Parting the Waters: America in the King Years 1954 - 1963 Study Guide

Parting the Waters: America in the King Years 1954 - 1963 by Taylor Branch

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Plot Summary

Parting the Waters is a historical look at the Civil Rights Movement from 1954 through 1963, with an emphasis on Martin Luther King Jr.'s role. Taylor Branch has given his readers a look at King the man, from his family history and childhood, to his role as a civil rights leader through the March on Washington. Branch includes in his tome a look at other organizations that sprang into existence, from King's work with both the MIA and the SCLC, as well as the work of other leaders who fashioned their techniques on King's past victories. *Parting the Waters* is an informative, insightful look at an important historical figure and an important piece of American history. It is sure to please even the most novice historian.

Before King came to Montgomery to take over the pulpit of Dexter Avenue Baptist Church, there was Vernon Johns. Vernon Johns was an eccentric pastor who believed in never forgetting where he came from, thus traumatizing his congregation to such a degree that his third resignation, offered in anger, was accepted. Despite his controversial behavior, Johns paved a road that helped King step into his shoes and change Montgomery forever.

Before coming to Dexter, however, King was the middle child of an Atlanta preacher. Raised by an overbearing father who was determined to have his son follow in his footsteps, King rebelled through the first years of college, hoping to be a doctor rather than a pastor. However, King eventually saw where his strengths lay and chose to follow in his father's footsteps, though down a winding path. Much to his father's disappointment, King decided to further his career past college to attend a seminary, and later, to receive his PhD at Boston College. With his education concluded, King then took the pulpit of Dexter rather than sharing the pulpit of his father's church, Ebenezer Baptist.

While at Dexter, King happened to be in a good position to become leader of the bus boycott that resulted with the arrest of Rosa Parks. King ran the boycott through a newly formed organization called the Montgomery Improvement Association, or MIA, as its president. Through this, and by getting himself arrested for driving a car in the highly contested carpool, King found himself achieving national notoriety. When the boycott ended, King sought to continue the movement in similar ways, but found it difficult. However, a group of students soon took the problem out of his hands by beginning a series of lunch counter sit-ins across the south. This not only continued the nonviolent protests that King had begun in Montgomery, but resulted in the formation of the Students Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, or SNCC, that would be a power organization in the Civil Rights Movement.

Once the lunch counter sit-ins began to slide from the headlines, and shortly after the election of John F. Kennedy to the White House, another organization got the idea to test a recent court ruling that stated that Negroes should, by the constitution, be allowed to use the same lunch counters and waiting areas as whites in bus stations while traveling as interstate passengers. A dozen protestors boarded two buses, one a

Trailways and the other a Greyhound, and began a trek from the East Coast to New Orleans. The first few days of the trip proved uneventful as the Freedom Riders found little or no resistance at bus stops in the east. However, once the riders entered the south, they began to face trouble. The worst of the trouble began in Alabama. A bus was mobbed and then burned with Freedom Riders aboard, all of whom escaped with few injuries. The second bus pulled into the same depot and many of the riders suffered beatings.

The organizers were determined to continue, however. Another group went to Alabama to take over where their predecessors had been stopped and faced a mob in Birmingham. From there they were arrested and removed from town; but the determined riders returned. However, they faced a riot on their next attempt where a member of the Attorney General's office was attacked while attempting to help two female Freedom Riders. Several more groups of riders attempted to continue the trip to New Orleans; but so many were getting arrested in Mississippi for breaking segregation laws that the rides moved out of the headlines and became unproductive.

Through an agreement with the Attorney General, Robert Kennedy, civil rights leaders switched their attention to mass voter registration of Negro voters. This movement hit resistance from the beginning. It resulted in murder, intimidation, and beatings throughout the south, especially in Mississippi where the movement had its strongest start. Organizers continued their fight despite resistance, however, while King struggled with his own problems.

King found himself losing the support of other civil rights leaders. First King was publicly humiliated by the president of the Baptist Convention who blamed him for a disastrous voter's campaign that culminated in the death of a pastor. King then lost the faith of the leaders of the SNCC after his insistence on getting out of jail quickly caused an unsatisfactory end to a movement in Albany, Georgia. King decided he no longer wanted to be the fireman, the celebrity called in to help with a demonstration. King wanted to plan and execute his own demonstrations, which led to the Birmingham campaign that would utilize the use of children in protest marches. King would win back the trust of other leaders and a major victory that would eventually lead to the March on Washington and the greatest speech of his career.

Chapter 1, Forerunner: Vernon Johns,

Chapter 1, Forerunner: Vernon Johns, Summary and Analysis

Parting the Waters is a historical look at the Civil Rights Movement from 1954 through 1963, with an emphasis on Martin Luther King Jr.'s role. Taylor Branch has given his readers a look at King the man, from his family history nd childhood, to his role as a civil rights leader through the March on Washington. Branch includes in his tome a look at other organizations that sprang into existence, from King's work with both the MIA and the SCLC, as well as the work of other leaders who fashioned their techniques on King's past victories. *Parting the Waters* is an informative, insightful look at an important historical figure and an important piece of American history that is sure to please even the most novice historian.

The First Baptist (Negro) Church of Montgomery, Alabama was formed in 1867 when a group of Negroes left the First Baptist Church to form their own congregation. Ten years later another mass exodus resulted in the formation of Dexter Avenue Baptist Church. The two churches struggled with their differences for many years, competing against each other like siblings. Dexter Avenue Baptist drew a small congregation of highly intelligent people where First Baptist prided itself on a large congregation of less intellectual types. Where First Baptist (Negro) Church prided itself in its high class of preachers and the fact that they had only a small number of preachers over their long history, Dexter Avenue Baptist Church had difficulty finding and keeping acceptable preachers to fulfill the high expectation of its congregation.

In 1946, a scandal began to emerge regarding Dexter's current pastor, causing the deacons to ask the preacher to leave. A search for a new preacher began right away; but it was more than two years before an acceptable candidate was secured. Vernon Johns was the grandson of a white man and the son of a saddlebags preacher. Johns was the husband of a college professor and had a reputation for his popular sermons. The Dexter congregation was pleased to have Johns as their preacher; but soon his eccentricities began to cause trouble.

Johns loved Negro spirituals, but the congregation felt the incorporation of these spirituals in their church meetings was inappropriate to their positions in the community. John also liked to give his sermons controversial names and put them on the bulletin board outside the church, causing great animosity, not only within the congregation, but among the whites in the city. Once, the local police chief complained to Johns about the title of his sermon; so Johns recited the sermon on the street to ease the chief's mind. When Johns was pastor of Dexter, segregation was not a public interest story and was rarely discussed in public. The biggest thing regarding segregation to happen during this period was Truman's order to desegregate the armed forces. Johns spoke of whites and racial discrimination in a way that had never been heard before, by whites or blacks, stirring up controversy before the beginning of the Civil Rights movement.

Johns liked to give sermons with himself as the victim, reciting true stories in a more dramatic fashion than the original reality, such as a time when he once was forced to disembark the front of a bus to board at the back and the bus drove off without him. Johns was highly critical of the people in Montgomery, whites and blacks alike. Johns once criticized two members of the Dexter congregation in such a humiliating fashion that they stopped coming to the services. Johns often criticized his congregation for their status in society, suggesting that they cared more about their high middle class status than they did their heritage. To the horror of the bulk of Johns' congregation, Johns began to sell fruits and vegetables out in the street in front of the church in order to stress to his congregation that they had not risen so high that they could afford to show disrespect to the venders of the fine food and materials they treasured.

The stress of preaching at Dexter began to take its toll on Johns, and he began to lose some of his humor. Johns would often escape into the countryside in order to work in the soil, his first true love. During one of these trips home in 1951, Johns went to see his brother after a Ku Klux Klan group had harassed the family over a school strike. It seemed that Johns' niece, Barbara Johns, was the ring leader of a group of Negro children who had begun a strike at the local Negro school, due to the poor conditions at the school. This strike would eventually lead to a Supreme Court ruling entitled *Brown vs. the Board of Education*. Johns' brother, Robert, was frightened. He insisted that Barbara go to live with her uncle for a short time, for her safety as well as the family's.

Back in Montgomery, rumors had begun to fly regarding Johns' position as pastor. Most of the congregation had had enough of his disrespect for their position in the community. When, a short time later, Johns advertised a sermon entitled 'It's Safe to Murder Negroes in Montgomery', it was the last straw for many of his congregation. The white people of the city were angry at the implication, and a judge ordered Johns to take down the sign. Later, the Ku Klux Klan burned a cross on the front lawn of the church. However, after hearing the sermon, the judge called Johns to apologize. It turned out Johns and the judge had a shared love of classical history.

With more controversial sermons like this, the deacons of the church were beginning to put pressure on Johns to take things down a notch. Not only did Johns refuse, but he offered his resignation twice. On a third occasion, Johns was reprimanded for selling fruits and vegetables on the campus of Alabama State College, where many of the congregation had political and economic ties. This time when Johns offered his resignation, it was accepted. This left the deacons of Dexter desperately attempting to find a pastor who would not only fit the congregation's expectations of intelligent sermons, but who would be least likely to cause a scandal. The search went on for nearly two years before the man in charge of the search, R.D. Nesbitt was pointed in the direction of Martin Luther King Jr.

The author introduces in this chapter one of two churches that will have a large impact on Martin Luther King Jr.'s career and a man who has, in a unique way, opened doors for him. Dexter Avenue Baptist Church is a church that was formed when the congregation of the first Negro church in Montgomery, Alabama could not agree on the direction the church was taking and decided to split apart. The more affluent, intelligent

group of Negroes created their own church in the shadow of the state capitol. This created a church they felt was small enough to be intimate and intelligent enough to move in the direction the congregation wanted to go. However, this congregation found it difficult to find suitable preachers, going through three times as many pastors in the same number of years that First Baptist (Negro) church went through.

Vernon Johns came to Dexter as a pastor with a great reputation, as great as some of the best pastors of his time, such as Mordecai Johnson. However, despite his level of social position, Johns was a man who believed it was a mistake to forget where he had come from. Johns embraced his black heritage, perhaps more forcefully because he was the grandchild of a white man. Johns believed in using Negro spirituals in his sermons, of remembering his heritage even when dealing with the lowest man on the ladder, and felt resentment toward his congregation because it did not embrace its heritage the way he thought it should. Johns began to open doors for the man who would come to Dexter behind him by being controversial, by opening minds and reminding people of their duty as members of their race.

This chapter begins to touch on the theme of Civil Rights, though not in an obvious way. Johns began a move toward the Civil Rights Movement by being controversial, by reminding people in his congregation of who they were, and by opening the door for Martin Luther King Jr. to become the pastor of Dexter behind him. Johns did little to promote racial equality, but he began to lay the groundwork for the efforts of King and his fellow activists. Not only this, but Johns' niece began the fight as well, by leading the first student strike against inequality in the Negro schools, beginning a fight that would later end in the *Brown vs. the Board of Education* lawsuit. This chapter may seem at first to have little to do with the subject discussed throughout the book; but if readers look at it closely, they will see that this chapter sets the groundwork in motion for events that will become forever memorialized in history.

Chapter 2, Rockefeller and Ebenezer,

Chapter 2, Rockefeller and Ebenezer, Summary and Analysis

The Rockefeller family would have a lasting impact on King and his family. It all began in 1882 when two women made a plea at an Ohio church John D. Rockefeller attended with his family. They sought financial help for the Atlanta Female Baptist Seminary, a Negro school for girls. These two women turned out to be teachers of Rockefeller's wife. Mrs. Rockefeller talked her husband into giving a large donation to the women. A few years later, the Rockefeller family traveled to Atlanta so that Mrs. Rockefeller could visit her old teachers. During her trip it was announced the name of the school had been changed to Spelman, for Mrs. Rockefeller's maiden name. Impressed by the school, Rockefeller began buying up land around the school in order to build a proper building for the students and their school. Rockefeller, with the help of a friend named Dr. Henry Morehouse, also bought land to begin two male colleges, one named Morehouse after his friend. The colleges became a special charity for the Rockefellers, expanding over the years to become two of the most highly respected Negro colleges in the country.

Reverend A.D. Williams graduated from Morehouse a year after the first three college degrees were offered. Williams was the son of a preacher who became one himself, taking on the tiny church of Ebenezer. Williams was able, in six years, to make Ebenezer profitable enough that it swallowed up a larger church by buying its building. Williams used his talents in real estate and civil action, not only to improve his church's reputation, but his own as well.

Williams had a daughter named Alberta, who soon came under the attentions of an ignorant son of a sharecropper, Mike King. King tried in many ways to place himself in a position to speak to Alberta, who was so above his social class that he could not just approach her on the street. Mike knew he would have to improve himself in order to be in a class in which Alberta would even consider dating him, let alone marriage. Therefore Mike took some tests to find out what he needed to do in order to finish his high school education. Mike tested so poorly that if he enrolled in school it would have to be at the fifth grade level. Mike took the humiliation, however, and did what he needed to do to get his high school degree. Shortly after this, Mike and Alberta began a courtship.

Williams, aware that Mike wanted his church as much as his daughter, refused to allow the marriage on the basis that Mike did not have a college education. Mike applied to Morehouse but was refused based on his poor educational background. Mike would not take no for an answer.,He marched into the president's office and insisted that he be allowed to enroll based on the fact that he had more determination and will than most of the other applicants of the school. The president allowed him to enroll and Mike and Alberta were married a few months later.

Mike and Alberta moved in with Williams and his wife, remaining there until their deaths. Their first child, a boy named Michael Luther King, Jr., came three years later. Williams died two years after that, leaving Mike to take over as pastor of Ebenezer despite his wife's protests. Mike faced criticism from many of the members of the congregation that he had everything handed to him on a silver platter due to his good marriage. So Mike made promises to greatly improve the church, including a promise to turn the church's finances around. Mike stopped allowing people to donate money to the church anonymously, keeping a log book of everyone's donations and keeping it where any member of the congregation could access it. Mike also abolished many of the budgets belonging to the small organizations within the church, centralizing all funds. Mike then created twelve new clubs based on the months within which members were born, encouraging competition between these clubs in any manner that would benefit the church. With these changes, Mike made Ebenezer more prosperous than it had been under Williams. He also convinced the congregation of his legitimacy as its leader.

When Mike Jr. was only five, his father went on a trip to Europe, visiting France, Rome, Africa, the Holy Land, many biblical locations, and finally arriving in Berlin. When Mike returned from this trip he changed his own and his son's first names to Martin, in tribute to Martin Luther who began the Lutheran Church. There has always been some debate as to when and why Mike made this change, which resulted in a great deal of difficulty for Mike. Still, he embraced it just the same.

During this same year, the NAACP founder, W.E.B. Du Bois had a falling out with the current leadership due to his reluctance to promote programs he saw as mundane. Then Du Bois wrote an editorial stating that Negros should get used to living segregated, because they would die that way. This began a battle between himself and the NAACP. Du Bois used his magazine, *The Crisis*, to fight against the leaders of the NAACP. Finally, control of magazine, which was run and owned by the NAACP, was taken from Du Bois and given to a young man named Roy Wilkins. Du Bois found himself no longer a part of the NAACP and back on the staff of Atlanta University.

As the pastor at Ebenezer and with the success that came with it, Reverend King was at the forefront of the few civil rights movements of the time. Reverend King once escorted several hundred people to the courthouse in Atlanta to register to vote. Reverend King also found he had a rival in another pastor across town. He was William Holmes Borders, whom Reverend King went head to head with when the opening of *Gone with the Wind* was held in Atlanta. Reverend King allowed his choir to perform at the resulting party, causing much criticism from the black community because of the poor treatment of the black actors involved in the movie. However, Reverend King survived this criticism to continue growing as a social force in Atlanta.

Martin Luther King Jr. was very close to his maternal grandmother. When his grandmother was injured once by Martin's younger brother, Martin threw himself out a window in remorse. Later, when Martin's grandmother died while he was enjoying a parade downtown, Martin again threw himself out of a window in grief. However, Reverend King was not so grief stricken, as the death of his mother-in-law allowed him

to finally move out of the William's home and into a home of his own.However his wife refused to sell the old house and kept it as rental property.

Young Martin Luther King Jr. attended an advanced school, the Atlanta University Laboratory School, which allowed him to excel at his studies. The school subsequently closed while Martin was still a teen. He was tested; and it was discovered that he was so advanced in his studies that he was able to graduate high school at the age of fifteen. He then enrolled in Morehouse College as a freshman. Martin intended to become a doctor when he first enrolled in Morehouse, despite pressure from his father to follow in the family business. Martin found a new world in the freedom of college, becoming friendly with many of his classmates and testing the forbidden fruits of alcohol, dancing, and girls. Martin would often avoid going home during his time at Morehouse due to the pressure his father exerted on him to go into the family business. However, Martin overjoyed his father later when he changed his mind and decided to become a pastor. Martin Luther King Jr. made his first sermon as a guest speaker at Ebenezer a few Sundays after his announcement and proved to this first audience that he was a gifted speaker.

Martin enjoyed the social life of college his final year, spending the bulk of his free time with friends and female company. Martin wrote an article for a campus newspaper that revealed Martin's opinions on civil rights, even at this early point in his career. During this time, Martin also made the decision to continue his education at a seminary. He chose to attend school in the East, rather than remaining at an all Negro school, much to his father's disapproval. King was accepted to Crozer Theological Seminary in Pennsylvania along with his best friend, Walter McCall.

This chapter begins with the history of Spelman and Morehouse colleges, as well as the Rockefeller influence on the creation of these colleges. This is noted for several reasons. First, these colleges are important in the biography of Martin Luther King Jr. because both his grandfather and father were students at Morehouse College before Martin himself. Second, it is important for the reader to know the influence the Rockefellers had on these schools because it shows the history of these two families as they relate to each other. There is also a bit of foreshadowing that a Rockefeller will once again be important in King's life.

