52] This civil verdict against Jowers has been claimed by some persons to have established Ray’s criminal innocence, which the King family has always maintained, but it has no bearing on his having pleaded guilty.^{[53][54][55]} The family said it had requested only \$100 in damages to demonstrate they were not seeking financial gain.



The tomb of Martin Luther King and Coretta Scott King, located on the grounds of the King Center in Atlanta

Counter evidence

In 2000, the Department of Justice completed their own investigation into Jowers’ claims; it did not find evidence to support the allegations about conspiracy. The investigation report recommends no further investigation unless some new reliable facts are presented.^[56] A sister of Jowers admitted that he had fabricated the story so he could make \$300,000 from selling the story, and she said she had corroborated his story in order to get some money to pay her income tax.^{[57][58]} King biographer David Garrow disagrees with William F. Pepper’s claims that the government killed King. He is supported by author Gerald Posner.^[59]

3.7.2 Other theories

In 1998, CBS reported that the two separate ballistic tests conducted on the Remington Gamemaster allegedly used by Ray in the assassination were inconclusive.^{[60][61]} Moreover, witnesses with King at the moment of the shooting say the shot was fired from a different location; from behind thick shrubbery near the rooming house, and not from a window of the rooming house.^[62]

King’s friend and SCLC organizer, Reverend James Lawson, has suggested the impending occupation of Washington D.C. by the Poor People’s Campaign was a primary motive for a federal assassination.^[50] Lawson also noted during the civil trial that King alienated President Johnson and other powerful government actors when he repudiated the Vietnam War on April 4, 1967—exactly one year before the assassination.^[53]

King had been targeted by COINTELPRO^[63] and had also been under surveillance by military intelligence agencies during the period leading up to his assassination under the code name Operation Lantern Spike.^[64]

A church minister, Ronald Denton Wilson, claimed his father, Henry Clay Wilson, assassinated Martin Luther King, Jr., not James Earl Ray.^[65] He stated, “It wasn’t a racist thing; he thought Martin Luther King was connected with communism, and he wanted to get him out of the way.” But Wilson had reportedly admitted previously that his father was a member of the Ku Klux Klan.^[66]

In 2004, Jesse Jackson, who was with King when he was assassinated, noted:

The fact is there were saboteurs to disrupt the march. [And] within our own organization, we found a very key person who was on the government payroll. So infiltration within, saboteurs from without and the press attacks. ...I will never believe that James Earl Ray had the motive, the money and the mobility to have done it himself. Our government was very involved in setting the stage for and I think the escape route for James Earl Ray.^[67]

According to biographer Taylor Branch, King’s friend and colleague James Bevel put it more bluntly: “There is no way a ten-cent white boy could develop a plan to kill a million-dollar black man”.^[68]

3.8 See also

- "I've Been to the Mountaintop"

3.9 Notes

- [1] Because [The Department of Justice] does not credit Jowers’ inconsistent allegations, we refer to the two assassins he has named as the “Man on South Main Street” and the “Lieutenant”, respectively.

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3.11 External links

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- Department of Justice investigation of assassination, 2000 (following the Jowers' allegations)
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Chapter 4

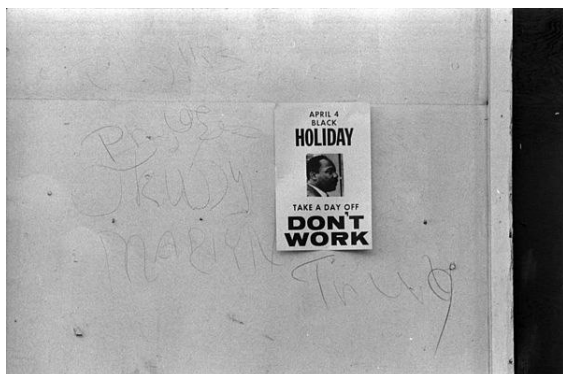
Martin Luther King, Jr. Day

This article is about the American federal holiday. For Martin Luther King, Jr.'s actual birthday, see January 15.

Martin Luther King, Jr. Day (officially **Birthday of Martin Luther King, Jr.**)^[1] is an American federal holiday marking the birthday of **Martin Luther King, Jr.** It is observed on the third Monday of January each year, which is around King's birthday, January 15. The holiday is similar to holidays set under the **Uniform Monday Holiday Act**.

King was the chief spokesman for nonviolent activism in the **Civil Rights Movement**, which successfully protested racial discrimination in federal and state law. The campaign for a federal holiday in King's honor began soon after his assassination in 1968. President **Ronald Reagan** signed the holiday into law in 1983, and it was first observed three years later. At first, some states resisted observing the holiday as such, giving it alternative names or combining it with other holidays. It was officially observed in all 50 states for the first time in 2000.

4.1 History



Sign from 1969 promoting a holiday to honor the anniversary of the assassination of Martin Luther King, Jr.

The idea of Martin Luther King, Jr. Day as a holiday was promoted by labor unions in contract negotiations.^[2] After King's death, U.S. Representative **John Conyers**

(a Democrat from Michigan) and U.S. Senator **Edward Brooke** (a Republican from Massachusetts) introduced a bill in Congress to make King's birthday a national holiday. The bill first came to a vote in the U.S. House of Representatives in 1979. However, it fell five votes short of the number needed for passage.^[3] Two of the main arguments mentioned by opponents were that a paid holiday for federal employees would be too expensive, and that a holiday to honor a private citizen would be contrary to longstanding tradition (King had never held public office).^[3] Only two other figures have national holidays in the U.S. honoring them: **George Washington** and **Christopher Columbus**.

Soon after, the **King Center** turned to support from the corporate community and the general public. The success of this strategy was cemented when musician **Stevie Wonder** released the single "Happy Birthday" to popularize the campaign in 1980 and hosted the Rally for Peace Press Conference in 1981. Six million signatures were collected for a petition to Congress to pass the law, termed by a 2006 article in *The Nation* as "the largest petition in favor of an issue in U.S. history."^[2]



Ronald Reagan and Coretta Scott King at the Martin Luther King, Jr. Day signing ceremony.

Senators **Jesse Helms** and **John Porter East** (both North Carolina Republicans) led opposition to the holiday and questioned whether King was important enough to receive such an honor. Helms criticized King's opposi-

tion to the Vietnam War and accused him of espousing “action-oriented Marxism”.^[4] Helms led a filibuster against the bill and on October 3, 1983, submitted a 300-page document to the Senate alleging that King had associations with communists. New York Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan declared the document a “packet of filth”, threw it on the Senate floor and stomped on it.^{[5][6]}

President Ronald Reagan originally opposed the holiday, citing cost concerns. When asked to comment on Helms’ accusations that King was a communist, the president said “We’ll know in thirty-five years, won’t we?”, in reference to the eventual release of FBI surveillance tapes that had previously been sealed.^[7] But on November 2, 1983, Reagan signed a bill, proposed by Representative Katie Hall of Indiana, to create a federal holiday honoring Dr. King.^{[8][9]} The bill had passed the House of Representatives by a count of 338 to 90, a veto-proof margin.^[4] The holiday was observed for the first time on January 20, 1986.

