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**Struggle for freedom:  
Martin Luther King, Jr., and his role in the  
Southern Christian Leadership Conference**

**Bakalářská práce**

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## **Preface**

Many years of oppression, many years in slavery. They were taken away from their natural habitat and were considered as an inferior race. Since 1492, when the first Africans were brought to the American continent, many things have changed and I was curious what happened on this long way. What changed between the time when black people were regarded as unfree labourers and time when the first African American became the President of the United States of America.

It has not been easy to change American society, especially in the matter of status of African Americans in the United States. However, a few people were strong enough and made an attempt to show white Americans that their black neighbours are equal to live in American society and deserve dignified living and working conditions. They made an attempt to show the whites that it is possible to go hand in hand with the blacks and make the USA a better place.

Although in African-American Civil Rights Movement many people were involved, there is one man, the most significant person of the whole movement, who became the symbol of struggle for freedom. That man was Martin Luther King, Jr.

I decided that my Bachelor Thesis will be aimed at this topic and Martin Luther King's persona. At the man whose determination helped thousands of people living in a world full of injustices. At a talented orator whose words swayed thousands of people who had created the world full of injustices. At the man with many dreams.

## **I. Introduction**

To understand properly how difficult the situation was at the beginning of the 20th-century in the United States of America and the challenge which King must have faced, it is necessary to go a bit further into the history and explain under what conditions people lived. Then it will be easier to understand why the African Americans had to fight for freedom and equality and why they could not wait.

The work is divided into four main sections. The first part is an introduction into the recent history which launched the whole process of racial equalization, desegregation and freedom. The second part deals with the life of Dr. King - his childhood, circumstances which affected his later life; education, the period when he came across Ghandi's philosophy, which had a great impact on his personality; and his private life. In the third part, the main focus is put on Dr. King and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, an organization whose first president was King. The organization SCLC will be briefly analyzed - its beginnings and activities. The most significant events which took part in 1960s and were organized by SCLC and headed by Dr. King will be described in more detail. The last part is the conclusion.

## 1.1. The Year 1865

This is a world of compensations; and he who would be no slave must consent to have no slave. Those who deny freedom to others deserve it not for themselves.

Abraham Lincoln

The first half of the 1860s in the United States of America was marked by the American Civil War. The beginnings of this conflict are connected with the effort of eleven Southern states, where the slavery had not been abolished yet, to become independent from the United States. These Southern states are known as Confederate States of America, or simply the Confederacy. On the other side of the conflict the Northern states stood - twenty free states where the slavery already had been abolished, and five slave states which were called the border states. These twenty-five states are commonly known as the Union.

“The Civil War began as a war for - and against - Southern independence. Although slavery was the issue that both underlay and precipitated the conflict between North and South, the initial war goals of both sides were simple, and only indirectly linked to the peculiar institution: Confederates fought for the right to secede and form their own country; federal forces fought to prevent them from doing so” (Kolchin 201).

The war officially started on April 12, 1861 with two belligerents - the Confederacy led by Jefferson Davis, and the Union led by Abraham Lincoln, the 16<sup>th</sup> President of the United States. During four years when the Civil War lasted about 620 thousand lives were lost and 400 thousand people were wounded.

The April 9, 1865, was the last day of the American Civil War and marked a victory for the Union. But the year 1865 is not known only for this significant date. It also meant a great victory for abolitionists because at the end of the year 1865 also slaves from the South after many years being in fetters became free.

A constitutional amendment proposal to abolish slavery was brought to the Congress in 1863. It was passed by the Senate on April 8, 1864, then passed by Congress on January 31, 1965, and finally ratified on December 6, 1965 as Thirteenth Amendment to the United States Constitution. It was declared by three quarters of the states of the United States and forever abolished slavery.

Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction. (Amendment XIII, The Constitution of the United States)

“The nineteenth century was a century of emancipation. Beginning with the Northern United States in the years following the American Revolution and ending with Brazil in 1888, forced labor gave way to freedom throughout the Western world” (Kolchin 200).

## **1.2. Racism and Segregation in the Twentieth-Century United States**

In 1865 the Negroes made a significant step - stopped being slaves. “The end of the war left the slaves freed but their status otherwise undetermined” (Kolchin 209). There were many more steps to be done and they had to face another challenge - becoming fully-fledged citizens of the United States. Although the Blacks became free after the Civil War and were granted basic civil rights which were laid down in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth amendments to the Constitution, the struggles for observance of these rights continued during the next century.

“The United States was itself a society in which racial inequalities were enormous, and black people were essentially excluded from political power and from full participation in public facilities and community life” (Jaynes 37). One of the most cardinal forms of exclusion of the Blacks from society was their concentration in the South. “More than 90 percent of the nearly ten million African-Americans in 1910 lived in the South, three-quarters of them in rural areas. [...] Between 1910 and 1920 the “Great Migration” brought more than half a million blacks northward, [...] but instead of the Promised Land they found hell: educational and residential segregation, dilapidated housing milked by white



slumlords, discrimination by labour unions and employers, brutality by white policemen, and liquor and narcotics the only means of escape” (Sitkoff 6-8).

Before the outbreak of the Second World War, in 1940 there were 13 million black Americans in the United States. From that, about 6.5 million black Americans lived in the rural south, and another 3 million black people live elsewhere in the South. “The incomes of blacks in 1939 were just 39 percent of those of whites. Racial discrimination and segregation were pervasive, rigid, and institutionalized in law and practice. In the South, blacks were almost totally without a political voice” (Jaynes 37). But not only in political issues were they underprivileged - also in accommodations, schooling, work, and health care were fields which were not provided in the same way for both the Whites and the Blacks. How the situation of Black people differed from the situation of the Whites during the 1940s and 1980s is shown in the diagrams 2.1 - 2.5 in the Appendices. Also interpersonal relations were affected by racist attitudes and marriage between blacks and whites was illegal in some states of the USA. Segregation could be seen and felt throughout all aspects of life - public places were divided into the places for the Whites and the places where coloured citizens were served. Such places were equipped with signs allowing or not allowing the Blacks to come in. Public transit systems were also segregated - front rows on the buses for white citizens, back rows for the Blacks. If the bus was full, black people from the back rows were required to stand and let their seats to the Whites.

In addition to the psychological oppression which was likely caused by all above mentioned, the black citizens had to face the physical violence as well. “Seventy-eight Negroes were hanged, shot or burned alive the year after the First World War. In addition to the lynchings, the summer of 1919 [...] saw more than two dozen race riots. In Texas, South Carolina, Arkansas-and in Chicago, Omaha and Washington D.C.- white men attacked Negroes, shooting, beating and burning their homes. The score of dead and wounded ran into the thousands” (Sterling 127). Another of the most threatening menaces was the Ku-Klux-Klan. The group organized raids on black citizens, bombed the houses of civil rights activists and Baptist churches, assassinated the civil rights workers and murdered black city dwellers.

However, in the 1950s the situation of the black Americans began to improve. “As the civil rights movement grew and black community organizations

accelerated their campaigns, an increasing number of judicial, presidential, and congressional decisions, orders, and legislation aimed at dismantling barriers to black participation appeared” (Jaynes 64).

### **1.3. Beginnings of the African American Civil Rights Movement**

“There has been, to be sure, an urgency in the voices of black people; they feared a racial holocaust. But basically their views were those of optimistic men who believed that persistent action within power structure would secure meaningful gains for the Negro” (Resh 1). And the important actions began to take place since the middle of the 20th century.

At that time, a movement was coming to the fore - the Civil Rights Movement. According to the Encyclopaedia Britannica it was “a mass protest movement against racial segregation and discrimination in the Southern United States that came to national prominence during the mid-1950s” (Encyclopaedia Britannica).

But the African American Civil Rights Movement has had a much longer tradition. It is possible to divide this whole process into three periods - the first lasted from the abolition of slavery in 1865 until the end of the nineteenth century; then the second one until the half of the twentieth century; and the third period, the most significant, began in the year 1954.

“‘Courage, brothers! The battle for humanity is not lost or losing. The morning breaks over blood-stained hills. We must not falter, we may not shrink. Above are the everlasting stars.’ With these words, the modern civil rights movement was born” (Sterling 116). It was August 18, 1906, and the man who pronounced these words was William Edward Burghardt Du Bois, poet and social scientist who was the first Negro earning a Ph.D. from Harvard. He was an author of “The Address to the Nation”, the document and speech which was delivered at the meeting of the Niagara Movement. Among the main demands, apart from other things, were the right to vote, to cease discrimination of education for children. “In 1910 the committee of forty became the National Association for the

Advancement of Colored People, soon known by its initials as the NAACP” (Sterling 119). A year later, in 1910, another organization was founded - The National Urban League (NUL). About the mid-century, when the movement started to become more influential, other groups were established - the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE, 1942); the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC, 1957); and the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC, 1960). These five organizations created the so-called “Big Five” of the civil rights movement.

However, the crucial moment in the whole civil rights movement was December 1, 1955, the day when Rosa Parks, a black seamstress from Montgomery, sat at the seat in the bus which was for the white passengers and refused to stand up and leave. She was taken off to jail and four days later stood before a judge in Montgomery’s police court and was fined ten dollar and costs for disobeying the city’s segregation law. As she later recalled, she felt it was just something she had to do. “So did other blacks. News of her defiance, circulated by the telephone network of Montgomery’s black elite, transmitted a surge of determination through the community, a resolve to do *something*” (Sitkoff 38). They started with boycott of Montgomery’s public transit system which lasted the whole year, until December 20, 1956, when the United States Supreme Court declared that Montgomery’s segregated buses are unconstitutional. “They organized sit-ins, swim-ins, pray-ins, freedom rides. They marched peacefully in Washington and Selma and they rioted in Los Angeles and New York. Rosa Parks’ soft ‘no’ sparked a movement that has spread from coast to coast. It started in Montgomery, but its roots go far back in history (Sterling 8).

## **II. Martin Luther King, Jr.**

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.

Martin Luther King, Jr.

Martin Luther King, Jr. was born into the system which segregated black people from the Whites. To be born as the Negro in the American South meant to be born, live, and die as an inferior person.