This chapter also gives an outline of, not only Martin Luther King's childhood, but the background of his maternal grandparents and his parents. This history helps to show the reader the tradition of preaching in King's family, touching on the theme of tradition vs. ambition. King's father wanted nothing more as a young man to be a great preacher like Williams, the father of his intended bride. He made a success of his career in ways that Williams might never have imagined. King's father was also a pioneer in civil rights, before the struggle for civil rights was a popular thing to do. This also shows where some of Martin Luther King Jr.'s opinions came from in regards to this controversial subject.

The history of Reverend King, or Daddy King as he is often referred to in this book, is also important to the biography of Martin Luther King Jr. It is his father's influence on

him in childhood, and later in life, that helped King make many of the major decisions during his career as a civil rights leader. Daddy King himself was a pioneer in civil rights, not only leading his church to be one of the greatest Negro churches in Atlanta, but he also crossed racial boundaries. He often chose to live in traditionally white neighborhoods, having many white friends, and by leading other Negroes to do things such as registering to vote. While not overtly monumental, these tasks showed young Martin how important fighting for his rights might be, despite his father's decisions at times to turn away from open discrimination.

Also important to the biography of Martin Luther King Jr. in this chapter is his relationship with his grandmother. This relationship was so intense that King threw himself out a window when he believed his grandmother to be mortally injured, and again upon her death. This passion is important, not only because it shows Martin was a child with heart, but because it shows the depth of his passion and the lengths he was willing to go to for what he believed was right, predicting his commitment to his civil rights leadership.

Finally, Martin's education in high school and college is chronicled in this chapter. This is important, not only because it shows Martin's level of intelligence, but also his commitment to education. Martin's time at Morehouse also reveals another side: his rebelliousness and his attempts to experience all the things his Baptist upbringing taught him were evil. This shows the more human side to a man most people know only by his accomplishments. It also reveals the tension between Martin and his father. Again touching on the theme of tradition vs. ambition, Martin enters college with the desire to be a doctor, despite his father's desire to see him become a preacher. Martin fights his father's influence, despite later acquiescing to become a pastor. But he decides to attend a seminary instead of joining his father at Ebenezer straight out of college. This decision at the end of the chapter foreshadows the next chapter as the reader follows Martin to seminary.

Chapter 3, Niebuhr and the Pool Tables,

Chapter 3, Niebuhr and the Pool Tables, Summary and Analysis

When Martin Luther King Jr. arrived at Crozer Theological Seminary he found a world he had never known before. There were pool tables in the basement rec room. This was a surprise to King because he had always shunned pool halls as places that encouraged low behaviors. There were ten Negro students out of thirty-five, a surprise to most of the students who had thought there would only be a handful of token Negroes at the school. There were no locks on the doors and the students were encouraged to participate in freethinking that went beyond what King had been accustomed to in Atlanta.

Courses took up most of King's time and attention the first year at Crozer. One of these classes was a course on the Old Testament, taught by James B. Pritchard. Pritchard was unorthodox in a way that he expected would cause King difficulty; but King excelled in the class. King wanted to succeed at Crozer, to adjust to and fit in with the white students. There were tense moments at Crozer, such as meal times that ended early, but overall it was a positive atmosphere. King excelled at oration while at Crozer. He spent a great deal of time at the home of Reverend J. Pious Barbour, who presented his audience with Socratic dialogues after his wife's home cooked meals. During his first year at Crozer, King dated Juanita Sellers, a girl from Atlanta who was attending classes at Columbia University. Juanita was from the West side of Atlanta and Daddy King hoped King would marry her.

During his second year at Crozer, King began to study the Social Gospel and began to drink, smoke, and play pool. Daddy King, still interested in having his son come home to be his own assistant pastor, would often send relatives to visit King to perhaps suggest that he go home. King continued to respectfully refuse. When King went home one Christmas and studied Karl Marx in his father's house, tensions grew ever more intense. Daddy King did not understand why his son needed all this knowledge to be a pastor at Ebenezer, when he himself had done so well with less education. Little did he know, King intended to continue his education after Crozer by attending graduate school. King discovered Niebuhr's *Moral Man and Immoral Society* shortly after Marx. In Niebuhr, King found a kindred spirit. Niebuhr declared that Social Gospel had no morality and Marxism was against the church. Morality was what it was all about according to Niebuhr; and this was a philosophy King would turn to many times in his life when his religious faith was challenged.

In 1950, while still at Crozer, King fell in love with the girlfriend of one of his professors. The girl, Betty, was the daughter of a German immigrant. At first it was only a game, but soon King fell in love. Due to the fact that Betty was white, King found himself wrapped up in a moral dilemma. King wanted to marry Betty, but knew marriage to a white woman would not only deeply hurt his mother, but it would severely limit the churches

where he would be offered a job. After much soul searching, King decided not to pursue the relationship any further. At the same time, a woman claiming he was the father of her child sued King's good friend, Walter McCall. A Crozer professor testified that the child could not be McCall's because a man of his character would never deny his own child. McCall won the lawsuit, but later admitted in a letter to King that the child was his.

In 1951, King moved to Boston to pursue his doctorate at Boston College. While there, King organized a group of Negro students in a group he called the Dialectical Society, or Philosophical Club. At the meetings of this club, one student would read a paper and the others would criticize or support the paper. Discussions of race relations would take place at these meetings, but they were normally relegated to the joke sessions rather than seriously discussed.

King was being pressured to marry because it would not look good for a pastor to not have a wife. King dated frequently, but rarely seriously. A friend gave King Coretta Scott's number. Coretta was a student at Boston's New England Conservatory of Music, hoping to become a classical singer. Coretta had come from Alabama, was raised on a farm, and had little desire to return. King told Coretta from the beginning that he was looking for a wife and outlined exactly what he wanted in a wife. He also let it be known that Coretta was not the only candidate. King took Coretta to meet his parents in Atlanta; and Coretta found them to be cold and distant. When the Kings came to visit in Boston, Daddy King made it clear that he did not accept Coretta as a wife for his son. Daddy King was still hoping King would marry Juanita Sellers. However, King made it clear at that meeting that he intended to marry Coretta, despite his father's objections.

King's friends made fun of him for getting engaged, saying that Coretta was too bourgeois for him. On his wedding day, Daddy King took both Coretta and King aside and assured them that everyone would understand if they decided to call the wedding off. Despite all this, King and Coretta were married at Coretta's parent's home. Coretta and King moved into Daddy King's home for the summer. To Daddy King's disappointment, King had decided to seek out employment in a church of his own while working on his dissertation. King accepted several guest sermon spots at several churches that might consider him as their new pastor, including Dexter Avenue Baptist in Montgomery, Alabama. The day King was supposed to leave for the trip to Dexter, he got a phone call from Vernon Johns wanting to know if he could grab a ride with him to Montgomery. Johns was due to speak at First Baptist the same Sunday. King agreed.

This chapter follows King through his graduate education, including time he spent at Crozer Theological Seminary. The experience at Crozer was profound for King, showing him a world of theology that he may not have known existed before Crozer. King found pool tables in the basement and freethinking in the classroom, two things that not only had he not experienced before, but had been taught were evil. King became a great pool player, a skill that would prove to be an advantage in relating to people later in his life. King also discovered a side to religion he had not known existed, and a world of philosophy that changed the way he looked at religious belief.

Niebuhr was a huge influence on King, showing him a way of looking at his own beliefs, as well as at religion overall in a new way. King found someone who truly understands his feelings when he read Niebuhr, and discovered that religion was as much about morality as it was anything else. This philosophy would stick with King throughout his life and help him in times of crisis when his religious beliefs were tested.

King's morality was tested while at Crozer when he met Betty, a young white woman with whom he fell in love. King wanted to marry the girl, but decided against it because of the hurt it would cause his mother and the limits it would place on his pastor's career. More than anything, King wanted to be a good pastor, to use his knowledge and gift of oration to change lives. This illustrates the ambition side of the theme tradition vs. ambition. This mattered more to him than the love of a young girl. King was being pressured to marry during this time, since a married pastor looked much better than a single one. King finally met a girl who met all his requirements for marriage in Coretta Scott, despite the fact that Daddy King did not like her. This touches again on the theme of tradition vs. ambition, as King chose the path of tradition. But he married the one girl who annoyed his father. Perhaps it was to show his father that he had a mind of his own.

Chapter 4, First Trombone,

Chapter 4, First Trombone, Summary and Analysis

King picked up Johns, and the two of them drove to Montgomery and the home of Ralph Abernathy, the pastor of First Baptist. After the introductions, King was talked into joining the group for dinner, despite the fact that he was expected at the home of Mr. and Mrs. Brooks. The supper proved to be educational for King, as he was able to discuss both Negro churches in Montgomery with the two pastors. Later King returned to the Abernathy home alone. He was able to have a more in depth discussion with Abernathy regarding the nature of Dexter Avenue Baptist Church.

King's sermon at Dexter went very well; but he was in competition for the job with a friend of his, Walter McCall. Both were invited back for a second sermon; but in his eagerness McCall misjudged his audience and failed by presenting a sermon too much like the sermon King had given on his first appearance. The job was offered to King and, after his demands to be allowed to finish his dissertation and given a pay raise were accepted, he took the job. King would become pastor at Dexter the fall after the *Brown* decision was handed down by the Supreme Court. McCall and King would remain friends and McCall would later write King a letter nearly admitting his guilt in the paternity of his ex-girlfriend's child.

When King took over Dexter he immediately implemented the same type of programs his father had found successful at Ebenezer, including the open donations book and the birthday month clubs. King appointed new people to head the various committees he would create, changed the way the church handled money, and promised to raise Dexter to levels unknown thus far. King kept busy his first few months at Dexter, working not only on church business and his dissertation, but also joining the local NAACP. King was a good pastor and well liked within his congregation. He did such a good job he even managed to get Daddy King's approval.

On March 2, 1955, a high school student on board a bus was told to move from her seat in order to make room for white passengers. When the girl refused to move, the bus driver hailed a police officer and had the girl arrested. A local railroad porter, who often found himself helping Negros in trouble with the law, was called upon to help this girl. E.D. Nixon found a lawyer for the young girl, Clifford Durr. Another lawyer, Fred Gray, who had been looking for a suitable case to fight segregation with, joined Durr. However, when it was revealed after conviction that the young woman was pregnant and unsuitable for public scrutiny, it was agreed that she was inappropriate for a fight of this type and her family paid the fines.

King finished his doctorate the following summer and received a great offer to teach from Dillard University. King elected to remain at Dexter. King also decided to increase his activities with the local NAACP, accepting a position with the executive committee. King's appointment letter came from Rosa Parks, a seamstress who was the secretary

of the chapter. Parks was a Methodist who was a teacher with the NAACP's youth council, which met at Trinity Lutheran. Trinity's pastor was a white man named Robert Graetz. Graetz struggled to fit in, not only with his Negro congregation, but with the whites in town who considered him Negro due to his relationship with the church.

In October, a young woman was again asked to give up her seat for white passengers. The young woman again refused, was arrested, convicted and ordered to pay a fine. Once again, due to her alcoholic father and poor financial status, the woman was once deemed unfit for a lengthy battle against segregation and advised to simply pay her fine. About this same time, King became a father to a baby girl named Yolanda. King also began considering a run for president of the local NAACP chapter, a role both his mother and wife objected to.

When Yolanda was two weeks old, Rosa Parks was on her way home from work. She was asked to vacate her seat for white passengers. Since Rosa was sitting in what was considered a gray area on the bus, a section that could be considered either black or white, depending on the number of whites on board, Rosa felt she should not have to move. When Rosa refused, she was arrested. Nixon and Durr paid Rosa's bond and took her home. Once there, it occurred to both men that Rosa would be the perfect defendant in a segregation lawsuit. Nixon and Durr approached Rosa with the idea, stressing to her what a drawn out fight could mean. Rosa agreed readily, but had to talk her husband and mother into it. Once their approval was reached, word spread through town. Jo Ann Robinson, a professor of English at Alabama State, went to her office upon hearing the news and wrote a letter of protest that called for a boycott of city buses for the following Monday.

Nixon made phone calls all night, including one to King asking for his endorsement. The basement of King's church was the location of a meeting of local leaders that same day. Despite some disagreement throughout the meeting, they all agreed with Nixon's plan of action and agreed to spread the word. A mass meeting was planned for Monday at the Holt Street Baptist Church. A reporter Nixon had contacted wrote an article in Saturday's paper that outlined the boycott, taking liberally from the leaflet Robinson and her friends wrote Friday night, a leaflet that had been very widely distributed by Saturday afternoon.

Monday morning King was up early watching out the window as the buses began to pass by the house. Much to his and Coretta's surprise, most of the buses that passed were empty. Police cars followed the buses most of the day due to the police commissioner's conviction that gangs of Negroes were bullying those Negroes who wanted to ride the bus. Despite this conviction, no gangs were seen throughout the day. Rosa Parks was convicted of breaking the segregation laws that same day and ordered to pay a fine. Fred Gray filed an appeal immediately.

At a meeting that night to prepare for the mass meeting, a new boycott organization was formed and King was made president without challenge. The new organization was called Montgomery Improvement Association, or MIA. Other officers were elected and the importance of the continued boycott stressed. King rushed home to prepare a speech for the mass meeting. King's speech stressed the importance of love and justice

in his speech, bringing the gathered crowd to a fevered pitch twice, but leaving them hanging as he walked out before bringing them to a third pitch.

Satisfying suggestions from the last chapter, King accepted the position of pastor at Dexter Avenue Baptist Church. King took the church and turned it around by using the same programs his father used at Ebenezer, finally winning some of his father's approval. King was a successful pastor and a PhD candidate at the age of twenty-five, proving himself a successful man before his involvement in the Civil Rights Movement. King also became a father for the first time during his early years at Dexter, as his wife gave birth to their daughter, Yolanda.

The theme of Civil Rights makes its first appearance in this chapter. Two women were arrested for breaking the segregation laws for not moving from their seats on the bus to make room for more white passengers. Both times those women were deemed unsuitable for a long, drawn out lawsuit to fight the segregation laws. Therefore both women were forced to take their punishment and pay their fines. However, this set the scene for the arrest of Rosa Parks, the NAACP secretary and seamstress who also refused to give up her seat for white passengers. Rosa's arrest was a dream come true for the Civil Rights lawyers, who were sitting back waiting for such a candidate for a major lawsuit.

Rosa's arrests and subsequent agreement to pursue a lawsuit set off a fury of activity, as a boycott was planned. This sets up the next chapter that covers the Montgomery Boycott. King's part in the boycott is also foreshadowed, as he becomes the president of the MIA, a new organization formed in order to run the boycott. King made a dramatic speech to encourage the Negro community in this new boycott, promising that with peace and love, justice would be found eventually. This not only explores the beginning of the theme civil rights, but also foreshadows the struggle King and his community have ahead of them during the boycott.

Chapter 5, The Montgomery Bus Boycott,

Chapter 5, The Montgomery Bus Boycott, Summary and Analysis

Without the use of the city buses, many of Montgomery's Negroes were left with long, impossible walks to and from work. The city's taxi cabs lowered their fare at first to help out; but the police commissioner made it known that he would arrest any taxi drivers who took less than the minimum, putting a quick end to the 'taxicab army'. King contacted an old friend, who had run a similar boycott in Baton Rouge, and was advised to start an organized car pool. This would require volunteers to offer their cars and time as drivers. Despite the perceived limitations of these requirements, more than a hundred and fifty cars were donated at a second mass meeting.

A week after the boycott began, a meeting took place between the city commissioners, King, and other Negro leaders. The meeting basically laid out the MIA's demands. At the second meeting, three white pastors had joined the discussions, bringing some tension to the proceedings and little advancement in the negotiations. At a third meeting, a new person joined the white side of the discussion, causing King to object. The discussion quickly disintegrated and King felt responsible. There were no more meetings called.

The difficulties for the people without transportation continued, but the nightly meetings went a long way to boosting their courage. Even when King was down hearted, the testimonies of the displaced went a long way to bolstering his spirits. As Christmas approached, King encouraged everyone to avoid Christmas shopping that year and put their Christmas money toward charities and the MIA. At the same time, the company that ran the bus system in Montgomery began to suffer financially from the boycott. The city council approved a fare increase, but without the Negro riders, the increase did little to improve financial troubles.

Rufus Lewis took over the running of the carpool, coordinating cars with drivers with riders. No matter how many cars they had, however, there were never enough cars for the number of people in need of rides. Fred Gray went to the commissioners to ask for a fourth negotiation meeting, offering concessions on their original demands. However the city commissioners were unwilling to accept the new offer. The MIA was weakening and the city commissioners could see that. At the next MIA meeting, the members discussed a new strategy, adopting a policy of waiting each other out to see who would weaken first, not unlike that of the Confederates in 1862.

A young reporter named Tom Johnson was assigned the job of finding out who was the power behind the MIA. At first Johnson assumed Graetz to be the leader, because he was white and therefore was the only member of the boycott capable of such organization. However, when he met King a week later in a casual interview, Johnson

began to suspect King to be the true leader. Articles such as this began to perpetrate rumors and myths that brought about interesting effects in both the white and Negro communities, including offers of rides from white women for their Negro maids.

On January 21, King got a phone call that the local Montgomery paper was about to release a story in which MIA had agreed to a settlement. King knew of no such deal and began to investigate the details of the story. King quickly learned that the commissioners had gone around the MIA leaders and had three country pastors agree to the deal, even though these pastors had nothing to do with the boycott. The MIA leaders got the word out to the community about the false story and the truth behind it and prevented anyone from boarding the buses on the following Monday, which had been the commissioners' goal with the false story. About the same time, Fred Gray informed the MIA leaders that he intended to file a federal law suit to challenge segregation since the appeals in the Rosa Park's case were bogged down in state courts. Fred Gray knew this route would be dangerous for him personally and for any plaintiffs, should he enlist in the case. But he chose to go ahead with it because of the possible benefits of a favorable ruling. The MIA debated whether or not to end the boycott during the legal processes and decided to continue, despite the fact that the lawsuits could go on for months or even years.