The bill also established the Martin Luther King, Jr., Federal Holiday Commission to oversee observance of the holiday, and Coretta Scott King, King’s wife, was made a member of this commission for life by President George H. W. Bush in May 1989.^{[10][11]}

4.2 State-level passage

Although the federal holiday honoring King was signed into law in 1983 and took effect three years later, not every U.S. state chose to observe the holiday at the state level until 1991, when the New Hampshire legislature created “Civil Rights Day” and abolished “Fast Day.”^[12] In 2000, Utah became the last state to have a holiday named after Dr. King when “Human Rights Day” was officially changed to “Martin Luther King Jr. Day.”^[13]

In 1986, Arizona Governor Bruce Babbitt, a Democrat, created a paid state MLK holiday in Arizona by executive order just before he left office, but in 1987, his Republican successor Evan Mecham, citing an attorney general’s opinion that Babbitt’s order was illegal, reversed Babbitt’s decision days after taking office.^[14] Later that year, Mecham proclaimed the third Sunday in January to be “Martin Luther King, Jr.-Civil Rights Day” in Arizona, albeit as an unpaid holiday.^[15] In 1990, Arizona voters were given the opportunity to vote on giving state employees a paid MLK holiday. That same year, the National Football League threatened to move Super Bowl XXVII, which was planned for Arizona in 1993, if the MLK holiday was voted down.^[16] In the November election, the voters were offered two King Day options: Proposition 301, which replaced Columbus Day on the list of paid state holidays, and Proposition 302, which merged Lincoln’s and Washington’s birthdays into one paid holiday to make room for MLK Day. Both measures failed to pass, with only 49% of voters approving Prop 302,

the more popular of the two options; although some who voted “no” on 302 voted “yes” on Prop 301.^[17] Consequently, the state lost the chance to host Super Bowl XXVII, which was subsequently held at the Rose Bowl in Pasadena, California.^[16] In a 1992 referendum, the voters, this time given only one option for a paid King Day, approved state-level recognition of the holiday.^[18]

On May 2, 2000, South Carolina governor Jim Hodges signed a bill to make King’s birthday an official state holiday. South Carolina was the last state to recognize the day as a paid holiday for all state employees. Prior to this, employees could choose between celebrating Martin Luther King, Jr. Day or one of three Confederate holidays.^[19]

4.3 Alternative names

While all states now observe the holiday, some did not name the day after King. For example, in New Hampshire, the holiday was known as “Civil Rights Day” until 1999, when the State Legislature voted to change the name of the holiday to Martin Luther King Day.^[20]

Several additional states have chosen to combine commemorations of King’s birthday with other observances:

- In Alabama: “Robert E. Lee/Martin Luther King Birthday”.^[21]
- In Arizona: “Martin Luther King Jr./Civil Rights Day”.^[22]
- In Arkansas: “Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. and Robert E. Lee’s Birthdays”.^[23]
- In Idaho: “Martin Luther King Jr.-Idaho Human Rights Day”.^[24]
- In Mississippi: “Martin Luther King’s and Robert E. Lee’s Birthdays”.^[25]
- In New Hampshire: its official name is “Martin Luther King Jr. Civil Rights Day”.^[26]
- In Virginia: it was known as Lee–Jackson–King Day, combining King’s birthday with the established Lee–Jackson Day.^[13] In 2000, Lee–Jackson Day was moved to the Friday before Martin Luther King, Jr. Day, establishing Martin Luther King, Jr. Day as a holiday in its own right.^[27]

4.4 Workplace observance

Overall, in 2007, 33% of employers gave employees the day off, a 2% increase over the previous year. There was little difference in observance by large and small employers: 33% for firms with over 1,000 employees; and, 32% for firms with under 1,000 employees. The observance is most popular among nonprofit organizations and

least popular among factories and manufacturers.^[28] The reasons for this have varied, ranging from the recent addition of the holiday, to its occurrence just two weeks after the week between Christmas and New Year's Day, when many businesses are closed for part or sometimes all of the week. Additionally, many schools and places of higher education are closed for classes; others remain open but may hold seminars or celebrations of King's message. Some factories and manufacturers used MLK Day as a floating or movable holiday.

4.5 King Day of Service



In honor of the Martin Luther King Day of Service, President Barack Obama serves lunch in the dining room at So Others Might Eat, a soup kitchen in Washington, January 18, 2010.



A Martin Luther King Day march in Oregon.

The national Martin Luther King Day of Service^[29] was started by former Pennsylvania U.S. Senator Harris Wofford and Atlanta Congressman John Lewis, who co-authored the King Holiday and Service Act. The federal legislation challenges Americans to transform the King Holiday into a day of citizen action volunteer service in honor of Dr. King. The federal legislation was signed into law by President Bill Clinton on August 23, 1994. Since 1996, Wofford's former state office director, Todd Bernstein, has been directing the annual Greater Philadelphia King Day of Service,^[30] the largest event in the nation honoring Dr. King.^[31]

Several other universities and organizations around the U.S., such as Arizona State University, Greater DC Cares and City Year, participate in the Dr. Martin Luther King,

Jr. Day of Service. In honor of MLK, hundreds of Volunteer Centers, and volunteers across the country donate their time to make a difference on this day.

4.6 Outside the United States

One place outside the U.S. where Martin Luther King, Jr. Day is observed with equal importance is in the Japanese city of Hiroshima under mayor Tadatoshi Akiba, who holds a special banquet at the mayor's office as an act of unifying his city's call for peace with King's message of human rights.^[32]

The city of Toronto, Canada, is another city that has officially recognized Martin Luther King, Jr. Day, although not as a paid holiday: all government services and businesses remain open.^[33]

In 1984, during a visit by the U.S. Sixth Fleet, Navy chaplain Rabbi Arnold Resnicoff conducted the first Israeli presidential ceremony in commemoration of Martin Luther King, Jr. Day, held in the President's Residence, Jerusalem. Mrs. Aura Herzog, wife of Israel's then-President Chaim Herzog, noted that she was especially proud to host this special event, because Israel had a national forest in honor of Dr. King, and that Israel and Dr. King shared the idea of "dreams".^[34] Resnicoff continued this theme in his remarks during the ceremony, quoting the verse from Genesis, spoken by the brothers of Joseph when they saw their brother approach, "Behold the dreamer comes; let us slay him and throw him into the pit, and see what becomes of his dreams." Resnicoff noted that, from time immemorial, there have been those who thought they could kill the dream by slaying the dreamer, but – as the example of Dr. King's life shows – such people are always wrong.^[35]

4.7 Dates

1986–2100

4.8 See also

- Public holidays in the United States

4.8.1 Other holidays honoring African Americans

- Malcolm X Day
- Rosa Parks Day
- Harriet Tubman Day

4.8.2 Other civil rights holidays

- Susan B. Anthony Day
- Cesar Chavez Day
- Harvey Milk Day

4.9 Further reading

- Staff writer (Spring 1998). “Colleges and universities that don’t observe the Martin Luther King Jr. holiday”. *The Journal of Blacks in Higher Education* (JBHE Foundation, Inc.) **19**: 26–27. doi:10.2307/2998887. JSTOR 2998887.