There is a story being told. One day King, Sr. took little Martin to the shoe shop to buy him new shoes. They sat in the front part of the shop and waited for a shop assistant. As soon as he appeared, he asked them to move to the back part of the shop to be served. King, Sr. replied: "There is nothing wrong with these seats. We are quite comfortable here." But the clerk insisted on moving to the back part. King, Sr. refused to do so, took his son and left saying "I do not care how long I have to live with this system, I will never accept it."

His mother told him stories about Negroes brought from the African continent, inculcating him with the fact that he is as good as anyone else and made him self-confident. King, Sr. was an example of man who refused to put up with the situation in the American South and showed his son that the struggle is needed for living better life.

All the situations which King, Jr. experienced as a little boy, his family and surroundings had an impact on him. All of this formed one of the most significant and successful leaders in the African American Civil Rights Movement.

## **2.1. Who was Martin Luther King, Jr.**

Martin Luther King, Jr. is commonly known as American clergyman, preacher and activist for human rights and African American issues.

It is usually said that men is affected by surroundings in which he is brought up and family. There is a question - if it was Martin Luther King's case as well.

### **2.1.1. Childhood**

King, Jr. was born on January 15, 1929, in Atlanta, Georgia, as the middle child of Martin Luther King, Sr., who worked as a Reverend, and Alberta Williams King. At birth he was given name Michael, but in 1934 his father changed both his and his son's name to Martin Luther, after the 16<sup>th</sup>-century German leader of the Protestant Reformation (Hatt 6).

He was brought up with an older sister, Willie Christine King, and a younger brother, Alfred Daniel Williams King. They were raised in comfortable, middle-class circumstances, there was always meat on the King table, and bread and butter. They never lived in a rented house (Bennett 13-14).

But being born as a Negro in the American South in the first half of the 20th century was not a triumph. Martin was allowed to play with the white neighbors children only until a certain age. His best childhood friends were the two children of the neighborhood grocer. In Bennett's memorial biography King recalled:

We played with them all the time until we were ready for school. Well, they went to the white school and I went to another, and I still didn't think much about it at first. But suddenly when I would run across the street after school to compare notes, their mother would tell them that they could not play anymore. She said they were white and I was colored. [...] I think I cried, but anyway I rushed home and asked mother about it. (Bennet 15)

Martin enjoyed going to the cinema, watching movies. But soon he stopped this activity, because seats for the black people in the local cinema were uncomfortable and badly situated.

As he grew older he could not accept separated lunchrooms, lavatories or waiting-rooms. "Hindsight now suggests that his emergence as a civil rights leader, locally and then nationally, was inevitable in that place at that time" (Lewis 3).

### **2.1.2. Education**

As for education, King had a strong example in his family - his father. Although King, Sr. was brought up in plantation and until he was fifteen, he had never had more than three months of schooling in any year, he became a highly reputable, educated man, a member of the ruling elite of Atlanta's Negro community.

"King entered the public schools in 1935, transferred later to the private laboratory school at Atlanta University and then entered Booker T. Washington High School. At school, King was a good - almost model - student" (Bennett 16). His father wanted him to be a minister, but King resolved quite early he was not going to be a minister. It seemed to him then that religion could not be intellectually respectable and socially relevant. He made up his mind, therefore, to become a doctor. "For although King said he wanted to study medicine, he continued to sharpen the nonmedical skills, particularly oratory, that would later bring him fame" (Bennett 19). During his last year in high school he even won an Elks Club oratorical contest.

Because he did well in his studies, he had already skipped the ninth grade at Booker T. Washington High School; he had also skipped the twelfth grade, so he completed his high school work at the age of fifteen. He decided to follow family tradition and in September 1944 entered Morehouse College. "Morehouse was an all-men's school, famous for molding leading members of the Negro leadership group [... and] two things were drilled into Morehouse men from their first day on the campus to their last: that they were Morehouse men and that they were expected to succeed in life." This place "widened King's understanding of himself and of service he could perform in the world" (Bennett 20, 21). At Morehouse he joined a few organizations but in none was he elected to the high

office. Nevertheless, he actively continued as an orator and won a prize in the annual college oratorical contest. In 1948, he graduated from Morehouse with a Bachelor of Arts degree in Sociology. After graduation he moved from Atlanta to Crozer Theological Seminary in Chester, Pennsylvania. For King it was not only a change of school, but also moving from the racist south to the more liberal north. He had excellent relationships with his white classmates; they did not judge him because of the colour of his skin. At Morehouse College, it was the first time when King was acquainted with Mohandas Gandhi's teachings and philosophy which had such a great influence at his future life. Beyond Gandhi, King also researched into studies of Hegel, Rauschenbusch, Marx and Sartre, and in June, 1951, left Crozer Theological Seminary as a graduate student in Philosophy. He was set on continuing his studies and enrolled in Boston University where he did Philosophy and Theology. King took a few special courses in the Harvard University Philosophy Department as well. At Harvard and Boston, King impressed his professors as a young man with a bright future. Dr. DeWolf, head of the Department of Systematic Theology at Boston, said: "Of all the doctorate students I have had at Boston University - some fifty in all - I would rate King among the top five. Scholastically, he was unusually good." (Bennett 38).

Finally, he completed the thesis in the spring and was awarded the Ph.D. degree in Systematic Theology on June 5, 1955.

### **2.1.3. Personal life**

Ever since King had reached his adolescent age, he was very successful in winning girl friends. Being at Crozer, he met a wealthy young woman. They seemed to like each other, but finally, he had to admit that it was not possible to be with her because in his plans for future, marriage to a white woman was not included. During his studies at the university in Boston he met a student from the local academy of music, Coretta Scott, an attractive black young woman. Soon after their acquaintance, King proposed marriage to Coretta. Later, Mrs. King wrote:

I know it sounds strange, that Martin talked about our marriage so soon after our acquaintance. But Martin wanted to get married and was looking

for a woman wittingly. He had already known what he was making for in his life and made very specific idea what kind of woman fits the best for such a life. [...] The truth is that Martin was remarkably mature for his age. He knew who he was and which woman he needed. (Pilát 19)

Briefly before his graduation at Boston University, in 1953, they got married and the next year King left the university. He got several job offers. Massachusetts and New York State wanted him to become a pastor; three universities offered him a position. But he was interested in the offer from the South - the Baptist Church offered him to serve as pastor in Montgomery, Alabama. At first, he hesitated and also his wife was against moving to the American south. Living in the north part of the USA represented a more liberal way of life for African Americans, local people were quite unprejudiced and segregation was felt less. But the Kings' final decision was to move to the South, they felt it is their moral commitment.

In November 1955, the first of four Kings' children, Yolanda Denis King, was born, and soon after a significant event happened and the whole Civil Rights Movement gathered pace. It was a rough time for Kings' marriage because since the Montgomery Bus Boycott he worked much more than before, their house was open all the time. Many people came, either to get advice or with complaints or they were King's collaborators. The more King was associated with the movement, the more enemies threatened him and the more his family was imperiled. It was January 30, 1956, when Coretta King was sitting in the dining room and heard a thump on porch of their house. Fortunately she was ready-witted and did not go to the porch. On the contrary, she went to the back part of the house when an explosion sounded. Both Mrs. King and the little baby were seriously endangered at that moment, nobody was injured though.

However, Coretta never complained about the situation and in October 1957 gave birth to their second child, Martin Luther King III.

It is not a secret that King was known for his "weakness for women". He spent many days on the road meeting many women. Although he had a number of extramarital affairs, Coretta was the only official woman of his life. Till King's death in 1968, she gave birth to their other two children - Dexter Scott King (January, 1961) and Bernice Albertine King (March, 1963).



#### **2.1.4. King's assassination**

King, as an active civil rights activist, had many supporters, as well as enemies. The first assassination attempt took place on September 20, 1958, in Harlem. A few days prior King's book *Stride Toward Freedom* was published and he signed copies of this book at Blumstein's department store. A middle-aged black woman came, asked if he is really Martin Luther King and then suddenly slammed a seven-inch Japanese letter opener into King's upper left chest. Later she was identified as Izola Ware Curry, an insane person. King underwent several surgeries and prognosis was unclear. However, a few days later he was getting better and survive this assassination attempt; unfortunately not the second one.

It was thirteen years after the Montgomery Bus Boycott. During that time, much work was done, many marches were organized, and many speeches to thousands of people were made. In year 1968, black sanitary public works employees from Memphis, Tennessee, were on strike for higher wages and better working conditions and treatment. King decided to support them and went to Memphis. It was evening of April 4, 1968, and he was about to lead a protest march in sympathy with the striking workers. Standing on the motel's balcony, where he was booked in, being ready to leave, at 6:01 p.m., a shot rang out. He was killed by a shot which struck his neck and face. An hour later, at 7:05 p.m., he was pronounced dead at St. Joseph Hospital.

The news about King's assassination spread throughout the United States soon after. It ended in a wave of riots in many American cities, like Washington DC, Baltimore, Chicago, Kentucky and many others.

King's funeral took place on April 7, and President Lyndon B. Johnson declared this day a national day of mourning. The hunt for the gunman was difficult, because police had a description which fitted many people. But a month later, on June 8, it turned out to be successful - James Earl Ray was arrested in Heathrow Airport in London, transported back to the USA and sentenced to 99 years in prison.

## **2.2. Martin Luther King's ideas, desires and attitudes towards the situation of African Americans in the USA in 20th century**

As written in the paragraphs above, King was brought up in the racist atmosphere of the American South, he experienced oppression personally and at the Morehouse College he got a 'guidelines' to solve, or at least defuse, the uneasy situation - the philosophy of Mohandas Gandhi.

Gandhi took pains to free India from British rule. He "employed a variety of techniques, fasts, general strikes, boycotts, mass marches, and massive civil disobedience. The key to his vision of battle, however, was non-resistance or *Satyagraha* which has been translated as soul force, the power of truth" (Bennett 29). King was convinced that these tactics of Gandhi were applicable to the race struggle in the United States. He did not regard violence as means to an end.