The police began to stop carpool drivers wherever they went, ticketing them for such things as speeding, worn out windshield wipers, and other minor traffic violations, real or imagined. Many drivers reacted to this harassment by driving with extreme caution, but many drivers still received dozens of tickets in the course of a few months. On January 26, King was driving a short carpool route on his way home and was arrested for speeding. Unaware that the county jail was out in the country, King panicked when he did not recognize where he was being taken. However, King was booked and processed without incident. As word spread through the community, a mass meeting was called to show support to King and his family. Soon the crowds grew so large that no fewer than seven mass meetings had to be held to accommodate everyone. It was also decided that King should no longer drive. Rather, he should be placed under bodyguard protection. The next morning, after the arrest and death threats received over his home phone, King had a crisis of faith, leading him to realize that faith was personal and grounded in experience, something that would stay with him throughout the rest of his life.

The decision to go ahead with the federal lawsuit and to continue the boycott as a separate issue was made the following Monday. At a mass meeting, King attempted to explain this decision to the congregation, but felt as though he was asking too much. His doubts came through in his speech, until one of the elder women in the crowd came forward and swore to do all it would take to support the cause. A few minutes later word arrived at the church that King's house had been fire bombed. King rushed home to find the police in his living room. There was also a crowd outside his home waiting to see if King and his family were okay. King was called to settle the crowd down when people began to get restless. He assuring them that he had no intention of withdrawing from the boycott and that the police would find the guilty party as long as they gave them the chance. King and his family went to stay with friends, and before dawn both King's

father and Coretta's father arrived to take their children home. King refused and Coretta chose to remain by his side.

Fred Grey filed the paperwork for the federal lawsuit the next day. That night a bomb exploded in E. D. Nixon's yard. A few days later a newspaper article suggested that one of Grey's plaintiffs had not willingly joined the lawsuit, that she had no idea that she had been named in the paperwork. This caused Grey and the MIA leaders a great deal of embarrassment. A few days later there was a riot at the University of Alabama when a Negro woman attempted to enroll in classes. Fred Gray's minister's exemption was revoked by the draft board. A grand jury was empanelled to investigate the leadership of the MIA for the possibility of indicting them for inciting a boycott without just cause or legal excuse. Fred Gray was arrested for barratry, the illegal bringing of lawsuits for little or no reason.

While King was out of town a few weeks later, a man named Bayard Rustin came to Montgomery to offer his help. Rustin was an ex-Communist who was a follower of Gandhi and believed in non-violent protest. Rustin snuck into Montgomery with the hopes of sharing his beliefs with King, as well as offering any help he could. Rustin arrived just as news that the grand jury had handed down hundreds of indictments against the leaders of the boycott. King was to come home by way of Atlanta, where his father was annoyed with him because the indictments had come down at a time when Daddy King was about to sign loan papers for an unprecedented loan for Ebenezer. King's possible arrest could jeopardize Daddy King's relationship with the white bankers offering the loan. Daddy King again tried to talk King into leaving Dexter and returning to Ebenezer, but King again refused.

In Montgomery, Rustin suggested that the MIA leaders simply turn themselves in to the police when rumors began that the police intended to go house-to-house arresting the leaders. One by one, the leaders began appearing at the county jail to turn themselves in, among large crowds of onlookers. Each man was processed, posted bond, and was allowed to return home. It was like nothing the officials of Montgomery had ever seen. Rustin worked in the background, raising money for the bonds that would have to be paid. Rustin also attempted to visit the woman who had withdrawn from the federal lawsuit, claiming to be a foreign reporter, a claim that caused unwanted attention to fall on him from both the white and Negro communities.

King returned home the next morning and chose to follow the example of his fellow leaders and turn himself in at the county jail. Afterward, King attended a mass meeting, at which he gave a speech that impressed Rustin with its Gandhian elements. Rustin wanted to teach King the ways of non-violent protests; but reporters had begun to figure out who he was. His background did not reflect kindly on King or the boycotters. Rustin decided he must get out of town quickly, but he did not want to leave King without a teacher. So he contacted a friend back East and had a man, Glenn Smiley, sent out to help. Rustin was then snuck out of town in the back of a car.

When King went to trial on March 19, 1956, he had eight lawyers there to defend him. The strategy was to have some MIA members give testimony that bordered on perjury

in order to make King appear innocent. However, King was found guilty and ordered to pay a five hundred dollar fine. The trial resulted in King's name being published in newspapers across the country. King had become a national symbol in the fight against segregation. Shortly before the trial began, King had a disagreement with Roy Wilkins from the NAACP that would haunt King for many years to come. King was unhappy that the NAACP seemed to be collecting money intended for the boycott. Wilkins defended himself by saying that the NAACP would be footing the bills for the legal fees resulting from the boycott, so it was only fair that they should get some of the money. After the trial, Wilkins paid King's legal fees and promised to defend him should he have any more legal troubles as a direct result of the boycott.

On June 1, 1956, the Attorney General of Alabama obtained a court order banning NAACP in Alabama and a judge levied a contempt fee of $100,000 against them for not providing a list of contributors. It would take more than eight years for the NAACP to have these sanctions lifted. This sanction caused some NAACP leaders to move closer to King. This included Fred Shuttlesworth, a man from the backwoods of Alabama. Shuttlesworth felt it was his divine mission to create a new organization like King's to replace the NAACP in Alabama.

On June 4, 1956, a panel of three federal judges ruled in favor of the MIA and Fred Gray in the federal lawsuit. The Alabama attorneys immediately filed an appeal to the Supreme Court. The success in the lower court was a tangible victory that served to send optimism through the still struggling boycotters, helping to sustain the boycott. King took a vacation shortly thereafter with his family and the Abernathys. However, the moment his back was turned, a rival held a press conference accusing the MIA leaders of corruption. The rival, Uriah J. Fields, was upset because he felt as though he should have been elected MIA president. King flew back to Montgomery to deal with this insurrection; but Fields' own church had already stripped him of his pastorate. Most people who mattered knew his actions were simply inspired by jealousy. King then went to California for the NAACP convention where he met Medgar Evers.

On August 25, 1956, several sticks of dynamite exploded in Robert Graetz's front yard. King wrote a letter of protest to the White House a few days later. He received a response from the cabinet secretary, informing him that the situation was being closely watched by the White House. A presidential election campaign was taking place that year and the Democratic candidate, Adelaide Stevenson, was accused of trying to keep the civil rights struggle from his campaign. In response, Eisenhower made several public appearances in the company of Negro leaders. Eisenhower won the election in a landslide.

Shortly after the election, city officials petitioned a state court to ban the MIA carpool. On November 13, King was in court attempting to convince a judge that the MIA carpool was not a private enterprise or voluntary. During a recess, word reached King through an AP reporter that the United States Supreme Court had ruled that segregation on Montgomery buses was unconstitutional. The judge imposed an injunction on the carpool; but now it was irrelevant. However, it became relevant again, when the MIA leaders discovered that the Supreme Court ruling would not be implemented until the

orders reached Montgomery, which could take months. The boycotters were so happy about the decision, however, they resolved to walk if need be until the orders were implemented. The orders reached Montgomery on December 20. King was among the first to board a city bus and sit in the front.

King invited Rustin to visit Montgomery. He arrived on December 23, in time to investigate damage from a shotgun blast that King's house had received just that morning. King was discussing matters ranging from fund raising efforts to a trip to India, when Daddy King burst into the house insisting on praying with his son. The next day, a car pulled up to a bus stop where a young Negro woman was waiting alone and beat her. In Birmingham, Shuttlesworth's house exploded around him, a death threat that had hoped to stop him from leading a group of Negros to board a local bus. Shuttlesworth survived. In Montgomery, a sniper fired on an integrated bus. King called for city officials to take a stand against the violence. The violence continued; and all the city officials did was halt bus service after dark.

In January, King invited preachers from across the country to what he called the first Negro Leaders Conference on Nonviolent Integration. Sixty preachers attended the meeting that was held in Atlanta at Ebenezer. The day the conference was to begin, a phone call came to the King home to inform Abernathy that his home in Montgomery had been bombed. Four churches, including First Baptist, and another home had also been bombed in the night. King rushed to the conference where it was decided to form an organization that would be called the Southern Christian Leadership Conference; and King was elected president. Back in Montgomery, Abernathy rushed the repair of his church basement in order to hold services there that Sunday.

Two weeks later, King rushed out of his home in the middle of the night due to a bad feeling. Later that night a bomb exploded on the corner that took out a taxi stand and the front part of the house. Twelve sticks of dynamite were later found on the front porch that had not exploded. A few days later, seven white men were arrested for the bombings. Two of the defendants were acquitted of all charges and charges were later dropped against the remaining defendants. King, on the other hand, lost his appeal for his inciting a boycott conviction. Some time later, Time magazine wrote an article about the Montgomery Bus Boycott and about King. King's picture appeared on the cover of the magazine, establishing him as a permanent fixture in American mass culture. In February, King met a man named James Lawson, who was a Gandhian scholar that would later become one of King's closest friends.

This chapter covers the Montgomery Bus Boycott, a boycott of the public buses in Montgomery that lasted slightly longer than twelve months. The Montgomery Bus Boycott began with the arrest of Rosa Parks for refusing to give up her seat on a public bus. Rosa's arrest presented the perfect situation for civil rights activists to orchestrate a legal movement to challenge segregation. This began one of the most famous civil right protests, exploring the theme of civil rights. The boycott began with the formation of an organization, the MIA, in order to organize and control the boycott. As the president of this organization, King suddenly found himself in a prominent position in the community, more so than his simple job as a pastor of a major congregation.

King proved himself to be a great leader by continuously inspiring his congregation to continue to boycott the buses, and by organizing a carpool in order to provide people with rides to work. King also jumped in there with those under pressure during the boycott by getting arrested. King's arrest not only served to show the community that they were not alone, but also thrust King into the limelight. King's newfound popularity aided the boycott by bringing to it the attention of people across the nation, including celebrities who were willing to help raise money for the cause.

The cause proved to be justified. Again touching on the theme of civil rights, Fred Gray, a lawyer based in Montgomery, filed suit first in the state courts in the form of an appeal of the Rosa Park's case. Later, putting himself and his clients in danger, Fred Gray filed suit in federal courts to challenge segregation. Gray was arrested and his clients harassed, but he continued the fight and prevailed. The Supreme Court ruled that bus segregation was unconstitutional, making it illegal for Montgomery officials to force Negroes to give up their seats for whites. The boycott, beyond causing financial difficulties for the company that ran the buses in Montgomery, succeeded in ending segregation on buses.

The end of the boycott brought King more celebrity status than any articles had accomplished before. An article in *Time* placed King's face on the cover, making not only his name, but his face as familiar as the boycott for most Americans. This fame foreshadows the future of King's career, as a person with this type of celebrity status cannot easily escape into the background of the Civil Rights Movement. King presented himself as a capable leader throughout the boycott and put in motion the direction for his future.

Chapter 6, A Taste of the World,

Chapter 6, A Taste of the World, Summary and Analysis

After the Montgomery Bus Boycott ended, King searched for a way to keep the momentum of the movement going. King worked to build his own organization, register voters, and build a nonviolent army. During this time King met two men who would be a great help to him in the fight for civil rights. One was Harris Wofford. Wofford was a Gandhian who wanted to share their philosophies with King. The other was Stanley Levison, who would quickly become King's closest white friend. Levison was a lawyer who Rustin introduced to King in order to help raise money for their cause. Levison was a member of the Communist party. Shortly after King and Levison met, the Communist party became divided in an attempt to keep the organization in America from disappearing; but the divisions only worsened the group's imminent extinction.

That February, King began a letter writing campaign to the White House. King wanted to take his desire to end segregation to Eisenhower himself; but the President avoided making a commitment to meeting with King. The first head of state King would meet would be the president of the newly formed Ghana. King flew to Ghana with Coretta for the celebrations of the newly formed government. Here he met Vice-President Nixon, and then came home through Rome, Geneva, Paris, and London. King then returned to Dexter to report on the trip to his congregation, thanking them profusely for the money they donated to make the trip possible.

King chose not to follow up on Nixon's invitation to meet after his return because of a planned march on Washington, called the Prayer Pilgrimage. The march took place on May 17, 1957. King made a speech in which he spoke about getting the vote for the Negro community. Rustin worried about how the speech would sound; but it turned out to be a wild success. Right after the march, King contacted the White House and again requested a meeting with either the President or Nixon. King received notice shortly afterward that Eisenhower was willing to see him soon, and gave him an appointment to meet with Nixon. Rustin and Levison helped King prepare for the meeting by going over the things he might be allowed to say, coaching him to avoid partisan references.

On June 13, 1957, King arrived at the Capitol Building with Abernathy in order to meet with Nixon. After photographs were taken, the three men were left alone to talk. King gave a monologue, once again urging the idea that Eisenhower come to the south to make a speech on compliance with the *Brown vs. the Board of Education* ruling. King insisted that if Eisenhower would not come, then Nixon should. Then they discussed the passing of the civil rights bill, getting so involved that they spoke for more than two hours, despite the reporters waiting outside the door. Afterward, Nixon assured Eisenhower that a conversation with King would be a joy.

The debate over the first civil rights bill in more than eighty two years took over one hundred and twenty hours, thanks in large part to a filibuster by Strom Thurmond that lasted twenty four hours. In the background, Lyndon Johnson worked at the bill to make it appear more his idea than Eisenhower's, cutting it down to the bare minimum and preaching the inevitability of its passing to both sides of the issue. Organized labor got in on the debate as well, coming in largely on the side of the Southerners. The bill finally passed on the second week of August, a severely reduced version of the original bill. King and Wilkins were both criticized by the Negro press for accepting this bill; but both defended it by saying a little is better than nothing.

On September 4, 1957, the governor of Arkansas, Orval Faubus, ordered the National Guard to prevent nine students from enrolling in classes at the all-white Central High School in Little Rock. Each day this continued, a large group of angry white adults would gather outside to be sure the National Guard followed their orders. The situation became national news, causing Eisenhower to be forced to intervene. Ten days into the crisis, Faubus flew to Rhode Island to talk with Eisenhower. Through the course of the meeting, it was agreed that Faubus would draft a statement to be released to the press; but then he changed it before its release. It was also agreed that instead of protecting the school from the nine black children, Faubus would have the National Guard protect the nine children from the white mob. However, Faubus removed the National Guard all together, allowing the white mob to do as they pleased. In desperation, Eisenhower called in the 101st Airborne Division. The next day, there was little resistance outside the school except for a campaign of bullying that would go on for a year after this episode was concluded.

At a loss for non-violent protest opportunities, King threw himself into his speaking engagements, often speaking an average of four times a week at locations throughout the country. King was asked to write a book about the Montgomery Bus Boycott; but the project had so many guidelines that King found the actual act of writing the book a tedious experience. He finally had to hire a woman to help with the writing and editing.

During this time, it also occurred to King that they could spread the movement and encourage voter registration with the use of mass meetings in targeted areas. To help with this idea, King went to Billy Graham to request information about his crusades in the hope of copying Graham's crusade format. Graham and King hit it off on their first meeting; and King was able to come up with many great ideas for his plan. With the help of his SCLC organization, King put into motion plans for a Crusade for Citizenship to take place simultaneously in at least ten cities by February. It was an ambitious undertaking, especially taking into account that the SCLC was still a fledgling organization that was being run by pastors who all had day jobs.

A few days later, King attended a business meeting at Dexter and realized that his schedule had caused him to lose track of church business. King was so distracted by this realization that, when news came that Coretta had given birth to their second child, Martin Luther King III, King refused to leave the meeting. During this time, King's sermons had become melancholy as well, including a speech he made that was unhinged and offensive, surprising many of his followers.

After the first of the year, Rustin and Levison conspired to rescue the Crusade for Citizenship and the SCLC by bringing in Ella Baker, a member of the NAACP who had been known for rescuing many fledgling chapters throughout the south. Rustin and Levison wanted Baker to be given the director's job for the SCLC; but King did not like her and she was not terribly impressed with King either, due to a personal dislike of all pastors. However, King did allow her to have temporary control of the office until a more suitable director could be found. The Crusade proved to be well attended and enthusiastic under Baker; but the number of voters registered was not impressive enough to call the whole event successful.

Thanks to the recent appointment of Rocco Siciliano as the President's new assistant for personnel management, King was finally given an appointment to meet with Eisenhower. King was allowed to bring three advisors. He chose Roy Wilkins, Phillip Randolph, and Lester Granger. Siciliano did not want Granger and Wilkins in on the meeting; but King fought for Wilkins, so all four were eventually allowed in. Siciliano gave Eisenhower guidance on what he should or should not say to King, before the meeting took place. Randolph read off a nine point plan for increased White House leadership in civil rights, King made a speech, Wilkins' discussed with three legislative recommendations, and Granger spoke to Eisenhower describing the difficulties for Negroes in the south and the difficulties in leadership with Eisenhower's calls for patience. The Attorney General became upset by what seemed like disrespect for all the work he had done with civil rights over the course of his time in office. Later, King, Wilkins, Randolph, and Granger spoke to reporters in the Fish Room, declaring the meeting a success.

Abernathy was having trouble. The MIA had been fighting for more than a year searching for another fight against segregation. This left Abernathy to take the brunt of the disagreement, since he was acting president in King's frequent absences. In August of 1958, Abernathy was alone in his church office when a man burst inside and attempted to kill him with a small hatchet, accusing him of having sexual relations with his wife. Abernathy was able to escape the attack and the man was arrested. On September 3, King and Coretta went to the courthouse to support Abernathy during the preliminary hearing. Local police barred them from entering the courtroom because the courtroom was already jammed due to the scandal produced by the attempted murder of Abernathy. When King attempted to peek into the courtroom to see if Fred Grey had arrived, he was quickly placed under arrest and marched down to the city jail. King was manhandled and choked while the police searched him before being placed in a holding cell. The next day King was found guilty of loitering and sentence to either pay a fine of fourteen dollars or spend fourteen days in jail. King chose to serve his time in protest against the unfair charge. However, King was quickly released when the police commissioner paid the fine. King was later advised to get out of Alabama.