4.10 References

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- [21] “Calendar”. *Alabama.gov*.
- [22] “1–301. Holidays enumerated”. Arizona Legislature.
- [23] “State Holidays Calendar”. *Arkansas.gov*.
- [24] “Title 73”. *Idaho.gov*.
- [25] “State Holidays”. *MS.gov*.
- [26] “CHAPTER 288 HOLIDAYS”. New Hampshire General Court.
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- [35] Library of Congress Veterans History Project Oral History, Arnold Resnicoff, May 2010.

4.11 External links

- Martin Luther King, Jr. Federal Holiday Commission at the Federal Register
- Martin Luther King, Jr. Day of Service official government site
- King Holiday and Service Act of 1994 at THOMAS
- Remarks on Signing the King Holiday and Service Act of 1994, President William J. Clinton, The American Presidency Project, August 23, 1994
- Works by or about United States Martin Luther King, Jr. Federal Holiday Commission in libraries (WorldCat catalog)
- The King Center for Nonviolent Social Change

Chapter 5

Martin Luther King, Jr. Memorial

This article is about the memorial in Washington, D.C.. For the national historic site in Atlanta, Georgia, see [Martin Luther King, Jr., National Historic Site](#).

The **Martin Luther King, Jr. Memorial** is located in West Potomac Park in Washington, D.C., southwest of the National Mall.^[1] The national memorial is America's 395th unit in the National Park Service.^[2] The monumental memorial is located at the northwest corner of the Tidal Basin near the Franklin Delano Roosevelt Memorial, on a sightline linking the Lincoln Memorial to the northwest and the Jefferson Memorial to the southeast. The official address of the monument, 1964 Independence Avenue, S.W., commemorates the year the Civil Rights Act of 1964 became law.^[3]

Covering four acres and including a granite statue of King by sculptor Lei Yixin, the memorial opened to the public on August 22, 2011, after more than two decades of planning, fund-raising and construction.^{[4][5]} A ceremony dedicating the Memorial was scheduled for Sunday, August 28, 2011, the 48th anniversary of the "I Have a Dream" speech that Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. delivered from the steps of the Lincoln Memorial in 1963^[6] but was postponed until October 16 (the 16th anniversary of the 1995 Million Man March on the National Mall) due to Hurricane Irene.^{[7][8][9]}

Although this is not the first memorial to an African American in Washington, D.C., King is the first African American honored with a memorial on or near the National Mall and only the fourth non-President to be memorialized in such a way. The King Memorial is administered by the National Park Service (NPS).

5.1 Context

Martin Luther King, Jr. (January 15, 1929 – April 4, 1968), an American clergyman, activist, and prominent leader in the African-American Civil Rights Movement, was an iconic figure in the advancement of civil rights in the United States and around the world, and advocated for using nonviolent resistance, inspired by Mahatma Gandhi.^[10] Although during his life he was monitored



Delivering the "I Have a Dream" speech at the 1963 Washington, D.C. Civil Rights March.

by the FBI for presumed communist sympathies, King is now presented as a heroic leader in the history of modern American liberalism.^{[11][12]}

At the 1963 March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom, King imagined an end to racial inequality in his "I Have a Dream" speech.^[13] This speech has been canonized as one of the greatest pieces of American oratory.^[14] In 1964, King became the youngest person to receive the Nobel Peace Prize for his work to end racial segregation and racial discrimination through civil disobedience and other nonviolent means.^[15]

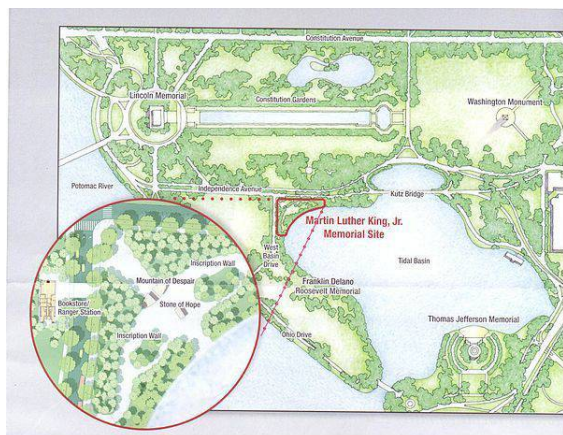
At the time of his death, he had refocused his efforts on ending poverty and stopping the Vietnam War.^{[16][17]} King was backing the Memphis Sanitation Strike and organizing a mass occupation of Washington, D.C. – the Poor People's Campaign^[18] – when he was killed in Memphis, Tennessee, on April 4, 1968.^[19]

5.2 Vision statement

The official vision statement for the King Memorial notes:

Harry E. Johnson, the President and Chief Executive Officer of the memorial foundation, added these words in a letter posted on the memorial's website:

5.3 Project proposal



Memorial site, shown in relation to areas including the National Mall, West Potomac Park, and the Tidal Basin

The memorial is a result of an early effort of Alpha Phi Alpha fraternity to erect a monument to King.^[22] King was a member of the fraternity, initiated into the organization via Sigma Chapter on June 22, 1952,^[23] while he was attending Boston University.^[24] King remained involved with the fraternity after the completion of his studies, including delivering the keynote speech at the fraternity's 50th anniversary banquet in 1956.^[24] In 1968, after King's assassination, Alpha Phi Alpha proposed erecting a permanent memorial to King in Washington, D.C. The fraternity's efforts gained momentum in 1986, after King's birthday was designated a national holiday.^[25]

In 1996, the United States Congress authorized the Secretary of the Interior to permit Alpha Phi Alpha to establish a memorial on Department of Interior lands in the District of Columbia, giving the fraternity until November 2003 to raise \$100 million and break ground. In 1998, Congress authorized the fraternity to establish a foundation—the Washington, D.C. Martin Luther King, Jr. National Memorial Project Foundation—to manage the memorial's fundraising and design, and approved the building of the memorial on the National Mall. In 1999, the United States Commission of Fine Arts (CFA) and the National Capital Planning Commission (NCPC) approved the site location for the memorial.

The memorial's design, by ROMA Design Group, a San Francisco-based architecture firm, was selected out of 900 candidates from 52 countries. On December 4,

2000, a marble and bronze plaque was laid by Alpha Phi Alpha to dedicate the site where the memorial was to be built.^[26] Soon thereafter, a full-time fundraising team began the fundraising and promotional campaign for the memorial. A ceremonial groundbreaking for the memorial was held on November 13, 2006, in West Potomac Park.

In August 2008, the foundation's leaders estimated the memorial would take 20 months to complete with a total cost of \$120 million USD.^[27] As of December 2008, the foundation had raised approximately \$108 million,^[28] including substantial contributions from such donors as the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation,^[27] The Walt Disney Company Foundation, the National Association of Realtors,^[29] and filmmaker George Lucas. The figure also includes \$10 million in matching funds provided by the United States Congress.