In January 1956 when his home was bombed he gave the Negro movement and the nation a new philosophy. King was standing on the shattered porch of his home, where a half hour earlier a bomb had exploded. The noise of the explosion had brought an angry crowd to his yard. Armed with rocks and guns, they were threatening the police and city officials who had come to survey the damage. He seemed to be cool-headed and did not want to allow the crowd in front of his house to fall into a mistake of being violent and revengeful. To calm them down, King began to speak. "Please be peaceful. We are not advocating violence. I want you to love our enemies. We must love our white brothers no matter what they do to us. If I am stopped, this movement will not stop, for what we are doing is right. What we are doing is just - and God is with us." (Sterling 186).

King was surrounded by many people who supported his visions; and together with them, in 1957, founded the Southern Christian Leadership Conference to provide new leadership for the burgeoning civil right movement (Nobel Prize). In the same year he was elected its president. The essence of the conference laid in nonviolent approach in solving African Americans' issues; which, on the other hand, proved to be solved very violently by the 'white side' in many cases. King experienced it personally a few times; he was arrested more than twenty times and assaulted at least four times.

As for SCLC, King used and put together the best from two areas which he was completely familiar with - Christianity and Gandhi's teachings. "The ideals for this organization he took from Christianity; its operational techniques from Gandhi" (Nobel Prize).

The best expression of his attitudes is a short part of the acceptance speech, which he delivered in Stockholm, Sweden, on December 11, 1964, when he was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize; as the youngest man ever awarded.

Nonviolence is the answer to the crucial political and moral questions of our time - the need for man to overcome oppression and violence without resorting to violence and oppression. [...] Negroes of the United States, following the people of India, have demonstrated that non-violence is not sterile passivity, but a powerful moral force which makes for social transformation. [...] Man must evolve for all human conflict a method which rejects revenge, aggression and retaliation. The foundation of such a method is love. (Nobel Prize)

Although many people did not much believe that his nonviolent tactics would be useful or would not result in significant result, he believed in it. In spite of the fact that a few riots degenerated into aggressive conflict<sup>1</sup> from the African Americans' side, he was determined to persevere. King was both realist and idealist. His idealism was spurred by his dreams. In his most famous speech *I have a dream* he revealed his desires to the world. The following are some of the memorable quotations from the speech:

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." (American Rhetoric)

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<sup>1</sup> July 1964 has been connected with Harlem Riot. The reason for the conflict was the killing of a 15-year-old African American teenager by a police officer from the New York Police Department. It ended in a racial confrontation between the black residents and New York City Police. The protest, sponsored by the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), began peacefully, but later mayhem broke out and looting occurred after some protesters became violent and clashed with police (Africana Online).

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. (American Rhetoric)

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. (American Rhetoric)

On the other hand, as a realist he was aware that just the non-violent protest could not function solely, or even mainly, as a form of moral persuasion. For King, non-violence was an ethical imperative, a total way of life, and his commitment to it was absolute and consistent. But the significance of the statements about love and non-violent struggle should not be exaggerated. "He admitted that 'when the underprivileged demand freedom, the privileged first react with bitterness and resistance'; non-violence could not change the 'heart' of the oppressor until the social structures that perpetuated injustice and false ideology had been destroyed. [...] King was not as naive as his religious rhetoric sometimes implied" (Fairclough 53-53).

### **III. Southern Christian Leadership Conference**

We are tired. Tired of being segregated and humiliated; tired of being kicked about by the brutal fee of oppression. We have no alternative but to protest.

Martin Luther King, Jr.

The whole story about Southern Christian Leadership Conference began in year 1957. The Conference was founded as a response to events which had happened in Montgomery; the boycott was a “signal to Black America to begin a new phase of the long struggle, a phase that came to be known as the modern civil rights movement” (SCLC National).

“For more than a decade SCLC and King were inseparable. He was its principal founder and its president, as well as its philosophical spokesman and bridge to white America” (Peake 1). After his death, his friend and one of the leaders of the SCLC, Ralph David Abernathy, said: “No man, dead, living, or unborn, could have filled the shoes of Dr. King” (Peake 1). There is no doubt that he was correct. King left indelible traces in the history of the United States of America; contributed to the fact that contemporary African Americans are allowed to live full-value lives. Better lives than their grandparents had.

His determination was great; his participation in the SCLC’s event was tireless. King and his collaborators organized many marches and he delivered many speeches; neither the first nor the second mentioned escaped notice. All of these gave all African Americans hope for better tomorrows.

### **3.1. Beginnings of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference**

After the Montgomery Bus Boycott, the activities of the Civil Rights Movement began rolling. The victory of the African Americans, after the Supreme Court ruled that racial segregation for buses was inadmissible on November 13, 1956, gave them support to other actions. The Bus Boycott was officially ended on December 20, 1956, and the whole two-year boycott resulted in the fact that the buses were no more segregated and black Americans could seat themselves anywhere they wanted inside them. In January 1957, after consultations with Rustin and Baker, the American civil rights activists, King assembled a meeting. About 60 persons from 10 different states met on January 10 and 11 at Ebenezer church in Atlanta, to announce the founding of the Southern Negro Leaders Conference on Transportation and Nonviolent Integration. “They issued a document declaring that civil rights are essential to democracy, that segregation must end, and that all Black people should reject segregation absolutely and nonviolently” (SCLC National).

If the aim of the first meeting was the establishing of the organization, so the second meeting was focused on choosing the main leaders of the Conference. King announced that the second meeting would take place in New Orleans, Louisiana on February 14. “Officers were elected: King, president; Steele of Tallahassee, first vice-president; Davis, second vice-president; Samuel Williams of Atlanta, third vice-president; Jemison of Baton Rouge, secretary; Medgar W. Evers, as NAACP activist from Jackson, Mississippi, assistant secretary; and Abernathy, treasurer” (Garrow 90). The group also resolved to shorten its name to Southern Leadership Conference. One of the most important points of the meeting was King’s announcement that the group was ready to sponsor a pilgrimage to Washington if President Eisenhower continued his cold attitudes towards desegregation in the South. After the second meeting of the Conference, King made his first trip outside the United States - to Africa. He was deeply impressed by the situation on the African continent and realized that “there is no basic difference between colonialism and racial segregation - both were based on the notion of white supremacy” (Garrow 91). When King returned back to the USA,

his main interest was focused on the planned pilgrimage which was announced at the second Conference meeting. But the pilgrimage began to represent an apple of discord between the SCLC and the NAACP. Roy Wilkins, the executive director of NAACP, was not enthusiastic about the idea of mass action. Moreover, he was troubled by what the Southern Leadership organization might mean for the NAACP's own branches in the South (Garrow 91). Nevertheless, Wilkins agreed to summon another planning meeting and on April 5, 1957, in Washington about seventy representatives of several groups met to discuss the pilgrimage. The official title was the "Prayer Pilgrimage for Freedom" and had five objectives: to demonstrate black unity, provide an opportunity for northerners to demonstrate their support, protest ongoing legal attacks on the NAACP by southern states, protest violence in the South, and urge the passage of civil rights legislation (Garrow 92).

A month and a few days later, on May 17, a small crowd assembled at the Lincoln Memorial in Washington, D.C. The sponsors predictions were not correct and only about one third of the expected participants came. King delivered a speech, which called for the right to vote and among other things, included also strong criticism of both major political parties, the Congress, and President Eisenhower.

"The Pilgrimage notwithstanding, President Eisenhower continued to avoid any meeting with the black leadership. In late May, however, King announced that Vice-President Nixon had formally invited King to a private meeting on June 13" (Garrow 94). King prepared for the meeting and Rustin prepared for him six important points which should have been expressed to Nixon: "that *neither* political party had done enough on civil rights; that problems in the South could be solved only with federal action; that most white southerners could cope with racial change, but needed prodding; that Eisenhower should speak out for civil rights; that Nixon should speak out for the pending Civil Rights Bill, and do so in the South; and that the administration had to stop pondering and start acting" (Garrow 95). During the meeting Nixon defended the Eisenhower administration and promised well for the civil rights bill - that it would pass the House and that there was even a chance of success in the Senate. At the end of the meeting, the Vice-President vowed that he would try to arrange the personal meeting with President Eisenhower which King had requested.

Being back in Montgomery, King began to organise a third meeting of the SLC. It should have been the first convention in Montgomery, taking place on August 8 and 9. The first item on the agenda was changing the name of the organization. King, although Rustin discouraged him from doing that, insisted on putting the word *Christian* into the then name to emphasize that many participants came from the black church. Thus, the Southern Leadership Conference adopted the current name, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. And the second point of the meeting was the effort to prepare large-scale voter registration campaign. It was the first project of the Conference, officially called “Crusade for Citizenship”. With the central office in Atlanta and budget of \$200,000, it had several goals, for instance “to establish voting clinics, to provide educational materials to local voter registration efforts [...] and to arouse the conscience of the nation through radio, television or newspapers” (Garrow 97). During August, King travelled throughout the United States - from New Orleans, through Wisconsin and Detroit, to Washington. The aim of his travelling was to gain as many new voters as possible. “Total black registration across the South was estimated at barely 1,250,000 at present, but his new effort, King said, had a goal of five million *new* minority voters” (Garrow 98).

On January 8, 1958, news about conflict between the SCLC and NAACP emerged. King denied them and refused to comment; he regarded it as an erroneous thing. Maybe because of the fact, that one of the decisions, which had been made at the early meetings of the SCLC, was “the affiliation of local community organization with SCLC across the South, and a determination to make the SCLC movement open to all, regardless of race, religion, or background” (SCLC National).

In June 1958, King finally arranged the personal appointment with President Eisenhower. It was set for Monday, June 23, in the Oval Office. King with a few other civil rights activists had prepared a statement with nine points and right at the meeting he had thirty minutes to introduce the first three: “that Eisenhower should call for obedience to the law, call a White House conference, and offer federal aid to help communities adjust to integration” (Garrow 107). The president heard King out and did not propose to comment on other recommendations from the statement; but promised to consider them. At the end of the meeting he made a few notes about voting and meeting ended. Although the



meeting had lasted longer than scheduled, King and his collaborators were not be satisfied. It seemed that Eisenhower was poorly informed and that he was totally non-committal to all what was happening.