Later that same month, King was in New York to promote the release of his book at a department store book signing. A woman approached King and, after receiving confirmation of his identity, stabbed him with an expensive letter opener. The woman was quickly taken into custody and later found to be legally insane. King was taken to a local hospital where he would receive a visit from the New York governor while waiting

for surgery to safely remove the weapon. King would spend several weeks quietly at home afterward to recuperate, staying unusually calm.

The trial against Abernathy's attacker took place in November. The man's wife testified that Abernathy had engaged in natural and unnatural sexual acts with her at the home of a relative. Her husband testified that, after his wife confessed to him about these acts, he was angry and wanted to kill Abernathy. Abernathy claimed that, not only did he not have an affair with the woman in question, but that the woman's husband had come to him offering to kill white opponents of the MIA, and that Abernathy had refused the offer. The man was acquitted of all charges. The scandal soon passed from people's thoughts and life returned to normal for Abernathy.

Early the following year, King, Coretta, and L.D. Reddick made a trip to India to retrace Gandhi's steps. The trip started off roughly, as the group decided to stop over in Paris rather than London and missed a connecting flight. They were forced to take the train. However, the trip continued without any more incidents. King and his group had dinner with the Prime Minister of India, with Indira Gandhi as hostess. Later they flew to Patna to meet a disciple of Gandhi. Then they went to the All-India Cattle Auction to meet with labor leaders, to Bombay where they stayed in a home Gandhi had stayed in, and then to Ahmedabad to the ashram where Gandhi had begun his Salt March. King then met with Vinoba Bhave, a most revered Gandhian, who disappointed King by not speaking as candidly as King would have liked. At a press conference toward the end of the trip, King suggested India should take the lead and call for universal disarmament in the arms race.

In the spring of 1959, J. Edgar Hoover took notice of King when he heard Levison's name in connection with King's. Hoover knew of Levison's connections with the Communist Party and was concerned that Levison might use these connections to attempt to persuade King into working in favor of that radical party. However, Hoover's concern was not overt at this time, since civil rights were outside his scope of concern.

Baker had been replaced as temporary director of the SCLC by a pastor named Tilley. However, Tilley proved to be ineffectual and Baker was brought back until another director could be found. King organized a conference called the Institute on Nonviolent Resistance to Segregation to discuss the formation of an American Salt March. Many speakers came to express their opinions at the conference, looking for a new instrument through which to fight segregation. Many were divided over the very idea of nonviolent protest, let alone how to go about it. James Lawson thought a good solution would be to offer classes on nonviolent protests, calling them workshops, which would culminate in a practice demonstration at department stores in Nashville. King, too, began to struggle with the idea of nonviolent demonstrations, concerned that they would not be able to convince average people to take a beating without retaliation. However, when King met a young man named John Lewis, he realized there was a group of people out there willing and able to participate in this type of protest.

At Highlander Folk School there was a woman, Septima Clark, who taught reading and writing to farmers and laborers who had little more than an elementary education, if that

much. Baker went to Highlander to meet Ms. Clark with the thought of combining Clark's classes with the Crusade for Citizenship by having Clark also teach her students the parts of the constitution the people would have to know in order to register to vote. At the same time, King was becoming down hearted by the movement and its lack of activity. King was also frustrated in his own career, realizing that he was having trouble keeping up with his duties at Dexter. Finally King turned in his resignation at Dexter, deciding it would be best for everyone concerned if he returned to be assistant pastor at Ebenezer, as well as being more hands-on at the main office of the SCLC in Atlanta. King was given a grand send off by his congregation while, that same night in Greensboro, North Carolina four Negro college students had staged a sit-in at a local lunch counter in a downtown Woolworth's store.

The aftermath of the wildly successful Montgomery Bus Boycott left King looking for something else to do that would have the same universal effect, but had difficulty finding anything with the same circumstances from which he could hope to get the same result. Therefore King concentrated on his oration career and began to travel around the world, furthering his education and meeting dignitaries who might be helpful in the Civil Rights Movement. King met many people during this time period that would be of great help later in the course of the movement. King met Nixon, whom he eventually visited at the Capitol and was able to convince he was not a man of violence in order to win his endorsement with the President. This eventually led to a meeting with the President that was carefully worded and frustrating for the Attorney General, who felt that the Negro leaders were accusing him of being ineffectual at his work. However, both sides declared the meeting a success. This meeting would not be repeated, nor would Eisenhower be a leader in civil rights. However, King's act of reaching out to the White House suggests that he will later reach out again and might find more success next time the Administration changes.

Other important people in King's life are introduced in this chapter as well. Among them is Stanley Levison. Levison was a member of the Communist party at one time. This connection makes him a student of nonviolent protest, but it also had placed him under the attention of the FBI. King's connection to Levison places him, too, on the radar of the FBI; as Hoover was known to be suspicious of a person's with connections to Communists. Hoover would be concerned of Levison's influence over King. However, despite this situation, Levison would become King's closest white friend and would serve him well as both a fundraiser and literary agent throughout the rest of his life.

Another person introduced in this chapter who will play an important part in King's life is Ella Baker. Baker had been associated with the NAACP before meeting King At one point She was president of the New York City chapter, the first woman to achieve such an honor. Baker was known for her ability to rescue fledgling organizations and she was tapped to help save the SCLC during a crucial time. However, King did not like Baker and Baker had a deep mistrust of men and pastors that made her weary of King. King would refuse to give Baker the directorship of the SCLC straight out; but as temporary leader, Baker would turn the organization around and save King's Crusade for Citizenship.

John Lewis is also introduced in this chapter. John Lewis was a seminary student who had applied to Troy State College and was turned away, causing him to be determined to sue for admittance. Lewis had courage and strength, two qualities important to a leader in the civil rights movement. However, Lewis was not a refined man. Lewis spoke with a stutter. This would not hold him back from preaching to anyone who would listen. Lewis would soon become a driving force in the civil rights movement.

Another event for the reader to make note of is King's decision to leave Dexter. King had wanted his own pulpit since he decided to become a pastor, but his schedule had made him unable to keep up with church business, leaving him frustrated and full of guilt. Finally King decided it would be best for everyone concerned if he resigned and returned to Atlanta so that he could focus more on the civil rights movement. This marked a turning point, not only in his personal life, but in the movement as well.

Chapter 7, The Quickening,

Chapter 7, The Quickening, Summary and Analysis

For unknown reasons, the Greensboro sit-in was a success that encouraged dozens of other college students to join in. Soon the sit-ins spread to other cities and states, catching the attention of CORE, the SCLC and the national press. Lawson got involved, organizing the students and teaching them nonviolent techniques. King embraced the protestors, enthused with their originality and their choice to embrace the nonviolent techniques. King encouraged the students to stick with the protests and to fill the jails, if that was how the local governments wanted to react. However King was having his own troubles at the time. King was served with an arrest warrant from Alabama on perjury charges, stemming from a tax case in which King was accused of not paying taxes on income earned from his civil rights work.

In Atlanta, lunch counters were closing in anticipation of sit-ins. In Nashville the police were threatening to arrest all protestors for trespassing. Lewis wrote out a list of dos and don'ts for the protestors in the event of their arrests. When Lewis was arrested, terror took the place of his Gandhian teaching; but the ease with which he and his fellow protestors passed through the legal system encouraged them to continue their fight. At their trial the following Monday, Diane Nash stood up and spoke for the whole group, refusing to pay the fine and accepting instead jail time. This act convinced a fellow classmate of Lewis', James Bevel, to join the protests and in turn join Lewis in jail. The mayor of Nashville, seeing so many of his citizens in jail, decided to release the protestors and to appoint a biracial committee to make recommendations about segregation to downtown stores. Lewis was dismissed from Vanderbilt University's Divinity School, however, without a hearing. Diane Nash, in the meantime, led a group of protestors to a lunch counter at the Greyhound bus depot, which was not covered by the truce. Much to everyone's surprise, the manager fed them without incident.

On February 25 in Montgomery, a group of students attempted to get service at the lunch counter in the basement of the state capitol building. The governor called the president of Alabama State and ordered every student involved be expelled. That Friday night there was a massive rally attended by Alabama State students. Martin Luther King Jr. made an appearance as he had just arrived in town to surrender on the perjury charges. That Saturday, among rumors of a sit-in, black shoppers were attacked and beaten by white mobs. The governor refused to do anything about the violence.

While King went back to Atlanta to prepare for his trial, the sit-ins continued to spread from state to state. In Montgomery, the students chose not to register for classes until their expelled classmates were reinstated. The school in turn banned unregistered students from the cafeteria. Abernathy organized a prayer-in; but his group was blocked by police barricades before they could reach downtown. Students then attempted a protest march from the school grounds to the capitol; but the police barricaded the streets to keep them at the school. Abernathy, who was now the president of MIA in

King's absence, attempted to get the organization to back the students, but was unsuccessful.

King offered the directorship of SCLC to Wyatt Tee Walker, despite Ella Baker's clear successes. Walker, a successful, if controversial activist, assured King he would turn the SCLC into a strong organization. Student protests began to spring up in Atlanta and the students wanted King to become involved. However, many of the protests involved members of Ebenezer or men who were good friends and associates of Daddy King's, putting King in a difficult position. King kept his mouth shut and attempted to remain neutral. King's biggest concern was his perjury trial. King had hired many lawyers to help him who were very expensive. They often were fighting between themselves on how best to defend King. King had also given his accounting books to a friend of his father's in order to prove that he did not cheat on his taxes; but the man was slow and not interested in materials that would be of real help.

In New York, the Committee to Defend Martin Luther King ran an ad written by Rustin in the New York *Times* attempting to raise financial support for King's defense. The ad brought in many contributions. However, it also enraged the Alabama governor; and the police commissioner in Montgomery wrote letters to both the *Times* and the four pastors listed in the endorsement section of the ad, Abernathy, Shuttlesworth, Lowery, and Seay, with the threat of suing them for libel. At the same time, Highlander Folk School in Nashville was shut down after a surprise raid found beer being sold in one of Clark's classes. Despite this set back, Clark hosted a conference of all the students involved in the sit-ins in North Carolina. This conference resulted in the formation of a new organization called the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, or SNCC.

King's lawyers took him aside a short time later and told him that they had little hope that he would be able to avoid jail time in his perjury trial. They simply had nothing with which they could defend him. They did recommend, however, that he hire another accountant to go over his books. King resisted at first, since the man he had hired was a friend of his father's, but finally relented. In a meeting with the new accountant, it soon came out that King kept track of his finances in diaries he carries with him at all times and it was from these he had done his taxes. But the other accountant had no interest in the diaries. The new accountant took the diaries and quickly discovered that King, in fact, had not kept most of the donations meant for the SCLC for himself and that he had not lied on his taxes, giving his lawyers a defense against the charges.

In Nashville, students marched on city hall. The mayor came out to speak with the students and Diane Nash confronted him, forcing him to recommend in front of the crowd the desegregation of the lunch counters. In Atlanta, King had planned to offer jobs to Lawson with the SCLC, but Wilkins threatened to pull NAACP support for the organization should King do that. Lawson learned the news second hand and was crushed.

In May, King was to go on trial; but the trial was delayed. In Atlanta, students were planning a march from Atlanta University to the capitol to commemorate the anniversary of the *Brown* decision; but the governor had announced he would employ state troops to

prevent this. The students wanted King to join in on the march, but again King attempted to avoid conflict in Atlanta. The students marched anyway, despite the state troopers keeping them confined to specific sections of town. King surprised everyone by showing up and making a speech praising the students for their courage and their nonviolent behavior.

The candidates for the Presidential election of 1960 were beginning to rally for the primaries. Nixon appeared to be a shoo-in for the Republican nomination and Kennedy a surprise possibility for the Democrats. Both were aware that civil rights would be a major issue in the campaign. Kennedy, after learning that Jackie Robinson would not back him even if his candidate did not get the nomination, went to Harry Belafonte to ask for his support, creating a situation in which Belafonte encouraged Kennedy to meet King. In the meantime, King finally went on trial for perjury at the end of May. King was acquitted of all charges.

The Greensboro sit-ins were not the first lunch counter sit-ins of their kind, but for some reason they had a much larger impact on the civil rights movement than any other of its kind had before. After four students just decided to protest their inability to be served in certain downtown lunch counters, a movement began that spread throughout the state and into other states. These students had finally done what King had been attempting to do since the Montgomery Bus Boycott. They found an avenue of protest that could be done with little violence and a good outcome. These sit-ins also ended in the formation of the SNCC, a student run organization that would become a powerhouse in the civil rights movement.

By this time King had returned home to Atlanta so that he could concentrate on civil rights and his various speaking engagements without allowing his church to suffer. Once back in Atlanta, however, he discovered that Alabama was not ready to stop harassing him. First, the state of Alabama accused him of lying on his tax forms by not paying taxes on income he received as donations to the SCLC. Despite the fact that King paid back taxes on his income, the state chose to charge him with perjury for lying on the forms. King hired lawyers he could not afford to pay and found himself still facing a certain jail term. However, after a new accountant was hired, King's innocence was proven and he was eventually acquitted on these charges.

Stemming from King's perjury charge was a new case, not against King, but against four of his friends. This case came from an ad that was placed in a New York paper in order to raise money for King's legal fees. This ad would upset both the governor of Alabama and the Montgomery police commissioner, both of whom sued the paper and the four pastors, claiming they had libeled the men in their ad. This lawsuit will play out in later chapters and leave these four defendants with ruined finances that go beyond the difficulties King suffered.

Finally, several people were introduced here who will prove to be important through the book. John Lewis, a young seminary student who reminded King a great deal of himself, embraced Lawson's nonviolence teaching so dearly that he jumped headlong into the lunch counter sit-ins. Lewis would prove to be an active and enthusiastic soldier in the

civil rights movement. Diane Nash would also prove to be an enthusiastic soldier, already responsible for making the mayor of Nashville admit that the lunch counters should be desegregated. Finally, Bob Moses was mentioned in passing in this chapter. Moses too would prove to be important in the civil rights fight, a leader who would put his life on the line for the cause he believed so deeply in.

Chapter 8, Shades of Politics,

Chapter 8, Shades of Politics, Summary and Analysis

King had a friend in Kennedy's campaign, Harris Wofford, who with Sergeant Shriver, was in charge of getting out the black vote. King knew Wofford through an old friend, Chester Bowles, and worked with the two of them drafting an ideal civil rights plank for the Democratic platform. Wofford was the one who also arranged for King and Kennedy to meet, as Belafonte had suggested, bringing them together over breakfast in New York. King felt that Kennedy lacked a depth of understanding of the issues, however.

Shortly afterward, while King was overseas for the Baptist World Alliance, he got word from a man in Congressman Adam Clayton Powell's office that, if he did not call of plans to picket the Democratic Convention, they would spread the word that King and Rustin were homosexual lovers. King called Rustin and Randolph to discuss the problem. They finally decided to fight the threat with another threat by saying that King had pulled out of the picket at the request of Powell. Powell's men dropped their threat.

At the convention in Los Angeles, King lead more than five thousand people on a march through the streets to the Sports Arena where the convention was being held. King and Wilkins addressed the crowd, as did Powell, before the pickets were set up. At the convention, Kennedy won the nomination and immediately set out to pick a running mate. The position was offered to Lyndon Johnson although no one thought he would take it and were deeply surprised when he did. The Republican Convention in Chicago was much bigger, with the picket lines twice as long. Nixon was given the nomination, as expected. Nixon chose Henry Cabot Lodge as his running mate, a choice that Eisenhower criticized. Nixon came out of the convention ahead of Kennedy in the polls.

In Atlanta, student protests were escalating. The leaders came to King one afternoon, however, he was afraid that a man in their organization might be a communist because he was too enthusiastic in his work. King agreed to speak with the young man, who turned out to be Bob Moses, and question him to learn if the allegations might be true. However, King found a young man much like himself, who was simply enthusiastic about the cause. Moses was a well-educated man who had to drop out of graduate school in order to care for his ailing father. King gave Moses a job working for the SCLC, which was simply a small corner of the church office with one fulltime employee. Moses jumped at a chance to go on a recruiting trip into the Deep South, where he met a gasoline station owner with fantastic ideas to further the cause.

During this same time, a young lawyer from Wisconsin was offered a job with the Justice Department's Civil Rights Division. John Doar would change the way the office handled cases, preferring to bring into the courts many small cases rather than wait around for large, important cases. Second, he would investigate many of his cases himself, rather than relying on information from the FBI.

That fall, King would attend the National Baptist Convention, where a new candidate would attempt to challenge the current president, J.H. Jackson. The new candidate, Gardner Taylor, was a younger and well respected man. King himself backed his presidency with hopes it would help with the civil rights fight despite the fact that Jackson was a friend of his father's. Taylor won the vote, but Jackson refused to give up his title, forcing Jackson to sue him in court.

In Baltimore, the city's white and black pastors came together to discuss the church's role in racial tensions. Johns was chosen to speak for the Negroes, a decision that would soon come back to haunt everyone. Johns, in a short speech, managed to offend everyone with a discussion on the white pastor's insistence on preaching about Jesus. In Washington, Shriver and Wofford found themselves to be the outcasts of the Kennedy campaign. Shriver hired Louis Martin to help raise money for them in order to win the Negro vote, but Martin could not convince Robinson to endorse Kennedy. Neither was Martin able to buy the Negro vote, either. Martin had a meeting with Powell in order to encourage him to endorse Kennedy and ended up agreeing to pay him fifty thousand dollars in exchange for ten speeches in Kennedy's favor.