In October 2009, the memorial's final project was approved by federal agencies and a building permit was issued.^[30] Construction began in December 2009^[31] and was expected to take 20 months to complete.^[32] The foundation conducted a press tour on December 1, 2010, as the "Stone of Hope" was nearing completion. At that time only \$108 million of the \$120 million project cost had been raised.^[33]

5.4 Description

5.4.1 Location

The street address for the memorial is 1964 Independence Avenue SW in Washington, D.C. The address "1964" was chosen as a direct reference to the 1964 Civil Rights Act, a milestone in the Civil Rights Movement in which King played an important role.^[3] The memorial is located on a 4-acre (1.6 ha) site in West Potomac Park that borders the Tidal Basin, southwest of the National Mall.^[3] The memorial is near the Franklin Delano Roosevelt Memorial and is intended to create a visual "line of leadership" from the Lincoln Memorial, on whose steps King gave his "I Have a Dream" speech at the March on Washington, to the Jefferson Memorial.^{[3][6]}

5.4.2 Structure

The centerpiece for the memorial is based on a line from King's "I Have A Dream" speech: "Out of a mountain of despair, a stone of hope."^[34] A 30 feet (9.1 m)-high relief of King named the "Stone of Hope" stands past two other pieces of granite that symbolize the "mountain of despair."^[34] Visitors figuratively "pass through" the Mountain of Despair on the way to the Stone of Hope, symbolically "moving through the struggle as Dr. King did during his life."^[35]

A 450 feet (140 m)-long inscription wall includes excerpts from many of King's sermons and speeches.^[5] On this crescent-shaped granite wall, fourteen of King's quotes are inscribed, the earliest from the time of the 1955 Montgomery Bus Boycott in Alabama, and the latest from his final sermon, delivered in 1968 at Washington, D.C.'s National Cathedral, just four days before his assassination.^[35]

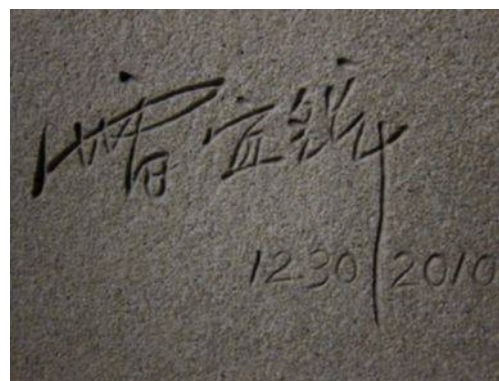
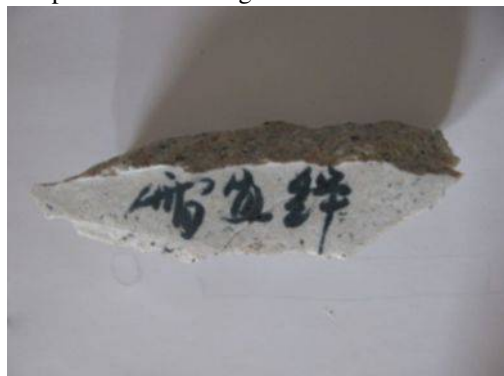
The relief of King is intended to give the impression that he is looking over the Tidal Basin toward the horizon, and that the cherry trees that "adorn the site" will bloom every year during the anniversary of King's death.^[36]

This memorial is not the first in Washington, D.C., to honor an African American, as one already exists for Mary McLeod Bethune, founder of the National Council of Negro Women, who also served as an unofficial advisor to President Franklin D. Roosevelt.^[37] A 17 feet (5.2 m)-tall bronze statue of her is located in Lincoln Park, East Capitol St. and 12th St., NE.^[37] The King Memorial is the first memorial to an African American on or near the National Mall.^[37]

The memorial is the fourth that commemorates a non-United States president that is located on or near the National Mall.^[38] The others include the George Mason Memorial, honoring George Mason, author of the Virginia Declaration of Rights (the basis for the U.S. Constitution's Bill of Rights), near the Thomas Jefferson Memorial; the John Ericsson Memorial, erected to honor John Ericsson,^[39] the Swedish-born engineer and inventor who designed the USS *Monitor* during the Civil War; and the John Paul Jones Memorial, erected in 1912 near the Tidal Basin in memory of John Paul Jones, the Scottish-born American naval hero who served during the American Revolution.^{[38][40]}

5.4.3 Inscriptions

Sculptor Lei Yixin's signature on the memorial



5.4.4 The Inscription Wall

Fourteen quotes from King's speeches, sermons, and writings are inscribed on the Inscription Wall.^[41] The "Council of Historians" created to choose the quotations included Dr. Maya Angelou, Lerone Bennett, Dr. Clayborne Carson, Dr. Henry Louis Gates, Marianne Williamson and others,^{[42][43]} though the memorial's executive architect stated that Maya Angelou did not attend the meetings at which the quotations were selected.^[44] According to the official National Park Service brochure for the Memorial, the inscriptions that were chosen "stress four primary messages of Dr. King: justice, democracy, hope, and love."^[45]

The earliest quote is from 1955, spoken during the time of the Montgomery Bus Boycott, and the latest is from a sermon King delivered at the National Cathedral in Washington, D.C., four days before he was assassinated.^[35] The quotes are not arranged in chronological order, so that no visitor must follow a "defined path" to follow the quotations, instead being able to start reading at any point he or she might choose.^[35] Because the main theme of the Memorial is linked to King's famous "I Have a Dream" speech, none of the quotations on the Inscription Wall come from that speech.^[35]

The selection of quotes was announced at a special event at the National Building Museum on February 9, 2007 (at the same time the identity of the sculptor was revealed).^[46] The fourteen quotes on the Inscription Wall are:^[41]

- "We shall overcome because the arc of the moral universe is long, but it bends towards justice." (March 31, 1968, National Cathedral, Washington, D.C.)
- "Darkness cannot drive out darkness, only light can do that. Hate cannot drive out hate, only love can do that." (1963, Strength to Love)
- "I believe that unarmed truth and unconditional love will have the final word in reality. This is why right, temporarily defeated, is stronger than evil triumphant." (December 10, 1964, Oslo, Norway)

- “Make a career of humanity. Commit yourself to the noble struggle for equal rights. You will make a greater person of yourself, a greater nation of your country, and a finer world to live in.” (April 18, 1959, Washington, D.C.)
- “I oppose the war in Vietnam because I love America. I speak out against it not in anger but with anxiety and sorrow in my heart, and above all with a passionate desire to see our beloved country stand as a moral example of the world.” (February 25, 1967, Los Angeles, California)
- “If we are to have peace on earth, our loyalties must become ecumenical rather than sectional. Our loyalties must transcend our race, our tribe, our class, and our nation; and this means we must develop a world perspective.” (December 24, 1967, Atlanta, Georgia)
- “Injustice anywhere is a threat to justice everywhere. We are caught in an inescapable network of mutuality, tied in a single garment of destiny. Whatever affects one directly, affects all indirectly.” (April 16, 1963, Birmingham, Alabama)
- “I have the audacity to believe that peoples everywhere can have three meals a day for their bodies, education and culture for their minds, and dignity, equality and freedom for their spirits.” (December 10, 1964, Oslo, Norway)
- “It is not enough to say “We must not wage war.” It is necessary to love peace and sacrifice for it. We must concentrate not merely on the negative expulsion of war, but on the positive affirmation of peace.” (December 24, 1967, Atlanta, Georgia)
- “The ultimate measure of a man is not where he stands in moments of comfort and convenience, but where he stands at times of challenge and controversy.” (February 25, 1967, Los Angeles, California)
- “Every nation must now develop an overriding loyalty to mankind as a whole in order to preserve the best in their individual societies.” (April 4, 1967, Riverside Church, Manhattan, New York)
- “We are determined here in Montgomery to work and fight until justice runs down like water, and righteousness like a mighty stream.” (December 5, 1955, Montgomery, Alabama)
- “We must come to see that the end we seek is a society at peace with itself, a society that can live with its conscience.” (April 16, 1963, Birmingham, Alabama)
- “True peace is not merely the absence of tension: it is the presence of justice.” (April 16, 1963, Birmingham, Alabama)