At the beginning of November 1958, King started to think about his further action in the Southern Christian Leadership Conference; in Dexter Avenue Baptist Church in Montgomery, where he served as a pastor; and in Montgomery generally. He discussed the possibility about leaving Montgomery with his closest collaborators and other friends, with his family. Two particular concerns forced him to deal with these thoughts. “First, his colleagues in SCLC had made clear their demand that he make that organization the primary focus of his activities. If he did so, he almost certainly would have to move to Atlanta. Second, he was increasingly plagued by guilt about the quality of his pastorship at Dexter. [...] The church, he himself felt, deserved better than he could give it” (Garrow 122). “By the middle of November King was ready to act. [...] On Sunday morning, November 29, 1958, he told the Dexter membership that he was submitting his resignation, effective at the end of January 1960” (Garrow 123).

After King’s moving to Atlanta, he tried to develop SCLC’s program and soon after freedom rides began take place and other events of great importance for African Americans in the USA.

### **3.2. The Events of Great Significance in the African American Civil Rights Movement and M. L. King, Jr.’s Involvement**

King is undoubtedly considered as one of the most significant persons of the 20th century. Primarily, he was known as an active civil rights leader. No less known was his functioning in the Southern Christian Leadership Conference as its President, from 1957 until his death in 1968. One of his great life roles, however, was as a speaker. Once the SCLC began to have greater and greater influence throughout the United States; it began to organize rides, marches and other movements, King seemed to be the ideal person for the role of speaker. “King did not talk down to his audience; nor did he allow the demands of rhetoric to obscure

his message. His greatest contribution [...] was interpreting the situation to the mass of the people. He could speak better than any man [...] in expressing to the people their problem and making them see clearly what the situation was and inspiring them to work at it” (Fairclough 27). It was his words and deeds which brought him fame.

### **3.2.1. 1961: The Albany Movement**

The Albany Movement could be regarded as one of the first mass movement in the modern civil rights era. It began in Autumn 1961 and lasted until Summer 1962 with a clear goal - desegregation of the entire community.

The movement was formed on 17 November by two major representatives of the civil rights movement - the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee and the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. Other groups which took part in the events of 1961 were the Ministerial Alliance, the Federation of Women’s Clubs, and the Negro Voters League. Led by William G. Anderson, a local black doctor, and Slater King, a realtor, the Albany movement had a clear aim to end all forms of racial segregation in the city, but especially desegregation of public transport.

Although the participants chose a nonviolent way of protests, the Albany Police clamped down on the demonstration and, by December 1961, more than 500 protestors were arrested. As the movement became more and more widespread, the leaders thought about calling another civil rights organization as a cooperator to bring the Albany matters more to nationwide notice. And the choice fell to the Southern Christian Leadership Conference. “Dr. Anderson took the first step in that direction by contacting SCLC’s Ralph Abernathy [...] to ask if he and Martin King could come. Abernathy put the request to King, [...] later Anderson dispatched a telegram: We urge you to come and join the Albany Movement. King felt that he could not refuse” (Garrow 180), especially after being criticized for not supporting and joining the freedom rides during the summer of 1961. Together with the SCLC, he became involved in December 1961.

King arrived in Albany on 15 December and delivered speech at Shiloh Baptist Church. For King, the speech was a standard one, comments he had made many times before in many different towns. To the people of Albany, though, it

was new and inspiring, a further encouragement to go forward. They were requested to “be there at 7 o’clock in the morning the next day, eat a good breakfast, and wear warm clothes and wear their walking shoes” (Garrow 183). They were just requested to be ready for marching toward City Hall and downtown Albany.

The other day, 16 December, King, Anderson and Abernathy came out of the Shiloh Baptist church, followed by more than 260 other marchers, predominantly youths. They calmly marched through a few streets when policemen from Albany Police Department blocked the line of march; just in Oglethorpe Street, which divided downtown from the Negro section. They were asked by Chief Pritchett if they had a written permit to parade or demonstrate. King, believing that they did not need to have a parade permit for that purpose, replied that “they were simply going to pray at the City Hall”. But Pritchett disagreed and put all of them under arrest. King and other leaders of this march were put into the jail among the first. “Albany now combined the dimensions and the tactical advances of all its recent predecessors, from Montgomery through the Freedom Rides, including - now that King was in jail - nationwide headlines” (Branch 548-550). King was determined not to pay the fine and stay in the jail as long as necessary to force change in Albany’s segregation; he took the possibility of spending Christmas in the jail into account.

On December 18, King and Anderson were taken to Albany for trial. The representatives of the Albany made a generous offer to black citizens and leaders of the movement - releasing “all local Albany Movement prisoners without any bond at all, provided that King leave town and demonstrations cease” (Branch 555). In the afternoon, King and Anderson were called before the judge and they were released from custody. So King was freed after forty-eight hours in jail. In the evening he delivered a speech at Shiloh church and flew to Atlanta. These acts, however, did not correspond to his words which he pronounced in the jail. He neither spent Christmas in the prison nor waited until some radical change happened. One New York newsman called it “a devastating loss of face” for Martin King, or “one of the most stunning defeats of his career”, and “many national accounts gave credit for the white victory to Albany Police Chief Pritchett [for] his policy of mass arrests and nonviolent police work” (Garrow 187, Branch 557). Also the fact that the deputies of the city refused to sign any written

agreement with the Negro representatives and justified it by saying that “they are honorable men and no such agreement is needed”, could be a warning sign for the King. He finally agreed to the promises, though, and left, being happy to get out of Albany.

The new year did not bring any improvement in the then situation. Although King left Albany, the city failed to stand the agreement expectably, and protests and further arrests continued even in 1962. On January 12, “an eighteen-year-old student [...] was arrested for refusing to move to the rear of an Albany city bus.” On January 18, two African American men “were arrested for loitering when they were unable to obtain service” (Garrow 190). The Albany Movement leaders felt that there was time for another action. On January 12 they began a boycott on the buses and refused to call off the boycott until the city gave a written assurance that it would not interfere with these policies. African Americans refused to come to terms with segregation, whereas the Albany deputies refused to come to terms with integration. A few days after the beginning of the bus boycott, the movement leaders decided to extend the boycott to several businesses which refused to hire black employees. In April, the participants of the movement began picketing and sitting in at the library and other public places, however, these actions caused the police only minor inconvenience and had no significant result. The movement’s only real success was its boycott of white-owned stores. As mentioned in Fairclough, the owner of a fabric store reported that “his business is at present suffering an approximate 50% decrease and at least 90 to 95 % of all negro business which he enjoyed in past years has been lacking”. According to his words it was an intolerable situation (Fairclough 100-101).

Although King was not an active participant in the Albany Movement since his leaving in December 1961, he was informed about events in Albany and in July 1962 came back to the city. One of the reasons why he did so was the fact, that he and Abernathy were found guilty of the charges against them, and sentenced to forty-five days in jail or a \$178 fine. Both of them refused to pay the fine and chose imprisonment. It was on July 10, thus they should have left the prison almost at the end of August. Nonetheless, the situation changed soon. On July 12, King and Abernathy were told that their fines had been paid; by “an unidentified, well-dressed Negro man”. They were free and had to leave the jail. King protested and refused to leave, but once the fines were paid, the city could

not hold them anymore. In truth, paying the fines was ordered by Albany's leading white citizens and Asa Kelley, mayor of Albany. "Kelley had no desire for a new round of mass demonstrations, which would put Albany back in the nation's headlines. Keeping MLK in jail for a month and a half would bring every civil rights leader in the country to Albany, and that was the last thing that the city's mayor and his strongest supporters in the business community wanted to see" (Garrow 202-204).

It did not take a long time, however, and King was back in prison. On July 27, King, Abernathy and Anderson came in front of City Hall to see the commissioners. They met Pritchett there and were told to be put under arrest if they did not go away within three minutes. To show their protest, they knelt in prayer, and after the allotted time passed, Pritchett took them into jail (Garrow 211). During King's imprisonment, President Kennedy expressed his opinion of the events in Albany and his misunderstanding why "the city council of Albany will not sit down with the citizens of Albany, who may be Negroes, and attempt to secure, in a peaceful way, their rights". Mayor Asa Kelley criticized this utterance and said that the city council would not negotiate with the black citizens of the Albany until the "outside agitators" left (Garrow 212-213). It was obvious that the outside agitator was King. On August 2, five civil rights representatives from the ACLU, CORE, NAACP and two representing the SCLC met in Washington to discuss further development of the Albany Movement. At the end of the meeting one thing was perfectly clear - King's departure was highly desirable.

On August 10, 1962, King's longest lasting imprisonment in the Albany jail was ended by Judge Durden, who found King and Abernathy guilty but suspended their sixty-day sentences and \$200 fines (Garrow 214). On the same day King agreed to leave Albany and ended his involvement in the Albany Movement.

As mentioned at the beginning of the paragraph, the Albany Movement was first mass action and the first test of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference which was invited to participate. At the end of SCLC's engagement, opinions and feelings about results differed.

African Americans in Albany were quite satisfied, because black voter registration doubled during 1962 and enabled a Negro man to gain a city

commission seat. On the other hand, Martin Luther King, Jr., considered the Albany movement to be a failure. Here I list a few statements which King made after his leaving:

The Albany Movement was centered on segregation in general, and no form of segregation in particular, [...] it would have been wiser, from a strategic and tactical point of view to say, “now we are going to attack segregated lunch counters,” or “we are going to attack segregated buses.”  
(Garrow 226)

I think that the main tactical error was that the leadership did not center this marvelous revolt on some particular phase of segregation.  
(Garrow 226)

All of our marches in Albany were marches on the city hall trying to make them negotiate, whereas if we had centered our protest at the stores, the businesses in the city, [we could have] made the merchants negotiate.  
(Garrow 226)

It follows from the above-mentioned quotations that King was aware of the weak point of the whole movement - not focusing on a particular goal. They should have gone through the movement step by step, instead of doing many things simultaneously but none of them properly. Furthermore, King continued his activities in other parts of the USA, especially voter registration campaign; and the movement had also troubles with raising funds which were needed to get Negro citizens of Albany out of the jail.