In Atlanta, the students wanted King to join in their marches, while his father was encouraging him to steer clear of anything that might cause strained businesses relations between him and his many white associates. Daddy King also wanted his son to endorse Nixon, even though King was leaning toward Kennedy. The students continued their pressure on King when they had finalized plans for a sit-in at a local lunch counter. King was also attempting to arrange another meeting with Kennedy; but they were having trouble picking a location. A date was finally arranged for a meeting with Kennedy, but King also insisted on inviting Nixon to the meeting. This infuriated Kennedy and caused him to cancel the meeting. The next day, Daddy King threw his support behind Nixon at the Atlanta Baptist Ministers' Union meeting. King decided to join the students at their sit-in, making the first deliberate decision to go to jail.

King got involved in politics, hoping one of the candidates for President would help his civil rights fight. King threw himself behind Kennedy almost from the beginning, due to the fact that a friend of his was working on the Kennedy campaign in the civil rights division. King also attended both conventions in order to protest a lack of legislation in support of civil rights. This begins a cycle in which King will become closely associated with the Kennedy's during a time when the support of the White House will be crucial to the civil rights fight.

During this time other upheavals occur in King's life, including the infighting at the Baptist Convention, ruining King's hopes of using the coalition of Baptist ministers to help in the civil rights fight. These upheavals predict a time later in the book when this infighting will bring King further embarrassment and difficulties. Also in this chapter is the downfall of Vernon Johns, King's predecessor at Dexter, who embarrasses himself and many Negro preachers at a convention with white and Negro preachers in Boston.

King also found himself stuck between a rock and a hard place in Atlanta. Daddy King wanted his son to support his candidate and to avoid trouble with local businessmen

who were acquaintances of Daddy King. But his son refused to listen and did not throw his support behind Nixon, as his father did, and did not refrain from supporting student protestors in Atlanta. King, in fact, decided at the end of the chapter to throw in with the Atlanta protestors, even though he was aware this would most likely end in a stint in jail, making the first purposeful decision to go to jail thus far.

Introduced in this chapter is John Doar, a young lawyer who took a job with the Justice Department. Doar would do his job his own way instead of the slow, unsuccessful way his predecessors had done, and become a powerhouse for the leaders of the civil rights fight. In fact, Doar would come to know many people in the Civil Rights Movement, coming to their aid at certain points and supporting their work with lawsuits filed in federal courts.

Chapter 9, A Pawn of History,

Chapter 9, A Pawn of History, Summary and Analysis

Eighty demonstrators demanded service in eleven different lunch counters at the same time on October 19. King was with a group who was refused service at a snack bar in a covered bridge at a local department store. In court, King was the first to speak, refusing bond in lieu of jail time. Thirty-five students followed King to jail in quick succession. The group was taken to a special cellblock of the county jail, where they were cared for better than their best expectations. The students were thrilled to be there with King; especially Bernard Lee, who managed to grab the bunk above King's. On Friday, King and the student leaders were allowed to hold a press conference, at which King spoke quietly about his decision to join the students.

Wofford called a lawyer acquaintance of his in Atlanta and asked him to talk with the mayor about getting King out of jail. The mayor, Hartsfield, was in a panic attempting to negotiate with city officials and Negro leaders to stop violence that was reported to be brewing between the Negro community and the KKK. It would have been ideal to release King from jail; but King and the students were refusing to take bail. Further, some of the charges against them were federal charges, out of the mayor's jurisdiction. Hartsfield wanted to use Kennedy's name in negotiations with the federal prosecutor; but Wofford could not allow that, since Kennedy had no idea Wofford had gotten involved and did not want to be associated with King during the campaign. Hartsfield attempted to get permission from Kennedy himself to use his name. When that failed, he used Kennedy's name anyway, a fact that became public when a reporter who had snuck into the negotiations released it over the wire. The Kennedy campaign was outraged in private, but publicly released a neutral comment that kept the story on the back pages of the papers. Hartsfield finally managed to get the charges dropped against King and the students.

That Sunday, before he could be released from jail, a bench warrant was issued to keep King in jail on other charges. The spring prior, King had been arrested for driving with an out of state license and was given a twelve month suspended sentence, an agreement he violated by being arrested again. When they heard the news, the students refused to leave their cells; but Daddy King and other Negro leaders talked them into going, leaving King alone. On Tuesday, a group of protestors gathered outside the jail in anticipation of King's move to the De Kalb County jail. Later, at King's sentencing hearing, more than two hundred people crowded the courtroom and the KKK gathered outside. The judge, feeling as though King were unrepentant for his crime, sentenced him to four months hard labor. Emotions ran high in the courtroom where King attempted to reassure his supporters. Coretta, who was pregnant at the time with their third child, cried when she and Daddy King visited King in his jail cell.

Wofford wanted Kennedy to make a statement in regards to King's sentence, but the governor of Georgia promised he would get King out of jail as long as Kennedy did not

make a public statement. Kennedy agreed to this. When the governor reneged on his side of the deal, Wofford and a friend came up with the idea that Kennedy should call Coretta and offer his support. While they were making plans for this call, King was transferred to a maximum-security prison in the middle of the night. With this new information, Wofford went to Shriver and convinced him of the benefits of Kennedy calling Coretta. Shriver convinced Kennedy who spoke with Coretta for a few minutes, promising his support.

The press soon learned of Kennedy's call to King's wife, a fact that infuriated Robert Kennedy who felt that his brother should not have done anything in the situation for fear he would lose the white vote in the south. John Kennedy confirmed the phone call to a reporter, despite his brother's disapproval. Robert Kennedy himself, for reasons even he was not clear about, then called the judge in Georgia and suggested that King be released due to the fact that he had been denied bail. This phone call was a dangerous one for Kennedy because he was influencing a sitting judge, an offense that could cause him to be expelled from the bar. However, the phone call had the desired effect, and King was released on a two thousand dollar bond. Word quickly got out about Kennedy's actions. Shriver decided to act on this situation and wrote a leaflet to be distributed outside Negro churches in the south that Sunday, which happened to be the Sunday before Election Day. Shriver told no one about this leaflet, called the blue bomb, paying for it himself with the hopes that Kennedy's actions for King would influence the Negro vote. Kennedy would win the election and history would give King much of the credit, due to the fact that Kennedy won thanks of a large Negro vote in the south. The libel suit against King's four friends went to trial in Montgomery the same week as the election. Judgment went in favor of the police commissioner in the amount of five hundred thousand dollars.

At the end of the last chapter, King made the conscious choice to join a protest that would most likely land him in jail. King was correct about this assumption and did find himself in jail, along with a large group of student protestors who could not have been any happier to be in jail with the famous civil rights leader. King chose to go to jail rather than pay a fine because he felt that the arrest was unjustified, since everyone should be allowed to eat at the food establishments from where the protestors were arrested. However, with King in jail, tension was building in town that was about to culminate in a riot between the KKK and black protestors, causing the mayor to desperately seek a quick solution. When the mayor learned that a person on the Kennedy campaign wanted the charges dropped, the mayor used Kennedy's name to get exactly that to happen, dragging the Kennedy into the situation.

The Kennedy's did not want to be involved with the King situation because they felt that making a stand on civil rights could cause a loss of votes in the south. However, Kennedy found himself very much involved through Wofford and Shriver, who first convinced John Kennedy to call Coretta. Then Robert Kennedy decided on his own to call the judge involved to have King released from prison, since his case had not proceeded lawfully. Not only does this chapter illustrate the theme of civil rights, but it also begins to show the relationship between King and the Kennedy's, especially Robert

Kennedy, predicting the future of this story in which Robert Kennedy will play a major role in upcoming civil rights demonstrations.

Chapter 10, The Kennedy Transition,

Chapter 10, The Kennedy Transition, Summary and Analysis

In Nashville shortly after the election, John Lewis went to a restaurant with three friends for hamburgers. The waitress poured water and cleanser over their heads and on their food. Lewis returned later that afternoon with James Bevel and asked for the manager, and was told the restaurant was about to close for fumigation. The manager then locked the two men inside and turned on the fumigation machine. The manager later returned to release them, but only after the fire department and a reporter had arrived. King in the meantime had gone to Nigeria and returned to find Daddy King joining a group of student protestors walking a picket line in front of the downtown department stores.

Kennedy took office on a snowy day. King had little contact with Kennedy during this transition because King's name was too volatile at the time. Kennedy also wanted to go in a different direction with the civil rights issue, mostly in the direction of voter drives rather than open protests, something that would fall to Robert Kennedy as the new Attorney General. King was weary of Kennedy, unsure if he would be a President to make a difference in the civil rights arena. Wofford found himself afloat without offer of a job in the new administration. Then, suddenly, he was handed the reins to a new position. However, he was not told what it was until after he was sworn into office. Doar would remain with the Justice Department despite being a Republican, continuing much the same as before. Burke Marshall was appointed head of the Civil Rights Division.

Taylor, who was still fighting for his right to take over the office of president of the National Baptist Convention, headed a committee looking for a new director of his organization, CORE. The committee finally decided on James Farmer, a rising star in the NAACP. At his first meeting, it was suggested that CORE sponsor an interstate bus ride that would test a new Supreme Court ruling that made segregation in bus terminal restaurants and waiting areas unconstitutional. The test would become the Freedom Rides. That same February, a second trial against King's four friends and the *Times* accusing them of libel ended in another five hundred thousand dollar judgment in favor of the mayor of Montgomery.

The anniversary of the first Greensboro sit-ins was celebrated all across the south by students who staged demonstrations. The most notable of these was a group of students in Rock Hill, South Carolina who, when arrested and offered either a hundred dollar fine or thirty days hard labor, chose the hard labor. In response to a call for support, four more students drove to Rock Hill in order to be arrested and to join the nine already in jail. This set a precedent for future jail sit-ins that would occur over the next few years. Meanwhile, King's friends in Montgomery were suffering from the continuing libel suits and were considering move east to escape unfair prosecution. King was upset by this thought, and fought to keep them in the south.

In Nashville, Bevel began to stage protests outside movie theaters that refused black people entrance. The theaters wanted them gone but refused to have them arrested for fear of bad publicity, so mobs of white people began showing up throwing things at the picketers and often throwing punches as well. The police soon began arresting the protestors rather than the mob that was causing the trouble. They arrested Lewis, who decided to remain in jail instead of paying his bail, forcing him to miss his senior sermon at the seminary.

In Atlanta, continued protests of the downtown department stores had closed many of them for more than three months. When negotiations began between Negro leaders and the department store owners, there was a sticky moment. One Negro leader needed to use the bathroom. The store owner was unsure where to send him since he did not want to send him to the Colored bathrooms, but did not want to send him to the employee bathrooms, either. The Negro leader ended up using the owner's personal bathroom. The situation was finally resolved with an agreement that stated that the lunch counters would be integrated when the schools were, a decision that left the students unsatisfied.

Hoover and the Kennedy's had a strained relationship that consisted of politeness face to face and a tableau of insults behind each other's backs. Hoover took notice of King shortly after the inauguration when he published an article that outlined the things the Kennedy administration would have to do in order to improve civil rights. The publication mentioned the FBI, which was not racially integrated; and King thought ought to be. However, King was not on good terms with the Kennedy's either, as he was not invited to be part of the first large meeting of civil rights leaders in the Attorney General's office. King was later invited to meet with Robert Kennedy. King and Levison went to Washington and had lunch with Kennedy, a meeting that proved to both sides that they were dealing with intelligent, passionate people with a commitment to their personal beliefs.

With Marshall as the new director of the civil rights division of the Justice Department, Doar found himself being discouraged from running his cases as he had before. The new director wanted only cases brought in that could win and make a significant change. Doar continued to bring in cases that were plentiful and were not guaranteed to win, but would saturate the courts in such a way as to make a difference with persistence. Doar also continued to rely on his own investigations, rather than those of the FBI. This led Doar to investigate a case in Jackson, Mississippi in which local Negroes were being encouraged to not register to vote through harassment and the loss of their homes.

When John F. Kennedy entered the White House, things in the political arena began to change. Despite the help Robert Kennedy was to King in the previous chapter, he shied away from King in this chapter in order to preserve his brother's Presidency. So while establishing a division in the Justice Department to deal with civil rights situation, touching on the theme of civil rights, neither Kennedy brother would make a public stand for or against the struggles of leaders like King. King would eventually be allowed a meeting with Robert Kennedy. They would discover the character of each other,

however it would not begin to resolve the civil rights issues between them at this point. Still, the reader should be assured that Robert Kennedy would return to the story line later within the book.

The protests continue throughout the country, including the Rock Hill jail sit-ins that would begin a practice of refusing bail and remaining in jail. This would mark the next steps in the civil rights movement, predicting the use of this technique in the following chapters. This technique also illuminates the theme of Gandhiism, as it is a practice that stems from the nonviolent techniques taught by followers of Gandhi. There is another mention in this chapter that suggests the direction of the book is the planning of a Freedom Ride by the organization known as CORE, now headed by James Farmer. Finally, Doar's work in Mississippi with the people discriminated against for their desire to register to vote alerts the reader to an attempt to right this problem, both through the federal courts and through organized registration drives.

Chapter 11, Baptism on Wheels,

Chapter 11, Baptism on Wheels, Summary and Analysis

Thirteen riders in two groups boarded buses on the morning of May 4, 1961. One group boarded a Greyhound, the other a Trailways, with the intention of testing whether they, as a racially integrated group, would be allowed to use the white restaurants and waiting areas in the bus terminals as allowed for interstate travelers by a Supreme Court ruling. The first few days of the ride were uneventful, with most of the bus terminals in the east not fighting their actions. During these first few days, Robert Kennedy made a speech in Georgia declaring that his office would not allow racial tension to cause the United States to appear weak on an international level.

The first sign of trouble for the Freedom Riders took place in Rock Hill, South Carolina. Lewis was one of the first riders through the door and he was confronted by several white youths who promptly picked a fight when Lewis refused to leave the white waiting room. Police arrived and wanted to press charges against the assailants, but Lewis and another injured young man refused to press charges in accordance with their nonviolent beliefs, angering the cops. When the second bus arrived several hours later, they found the terminal closed.

King had dinner with the riders when they arrived in Atlanta. King was concerned about them and expressed this concern to one of them. That night, Farmer received a phone call from his mother informing him that his father had died. Farmer left the group to return home for the funeral. The next day, despite King's fears, the Freedom Riders re-boarded their respective buses. On board, unknown to the passengers, were several plainclothes investigators. At several stops the Greyhound driver heard rumors of a mob waiting for the bus in Anniston, Alabama. When they arrived they found there was indeed a mob that immediately began to attack the bus, breaking windows and slashing tires. The driver was able to pull out of the station and regain the highway, but the mob followed.

Shortly after leaving town, the bus began to list, due to a slashed tire that was beginning to go flat. The driver pulled over and the bus was immediately overwhelmed by the mob. Windows were broken, the luggage torn from the compartments, and finally when the passengers refused to leave the bus, the mob threw a firebomb in through a broken window in the back. If not for one of the investigators pulling a gun, the mob would have attacked the riders when they exited the bus. However, the mob backed off until police officers could get there to take the riders to a local hospital. The Trailways bus arrived in Anniston behind the Greyhound. They ordered sandwiches without trouble, noting that the local people seemed tenser than they were. When they re-boarded the bus, the driver told them about the Greyhound and that the mob would do the same to them unless the Negroes moved to the back of the bus. The riders objected and a fight broke out, leaving two riders injured.

In Birmingham, word of the approaching Freedom Riders had already circulated and the local KKK was planning an ambush. Shuttlesworth, a pastor friend of King's, heard the rumors and attempted to get help through the local law enforcement. However, the police department had made a pact with the KKK to leave them alone with the riders for ten minutes, a fact an FBI informant had already reported to his supervisors. When the Trailways bus arrived, the riders walked into a terminal brimming with KKK Klansmen and reporters. The Klansmen attacked the Freedom Riders and the reporters alike, spreading throughout the streets of Birmingham where Negroes minding their own business were attacked. The Freedom Riders managed to escape when the police began to appear, each making his way to Shuttlesworth's home. Once there, a distress call came in from Anniston, where the survivors of the Greyhound bus had been kicked out of the hospital and left to the mercy of the mob. A group of Negro churchmen rushed to their rescue.

A call was made from Shuttlesworth's home to John Seigenthaler, the Attorney General's special assistant. Seigenthaler promised that the Attorney General's office would make sure that interstate travel was safe for everyone. In Nashville, James Bevel and Diane Nash heard the reports of what was happening with the Freedom Riders and decided to send another group down to Birmingham in order to relieve those injured and to continue the ride to its intended destination, New Orleans. Back in Birmingham, Kennedy called and suggested that the riders consolidate the riders all on one bus. Kennedy and Marshall also knew they would have to guard the riders with federal protection because the state would most likely not be willing to help. However, when everything was settled and the Freedom Riders arrived at the bus terminal for their bus, they were informed no one was willing to drive.

By this time, the whole ordeal had become international news. When it became clear that the Riders were not going to get out of Birmingham by bus, Kennedy arranged for them to fly. However, the flight was delayed for hours by multiple bomb scares. Seigenthaler flew in and eventually concocted a scheme in which airport officials simply would not answer the phone in the hour before the plane was to take off to prevent anymore bomb scares. Seigenthaler had just settled down for some sleep when he got word of Diane Nash and the second group of Freedom Riders. Ten people were chosen to be with the second wave of Freedom Riders. They took a bus from Nashville, but were stopped outside Birmingham where two riders were arrested for breaking segregation laws. The rest of the riders were isolated and forced to stay on board the bus. One rider had not caught the bus in Nashville and was able to leave the bus to call Diane Nash. The Freedom Riders were kept on the bus for several hours, as much for their own protection as anything else, until it was finally decided to arrest them.