Some of King’s words reflected in these quotations are based on other sources, including the Bible, and in one case—“the arc of the moral universe” quote—paraphrases the words of **Theodore Parker**, an abolitionist and Unitarian minister, who died shortly before the beginning of the **Civil War**.^{[47][48][49]}

5.4.5 Inscriptions on the Stone of Hope

In addition to the fourteen quotations on the Inscription Wall, each side of the Stone of Hope includes an additional statement attributed to King.^[44] The first, from the “I Have a Dream” speech, is “Out of the Mountain of Despair, a Stone of Hope”—the quotation that serves as the basis for the monument’s design.^[44] The words on the other side of the stone used to read, “I Was a Drum Major for Justice, Peace, and Righteousness”, which is a paraphrased version of a longer quote by King: “If you want to say that I was a drum major, say that I was a drum major for justice. Say that I was a drum major for peace. I was a drum major for righteousness. And all of the other shallow things will not matter.” The memorial’s use of the paraphrased version of the quote was criticized,^{[44][50]} and was removed in August 2013.^[51]

5.5 Artists

Artists involved in the design and construction of the memorial include:^[52]

- Master **Lei Yixin**, sculptor
- **Nicholas Benson**, Inscription designer and stone carver
- **Bob Fitch**, SCLC Staff Photographer, whose photo image of Dr. King in his office in front of a photograph of **Mohandas Gandhi** was the basis for the monument
- **Devraux and Purnell/ROMA Design Group Joint Ventures**
- **McKissack and McKissack/Turner Construction Company/Tompkins Builders, Inc./Gilford Corporation Joint Ventures**

5.6 Opening, dedication, and administration

The memorial opened to visitors before its planned dedication, with visiting hours on August 22–25, 2011.^[53] The official dedication was initially scheduled to have taken place at 11 am Sunday August 28. The dedication



Sheryl Crow with Stevie Wonder at the dedication concert



Hats given to attendees at the dedication ceremony



Aretha Franklin speaks to the crowd at the dedication of the Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. Memorial. At right Vice President Joseph Biden, his wife Dr. Jill Biden, and President Obama

was to follow a pre-dedication concert at 10 am.^[5] A post-dedication concert was scheduled for 2 pm.^[5] However, on August 25, the event's organizers postponed most Saturday and Sunday activities because of safety concerns related to Hurricane Irene, which was expected to impact the Washington area during the weekend.^{[54][55][56]} The organizers subsequently rescheduled the dedication to October 16, 2011, the 16th anniversary of the 1995 Million Man March on the National Mall.^{[8][9]}

Before the event's postponement, President Barack Obama was expected to deliver remarks at the dedication ceremony. Aretha Franklin and Stevie Wonder were scheduled to perform.^[57] Many other individuals were also expected to participate in the event, including members of the King family; civil rights leaders John Lewis, Jesse Jackson, and Andrew Young; actor Jamie Foxx; and filmmaker George Lucas.^[57] As many as 250,000 people were predicted to attend the dedication.^[57]

In addition to the August 28 ceremony and concerts, an interfaith prayer service was scheduled to take place at the Washington National Cathedral on August 27, as well as a day-long youth event and gala/pre-dedication dinner at the Washington, D.C. Convention Center, also on the 27th.^[57] However, the prayer service was moved to the Basilica of the National Shrine of the Immaculate Conception in northeast Washington after the 2011 Virginia earthquake damaged the Cathedral on August 23.^[58]

Although the dedication ceremony did not take place on August 28, the memorial officially became a United States national park on that day. The National Park Service has administered the memorial since it opened, and assumes responsibility for the memorial's operation and maintenance.^[59] On August 28, Bob Vogel, superintendent of the National Mall and Memorial Parks unit of the National Park Service proclaimed:

The rescheduled dedication on October 16 was a smaller affair than the one that organizers had planned for August 28. President Obama, First Lady Michelle Obama, Vice President Joe Biden, Congresswoman Nancy Pelosi, Congressman John Lewis, Congressman Elijah Cummings and former Congressman Walter E. Fauntroy were among the more than 10,000 people that attended the event, which occurred on a temperate day.^{[60][61]} Obama gave a keynote address that linked the civil rights movement to his own political struggles during the late-2000s recession).^[60] Jesse Jackson, Andrew Young, Al Sharpton and Martin Luther King III also spoke during the ceremony.^[61] Aretha Franklin, Stevie Wonder, Sheryl Crow, James Taylor, Jennifer Holiday and Sweet Honey in the Rock performed.^[62]

5.6.1 President's remarks

At the ceremony, President Obama's keynote address included the following remarks:^[64]

5.7 Reception

5.7.1 Fees to King family

In 2001, the foundation's efforts to build the memorial were stalled because Intellectual Properties Management Inc., an organization operated by King's family, wanted

the foundation to pay licensing fees to use his name and likeness in marketing campaigns. The memorial's foundation, beset by delays and a languid pace of donations, stated that "the last thing it needs is to pay an onerous fee to the King family." Joseph Lowery, past president of the King-founded Southern Christian Leadership Conference stated in *The Washington Post*, "If nobody's going to make money off of it, why should anyone get a fee?"^[65] Cambridge University historian David Garrow, who won a Pulitzer Prize for *Bearing The Cross*, his biography of King, said of King's family's behavior, "One would think any family would be so thrilled to have their forefather celebrated and memorialized in D.C. that it would never dawn on them to ask for a penny." He added that King would have been "absolutely scandalized by the profiteering behavior of his children."^[66] The family pledged that any money derived would go back to the King Center's charitable efforts.^{[30][67]}

The foundation has paid various fees to the King family's Intellectual Properties Management Inc., including a management fee of \$71,700 in 2003.^[68] In 2009, the Associated Press revealed that the King family had negotiated an \$800,000 licensing deal with the foundation for the use of King's words and image in fundraising materials for the memorial.^[69]

5.7.2 Conflicts between federal agencies

Further delay was encountered in 2008, due to a disagreement between the three federal agencies that must approve the memorial. The memorial design that was approved by the CFA and the NCPC was not approved by the NPS, due to security concerns. The NPS insisted upon the inclusion of a barrier that would prevent a vehicle from crashing into the memorial area. However, when the original design was submitted to the other two agencies, including such a barrier, the CFA and the NCPC rejected the barrier as being restrictive in nature, which would run counter to King's philosophy of freedom and openness.^[70] Eventually, a compromise was reached, which involved the use of landscaping to make the security barriers appear less intrusive upon the area.^[71] The compromise plan was approved in October 2009,^[71] clearing the way for construction of the memorial to begin.^[30]