Thus, King's involvement in the movement lasted for about eight months; he appeared in Albany a few times overall, and during that period he ended up in prison three times. In my judgment, King should have kept to that, what he was steeped in - speechmaking; as he did during the Washington March or at Selma for instance. Branch in his book quoted a NAACP member who stated that “Albany was successful only if the objective was to go to jail.” That is the point. From the jail, King and other leaders could do only a little and were practically useless for the movement and black people outside. They just provoked the Albany Police and

the council and the whole matter was reminiscent of cat-and-mouse game. Also King's repeated releasing from jail could have a side effect, although perhaps not intended. King promised to spend Christmas in jail, to stay there as long as something happened and changed. Neither promise was kept. People could reach the view that King was not able to keep his promises. Especially when hundreds of African Americans were in prison for quite a long time and King got in and out as if nothing had happened.

In the Albany Movement, there were things which were made well as well as the things which were made wrong. Nonetheless, the struggle was begun and it was impossible to waste time on regrets. The time of other great marches and movement was about to come.

### **3.2.2. 1963: The Birmingham Campaign**

With the experience from Albany, which was a lesson for the Civil Rights Movement and especially Martin Luther King; Southern Christian Leadership Conference joined the Alabama Christian Movement for Human Rights (ACMHR), led by Fred Shuttlesworth, in a massive campaign in Birmingham, Alabama.

Although there were many cities in the South which were facing white supremacy, Birmingham had become "the best-known symbol of the intransigent South". The city was a challenge for the ACMHR and SCLC's leaders, because they felt that "if they could crack that city, then they could crack any city" (Fairclough, 113-114).

King was aware of weak points of the Albany Movement, where they endeavored to desegregate the city as a whole; thus it was necessary to give the Birmingham Campaign specific goals. In concrete terms, the campaign was granted six basic goals: "desegregation of the store facilities; adoption of fair hiring practices by those stores; dismissal of all charges from previous protests; equal employment opportunities for blacks with the city government; reopening on a desegregated basis of Birmingham's closed municipal recreation facilities; and establishment of a biracial committee to pursue further desegregation" (Garrow 237).

It was stated that the Birmingham Campaign would begin on April 3, 1963, with sit-in demonstrations at Birmingham stores. During the first week of the campaign, they decided to focus on the boycott of downtown stores primarily. African Americans were important customers for the Birmingham merchants and represented a significant supply of money. The vision was that if black citizens bought nothing but food and merchants' incomes decreased, the Birmingham merchants would sit down and talk with the city leaders. It was Easter time which meant a great money making opportunity for the shopkeepers. Soon there was no doubt about the effectiveness of the boycott. "During the week leading up to Easter, department store sales were barely 4 percent above the weekly average for the previous year, [...] only thirty Negroes entered five of the largest downtown stores on April 16-18. On April 18, four of the stores had no black customers, the fifth only one" (Fairclough 120).

Another goal, recruiting people who would agree to go to jail, however, seemed to be more difficult. There were about 250 people who had volunteered in the protests and were taken into the prison and SCLC was not able to raise enough money to stand bail for them and get them out of there. A further problem appeared soon after; the more African Americans were in the jail, the less black citizens were willing to volunteer. King was felt that his duties included going to jail in order to inspire support. But SCLC's leaders discouraged him from doing that; the conference had a financial crisis and King just could not go to jail. They needed money. They needed a lot of money. They needed it immediately. And King was the only one who had the contacts to get it (Fairclough 122). Nevertheless, King insisted upon his decision and on April 12, on Good Friday, was arrested in Birmingham prison after attending a procession of about fifty people going towards City Hall.

While being in the prison, King wrote his famous Letter from Birmingham City Jail, where he explained his staying and struggling in Birmingham. He justified "his presence in Birmingham, his uses of nonviolence and direct action, his timing, and his willingness to break laws. The civil rights leader also admonishes moderates and white churches for not doing more to help the movement's quest for equality" (Encyclopedia of Alabama). He also mentioned why they could not postpone further actions, why they just could not wait. "For years now I have heard the word 'Wait!' It rings in the ear of every



Negro with piercing familiarity. This ‘Wait!’ has almost always meant ‘Never’” (University of Pennsylvania). Although the letter was never sent, it appeared in national press and is regarded as “the most important written document of the civil rights era” (Encyclopedia of Alabama).

King left prison on bail on April 20, 1963, at a time when the demonstrations declined in importance and power. The decision was that campaign should have aimed at mass jail-ins, but there was a problem with the lack of volunteers for jail. King came with the idea of involving students in the campaign. SCLC’s recruiting committee went far - they urged schoolchildren march. Firstly, King deprecated it and was loathe to do this. Finally, he endorsed the use of children as a resourceful and enterprising tactic (Fairclough 124-125). Involvement of students seemed to be a smart move - if adult African Americans went to march and protested, they would lose their jobs. But the children had nothing to lose. Thus, on May 2, black students congregated on the Sixteenth Street Baptist Church and during the afternoon several thousand children left the church. The police arrested about six hundred of them. On May 3, Eugene “Bull” Connor, the Birmingham Commissioner of Public Safety, used dogs and fire hoses against the demonstrators. “News reports stated that three people had been treated at hospitals for dog bites, that five black children had been injured by the fire hoses or police clubs, and that one black woman bystander had accused police of knocking her down and kicking her in the stomach intentionally” (Garrow 250). By May 6, school classes were almost empty and on May 7, which was the final day of demonstrations, there were about 2,500 people in the jails.

May 5 was the day of high importance for both African American citizens of Birmingham and white representatives of the city who agreed to negotiate. “The whites readily accepted, albeit with conditions, SCLC’s demand for the desegregation of all store facilities”. Three other demands, however, they refused to fulfill - “the immediate up-grading of employment opportunities available to Negroes”, creating of a biracial committee and dropping “all charges against the thousands of arrested demonstrators” (Fairclough 127). Nevertheless, Shuttlesworth was satisfied because it seemed that the whites began to be willing to negotiate.

On May 7 the situation rapidly changed and there was a threat of an explosion of violence. Both sides met and started to negotiate again, for the first

time accompanied by King. There were still more than seven hundred demonstrators behind bars and SCLC did not have enough money to pay the bails; the whites refused to help them. However, the meeting, which lasted until the early hours of the next day, had at least one ray of hope - it seemed that the whites would agree with a biracial committee. Shuttlesworth, who was injured by a fire hose and needed treatment in the hospital, was not present during negotiating and was furious when he found out that King announced an end to the demonstrations. What was more, he was not satisfied with the settlement; “the only concern of the federal government was to end the protests” (Fairclough 128). Shuttlesworth insisted on canceling the promise given by King, thus SCLC announced a twenty-four-hour pause in demonstrations instead of ending them.

The Birmingham campaign went on. On May 8 King and Abernathy were suddenly jailed; on May 11 bombs exploded at the Gaston Motel and at home of A. D. King; on May 20 the Board of Education expelled or suspended eleven hundred black children. The situation began to be out of SCLC’s control and its protests had achieved controlled disorder - further demonstrations invited uncontrollable chaos (Fairclough 130).

May 15 finally brought a satisfactory result, after more than a month lasted demonstrations and fighting. At least a few parts of the agreement were kept; by the end of July five department stores desegregated their lunch counters and on July 16 a “community affair committee” was appointed with two dozen blacks among its two hundred members. A few days later blacks were allowed at the municipal golf courses. Although the Birmingham black leaders were not fully impressed, “the agreement represented the city’s first decisive break with its white-supremacist past” (Fairclough 133).

The Birmingham Campaign differentiated from the Albany Movement in a few ways. Unlike the actions in Albany, the mass demonstrations in Birmingham were much more ruthless. When one takes the fact, that there were children involved, into consideration, this is the point when King failed, in my view. Although he did not agree with involving children in the marches first, later he agreed; moreover, he encouraged parents to send their children to demonstrate.

The SCLC advocated a nonviolent approach. But it did not mean that the oppositional party sympathized with that. About that King should thought earlier

than he began to recruit children. Despite his assurance that they would look after children and nothing bad was going to happen, he must have known that he could never ensure that. “Don’t worry about your children; they’re going to be alright. Don’t hold them back if they want to go to jail. For they are doing a job for not only themselves, but for all of America and for all mankind” (MLK Stanford). With these words King persuaded the parents.

The oppositional party, however, used dogs and fire hoses. And the police did not even care about the safety of black children. It was too hard for the children to oppose such a dangerous enemy. Despite all assurances, a few children ended up in the hospital. As Fairclough mentioned in his book, “the dogs and hoses were SCLC’s best propaganda” and finally it really made international headlines and shocked most whites. However, Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy commented on the situation with these words: “An injured, maimed, or dead child is a price that none of us can afford to pay”. It is regrettable that King, a father of four children, did not think of that from the very first day of the Birmingham campaign.

As the second weaker point of this campaign I would consider the cooperation between the SCLC and ACMHR, or to be more precise, the cooperation between King and Shuttlesworth. At the beginning they decided that all important decisions would be made by the two of them together. But King, as the president of the SCLC, was used to do as he thought fit and usually had the last word. On the other hand Shuttlesworth, as the president of the ACMHR, regarded himself as one of the most important people in the Birmingham Campaign, as someone who people had confidence in and he was not going to let them down. Furthermore, Shuttlesworth was described as “excessively autocratic” and they began behaving as two cocks of the walk. As aforesaid, on May 7 and 8 the negotiation, where Shuttlesworth was not present, took place and King decided to end the demonstrations. Soon after, he was forced to withdraw this announcement. However, if it was intentional or King just did not think out Shuttlesworth’s reaction, it cast an unfavorable light on the campaign. In my opinion, they showed to the white side that there were misunderstandings and insufficient communication among the black leaders; and the movement’s negotiations could not be taken seriously if they were not able to negotiate among themselves.

### **3.2.3. 1963: The March on Washington**

Previous movements took months; The Albany Movement lasted about a year, the Birmingham campaign half a year. The March on Washington was a new phenomenon - it was a matter of one single day. In many respects, however, it was more effective than long-lasting campaigns.

August 28, 1963, could be called D-day. It was the day when Washington experienced about 250,000 people, including 60,000 whites, gathering at the Lincoln's Memorial in Washington, D.C. for a peaceful demonstration.