Robert Kennedy went to the President the next morning and informed him that the situation in Alabama was quickly getting out of control and asked permission to begin plans to send in a military force if it became necessary. They did not want to send in the armed forces, so they devised a plan of creating a force of civilians, including members of the marshal service, the border patrol, and the ATF. This force was to be utilized only if absolutely necessary and everyone involved in the planning hoped it would not be. In the meantime, the arrested Freedom Riders were taken out of Alabama to the border

town of Ardmore, Tennessee and unceremoniously dumped on the side of the road. From there, they found a homeowner willing to let them in and feed them. The Freedom Riders then called Diane Nash and made arrangements for a ride back to Birmingham to attempt the ride another time. The news became public before the riders reached Birmingham.

Seigenthaler, in the meantime, was rushing to Montgomery in order to present the governor with a request from the President to end the violence. Seigenthaler then elicited a statement from the governor, refusing federal help to protect the Freedom Riders, but promising to use his state resources to do the job. When the riders arrived at the bus terminal the next day, however, they found that once again no one was willing to drive a bus. A phone call from Kennedy to the Greyhound supervisor finally found someone willing to do the job and the Freedom Riders, who had been grounded since mother's day, was finally back on the road. Word quickly spread of the approaching riders in Montgomery. A mob formed at the local bus terminal; but there appeared to be plenty of police present in the area to keep it under control. However, the police quietly began to disappear. Seigenthaler went to the station to meet the bus and found himself driving into a riot. Seigenthaler attempted to help two female riders and instead got beat over the head with a pipe. Many other riders were attacked and beaten severely, including one white rider who was later refused access to an ambulance due to his relationship with the riders. When all was said and done, the Freedom Riders swore to continue their fight until they reached their destination or they were dead.

The Freedom Rides, an important illustration of, not only the theme of civil rights, but also of persistence, were a turning point in the civil rights movement. The demonstrations up to this point had been for the most point nonviolent, but suddenly the protestors were meeting up with mobs of people willing to kill in order to stop integration of traditionally white service areas. The firebombing of the Greyhound bus was a wake up call for many across the world to the severity of the civil rights struggle in the United States, illustrating exactly what Robert Kennedy had predicted days before. Resistance to the civil rights movement could cause the United States to be hurt in the international srena.

The violence in Alabama was outrageous, so out of control that the federal government appeared powerless to do anything about it. Robert Kennedy sent in his own assistant to help bring things under control, as well as to ask for help from the governor, only to be injured in his attempts to help. The riots were hurting everyone, not just the Freedom Riders. Reporters and innocent bystanders were being injured just as severely as the riders, caught in the cross fire of the anger of the southern people. This event finally highlighted once and for all the terrible conditions that existed in the south for Negroes. In a way, the persistence of the riders, a theme of the book, brought to light a situation that had been largely ignored by the rest of the world for a long time. However, it also put more lives in danger and made a bad situation even worse. The frustration of the government was palpable in this chapter for the reader, changing the tone of the book for the first time to a more serious, dangerous tone.

The end of the chapter was a promise from one of the riders that the experiment was not over and would continue, even if it meant death. Not only does this again push the theme of persistence, but it also shows the reader that the protestors would not be frightened off. It predicts the direction of the next few chapters as this experiment continues. The fight of the Freedom Riders has become a symbol of the whole civil rights movement, proving to the world that they will no longer sit by quietly, as illegal and immoral attacks rain down on them, and as people continue to die for nothing but the color of their skin.

Chapter 12, The Summer of Freedom Rides,

Chapter 12, The Summer of Freedom Rides, Summary and Analysis

Robert Kennedy was called back to his office when news of the Montgomery riot reached Washington. Kennedy called Seigenthaler in his hospital room and asked him to speak to King. Kennedy wanted the riders to stop before someone was killed. The governor of Alabama was fighting with the federal authorities to keep federal troops out of his state, despite his failure to follow through with his promise to protect the Freedom Riders. A mass meeting was called at Abernathy's church, and people began arriving hours before the meeting was scheduled. Word spread and a white mob began to appear around the church. King was there to speak and became as nervous as everyone else at the sight of the mob outside the church. There were marshals present at the church, holding back the mob due to the fact that the local police and firemen had gone on strike. However they were small in number and soon were calling for backup. The makeshift, civilian force the Kennedy's had designed were mobilized.

While King was on the phone getting reassurance from Kennedy that help was on its way, the improvised civilian force was running into difficulties with transportation. However, they finally arrived and surrounded the church. The sight of the civilian force excited the people inside the church, until they learned that they would not be allowed to leave for their own protection. Shortly after, the governor called out the National Guard and placed the city under martial law. The people in the church were finally allowed to leave early the next morning via National Guard trucks.

In the next few days, the Freedom Riders began to strategize their next move. They wanted King to join them, but King refused. Nash dismissed King's objections and insisted that she, too, was going to go along. King entered into negotiations with government officials in both Alabama and Mississippi to protect the Freedom Riders on their next ride from Birmingham to Mississippi. King reluctantly agreed that the law enforcement agencies would be able to arrest the riders to protect them from mobs. With this agreement, the Freedom Riders boarded a bus for Mississippi with armed escorts from both states. However, unknown to the government officials, a second group of Freedom Riders arrived at the bus terminal in Birmingham within hours of the first's departure. This surprise move angered Kennedy and the many state officials he had worked with to get the first bus out of Alabama safely. Kennedy asked for a cooling off period after this, but the protestors refused.

The riders on board the first bus were arrested as soon as they reached Jackson, Mississippi. Like others before them, they all refused bond and remained in jail. The second bus's passengers were also arrested. Kennedy pulled the federal marshals out of Montgomery that day, refusing to give federal protection to any more Freedom

Riders. The rides continued, however, until they no longer brought headlines due to their quick arrests. As a result, despite his harsh comments against King and Freedom Riders, Kennedy wanted to create a tax-exempt organization to register Negro voters in the south. Kennedy was specifically interested the SNCC and CORE in order to stop them from the confrontational actions that they had thus far shaped their names around. However, most of the leaders of these groups were in jail in Mississippi. Finally Kennedy was able to arrange a meeting in New York with the heads of all the major civil rights groups to discuss his plan. The Voter Education Project was created.

In Mississippi many of the Freedom Riders were continuing to serve time in jail. A group of men were moved from the county jails to the prison where they were told they would suffer among the prison population; but many of them gave up their mattresses and spent the days singing spirituals. A few were not able to bear the pressure of intimidation and discomfort, but many did. At the same time, the SNCC suffered a division in its ranks. Some of the members wanted to participate in the voter drive Kennedy had outlined for them, but others wanted to continue in the direction the Freedom Rides had taken them. Finally two groups immerged, each going its own direction. This included Moses, who took on the task of going into Mississippi to begin a voter registration drive there.

During this time, King was still feeling the disappointment of the Freedom Riders who were upset at his refusal to ride with them, as well as feeling pressure from his outrageous schedule. Still longing to be a pipe smoking college professor, King found a temporary job offer waiting for him in Atlanta from Morehouse. King took it before going off to vacation at Levison's house on Martha's Vineyard.

The theme of persistence could hardly be clearer than in the story of the Freedom Riders continuing their mission, despite all that happened in the weeks prior to the opening of this chapter. The riders wanted to finish their trek no matter what, even when doing so angered the Attorney General of the United States. Kennedy, who had gone above and beyond to help protect these riders, was offended and angered that they snuck in more riders after Kennedy had assured the protection of the only riders he was aware of. This caused Kennedy to turn his back on the whole situation, despite the fact that the Freedom Riders were more determined than ever to finish their journey.

Kennedy did not turn his back on the entire civil rights movement, however. Kennedy simply felt that the protestors were going about things the wrong way, and that a safer way to achieve their goals would be to start a voter registration drive. Kennedy created an organization that would be tax exempt and eligible for grants, whose prime interest would be in registering voters. This could hardly be a dangerous pursuit, not like the Freedom Rides. This assumption leads the reader into the next chapter, in which Moses will begin a voter registration drive in Mississippi.

The situation in Montgomery, when there was a mass meeting at the First Baptist Church, is symbolic of the theme of civil rights in this chapter. The black congregation sits peacefully inside a church while a white mob and federal marshals face off outside. King had attempted to create a movement that would be nonviolent, touching on the

theme of Gandhiism; and his work paid off on this night. Had the people inside the church confronted the mob, it could have been a terrible situation. Not only this, but the scene seemed to be symbolic of the white man's anger and outrage that far outweighed the same emotions on the side of the black community.

Chapter 13, Moses in McComb, King in Kansas City,

Chapter 13, Moses in McComb, King in Kansas City, Summary and Analysis

Moses arrived in McComb, Mississippi and quickly contacted the local president of the NAACP, who set him up in the all Negro Masonic Temples for his voter registration school. The first classes had seven attendees, four of whom were willing to register right away. Moses took them to the county courthouse in Magnolia the next day and three were registered. The following class, three were willing to try and two were accepted. The third night, nine volunteered to try; but by then the registrar was beginning to catch on and only accepted one. Moses then expanded his classes to include another nearby county. The first time he took three volunteers to the courthouse, where they waited many hours just to fill out the forms. However, on the ride home, a patrolman followed them and arrested Moses upon his arrival back in McComb.

Moses was charged with interfering with an officer in the discharge of his duties. Moses used his one phone call to call Doar. Moses was convicted and ordered to pay a fifty dollar fine, which he refused to do. Several days later, a NAACP lawyer came into town and paid the fine for Moses. Moses returned to the Masonic temple to find that several Freedom Riders had come to town to help. Moses moved back to Amite County to continue his work there. Word had spread among the Negro community of the danger of working with Moses, and people stayed away. However, Moses found two people willing to make a second attempt at registering. When Moses and the two men arrived at the county courthouse, however, the local sheriff attacked them. Moses refused to give up, and went into the courthouse to register his companion despite the blood flowing freely over his collar. Moses then went to the county attorney to press charges against his attacker, but the sheriff was acquitted. Moses was warned to get out of the county.

At the same time, King was scheduled to go to Kansas City, where the National Baptist Conference was to be held along with another election showdown between Taylor and Jackson. King did not want to go because he had not been able to get up enough support for Taylor and knew Jackson would win. However, King went anyway. Before the elections could even be held, a scuffle occurred between Taylor and Jackson supporters and one man was killed when he fractured his skull in a fall. Later, when the election was held, Jackson clearly won. Jackson quickly had King removed as vice president of the Sunday School Board and openly accused King of masterminding the conflict between himself and Taylor. The remarks were picked up by the press and presented a very embarrassing situation for King.

Moses and Freedom Rider, Travis Britt, escorted four Negroes to the courthouse to register to vote. Moses and Britt were ordered to stay outside where a hostile group of whites quickly formed. Moses and Britt were beaten as they attempted to find a

policeman. A few days later another Freedom Rider, John Hardy, took several more people to the courthouse only to be pistol whipped by the registrar. Hardy was subsequently arrested for disturbing the peace when he attempted to have the registrar arrested. The Justice Department would attempt to intervene and block John Hardy's trial but were denied. Doar eventually was forced to fly to Mississippi himself to investigate the situation there. When Doar arrived he found that Moses' injuries from his first beating were far more severe than he had originally thought, and he also learned that a local Negro man had been killed by the same man who had attacked Moses. A witness would come forward to aid Doar in bringing a federal case on the murder, but eventually backed out when he when questioned unkindly by the FBI. Without the witness, the case was over before it had begun.

A group of students who had been expelled from school for an arrest at a sit-in went to the registration school with the hopes of mounting a march against the unfair treatment of the school system. Moses and two SNCC members accompanied the students on a protest in front of the courthouse, where one of them was beaten and then all were arrested. Bryant, as president of the local chapter of the NAACP, was also arrested. The students were released to their parents and the three SNCC members were remanded for trial on disturbing the peace charges. After they posted bail with money Harry Belafonte sent, they went to Atlanta for an emergency meeting of the SNCC.

King, in the meantime, was in Nashville for a three-day SCLC conference. The SCLC was struggling financially because of the legal bills of both the Freedom Riders and the libel suit against the four pastors. A fundraiser was to be held with Harry Belafonte as the star attraction. However, Belafonte fell ill and the fundraiser lost money. King was later offered the opportunity to meet privately with the President, but at the same time was warned about Levison's Communist sympathies. King was deeply upset by these accusations and refused to believe them. King met with the President at the White House and was given a tour of Mrs. Kennedy's newly decorated rooms.

Moses returned to Mississippi with a carload of Mississippi veterans. They immediately set up an emergency school for the protest students who had been expelled from school, surprised to learn some of the misinformation the students had been getting in the public schools. Moses, his co-defendants from the student march, and fifteen others were sentence to four to six months in prison for their parts in the march, scolded on the way to jail for leading Negro children to slaughter.

Moses arrived in Mississippi with the hope of making a difference with a voter registration drive. What Moses found was the same resistance the Freedom Riders had found in Birmingham. Moses fought against the odds, however, going as far as bringing charges against a man who beat him for attempting to get people registered, touching again on the theme of persistence. Moses was determined to do what should have been a simple and expected right of the black people. What had appeared to be a tame and boring direction for the civil rights movement quickly turned just as exciting as the Freedom Rides, foreshadowing a time later in the book when the voter registrations will become a major force in the fight for civil rights.

King, on the other hand, was suffering some setbacks during this same time. After the fiasco at the National Baptist Convention, King found his name being dragged through the mud, and there was nothing he could do to defend himself. King had not wanted to go to the conference in the first place; and once there, he found it all falling apart in a way he had predicted. Soon King lost face in false accusations and needed to repair his reputation. Instead of being able to do this, however, King learned sad news about his friend, how the government felt Levison was a security risk. However, King was able to meet with Kennedy and his wife. This gives hope to the reader that relations between King and Kennedy's will soon improve.

Chapter 14, Almost Christmas in Albany,

Chapter 14, Almost Christmas in Albany, Summary and Analysis

Charles Sherrod and Cordell Reagon settled in Albany, Georgia to repeat Moses's work in Mississippi there, and enlisted the help of a local family, the Kings. The father was a real estate broker and builder with seven children, one of whom had been declared legally insane for applying for admission to the University of Mississippi. Two of King's other sons were a lawyer, C.B. King, and a builder and real estate broker, Slater King. Sherrod and Reagon began their work by introducing themselves to the local pastors and spreading the word of their mission. Sherrod and Reagon received resistance from the local Negro leaders, many of whom feared reprisals from the white community, but interest from the younger generation negated some of this fear.

In November, a group of youths wanted to test the white waiting room of the Trailways station on the effective date of the new ICC desegregation rule. White authorities heard of this planned demonstration and the police were waiting when the youths arrived. They were told to leave and did so without incident. It was decided that, to make a difference, someone would have to get arrested and mass meetings began to plan a strategy.

C.B. King, at that time, was working on a case where a black man had been shot by the local sheriff for flirting with the Negro mistress of a local overseer. The man survived and was subsequently charged with assault upon the sheriff who had claimed the shooting had been in self-defense. The case had caused a rebellion among the Negro population. A meeting at Slater King's house resulted in the formation of the Albany Movement, an organization designed to fight just this kind of injustice. Five days later the first demonstration under the name of the Albany Movement took place at the local bus station, resulting in the arrests of three high school students. That same day, Albany State College dismissed their students for the Thanksgiving holiday. Aware of what was going on, the dean of students went to the bus station to head off any trouble. However, two students insisted on using the white waiting room where they were quickly arrested.

The students received word that weekend that they had been expelled from the college for their actions. A meeting was called of the Albany Movement where mass demonstrations at both the city hall for the trials and the college were planned for the following week. Sherrod was arrested for his part in the college demonstration. Shortly after this, Sherrod and Reagon arranged for a few Freedom Riders to come to Albany and test the Albany train stations. Before the Freedom Riders arrived, word had gotten to the sheriff and he was waiting at the station where he would only allow two members of the Albany Movement to meet the train. The Freedom Riders were quickly ushered out the door, using the one marked white's only and were welcomed by their fellow civil rights activists. The sheriff was so enraged by this sight, he ordered their arrest on the spot. The following Monday, Albany Movement leaders went to pray outside the jail and

found themselves arrested as well. The next day, a large group of students led by Sherrod marched downtown, were herded down an alley, and arrested.

The jails were filled to capacity and the sheriff began making arrangements with other counties to house the prisoners. Many of the activists were upset when they learned some of the women would be going to a county where the sheriff was known to be particularly cruel. Slater King was arrested when he attempted to address the court with a list of grievances from the Albany Movement. Another march was executed and another two hundred people were arrested. With their finances exhausted and many of the arrested protestors asking for help with bail money, the Albany Movement decided to request help from two larger organizations, the NAACP and the SCLC. At the same time, the mayor of Albany was asking the governor for the support of the National Guard.

Negotiations began between the Albany Movement leaders not in jail and city officials. For a week there were no more demonstrations or marches, only mass meetings. However, enthusiasm at the mass meetings was beginning to falter under the pressure of loved ones being in jail and losing their jobs. When word got out that Slater King had been beaten in jail, the Albany Movement leaders backed out of negotiations until they learned that King was okay and his attacker had been dealt with. Word got to Martin Luther King, Jr. that he was needed to help bolster emotions and keep the movement going.

King arrived a few days later and made a speech at a mass meeting at a local church. King's speech encouraged the community to keep fighting. King then agreed to stay in town for a short time, hoping his presence would force a settlement from the white leaders. However, concerns over King's safety made it necessary to hide his whereabouts. A telegram sent to the mayor resulted in the white leaders breaking off of negotiations. A march was quickly planned that King would lead. When the march reached the white section of town, the marchers were again herded into an alley where they were arrested, including King who was placed under special protection. King was placed in a cell with William Anderson, the president of the Albany Movement, who was unstable before the arrest and who quickly became deeply disturbed in the jail cell. King originally decided he would not take bail in order to protest his arrest, but Anderson's growing instability began to concern him to the point where he insisted to Wyatt Walker, the SCLC director, that he had to get them out of there. Upon learning of this turn of events, and without knowledge of Anderson's predicament, protestors felt betrayed and let down by King.