The NCPC disapproved the design and location of the proposed donor wall within the memorial's visitor center in September 2010. The inclusion of the donor wall violates the Commemorative Works Act (40 U.S.C. 8905) as amended, as well as the Commission's policies on donor recognition.^[72] The relevant section of the Commemorative Works Act states that "contributions to commemorative works shall not be acknowledged in any manner as part of the commemorative work or its site."^[73]



The controversial "donor wall"

5.7.3 Design choices

Sculptor and laborers

It was announced in January 2007 that Lei Yixin, an artist from the People's Republic of China, would sculpt the centerpiece of the memorial, including the statue of King^[74] and the "Stone of Hope". The commission was criticized by human rights activist Harry Wu on the grounds that Lei had sculpted Mao Zedong. It also stirred accusations that it was based on financial considerations, because the Chinese government would make a \$25 million donation to help meet the projected shortfall in donations. The president of the memorial's foundation, Harry E. Johnson, who first met Lei in a sculpting workshop in Saint Paul, Minnesota, stated that the final selection was done by a mostly African American design team and was based solely on artistic ability.^[75]

Gilbert Young, an artist known for a work of art entitled *He Ain't Heavy*, led a protest against the decision to hire Lei by launching the website *King Is Ours*, which demanded that an African American artist be used for the monument.^[76] Human-rights activist and arts advocate Ann Lau and American stone-carver Clint Button joined Young and national talk-show host Joe Madison in advancing the protest when the use of Chinese granite was discovered.^[77] Lau decried the human rights record of the Chinese government and asserted that the granite would be mined by workers forced to toil in unsafe and unfair conditions, unlike that used in the National World War II Memorial, for example.^[78] Button argued that the \$10 million in federal money that has been authorized for the King project required it to be subject to an open bidding process.^[79]

In September 2010, the foundation gave written promises that it would use local stonemasons to assemble the memorial. However, when construction began in October, it appeared that only Chinese laborers would be used. An investigator working for the Washington area local of the International Union of Bricklayers and Allied Craftworkers was reportedly told that the Chinese workers did

not know what they would be paid for their work on the memorial and that they expected to be paid when they returned home.^[80]

Stone used



President Obama talks with President Dilma Rousseff of Brazil as they tour the Martin Luther King Memorial in Washington, D.C., June 29, 2015.

The memorial's design team visited China in October 2006 to inspect potential granite to be used.^[81] The project's foundation has argued that only China could provide granite of that hue in sufficient quantity.^[82] Some questioned why such white granite would be used to portray a black man.^[83]

Young's *King Is Ours* petition demanded that an African American artist and American granite be used for the national monument, arguing the importance of such selections as a part of the memorial's legacy. The petition received support from American granite workers^{[84][85]} and from the California State Conference of the NAACP.^{[86][87]}

Style

In May 2008, the Commission of Fine Arts, one of the agencies which had to approve all elements of the memorial, raised concerns about "the colossal scale and Social Realist style of the proposed sculpture", noting that it "recalls a genre of political sculpture that has recently been pulled down in other countries."^[82] The Commission did, however, approve the final design in September 2008.^[70]

Depiction

New York Times art critic Edward Rothstein was among those who criticized the depiction of King as overly "stern": not the proper depiction of a man famous for a speech like "I Have a Dream" or the Nobel Peace Prize:^[88]

We don't even see his feet. He is embedded in the rock like something not yet fully born,

suited and stern, rising from its roughly chiseled surface. His face is uncompromising, determined, his eyes fixed in the distance, not far from where Jefferson stands across the water. But kitsch here strains at the limits of resemblance: Is this the Dr. King of the "I Have a Dream" speech? Or the writer of the 1964 Nobel Peace Prize acceptance speech?

The way King is depicted with his arms crossed contributed to criticism that he appears stern.^[89]

On the other hand, King's son Martin Luther King III was quoted as being pleased with the sternness of the depiction, saying that "Well if my father was not confrontational, given what he was facing at the time, what else could he be?"^[89]

5.7.4 Paraphrase of a quote

One of the two quotes appearing on the Stone of Hope and attributed to King, "I was a drum major for justice, peace and righteousness", is a paraphrased version of King's actual words, which were: "If you want to say that I was a drum major, say that I was a drum major for justice. Say that I was a drum major for peace. I was a drum major for righteousness. And all of the other shallow things will not matter."^[44] *The Washington Post's* Rachel Manteuffel noticed the change and publicized it in an August 25, 2011 column, arguing that the revised quote misrepresented both King himself and the meaning of the 1968 sermon from which it was taken, in which King imagined the sort of eulogy he might receive.^[90]

In a September 1, 2011, piece, and again on December 31 of the same year, *The Post's* editorial board agreed with Manteuffel that the wording on the monument should be changed.^{[50][91]} Poet and author Maya Angelou, a consultant on the memorial, also emphatically agreed, telling the *Post*: "The quote makes Dr. Martin Luther King look like an arrogant twit....It makes him seem less than the humanitarian he was....It makes him seem an egotist." She also pointed out, "The 'if' clause that is left out is salient. Leaving it out changes the meaning completely."^[44]

The memorial's planners had originally intended to use the unrevised version of King's words, but adopted the paraphrased version when changes to the monument's design left them without enough space on the sculpture. "We sincerely felt passionate that the man's own eulogy should be expressed on the stone", said the memorial's executive architect, Ed Jackson, Jr. "We said the least we could do was define who he was based on his perception of himself: 'I was a drum major for this, this and this.'"^[44] Jackson said the U.S. Commission of Fine Arts and two memorial advisers had not objected to the change, and that Angelou had not attended meetings where the inscription was discussed.^[44]

On January 13, 2012, United States Secretary of the In-

terior Ken Salazar ordered the quotation corrected.^[92] Salazar stated that he believed it was important that the inscription be changed and that he put a deadline on the delivery of the report because “things only happen when you put a deadline on it.”^[92] According to the project’s lead architect, the correction of the quote was not a simple matter, as the current inscription is chiseled into the existing granite blocks.^[92] As the entire quotation will not fit on the monument, the replacement was still expected to be a paraphrase; however, project officials would not comment on proposed corrections until they were presented to Secretary Salazar.^[92]

In December 2012, Salazar announced that the entire quote would be removed, starting in February or March 2013; it will not be replaced.^[51] To avoid leaving an impression of the erased inscription, the entire statue will be reworked on both sides, at a cost of \$700,000 to \$900,000. Harry Johnson, head of the memorial foundation, said, “We have come up with a design solution that will not harm the integrity of this work of art.”^[93] In August 2013, the sculptor removed the disputed inscription from the statue, and created a new finish for the side of the artwork. Sculptor Lei Yixin carved grooves over the former words to match existing horizontal “striation” marks in the memorial and deepened all the memorial’s grooves so that they match.^{[94][95][96]}

5.8 See also

- African-American Civil Rights Movement in popular culture

5.9 References

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the California State Conference of the NAACP demands that the decision to use Lei Yixin, from the People's Republic of China, an artist renowned for glorifying Mao Zedong be overturned; and denounces the decision to use granite quarried using slave labor, and demands that stone for the monument to Dr. King be quarried and carved in America; Be it further resolved, NAACP California State Conference calls upon Congress to conduct a formal investigation into the dismissal of sculptor Ed Dwight, who was originally contracted to serve as consultant and Artist-of-Record for the King memorial, and into the replacement of the African American firm Devroaux & Purness Architects; Be it finally resolved, that the California State Conference of the NAACP demands that the King Memorial Project Foundation name an African American artistic team as Artists-of-Record for the monument to Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. and that an oversight committee be created to enforce these resolutions.