How the event was important indicated the list of participating organizations which also sponsored the march, and names of famous civil rights leaders who took it upon themselves to organize the march. On the list appeared the major players as well as less known organizations and people. The "big six" was: A. Philip Randolph, president of the Negro American Labor Council; Whitney Young, president of the National Urban League; Roy Wilkins, president of the NAACP; James Farmer, president of the CORE; John Lewis, president of the SNCC; and finally Martin Luther King, Jr., representing the SCLC (Africana Online). The following participants were for instance the National Catholic Conference for Interracial Justice, the National Council of the Churches of Christ in America, and many others. The executive board of the American Federation of Labor-Congress of Industrial Organizations promised to support the march, but adopting a position of neutrality. The march also drew other speaker and performers, for instance singer Bob Dylan, actress Ruby Dee, American Jewish Congress president Rabbi Joachim Prinz, National Urban League president Whitney Young and others (MLK Stanford).

During May 1962 Randolph from the Negro American Labor Council wrote a letter to Secretary of the Department of the Interior regarding permits for a march culminating that autumn. Later that year, after notifying President Kennedy of their intention, the "big six" set date of the march for 28 August. The leaders, although had already been struggling a few years, were still unsatisfied with African Americans' conditions which prevailed in the United States of America. "High levels of black unemployment, work that offered most African Americans only minimal wages and poor job mobility, systematic disenfranchisement of many African Americans, or the persistence of racial segregation in the South",

these all were the issues which needed to be changed (MLK Stanford). As before every campaign or march, the leaders made a list of the protest's goals which included: "a comprehensive civil rights bill that would do away with segregated public accommodations; protection of the right to vote; desegregation of all public schools; a massive federal works program to train and place unemployed workers; and a Federal Fair Employment Practices Act barring discrimination in all employment" (MLK Stanford).

All the above-mentioned people and more than two hundred thousand in the crowd gathered at the Lincoln Memorial on a very hot day to demonstrate peacefully. The leaders were aware that one of the underlying goals of the march was to urge passage of Kennedy's civil rights package. They had to avoid negative references to him then (Peake 132).

About 3 p.m., King appeared on the stage and took the microphone. It was the key moment of the whole Civil Rights Movement. King delivered his memorable speech *I Have a Dream*. He pointed out that although a full century had passed since Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation, "the life of the Negro is still sadly crippled by the manacles of segregation and the chains of discrimination". He insisted that "it would be fatal for the nation to overlook the urgency of the moment" (American Rhetoric). He spoke on his dreams as well, and according to Peak it was the dream which "had been expressed in its most intense and comprehensive form ever". In accordance with King's words, nineteen sixty-three was not an end, but a beginning.

Immediately after he finished his speech, the top ten leaders of the march were called to the White House for a conference with President John Kennedy and Vice President Lyndon B. Johnson. Kennedy's administration was the first one, since the beginning of the nonviolent movement, which was openly pushing for strong civil rights legislation. The March on Washington also showed that people of all races sympathized with the movement and enthusiasm of the leaders of the civil rights organizations was growing (Peak 135-138).

King and other participants of the discussion expressed the need for bipartisan support of civil rights legislation. "Though they were passed after Kennedy's death, the provision of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and Voting Rights Act of 1965 reflect the demands of the march" (MLK Stanford).

It can be said that the March on Washington was the first action with significant ending. It was the first time in modern civil rights movement when the African Americans attained their goal.

The question is why the march on Washington and not Albany or Birmingham campaign. In my opinion, the base for the nonviolent course of the marching was to not provoke state machinery and police. The march was announced in advance, later it was sanctioned and the leaders followed given instructions during the march. King and other members of civil rights movement organizations also tried to avoid criticizing President Kennedy and his administration. They were aware that Kennedy was more likely a sympathizer with the civil rights movement than its enemy. And that he was the person who finally could oblige them. Perhaps it was the way to achieve their ends and they should have tried it before instead of holding lots of marches which mostly degenerated into violence.

During the March on Washington King focused on his strong point eventually - speechmaking. While watching the record of his most famous speech *I Have a Dream*, it gave me shivers several times. Great determination could be seen in his face. His strong voice echoed through the place in front of Lincoln Memorial and stress was put on the words and sentences which should have been emphasized. Words about a bright future cheered them up. All of these were just that what the African Americans wanted to hear. Through this speech Martin Luther King confirmed that it is possible for all Negro's dreams to come true finally; and gave a dream even those who already lost their faith.

Although the march achieved a great success on a national level, in some cities resistance, troubles and riots continued. A few weeks later after the march, Ku Klux Klan members bombed a church in Birmingham and four girls were killed. King himself could not prevent this tragedy, however, it was a regrettable consequence of months of struggling, violence and victories. Because, as mentioned before in this thesis, "an injured, maimed, or dead child is a price that none of us can afford to pay".

Although I really appreciate King's effort and work which he had done, I cannot always agree with the ways which he boosted to achieve the objective. But what he did in Washington, it was really something which had sense indeed.

### **3.2.4. 1965: Selma to Montgomery Marches**

After the first great victory, the Civil Rights Act of 1964, the time to win another one came. Despite the mass vote registration campaign, there were still places in the US which had fairly few black voters. One such place was Selma, Alabama. In spite of repeated registration attempts, there were only two percent of Negroes on the voting rolls. The goal of the march was clear then - to draw attention to the problems with voting rights in the state and struggle for them.

It is generally known that the Selma March took place during March 1965. The action began much earlier though. On January 2, 1965, SCLC headed by King joined the SNCC, the Dallas County Voters League, and other local African American activists in a voting rights campaign. The aim of this action was to attract national attention and pressure President Lyndon B. Johnson to declare new national voting rights legislation (MLK Stanford).

Within a few days, the organizations started to recruit volunteers which worked with staff members from the SCLC and SNCC and stated that the "Freedom Day would involve not only a massive march on the court house, but also a test of every restaurant, every theater, every motel to see if they admitted blacks" (Fairclough 230).

The demonstrations began on January 18 and for the first few weeks they brought mass arrests but without or just a little violence. By February 5, more than 2,400 demonstrators had been jailed, including King and Abernathy. Unfortunately the nonviolent approach changed in February, when police attacks against demonstrators increased. The night of February 18 was the moment when the African Americans became infuriated. They arranged an evening march in Marion, the county seat of Perry County, Alabama, and the procession degenerated into a bloody riot; local police intervened in this action joined by Alabama state troopers. As a result, five blacks and three white reporters were injured and hospitalized. A 26-year-old church deacon from Marion, Jimmie Lee Jackson, was shot in the stomach by a trooper and a week later, on February 26, died in a Selma hospital. Sad, incensed and highly disappointed black activists decided March 7 as a date of the march from Selma to the state capitol in Montgomery.

It was Sunday, March 7, and the protesters, led by Hosea Williams from SCLC and John Lewis from SNCC, started their pilgrimage to Montgomery.

While marching through Selma across the Edmund Pettus Bridge, just outside of Selma, they were blocked by a group of sixty-five state troopers and local lawmen. They refused to disperse and insisted on continuing. Troopers and sheriff's deputies, cheered by white onlookers, attacked the crowd with tear gas and clubs. As a result of this intervention, fifty-six black marchers were hospitalized, eighteen of them seriously. Next day, headlines in newspaper and national television referred to this incident as "Bloody Sunday" (MLK Stanford).

Nevertheless, the black citizens declined to give up and two days later made further attempt to march to Montgomery. This time led by King himself, more than 2,000 marchers set off on the afternoon of March 9. When they reached the Edmund Pettus Bridge, King asked them to kneel and pray. Then they turned back to Selma to avoid another confrontation with the troopers. King was much criticized for this unexpected decision. Many African Americans lambasted the restrained gained support from President Johnson instead of pushing the march on to Montgomery.

President Johnson identified himself with the demonstrators in Selma and promised to introduce a voting rights bill to Congress within a few days. To be concrete, he did it on March 15, through a television broadcast. Among other, his speech contained the following words: "Their cause must be our cause too. Because it is not just Negroes but really it is all of us, who must overcome the crippling legacy of bigotry and injustice. And we shall overcome" (MLK Stanford). On March 17 Johnson submitted voting rights legislation to Congress.

Time to bring the march about finally came on March 21. Both the leaders of the march and the marchers were granted federal sanction and were protected by hundreds of federalized Alabama National Guardsmen and FBI agents. Led by Martin Luther King, Jr., a group of 8,000 demonstrators set out on a 54-mile journey with the plan to cover between 7 to 17 miles per day. On the second and third day, the marchers were ordered to reduce to a small number as they proceeded along the two-lane stretch of U.S. Highway 80 in Lowndes County. On the final day, however, the number of demonstrators swelled to 25,000. On March 25, the crowd finally approached Montgomery and King assured all of them that "the elimination of white supremacy was near" (Encyclopedia of Alabama, MLK Stanford).



Standing on the steps of the Alabama State Capitol in Montgomery, King delivered a speech “How Long, Not Long” which alluded that “there never was a moment in American history more honourable and more inspiring than the pilgrimage of clergymen and laymen of every race and faith pouring into Selma to face danger at the side of its embattled Negroes” (MLK Stanford). “How long will it take? How long will prejudice blind the vision of men, darken their understanding, and drive bright-eyed wisdom from her sacred throne? How long will justice be crucified, and truth bear it?” (MLK Online). To all of these questions which were pronounced, King had only one answer: Not long. Almost at the end of the speech King proclaimed: “The end we seek is a society at peace with itself, a society that can live with its conscience. And that will be a day not of the white man, not of the black man. That will be the day of man as man” (MLK Online). After ending the speech, march leaders planned to deliver a petition to Governor Wallace, but they were rejected.

Even though the beginnings of Selma to Montgomery March were not easy, and the first two marches ended in a failure, its goal was reached. On August 6, President Lyndon Johnson signed the Voting Rights Act of 1965. “The act suspended, and amendments to the act later banned, the use of literacy tests and other qualification tests that often had been used to prevent blacks from registering to vote” (Africana Online). Among others it also placed the registration process in certain uncompromising areas, including Selma, in the hand of federal officials. A few days later, King noted that “Birmingham inspired the Civil Rights Act of 1964, and Selma produced the voting rights legislation of 1965” (MLK Stanford).

During the Selma to Montgomery Marches King mixed both mistakes which were done in Birmingham or Albany and act which proved to have sense in the past, I believe.