Political figures in Georgia began putting pressure on local officials to drop the charges against King, while Walker sent telegrams to the President to ask too that the charges be dropped. At their trial, the judge offered a deal that would allow King and the other protestors to go without bond, but refused to drop the bond against the Freedom Riders who were considered professional agitators. In the press and among other civil rights leaders, this event was seen as a failure on King's behalf. Leaders of the SNCC told King straight out that they felt he had let them down and destroyed what they had worked so hard to accomplish, causing a rift between the SNCC and the SCLC.

James Bevel and Diane Nash had gotten married and were in Mississippi. Farmer organized a Freedom Ride to McComb that ended in a riot at the bus station, resulting in a judge banning further Freedom Rides in McComb. Moses was released from jail and found that the SNCC was no longer welcome in McComb. Moses moved on to Jackson. King never told anyone of Anderson's mental state during his incarceration.

The civil rights movement takes a new turn in this chapter where the story of Albany, Georgia is told. To continue the movement, leaders knew they had to keep their efforts public and in the news. To do this, two SNCC students organized a group of people in Albany who were already upset about an unfair case taking place in their city, and began leading them on marches against the white government. This not only illustrates the theme of civil rights, but it also touches on the theme of persistence in that these leaders were not content to sit around and watch all their work cool in the refrigeration of time. They wanted to keep pushing until segregation became a thing of the past in the south.

This chapter also explores a little deeper Martin Luther King's character. King went to Albany to help a group of young leaders force a settlement in desegregation with city officials, finding himself quickly arrested for leading a protest march. Once in jail, King resolved to do as many students had done before him and refused bail. However, the mental state of his friend and colleague, William Anderson, forced King to rethink his tactics. King did not want to have bail paid for his friend, he wanted them all let out without losing face; but this proved to be impossible. Rather than pay bail, King got one of his leaders to force an arrangement with the local courts. This upset a large number of people who most likely would have understood King's insistence if they had known about Anderson's condition. But out of concern for his friend's reputation, King refused to reveal the truth behind his decision. This proves that King was a good man of high moral standing.

The final section of the chapter catches the reader up on what has happened with the important figures of the previous chapter, concluding a story line and pulling the two chapters together. This also provides a sneak peek into the next chapter, as the reader clearly can see where everyone stands at this point and what might happen next.

Chapter 15, Hoover's Triangle and King's Machine,

Chapter 15, Hoover's Triangle and King's Machine, Summary and Analysis

Hoover and the Kennedy's never got along because Hoover saw himself as superior to them in knowledge and experience. Hoover balked at Robert Kennedy's authority. Levison remained a white flag to Hoover, due to his connections with the Communist Party, causing Hoover to take a closer look at King as well, for fear of Levison's influence over him. Hoover decided to bug Levison to catch any conversations between him and King. Due to a case involving a mob hit man, who was arrested for illegally bugging his girlfriend's phone, but turned out to have the CIA's okay because he had been hired to kill Castro, Hoover found out embarrassing information about the President that he could use in order to proceed in his investigations any way he chose. It turned out that the mob hit man had another mistress, whom he shared with the President. This was not the first time Hoover learned of an affair the President was having that could compromise national security. There was an incident when John Kennedy was in the Navy, where he had an affair with a Danish reporter who was a suspected spy. Hoover informed Kennedy of this information and warned him to stay away from Frank Sinatra, apparently the person who introduced Kennedy to the mob hit man's mistress in the first place.

King's friend, Shuttlesworth, was facing prosecution for riding in the front of a Montgomery bus in 1958. The Supreme Court had refused to hear arguments regarding the case due to a mistake by Shuttlesworth's lawyer. King attempted to get help from the Justice Department, but they refused to help. That same day five men accused of assault on the bus outside of Anniston were given only a year's probation, and that night three churches were bombed. The blame for the bombs was placed on the actions of the Freedom Riders. Shuttlesworth surrendered to serve his sentence in the 1958 conviction. Again the Justice Department refused to help; but when public sentiment joined King in his outrage, the Supreme Court ordered Shuttlesworth's release on appeal bond. The following week, students and Shuttlesworth supporters began a boycott of downtown stores.

Fundraising and voter registration increased, thanks in equal parts to Septima Clark's classes and Jack O'Dell, the director of Levison's direct-mail operations in the New York SCLC office. King was so pleased with O'Dell's work in New York that he asked him to come to Atlanta and apply his fundraising strategies to voter registration. Another new recruit was a man named Andrew Young, who was charged with moving tax-exempt money into voter registration. Young arranged to turn a Congregationalist mission in Dorchester into a citizenship education program for voter registration, with Septima Clark teaching the churches. King embarked on a speaking tour to promote the voter

registration program, speaking at county stores, as well as the churches and large venues he had become accustomed to. Other organizations were upset that the SCLC got their voter registration program up first. King attempted to soothe wrinkled feathers by agreeing to speak at a private SNCC fundraiser. SNCC leaders were openly hostile toward King.

The four pastors involved in the libel suit lost a request to have their appeal moved to federal courts, leaving them vulnerable to the confiscation of their assets. The case had proven to be a double edged sword for the SCLC because it hurt the four pastors so deeply, but it also forged an alliance between the SCLC and labor unions, including support from Nelson Rockefeller. During this time King also met Harry Wachtel, a successful lawyer who agreed to help SCLC get a tax exemption. Also during this time, Hoover and the FBI were actively listening to phone taps on Levison's office phones and in the office in general. The FBI hoped for some sort of incriminating information against King, but had no such luck. The FBI did learn about King's decision to create a group called the Gandhi Society, to be a tax exemption arm of the SCLC. Shortly after learning about the society, but not its intension, Levison was subpoenaed to appear before the Senate Security Subcommittee, possibility due to Hoover talking too much in appearances before Congress. The FBI was upset about this because they did not want to compromise their surveillance of Levison. He need not have worried, since Levison invoked the Fifth Amendment throughout the bulk of his testimony.

In May, King presided over a meeting of the SCLC board. After the board voted a pay raise for King, who was only taking a dollar a year for salary as president, King announced that he had sent a draft of the Second Emancipation Proclamation to Kennedy. It would be an act that would shake up politics throughout the world. However, King's speech regarding the Gandhi Society and the proclamation stirred little publicity. In Atlanta, Rockefeller came for a conference at Spelman, and Belafonte came to perform a concert. During this time, King askedfor, and received, a relaxation on the restrictions that kept concert audiences from intermixing. However, during this same weekend, a local restaurant openly decided to turn away any Negro customers. King and Belafonte were turned away when they attempted to eat there, but no one was arrested.

In Shreveport, Walker and King organized a meeting in a small church shortly after bombings that had driven a voter registration volunteer out of town. The church was surrounded by police for the protection of the people inside. However, Walker so annoyed the police commissioner that he ordered his arrest for loitering. Following his release, Walker went to see Billy Graham to learn more secrets of his crusades. King hoped that emulating Graham would help King off the path he had been following since the Montgomery Bus Boycott. Shortly after this, Levison suggested that Walker be moved from the director position to public relations and O'Dell be made director. Later that year Wilkins brought the national NAACP convention to Atlanta. King spoke, promoting nonviolence as the way out. In July, King returned to Albany for his trial and was found guilty, with a fine of one hundred and seventy eight dollars or forty-five days in prison. King once again chose jail.

The relationship between Hoover and the Kennedy's is important in this book because it shows Hoover's overall character, his willingness to do whatever it takes to get his way, and predicts tension between these major players in history. Hoover uses information he has gained through his work to keep President Kennedy from confining his work to certain, legal avenues, opening doors for Hoover to spy on Levison and therefore King, and to keep a file on King that might someday come back to haunt him. This also reveals some of the difficulties of political life and the restrictions with which the Kennedy's had to work with, thanks to their own behaviors.

King, unaware of Hoover's interest in him, found himself struggling within the SCLC, despite a record time of growth and fundraising. King had lost favor with several other civil rights organizations, and his attempts to get back into their good graces only convinces leaders of the SNCC that he was arrogant and interested only in his own fame. King went to Billy Graham, hoping his secrets of his successful Crusades could help King as well. However, before King could implement them, he found himself in jail once again, allowing the reader to peek into the next chapter and see what it will be about.

A major theme of King's life that appears to be explored in this chapter is tradition vs. ambition. King was a highly ambitious man who wanted not only his own fame, but also desegregation and equal rights for all black people. This is the ambition side of his character. King worked hard, often on the road for months at a time, keeping crazy schedules so that he could speak at as many engagements in one week as possible. However, the traditional side of him knew that he needed a congregation to make all of this work. The only problem was, other civil rights leaders did not want to be part of the congregation. They wanted to be a leader just like King.

Chapter 16, The Fireman's Last Reprieve,

Chapter 16, The Fireman's Last Reprieve, Summary and Analysis

King and Abernathy's arrests in Albany were highly publicized. Anderson called a meeting of Albany Movement supporters at a local church and announced it was now or never in the desegregation movement. The congregation marched out of the church to the local jail. Word quickly spread to Washington, where Marshall was assigned the task of speaking with the Albany officials as well as Coretta. Kennedy did not want to get publicly involved with the situation, but did agree to send a man to Albany to deal with it in person. That night there was another mass meeting. A police presence could be seen throughout the Negro part of town, and outraged citizens began throwing things at the police cars. The police commissioner went to the church and asked that everyone remain nonviolent. Also that night, city leaders decided it was in everyone's best interest to get King out of jail, so they paid his and Abernathy's fines. King was upset by this trickery and even more upset to have lost momentum.

To recover the momentum, the Albany Movement issued a manifesto in which it accused the city of backsliding on its desegregation promises. It announced an intention to test city parks and the library. In response, the city put up police barricades and arrested large numbers of demonstrators. A U.S. District Court judge ordered protest leaders to refrain from any more marches until a hearing could be heard for a permanent injunction against the leaders for allegedly denying the white citizens of Albany equal protection. The police and other public resources were supposedly being drained away to deal with the demonstrations and marches. U.S. Marshals delivered papers to all the leaders, including Anderson, requested King to return, since King had left town to deal with prior speaking engagements. Negro leaders debated all that night what to do about the orders, whether they should break them or not. The argument continued so long that a local man took it upon himself to lead the Negro people in a spontaneous march of their own. Almost everyone, including the leader, was arrested.

King and Anderson held a press conference that weekend, calling the judges order unjust and unconstitutional, just before King was confronted by the SNCC leaders. The leaders spoke bluntly to King about their perception of his recent behaviors and attitudes. King allowed it, despite objections from those around him, never once telling them of Anderson's mental state his last time in an Albany jail. The next day, the wife of Slater King, six months pregnant and in the company of her two small children, went to Mitchell County jail to visit the daughter of her maid, who had been arrested during the march the previous week. Jail officials asked the crowd to step back from the gate and when Mrs. King did not move fast enough, she was assaulted and was to lose her baby

two weeks later. The FBI came to investigate the charges of police brutality and King complained to the Justice Department.

A federal judge in Atlanta vacated the temporary restraining order that had been placed on the Atlanta Movement's leaders and left them free to march again. They did not plan a march right away, hoping to enter into negotiations. At the same time, a white leader organized a march into the black neighborhoods, resulting in a near riot. King asked everyone to pray for those Negroes who had not yet learned the nonviolent ways. In Mississippi, Sherrod was attending a voter registration meeting in a remote church when the local sheriff and several deputies burst into the church with guns drawn, warning those in attendance not to attempt to register to vote. A *Times* reporter happened to be at the meeting and the story was splashed all over the front page of his paper. The same church would be burned to the ground a short time later. Back in Albany, in light of the city officials being unwilling to enter into negotiations, King led a small group to the courthouse for a prayer-in. He was arrested less than two weeks after his last release.

While in jail, King was invited to be a guest on *Meet the Press*, but arranged instead for Anderson to go, getting Anderson out of jail for a good cause while remaining himself. C.B. King arrived at the county jail to see his client and was hit over the head by a walking stick for not leaving quick enough. News of this beating caused Walker to attempt a march that night; but people were so afraid that hardly anyone showed up. Kennedy called for negotiations in the situation in Albany, causing uproar among southern politicians. Local officials were desperate to get King out of their jail and out of town. The Justice Department got involved by filing papers against the city of Albany, accusing them of using local ordinances to negate federal law. At trial, King was found guilty and given a fine of two hundred dollars and sixty days in jail, then the judge suspended it under the condition that he remain out of trouble.

After King left Albany, the whites continued to demonstrate against the blacks. King called for reinforcements among clergymen. A large group of clergymen were subsequently arrested two weeks later for marching; but the arrests garnered little interest in the press. King was harshly criticized for his role in Albany. He became frustrated because he was tired of coming in on the end of other people's demonstrations and wanted to start a few of his own.

Once again King was arrested. It became national news, prompting local officials to do whatever it would take to remove King from their jail, including paying his fine and kicking him out of jail. This shows the reader how famous King had become and how important his presence at a protest march could be by this point. King would be called back later when his absence caused a loss of momentum in the movement, causing him to begin to resent being treated as a type of fireman, or someone who was called in to fix energy loss. King had become the face of civil rights. He had become the spokesman, and many people resented that fact. King himself was beginning to resent it.

In Albany, the usual protests on the part of the blacks took on a new light when the white community began marches of their own. During this time, people forgot the rules of nonviolence, touching on the theme of Gandhiism, and entered into a riot of sorts with the white protest marchers. This came on the heels of an unjust ruling by a local federal judge, and most likely resulted from frustration on the part of the blacks. However, this reaction did nothing to support their cause, and only set up a situation in which King was jailed again, and rescued once more by his fame and the city's unwillingness to deal with him in their jail any longer.

This chapter marks a turning point in King's attitude toward the civil rights movement and within his own character. King no longer wants to be the celebrity who comes in to save the day, but to be the leader who picks the fight in the first place. This suggests to the reader that there is change to be seen in the next few chapters. The civil rights struggle, as well as King's own life, is about to make a drastic turn.

Chapter 18, The Fall of Ole Miss,

Chapter 18, The Fall of Ole Miss, Summary and Analysis

Tension grew in Mississippi, where Moses returned to the SNCC offices one day to find a white posse had ransacked them, and several SNCC volunteers had barely escaped. Moses was struggling to find people to register to vote, since fear ran deep in Mississippi after the burning of the church. His funding was also limited, since many civil rights leaders felt it was too dangerous to continue work in Mississippi. To circumvent this difficulty, a new organization was created, the Council of Federated Organizations, or COFO, through which to raise money. The group was under fire from local whites, however, and when Moses attempted to register a woman sharecropper to vote, she was told by the owner of her land that he had been harassed, and that would throw her off the land if she did register.

King was in New York when he learned of two more church burnings in Mississippi, locations of voter registration meetings, and that several homes where voter registration leaders were staying had been shot at. Shortly after this, Kennedy made a speech in which he pledged federal help to the registration workers. The speeches did nothing to scare off the perpetrators, as another church burned a few days later. The FBI investigated, but few suspects went to trial. Several more churches would burn in Georgia. While raising money for the rebuilding of these churches, King was invited to a party for the anniversary of the Emancipation Proclamation being held by Rockefeller. King attended, openly snubbing Kennedy for his slow response to the civil rights movement.

King went to Birmingham for the SCLC convention. Birmingham was in chaos. The city parks had been closed for better part of a year to avoid segregation, but also dividing the whites, who once enjoyed these parks and now could not. The Chamber of Congress president wanted to change things. The best way he saw to do it was to get rid of the police commissioner, who had just been reelected by an overwhelming majority. To do this, he gathered a group of reformers to petition for the abolishment of the office, and then called a special election. Then negotiations were entered into with Shuttlesworth speaking for the black population. Shuttlesworth agreed to get the black vote behind the reformers in exchange for local storeowners agreeing to desegregate their stores in accordance with a new city constitution. However, the constitution would later be struck down and the white only signs restored in the downtown stores. At the same time, the Justice Department alerted King that O'Dell had been linked with Communism and was not to be taken to Birmingham for the SCLC conference. King reluctantly agreed.

U.S. Marshal James McShane and John Doar accompanied J.H. Meredith to register at the University of Mississippi after the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals had ruled in his favor. When they arrived at the Federal Building where they had been told to go, they

found no state officials present. The state officials were at another federal building and insisted that Meredith be registered there. Doar hesitated because there was a crowd at this second building, but eventually relented. However, once they arrived, Meredith's request to register was denied. Robert Kennedy was furious and called the governor to tell him that Meredith would be in class the next day and the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals signed an order forcing the governor to appear before them for contempt of court. Doar, McShane, and Meredith flew to Oxford the next day alone. However, the Lieutenant Governor and a group of state troopers and sheriffs blocked their entrance.

Kennedy and the governor of Mississippi entered into negotiations to allow Meredith into the school without Kennedy having to use a strong show of federal power and the governor to still appear tough on segregation. They devised a plan that included a fake standoff at which point Meredith returned for a fourth time to register. However, at the last minute the governor announced he could not protect Meredith once he was registered. Kennedy called off the current effort to enroll Meredith.

The SCLC conference had been dull in comparison until King was making a final speech and a white man climbed on stage to attack him. Many in the audience believed the attack to be staged at first; therefore no one did anything for a long few moments. King ordered that no one hurt the man and a group of men moved in to circle around him as the doors to the church were closed to prevent any more violence. King and the man spoke and then King refused to press charges. This put the police commissioner in a position where he had to press them himself, hustling the man off to jail as quietly as possible. Walker attempted to get the story out to the press, but the press was focused on the Meredith story.

Robert Kennedy decided it was time to get the President involved in the Ole Miss debacle. The President spoke to the governor of Mississippi, but made little headway. Finally they came up with a compromise in which the governor would lead the segregationist to Oxford to stop Meredith there while Meredith would be in Jackson registering. The governor would agree at first, only to back out later. Kennedy reluctantly signed an order that night sending federal troops into Mississippi, much like Eisenhower had done in Little Rock. The governor liked the idea of a show of force, and again suggested that they come with guns blazing to make his retreat look good. Kennedy refused and told the governor that the President would be addressing the nation that night and would say that the governor had forced the troop involvement by backing out on an agreement. The governor did not want it known that he had agreed to anything that would allow Meredith's registration. As a counter offer, the governor suggested that they sneak Meredith in and get him registered while the governor claimed he had been tricked.