- [Public Law 104-333](#) Congressional authorization for memorial to Martin Luther King, Jr.
- [Video of President Barack Obama's remarks at official Oct. 16, 2011 memorial dedication](#)

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5.10 External links

- [Official NPS website](#)
- [Memorial Foundation and fundraising website](#)
- [Martin Luther King, Jr. Memorial Virtual Tour](#)

5.11 Text and image sources, contributors, and licenses

5.11.1 Text

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Malarkey, Solo1234, David Spart, CesarLeo, Moogleglvr, Wassermann~enwiki, Figureskatingfan, Alek Felstiner, Snowbot, Leslax20, Cremepuff222, Cienade, Nmoraes435, Jeeny, Josh Allain, Gojeku6, Ssj4david, Rumiton, The System 3000, Andrew Serrano, Pteryguy63, Trendsetter1204, Empyre720, BobTheTomato, Der4, Knight7se7en, Jaz 28, Synthebot, Sb1493, Msabnani, Mdmp888, CoolKid1993, Bradybanner, Exguyparis, Billy-151, Enviroboy, Grsz11, Insanity Incarnate, Jeffutz, Uchki, Truthanado, Lily15, Pjof, Funeral, Landerman56, Hamberglar9, Michaelsbll, Zinkster, Kausticgirl, Polystrength5, Travissloopy, Jackoffjill7703, Tiara Diva, Rontrigger, AngChenrui, Technion, Enkyo2, Schreck59, Tom NM, SieBot, Drucker789, Brenont, SweetcocaJ, Calliopejen1, AS, Caule, Dough4872, Silkdogg111, ToePeu.bot, Jordoniscool, Bunnixoxo, Mossmen1531, Gerakibot, Mungo Kirsch, Caltas, Chonniem, Squelle, This, that and the other, Thehornet, Satwa, Rickjames69er, Brownnd, Jokerintrousers, Azplm, MaesterTonberry, Dacherie69, GlassCobra, BentBits, Phairyboy241, Burntapple, Balli226, Keilana, Travis Cleveland, Sabre07, McGrupp10799, Maddiekate, Sunny910910, Cmb71129, Android Mouse, Bwatson37, Oda Mari, Arbor to SJ, Jole 01, Rahk EX, Bsherr, Orgel, Oxymoron83, Jack1956, Dicksonm, Gameking3002, Ptolemy Caesarion, Nuttycoconut, Goustien, GaryColemanFan, Steven Crossin, J496, Lightmouse, Alexissenoski, Radzewicz, Iain99, RSStockdale, BenoniBot~enwiki, Abraham, B.S., AMbot, Supt. of Printing, Vice regent, Callumludlow, Adam Cuerden, Sir~enwiki, Hamiltondaniel, Realm of Shadows, TaerkastUA, Dust Filter, RabbitsVinge, Dabomb87, Iamwisesun, Alliwiki, Rowro, Richard David Ramsey, Sitush, Big BLA, Into The Fray, Randy Kryn, Jamesdreherjr, Haberstr, WordyGirl90, ImageRemovalBot, Squirrel06, FaithlesstheWonderboy, Xeverett, Mcelite, ClueBot, Yamanbaiaa, Isaiah960123, Centaurioid, Boodlesthecat, Trfasulo, Fartman62, Jmdbmth, Mdrgon, Foxj, Allen1221, Commodore2468, The Thing That Should Not Be, Muddyb, Kloofsaaopenzeinger, Stogego, Rjd0060, Plastikspork, Chaos-mantis, Wick3dd, OfficePuter, P0mbal, Closeeven~enwiki, Candyman miky, Ukabia, Meekywiki, Drmies, Gameboys, Bobisbob, Dawgs05190, Aidar24, Wikitam331, Washboardplayer, Melgomatic, PolarYukon, Ancos, Jonund, Parkwells, Leadwind, Trivialist, Bojanlges949, Djd565, Edknol, Cirt, Puchiko, Billabong127, Grandpallama, Brucehartford, MindstormsKid, Jewman23, Sirius85, DragonBot, Darth iPod, 2sugar high, Excirial, Metal fan93, Rohit Rajwani, Malachirality, Alexbot, Skellington842, Udonknome, Hunt9, TFW11, John Nevard, Abrech, Sodaba, DefQon 1, The Founders Intent, Yorkshirian, Tabw369, Wovies, Parsec96, Rao Ravindra, NuclearWarfare, Rimbaud 2, Tynan645463, Lususromulus, Jumanji656, JamieS93, Ekhaya2000, Magicianxox, Wereds2000, Redthoreau, 6afraidof7, Nickymo101, Socks on a Plane, Leroyinc, The Lemmick unit in the sin, Pdonahue, Another Believer, John Paul Parks, Markscape, Krea101lvsu, Afarnen, Jinuu, JDS11, Dana boomer, Genesiswinter, Alex B. 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E. Mophon, CopperSquare, JoetheMoe25, Delaywaves, Groupuscule, North Atlanticist Usonian, BobbyRipper, Helpful Pixie Bot, Nilem12, Popcornduff, El duderino, Breawycker public, Newyork1501, DCBotTrick, Calidum, TheKingLegacy, Wbm1058, Ramaksoud2000, ABellaMorrison, BG19bot, Neptune's Trident, Krenair, TGilmour, Kaltenmeyer, Graham11, Jweaver28, MusikAnimal, Kendall-K1, Informant16, BizarreLoveTriangle, Marcocapelle, IraChesterfield, AngusWOOF, Rigamarolekids, Docter1, The Lovable Wolf, JL.CinemaStudies, Catperson12, KoolKoori, Buffgorilla, Buffgorilla, Polmande, Cygnature, West1132, RGloucester, TheCentristFiasco, EricEnfermero, NoWikiFeedbackLoops, BattyBot, Grouches101, Pendragon5, Justincheng12345~bot, Ascourge21, Rosalina523, Md576, Cyberbot II, Nick.mon, Khazar2, Eb7473, Esszet, NWOTruther, Logographichings, Stumink, Tahc, Hridith Sudev Nambiar, Dexbot, Br'er Rabbit, Reverend Mick man34, Pama73, Charles Essie, Komalo008, Keleenna, VIAFbot, Bultiger, Rott7, Zziccardi, Christianaxx, Rotlink, Choir monster, Gmporr, Me, Myself, and I are Here, Ouzotech, Epicgenius, ComputerGeek3000, BreakfastJr, Pestcame144, Daniel.villar7, Jodosma, Samuel Peoples, Jessmurraync, Dustin V. 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Aragorn69, SpanishChapters, Stamprader, GPRamirez5, Marchoctober, Laurentian, Sunnya343, Redleaffalling, Whomyl, Monkbot, Architect2014, Trackteur, Thinkersocial2014, Kinfol1993, Goweegie2, Themagicpebble, SoldierBoy77, Nnsm2, Omio Asad, Izkala, RoaringFlamer41, Toniorocks240, DylanScott089, LucasSalusky, Grammarian3.14159265359, Gopyfish, KasparBot, MB298, DavidIvar, Srednuas Lenoroc, SilverSurfingSerpent, CatKaiser, Philosi4, Haxxorsid, Barbara (WVS), Pokeuser212121, Subzerochill98, Smcoblentz, Billclarkok, Kevinmuniz115, BlackAmerican, Granville Anderson and Anonymous: 2030