A positive feature of the march was that King realized how powerful a speech could be. On the steps of capitol he delivered another encouraging speech addressed to governor, municipal authorities and state administration. Another plus of this marching was the fact that the leaders focused on one single aim - voting rights for the African Americans, in this case.

Unfortunately, there were more mistakes which they did not learn from earlier, in my view.

In Selma the SCLC again focused on mass going to prison. They should not have done it because of two reasons. First, it was a useless waste of money. In both Albany and Birmingham the SCLC spent enormous amounts on paying bails to get the imprisoned out of the jails. Indisputably, the money could have been invested much more effectively. What is more, the SCLC announced several times that it had financial difficulties and it was necessary to look for other willing sponsors. Second, instead of sitting in the jail, King should have tried to be active as much as possible. Being imprisoned several times and spending lots of days behind bars was not much useful for the movement, I guess. At the beginning of the marches, King's words were "we must be willing to go to jail by the thousands". However, I have to insist upon my opinion, that one well done and delivered speech would be much more visible result than wasting time in the jail and wasting money on bails.

Another error of principle was the repeated involvement of children. This time, in contrast with campaign in Birmingham, fortunately none of the demonstrating children were injured. However, many of them were arrested. As Fairclough writes in his book, "on January 28 SCLC decided to escalate the protests and [...] in the afternoon 500 schoolchildren joined [King and Abernathy] in jail". A few days later another five hundred people, mostly children, appeared behind bars.

Although mistakes from Albany and Birmingham were done again, the Selma to Montgomery Marches had finally a positive effect and brought voting rights legislation. According to the Encyclopedia of Alabama, Selma to Montgomery March was a "pivotal moment in the nation's progress toward full democracy and racial justice".

## IV. Conclusion

Martin Luther King, Jr. can be daringly rated among the most significant persons of the last century. He was the man who influenced many lives; lives of both black and white people.

The aim of this thesis was to bring closer his life to make one realize how King was brought up and what influenced him since he was a child. Being aware of the background, I think it is easier to understand his lifelong effort to make African Americans' lives better.

This thesis dwells on four events which took place between years 1961 and 1965 and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference played a significant role during them. I chose these four ones because, from my point of view, they can be regarded as the most important events during the civil rights movement. Some of them were reaction against local laws which was unfair, some of them made headlines in newspaper throughout the world. Nevertheless, it can be said that all of them resulted in two major act which were signed in the 20th century - the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and Voting Rights Act of 1965.

This thesis is also aimed at King's acting during the above-mentioned events. It shows how he fulfilled the role of speaker, the role of President of the SCLC or the role of a man who decided to stand up for oppressed people. Although it cannot be denied that King was a great man who did a lot of praiseworthy work, the thesis should not have been conceived as a celebration of Martin Luther King, Jr. Because neither King was a faultless man, I tried to make comments after every chapter on the significant events and pointed out the weak points.

King was not allowed to see the "little black boys and black girls joining hands with little white boys and white girls"; for the desegregation is a very long process and also because of his early death. Nonetheless he started the whole action which finally ended up in desegregated society. And thanks to the man who was not afraid to express his disagreement, nowadays African Americans can join hands with white people and take advantage of all the possibilities which the United States of America offer.

## Resumé

Ve své bakalářské práci jsem se zaměřila na osobu Martina Luthera Kinga, Jr., jehož jméno je spjato s významnou afroamerickou organizací, která se podílela na procesu hnutí za lidská práva. Konkrétně se jedná o organizaci Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), jejíž počátky jsou datovány do roku roku 1957 a jejímž prvním prezidentem se stal právě Martin Luther King, Jr.

První kapitulu své práce jsem pojala jako přiblížení rasové problematiky ve Spojených státech amerických během počátečních let 20. století. Zmiňuji v ní rok 1865, který byl svým způsobem pro život Afroameričanů zlomový, neboť došlo k přijetí třináctého dodatku do Ústavy Spojených států amerických, který deklaroval zrušení otroctví. Nicméně ani tento akt nezabránil v dalším potírání práv Afroameričanů. V dalších dvou bodech první kapitoly práce se věnuji již konkrétnější stavu, který v USA na začátku dvacátého století panoval. Afroameričtí obyvatelé byli znevýhodňováni téměř ve všech sférách života; od malých finančních příjmů, přes segregaci v oblasti bydlení, školství či zaměstnání, až po upírání volebního práva. Kromě psychického tlaku Afroameričané rovněž čelili i fyzickému násilí. Naděje na zlepšení situace přišla během 50. let minulého století, kdy začal sílit vliv afroamerického hnutí za lidská práva a zároveň se začal postupně měnit i postoj americké vlády k situaci Afroameričanů. Během celého hnutí, ve kterém sehrály důležitou roli organizace jako National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, Congress of Racial Equality, Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee či výše zmíněná Southern Christian Leadership Conference, bylo zorganizováno mnoho pochodů, demonstrací a jiných kampaní, které vedly k tomu, že se problematika Afroameričanů ve Spojených státech dostala do širšího povědomí a začala se postupně během let zlepšovat.

Ve druhé kapitole práce se zabývám osobou Martina Luthera Kinga, Jr. Myslím si, že tato část je pro mou práci stejně důležitá jako následující stěžejní kapitola, neboť představuje život M. L. Kinga a dává tak možnost udělat si představu, co jej vedlo k usilovnému boji za práva Afroameričanů. V kapitole se tedy věnuji dětství M. L. Kinga; studiu jak na střední škole, tak následně i na univerzitách; přibližuji i jeho soukromý život a v neposlední řadě také atentát, který byl na Kinga spáchán a předčasně ukončil jeho život. Kromě vytvoření jakéhosi pozadí pro celou práci se dále zabývám i touhami a hlavně Kingovými

názory, které se nebál vyjádřit a zároveň záměry, které poté během několika let skrze své působení v Southern Christian Leadership Conference realizoval.

Třetí kapitola představuje hlavní část mé bakalářské práce. Týká se organizace Southern Christian Leadership Conference. První bod kapitoly je věnován historii této organizace a jejím počátkům. Jedná se zejména o stručnější shrnutí let 1957, kdy byla tato organizace založena, až 1960, kdy se King přestěhoval do Atlanty, aby se mohl práci v SCLC věnovat intenzivněji. Během těchto let docházelo k postupnému formování organizace a ujasňování cílů. Po Kingově přesunu do Atlanty se SCLC začala intenzivněji soustředit na boj za afroamerické občany a věci se daly do pohybu.

Hned rok na to přišla první významnější masová akce. Bylo to na podzim roku 1961 a Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) a National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) se rozhodly v Albany, městě ve státě Georgia, zformovat hnutí, které by vedlo k rasové desegregaci ve městě; zejména zrušení segregace prostředků hromadné dopravy. V prosinci 1961 se k dvěma výše zmíněným organizacím přidala i SCLC. King vedl několik pochodů městem a skončil při tom opakovaně ve vězení. Po ukončení svého působení v hnutí v srpnu 1962, King uznal, že největší chybou bylo, že se zaměřovali na desegregaci obecně, nikoli na určité cíle a proto hnutí nezaznamenalo takový úspěch, jak se od něj na začátku očekávalo.

Druhou akcí, která je v této kapitole analyzována, je kampaň v Birminghamu, největším městě amerického státu Alabama. Poučení z chyb minulého hnutí, se rozhodli leadeři SCLC připojit k hnutí Alabama Christian Movement for Human Rights (ACMHR) a čelit útlaku ze strany autorit města Birmingham. Mezi hlavními cíli kampaně byla desegregace nákupních prostor, rovné podmínky v oblasti zaměstnání či zrušení segregace odpočinkových prostor ve městě, jako jsou např. parky apod. Kampaň byla zahájena v dubnu roku 1963 a King se opět octl po několika dnech za mřížemi. Během měsíce však vcelku poklidné protesty přešly do násilných potyček mezi demonstrujícími a příslušníky Birminghamské policie. Kampaň však po zhruba měsíci a půl od jejího zahájení přinesla první uspokojivé výsledky. Šlo zejména o desegregaci bufetů v celkem pěti městských obchodních střediscích a o dva měsíce později byla sestavena komise pro „řešení událostí mezi občany“, mezi jejímiž dvěma sty členy byly dva tucty Afroameričanů.

Třetí významnou akcí, kterou zmiňuji v této práci, je pochod na Washington, oficiálně nazvaný Pochod na Washington za práci a svobodu. Odehrál se 28. srpna roku 1963 a dle odhadů se jej zúčastnilo dvě stě až tři sta tisíc lidí, mezi nimi až šedesát tisíc bílých obyvatel Spojených států. Pochod byl podpořen zároveň také ze strany některých umělců či významných představitelů některých organizací. Také pochod na Washington měl své konkrétní cíle. A to zejména vydání listiny práv, která by nařizovala desegregovat ubytovací prostory; dále usilovali o zajištění volebního práva či zamezení segregace škol. Vrcholem pochodu bylo vystoupení Martina Luthera Kinga, Jr. na Lincolnově památníku ve Washingtonu, D.C., kdy pronesl svou neslavnější řeč „I Have a Dream“. Během projevu kritizoval tehdejší situaci afroamerických obyvatel v USA a rovněž vyjádřil své sny a vize. Následovalo jednání s prezidentem Kennedym a rok poté byl přijat Zákon o občanských právech.

Jako poslední významnou akci, v níž SCLC sehrála roli, uvádím pochod ze Selmy do Montgomery. První dva pokusy o realizaci pochodu končily však nezdárně, v jednom z případů dokonce napadením pochodujících ze strany policie města Selma a nasazených vojáků. Tento nechvalně známý počín, při němž bylo zraněno více než padesát Afroameričanů, je znám jako „Krvavá neděle“. I přes počáteční nezdárné pokusy se však pochod podařilo realizovat a to na konci března roku 1965. Na necelých devadesát kilometrů dlouhý pochod se vydalo přes osm tisíc demonstrujících a o čtyři dny později, kdy dorazili do Montgomery, se dav rozrostl až na dvacet pět tisíc lidí. M. L. King pronesl z kapitulu v Montgomery další z jeho nejznámějších projevů „How Long, Not Long“. O necelé tři měsíce později podepsal prezident Lyndon Johnson Zákon o volebním právu.