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Jensen, Pol098, Zzyzx11, Toussaint, BD2412, Jclemens, Dwaipayanc, Enzo Aquarius, Rjwilmsi, Tim!, Koavf, Jweiss11, Guinness2702, SchuminWeb, John geraghty, Epukinsk, Srleffler, Cloudo, Antiuser, Awbeal, TexasAndroid, RussBot, Witan, Friday, NawlinWiki, Badagnani, Nick, Johno95, Moe Epsilon, Zzuuzz, Josh3580, Fractalchez, Staxringold, Smurfy, Katieh5584, Sfiller, Sardanaphalus, A13ean, SmackBot, C.Fred, Edgar181, Gilliam, Hmains, Skizzik, Chris the speller, Sbharris, George Ho, Yaf, Frap, JonHarder, Aldaron, Gohst, Bigturtle, Valenciano, Mitchumch, DoxTxob, Mr Death, Mouse Nightshirt, Ourai, Scientizzle, Mike1901, Gobonobo, Mgiganteus1, Scetoaux, IronGargoyle, Cashthischeck, A. Parrot, Dicklyon, Waggens, Fluppy, Peecee1978, Mh29255, Mrguyguy226, DavidOaks, J Milburn, Americasroof, Makeemlighter, ShelfSkewed, Location, Tex, Cydebot, Reywas92, Bellerophon5685, JiangWei23, DumbBOT, PKT, Qwyrxian, Marek69, John254, Erickroh, Seaphoto, Emeraldcityserendipity, QuiteUnusual, Breffni Whelan, North Shoreman, JAnDbot, Postcard Cathy, Nthep, Firetche, Bubsir, Awien, Acroterion, Wildhartlivie, Magioladitis, Bongwarrior, VoABot II, Fallon Turner, Ronstew, JNW, JamesBWatson, Usien6, Inertiatic076, Kevinmon, Domingo Portales, KConWiki, Cgingold, Tvoz, Keith D, R'n'B, AlexiusHoratius, J.delanoy, DrKay, Rekrutacja, JoDonHo, Snacks tasty, Ian.thomson, Rufous-crowned Sparrow, Gurchzilla, JayJasper, Alexb102072, NewEnglandYankee, KylieTastic, Warlordwolf, Ja 62, Smthomas23, Hugo999, Vranak, Malik Shabazz, ABF, Jeff G., JohnBlackburne, VasilievVV, Sjones23, FergusM1970, Horsemen4life, Philip Trueman, Oshwah, Ricosuaveuno, Terence7, Oxfordwang, Clarince63, Brunton, LeaveSleaves, Bearian, Dirkkb, Grsz11, The Devil's Advocate, Deconstructhis, Chillywillycd, Alessgrimal, ATinySliver, Invmog, Dawn Bard, Gatepeich, Yintan, Keilana, Sunny910910, Bentogoa, Happysailor, Flyer22 Reborn, JSpung, Nanophys, StaticGull, Hamiltondaniel, Mr. Stradivarius, Hotcop2, HInkles, Randy Kryn, ImageRemovalBot, ClueBot, Binksternet, The Thing That Should Not Be, Rjd0060, JMisceant, Gaia Octavia Agrippa, Parkwells, Piledhigheranddeeper, Excirial, Alexbot, Jusdafax, Monobi, Arjayay, CowboySpartan, Newyorkgame9, PCHS-NJROTC, Berean Hunter, DumZiBoT, Editorofthewiki, Auto469680, Vanished user k3rmwkdnn4tjna3d, Little Mountain 5, Avoided, Noctibus, Voltairean, Thatguyflint, VanishedUser ewrfgdg3df3, Aaddbot, Jafeluv, Freakmighty, Joghutton, Paullbarry, Nick.lucchesi, Boomur, Mww113, Moosehadley, Leszek Jańczuk, Download, Glane23, Debresser, Favonian, West.andrew.g, Bafhoops89, Luvgrindcore, QuadrivialMind, Yobot, Dodgerblue777, Donthede, Gothic2, BuckwikiPDA535, Reenem, Andante, AnomieBOT, Aniish72, Killiondude, Jim1138, AdjustShift, Kingpin13, Aaagmnr, Csigabi, MaterialsScientist, Citation bot, MauritsBot, Dhruvhemmady, Truth1913, Nasnema, Tad Lincoln, Jmundo, AbigailAbernathy, Abce2, IloveJG247, Shirik, Mathonius, Tabledhote, Thehelpfulbot, Captain-n00dle, FrescoBot, Toby72, Upinews, HJ Mitchell, Pjc1961, Pinethicket, I dream of horses, Rushbugled13, Ppt1973, Serols, Jcc, Deadwing2112, Full-date unliking bot, Wingman555, Trappist the monk, Jerchel, Vrenator, SeoMac, Seahorseruler, Alexandre Rongellion, DARTH SIDIOUS 2, Platonov.kostia, RjwilmsiBot, MShabazz, Agent Smith (The Matrix), Underscore545, DASHBot, EmausBot, Ghostofnemo, Immunize, Gfoley4, Ajraddatz, ScottyBerg, Faceless Enemy, RA0808, Western Pines, Tommy2010, Wikipelli, Dcirovic, K6ka, Solomonfromfinland, ZéroBot, John Cline, Fæ, Josve05a, Consciouslee, H3IIBot, Dohn joe, Tolly4bolly, Rcsprinter123, Jay-Sebastos, FrankFlanagan, L Kensington, Kranix, Zebeer44, SBaker43, Zfish118, Targaryen, Mjbmrbot, Zhu Wuneng, Petr, Ad Orientem, ClueBot NG, MelbourneStar, Joefromrandb, OpenInfoForAll, O.Koslowski, 149AFK, Widr, JoetheMoe25, Groupscule, Syqn10, Helpful Pixie Bot, Strike Eagle, Ramaksoud2000, Lowercase sigmabot, Krenair, Starship.paint, Jsink, MusikAnimal, Dan653, Mark Arsten, Joydeep, Mythpage88, Wikih101, Zujua, Lulcats123, EricEnfermero, Jakebarrington, NoWikiFeedbackLoops, BattyBot, Pratyya Ghosh, Cyberbot II, The Illusive Man, ChrisGualtieri, GoShow, DavGreg, Egeymi, PEEEPZ, A.zehra.k, FoCuSandLeArN, Cwobeel, Webclint101, Martinillo, Numbermaniac, Lugia2453, Frosty, Graphium, Little green rosetta, The Anonymous, Ekips39, Faizan, Bienmanchot, Epicgenius, BreakfastJr, Melonkelon, Nonsenseferret, Adamtb24, Tentinator, Thosetits, Dwayne Gresham, Logand12345, Dwscomet, Dustin V. 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https://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/thumb/f/ff/Wikidata-logo.svg/40px-Wikidata-logo.svg.png 2x' data-file-width='1050'
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