I přes počáteční nezdary a nenaplnění všech cílů, zejména během hnutí v Albany, se však ukázalo, že masové akce měly své opodstatnění a sehrály důležitou úlohu během hnutí za lidská práva.

Základem pro zpracování mé bakalářské práce se stala kompilační metoda. Snažila jsem se ovšem se zdroji pracovat tak, aby vznikla přehledná práce, která do celé problematiky zasvětila i nezalíbeného čtenáře. Zároveň jsem se pokusila i o vyjádření svých myšlenek a názorů, a to zejména v hlavní části bakalářské práce, kdy se snažím poukázat na, dle mého mínění, slabší místa a omyly, ke kterým došlo během pochodů a kampaní.

## **Annotation**

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<b>Name of work:</b>	Struggle for Freedom: Martin Luther King, Jr., and his role in the Southern Christian Leadership Conference
<b>Supervisor:</b>	PhDr. Matthew Sweney, M.A.
<b>Number of appendices:</b>	10
<b>Number of works cited:</b>	31

This bachelor thesis focuses on Martin Luther King, Jr.'s persona and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference; the organization which played an important role during struggle for human rights. In the first chapter, I dwell on a short survey of the situation at the end of the 19th and at the beginning of the 20th century. The second chapter is devoted to the life of M. L. King, Jr. In the third chapter, which is the main part of the thesis, I focus on four particular events - marches and campaigns - in which the Southern Christian Leadership Conference played a key role and which resulted in signing the Voting Rights Act and Civil Rights Act. Concurrently I pay attention to a role of M. L. King in these events.

### **Key words:**

Martin Luther King, Jr., civil rights movement, African Americans, Birmingham, Selma, Washington, Albany, Southern Christian Leadership Conference

## Anotace

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<b>Název práce:</b>	Boj za svobodu: Martin Luther King, Jr., a jeho role v Southern Christian Leadership Conference
<b>Vedoucí bakalářské práce:</b>	PhDr. Matthew Sweney, M.A.
<b>Počet příloh:</b>	10
<b>Počet použitých zdrojů:</b>	31

Tato bakalářská práce je zaměřena na postavu Martina Luthera Kinga, Jr. a organizaci Southern Christian Leadership Conference, která sehrála důležitou roli v boji za lidská práva. V první kapitole se věnuji nástinu situace na konci 19. a začátku 20. století. Druhá kapitola je věnována životu M. L. Kinga, Jr. Třetí kapitola je pak hlavní část práce, kdy se zaměřuji na čtyři konkrétní události - pochody a kampaně - v nichž organizace Southern Christian Leadership Conference sehrála klíčovou roli a které později vedly k přijetí Zákona o volebním právu a Zákona o občanských právech. Zároveň se zabývám úlohou, kterou M. L. King během těchto akcí zastával.

### **Klíčová slova:**

Martin Luther King, Jr., hnutí za občanská práva, Afroameričané, Birmingham, Selma, Washington, Albany, Southern Christian Leadership Conference



## Appendices

### 1. Pictures

Fig. 1



**Martin Luther King, Jr.**

Source: "Martin Luther King, Jr." *Nobel Prize*. 5 May 2011.  
<<http://www.americanrhetoric.com/speeches/mlkihaveadream.htm>>

Fig. 2



Source: "Plessy v. Ferguson." *Public Broadcastin Service*. 5 May 2011.  
<<http://www.pbs.org/wnet/supremecourt/antebellum/images/plessy.jpg>>

Fig. 3



**The Birmingham Campaign**

Source: “Civil Rights Movement.” *Encyclopaedia Britannica*. 5 May 2011.  
<<http://www.britannica.com/bps/media-view/97520/1/0/0>>

Fig. 4



**The March on Washington**

Source: “Civil Rights Movement.” *Encyclopaedia Britannica*. 5 May 2011.  
<<http://www.britannica.com/bps/media-view/9456/1/0/0>>

Fig. 5

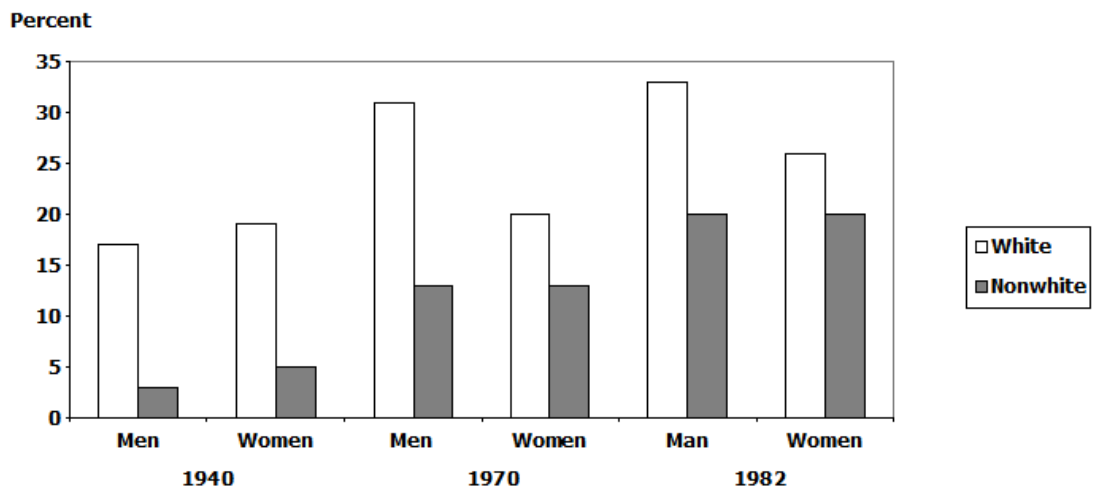


**Selma to Montgomery March**

Source: "Selma to Montgomery March." *Encyclopedia of Alabama*. 5 May 2011.  
<<http://www.encyclopediaofalabama.org/face/Multimedia.jsp?id=m-2541>>

## 2. Diagrams

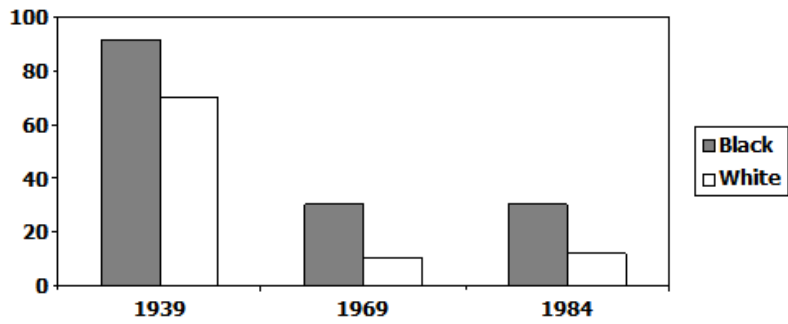
2.1 ... Employed workers holding professional or managerial jobs, by race  
(source: Jaynes, p. 18)



## 2.2 ... Persons below the poverty level, by race

(source: Jaynes, p. 17)

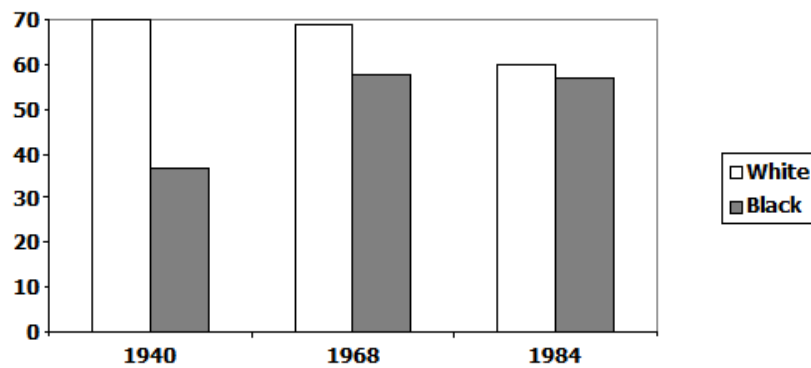
Percent



## 2.3 ... Reported voter participation as a percentage of the voting-age population, by race

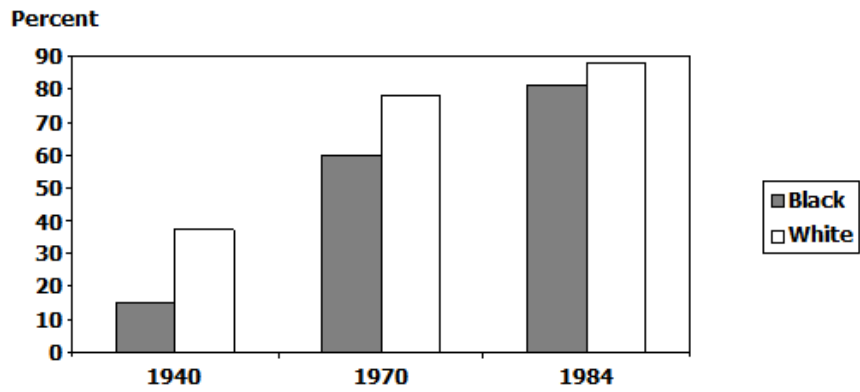
(source: Jaynes, p. 15)

Percent



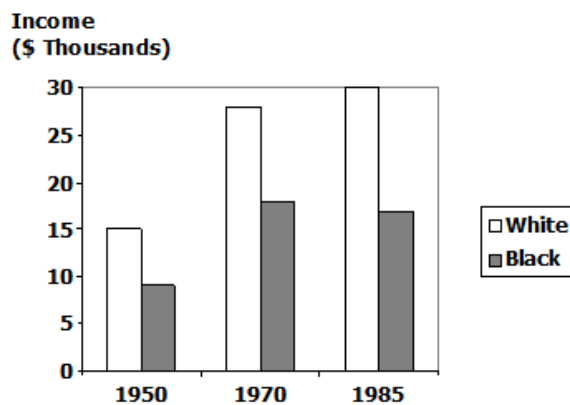
#### 2.4 ... High school graduates aged 25-29, by race

(source: Jaynes, p. 20)



#### 2.5 ... Median family income, by race

(source: Jaynes, p. 24)



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