Meredith arrived at Ole Miss that night. A crowd surrounded the Lyceum, the building where he would register, but there were also Federal Marshals present. Meredith was given a room in a dorm where he proceeded to study. Kennedy held his national address late, waiting for Meredith to be safe in Mississippi. A Mississippi senator took over control of the highway patrol, and they began to leave their posts while the crowd outside the Lyceum grew steadily larger. Soon the Federal Marshals were greatly

outnumbered. The crowd started to attack reporters and the marshals, who were forced to use teargas.

While the President made his speech, neither condoning the governor's actions nor supporting Meredith, a group of students outside the Lyceum became more violent. On top of the injuries the Federal Marshals were suffering from broken bottles and heavy projectiles, someone began firing a shotgun. The President tried to talk to the governor about the highway patrol, but all he got were assurances that everything was under control. The students began to turn their attention on the building where Meredith was under protection. Several Federal Marshals were shot. A reporter was killed. The riot went on all night, and it was morning before the army troops could reach the Lyceum. Meredith had survived the night and registered the next morning, attending his first class an hour later.

Mississippi had become the hot spot that Alabama had been at the beginning of the book. Churches were burned to stop volunteers from registering black voters, people jailed. There had even been a few murders. This problem came to King's attention at a time when the Federal government was putting pressure on him for his alliances with people who had at one point had connections with the Communist party, especially those close to Levison. With so many things going on in the civil rights movement, King was hardly concerned with associates who might or might not have connections to a highly controversial political party. Again this shows King's character as far as his loyalty toward his associates goes. This also shows how the attention of the government was divided so deeply that civil rights often took a back seat to other political concerns.

Besides showing again the depth of King's character, the episode in which King was attacked on stage at the SCLC conference in Birmingham brings to the attention of the reader the theme of Gandhiism. King stood still and allowed this white man to beat up on him in front of his fellow organization members, insisting that the man not be injured by enraged civil rights activists. This illustrates King's beliefs in nonviolent behavior better than any episode described in the book thus far. King not only refused to fight back, he refused to let anyone else fight back, spoke to the attacker in private, and then refused to press charges against the man for assault. All of this illustrates the theme of Gandhiism in a clear and concise manner. This also shows another side of King's character, the sincerity of practicing what yu preach.

The episode that took place over the registration of a black student at the University of Mississippi occupies the bulk of the chapter. This attempt at desegregation exploded into a riot that was, to some degree, much worse than any of the other riots previously described in the book. The governor of Mississippi was so concerned with his political ambitions that he refused to do the right thing and protect the young black man, Meredith, both during and after his attempts at registering. Kennedy, on the other hand, was also reluctant to pick a side in the affair, even though he knew he had to uphold federal laws and make sure Meredith registered. Kennedy dragged his feet as long as he could before finally calling in the military to control the quickly degrading situation. Kennedy's actions closely paralleled those of Eisenhower during the Little Rock crisis.

This episode was a highly important moment in the civil rights movement, touching on the theme of civil rights, again turning the direction of the movement.

Chapter 18, To Birmingham,

Chapter 18, To Birmingham, Summary and Analysis

In October of 1962, the Cuba Missile Crisis took place. Shortly before, an article in a New Orleans newspaper accused O'Dell, the director of SCLC, of being a concealed member of the Communist party who was using the SCLC to carry out his Communist party assignments. The article is assumed to have been written by members of the House Un-American Activities Committee, who had suspected O'Dell of Communist allegiance since the time he wrote an article in 1958. The New Orleans article caused great tension in SCLC, which was at the time planning a Sammy Davis fundraiser with O'Dell handling the finances. Hoover and the FBI heard Levison defend O'Dell over the wiretaps on his phones. This led to Hoover launching a full-scale investigation of King, using the chaos of the missile crisis to justify his actions. Hoover also received permission to add a wiretap to Levison's home, in the hope of catching late night conversations between him and King.

At Thanksgiving that year, Kennedy signed a civil rights racial discrimination bill in housing. In Nashville, after a SNCC conference, Sam Block had a fire extinguisher blown into his face by a restaurant owner and John Lewis was arrested a week later during daily demonstrations. Shortly after the time of the first anniversary of the Albany Movement, King spoke with a reporter, in which he was reported as saying that the FBI sanctioned segregation because the majority of the agents were southern born whites. The FBI shot back by releasing stories to contacts in the black press defending themselves and their agents' origins. Tensions were rising between King, Hoover, and the Kennedy's; and King alone knew it would all come to a head in Birmingham. King himself was in Birmingham that December, when a bomb was set off outside Shuttlesworth's church. At the same time King was asking the President for help in Birmingham, he was also conferring with Kennedy about aiding the impoverished independent states in Africa.

At the same time Kennedy was begin compared to Lincoln in the press, King made a final drive to get Kennedy to declare a Second Emancipation Proclamation. Finally Kennedy released a short document declaring that the original Emancipation Proclamation expressed the nation's policy, and therefore should commemorate the document all through the year 1963. Kennedy's office then planned a White House reception to be held on Lincoln's Birthday for Negro dignitaries. Kennedy then went to the Orange Bowl to welcome home soldiers recently freed from Cuba and predicted the overthrow of Castro's regime.

After the New Year, King flew to Savannah with a group of trustworthy colleagues to put into action his Birmingham campaign. The campaign was divided into four parts. First they would stage small-scale sit-ins with nightly mass meetings. Second, they would boycott downtown businesses. Third, they would have mass marches to fill up the local jails. Fourth, they would call in outside help to bring attention to the demonstrations and

to overwhelm the jails. The campaign would have to be larger than Albany and would mean more than a thousand people staying in jail for at least five or six days to make it successful. It would also mean a lot of money; which was something they had, thanks to the successful Sammy Davis fundraiser. Unbeknownst to King, the FBI was watching the meeting and felt that at least two of the people at the meeting were known Communists. The Kennedy Administration felt it was no longer productive to warn King of these people around him and decided he would no longer be fit for negotiations or mediations.

King met with Robert Kennedy later that year to discuss O'Dell. It was about this time that King realized the President would not be issuing a Second Emancipation Proclamation and that the reception at the White House on Lincoln's birthday would be the best he could expect. King was not happy about this and was reluctant to go to the White House for the reception. King decided to boycott the reception. Instead of attending the reception, King flew to Jamaica. While there, he learned that a recording label was selling a pirated record of his speeches. King was forced to sue in order to protect his ability to make money for the SCLC.

Also while King was in Jamaica, the Internal Security Division of the Justice Department wanted to prosecute Levison for being the member of a subversive organization. The FBI was unhappy with this decision, because they would have to come public with their war against King and Levison. They would have to reveal their informants. Hoover went in search of other informants who could be used, should the Internal Security Division go ahead with their plans, while at the same time attempting to stop them by saying the informants were not available. Internal Security dropped their case. At Kennedy's reception, all went well until Kennedy realized Sammy Davis was in attendance. Kennedy was angry because a major part of the plan was to keep the reception from the attention of the mainstream press, and Davis' presence would surely be a big story. Kennedy conspired with his aides to hide Davis when the party went downstairs to mingle with the press. Other leaders, besides King, also boycotted the reception, but they were few. During this same time, rumors began to fly that the NAACP was planning to defect to the Republican Party during the next elections. Rockefeller, planning a run against Kennedy, began to attack his lax actions with civil rights, noting his appointment of several judges who harbored well known segregationist views. King got in on this controversy through sermons to his congregation at Ebenezer.

In Birmingham, the local Negroes wanted to wait until the local elections to begin King's campaign, hoping that the local police commissioner would be voted out of office and change the segregationist air of the city. However, the regular elections had no clear winner, and the debate began again whether or not to delay the campaign. It was finally decided to delay the beginning of the campaign. In the meantime, King had realized that this campaign must work, that he must change Birmingham for the better through this campaign, or he would be finished as a civil rights leader.

Tensions are beginning to build for all the major players. For O'Dell, his associations with the Communist party are beginning to reflect badly, not only on King, but also on the SCLC. Further, his associations have also caused the FBI to become more intensely

interested in King, as they begin a full-scale investigation into his associates and his actions. King had realized in an early section of the book that he needed to be the driving force behind a movement in order to stop being the celebrity who came to put out the fires. He sometimes badly disappointed those leaders who began the fight in the first place. King took this to heart and began a plan to be executed in Birmingham. that the plan would bring everything to a head, including the civil rights movement and his strained relationship with the government.

Kennedy, in the meantime, had realized that he needed to do something about civil rights due to the looming elections. However, Kennedy was still reluctant to commit too clearly to the civil rights movement, due to political pressures and the possibility of alienating the white southern vote. Kennedy disappointed King by once again refusing to sign a Second Emancipation Proclamation, instead throwing a party for Negro dignitaries. Hee hoped this would please this group of people, but be kept out of the mainstream press, an idea that nearly was ruined with the appearance of Sammy Davis. King boycotted the reception, exposing for the reader once and for all his division with the Kennedy Administration.

Now the stage was set for a battle between the government and King. King had been blackballed as a negotiator, was under investigation by the FBI, and no longer trusted in the promises of the Kennedy Administration. King also had lost the trust of the other civil rights leaders around him who were still deeply disappointed by his work in Albany. King needed to prove himself and prove to the world that he was still the civil rights leader who had had such a large victory in Montgomery during the bus boycott. This was do-or-die time for King, suggesting for the reader the battle that would take place in the following chapter.

Chapter 19, Greenwood and Birmingham Jail,

Chapter 19, Greenwood and Birmingham Jail, Summary and Analysis

On April 3, 1962, the Birmingham campaign began after the police commissioner threw negotiators out of his office during a meeting in which they had warned him of their planned actions. The campaign began with sit-ins at local lunch counters. Only one of the lunch counters called the police, causing the arrest of twenty-one protestors. Hoping for a good election result the next day, the police commissioner, Bull Connor, expressed disappointment in the lunch counters that had simply closed their restaurants, preventing him from arresting them all. King was disappointed too, sensing reluctance among the Negro community to participate and lack of interest from the press. On April 6, Shuttlesworth was arrested leading the first massive march. King, who had originally planned to get arrested right away, decided to stay behind the scenes, bolstering the internal strength of the campaign. King continued to have trouble with gaining volunteers and getting the attention of the press and the White House, until he finally found himself overshadowed by a movement that sprang up almost accidentally in Mississippi.

Laws had been passed in Mississippi that required that registration candidate's names be published in the local paper and that current voters could object to the moral character of candidates. As a result, Moses filed a federal suit against Robert Kennedy and Hoover asking that they be ordered to enforce six different sections of the federal code that made it a crime to harass or intimidate those trying to vote. Kennedy saw the lawsuit as a threat to the overall prestige of the Administration and won a ruling that blocked the lawsuit as a crank. The Mississippi authorities then blocked the distribution of surplus federal food to two Delta counties. The counties were overwhelmingly populated by poor Negroes. The SNCC had a major fundraiser to buy food for these people.

In Greenwood, the SNCC office was burned to the ground. Sam Block was arrested for making statements against local officials after the fire. At trial, the judge offered him a suspended sentence if he would stop working for the SNCC and the voter registration project. Block refused and was sentenced to six months in jail. The next day, more than fifty people showed up at the courthouse to register to vote. VEP's Randolph Blackwell came to investigate the prospects of voter registration in the Delta shortly after this. While driving in the countryside after a meeting, Blackwell's driver was shot. It was decided soon afterward to begin voter registration classes in Greenwood.

After a local black activist was fired upon, there was a mass meeting of local Greenwood citizens that ended in the decision to have a mass march past the city hall on the way to the courthouse. The mayor and a group of policemen were waiting for

them when they approached city hall. A dog attacked Moses and several other marchers as Moses attempted to speak to the police chief. The marchers retreated, but Moses and several other leaders were arrested anyway. Another march took place the next day where another marcher was attacked by a dog. Kennedy became involved when pictures of the dogs hit the national newspapers. Kennedy asked for negotiations with the local authorities, who were reluctant. When Moses and his fellow leaders went on trial, they were found guilty and chose to serve out their time.

On April 2, a comedian, Dick Gregory, joined the marches in Greenwood, and the ensuing fracas forced the Justice Department to get involved. The next day, Greenwood officials began using fire hoses to subdue the marchers. With federal help, Moses and his co-defendants were freed from jail a few days later, all charges suspended. However, Moses soon learned that in exchange for his freedom, Doar and the Justice Department had dropped their lawsuit that was to have ceased the harassment of potential voters and provide protection for those wanting to register at the courthouse. This began to signal the end of the Greenwood movement.

Six days into the Birmingham campaign, King had a meeting with local Negro business owners. These people were angry with King for putting his nose in where it did not belong, but they slowly came around to King's view when he expressed how his career was on the line for this and seduced them with the idea of help from celebrities like Sammy Davis. Alabama officials began applying more pressure by first passing a bill that raised the cost of bonds in misdemeanor cases, and then declaring that Birmingham had been besieged by foreigners set on violence. Bull Connor then asked the court for an injunction against Negro demonstrations. King was served with the injunction at a local restaurant that night.

King wanted to lead a march in contempt of the injunction on Good Friday, but could not get up enough supporters to accompany him. King's closest advisor did not want him to break the injunction, in part because it would severely limit the fundraising capabilities for the campaign if King were arrested. King decided to march anyway and talked Abernathy into going with him. More than fifty people were arrested, including King. King was given not given any special treatment. In fact, he was taken to solitary confinement.

In Georgia, the sheriff in Albany was acquitted of shooting Charlie Ware, in the case that began the Albany Movement. Members of the Albany Movement picketed the store of a member of the jury, Carl Smith, a store they had picketed in the past for Smith's refusal to hire Negro workers. A lawsuit was filed on Smith's behalf against the Albany Movement that charged the Negroes had obstructed justice by punishing Smith for his role in the *Ware vs. Johnson* case. At the fourth conference of the SNCC, the leaders urged the Albany Movement to continue, while the participants celebrated their uniqueness in their race, causing Charles Sherrod to regret his childhood desire to be white.

Bevel flew to Birmingham to preach to the activists while Clarence Jones arrived at the jail to assure King that everything that could be done was being done. Harry Belafonte

had pledged fifty thousand dollars for bail and was organizing a phone and telegram campaign to get help from the Kennedy Administration. After Jones's visit, King was allowed to call his wife and found out that Kennedy himself had arranged it. When word of this got out, Wyatt Walker attempted to use it garner public attention, but it backfired when it was suggested that Coretta had called the President herself and was over-hormonal from having just given birth to their fourth child. The overall press coverage appeared to be coming down in the favor of the whites, causing King great distress. In response, King snuck out a letter to the public meant to refute several articles that attacked him personally. In the letter, King took the voice of many different perspectives of life as a Negro and by doing so expressed a universal voice for all his people. The letter would later be known as 'Letter from Birmingham Jail'.

Mississippi continued to be the main focus of the Kennedy Administration. An advanced copy of the Civil Rights Commission draft of a special report on Mississippi came across Mitchell's desk, who submitted a summary to Kennedy, implying that justice had been achieved in the case of John Hardy, who had been pistol whipped, though this was not the case. Lee White wrote another memo that attacked the Civil Rights Commission, urging Kennedy to force them to withdraw their report. Kennedy questioned the director of the commission but did not order him to take the report back. However, Kennedy publicly dismissed the report shortly after its public release.

Eight days after their arrest, King and Abernathy bailed out of prison. Shortly thereafter, a postal worker named Moore swore to walk all the way from Washington to Birmingham and was found executed more than seventy miles from Washington. Rumors of Moore's mental instability, however, clouded the impact his death might have had otherwise. The following week, while Robert Kennedy and Burke Marshall were in Montgomery to speak to Governor Wallace, King and his fellow leaders were put on trial for contempt. They were quickly found guilty. During the trial, all Negroes in attendance used the white only bathrooms and drinking fountains in protest of the trial. Shuttlesworth also sought permission at this time for a mass protest march the following Thursday. The request was denied although plans continued. Two separate marches began the following Wednesday, retracing the footsteps of Moore. There was a large amount of press coverage this time. In Birmingham, word spread that the children throughout town would be joining in on a march.

As suggested in the last chapter, the Birmingham campaign was the final attempt for King to make a name for himself, and to rescue his own part in the civil rights movement. It did not start out well for King, since the response of the local Negroes was less than enthusiastic. King could not get support from local Negro business owners, could not get local Negroes to join in the demonstrations, and could not get the national press to pay attention. To top it all off, there was activity in Mississippi that threatened to overshadow King's work in Birmingham. King was desperate for something big to happen that would turn things around in Birmingham and save his career.

Kennedy, at the same time, was still attempting to keep himself distant from civil rights legislation that could affect his chances at reelection. However, the mess in Mississippi commanded his attention as a celebrity joined the marches. Both Kennedy and King

were attempting to work in such a way as to fulfill their personal ambitions, touching on the theme of tradition vs. ambition, while still doing what they thought was right. Slowly things started to come around for King, as an injunction created a situation in which he was arrested in the full view of the national press. Things also began to change for Kennedy, as he found himself forced to make a stand for civil rights.

Birmingham and Greenwood were both important elements in the civil rights fight. They signaled a change in the movement that included a more violent response from the whites and a sort of exhaustion on the side of the blacks. These movements both illuminate the theme of civil rights and pushed the movement itself toward a new direction. These movements also prepare the reader for another turn in the direction of the book as the next chapter opens.

Chapter 20, The Children's Miracle,

Chapter 20, The Children's Miracle, Summary and Analysis

As the D-Day march began with more than fifty teenagers, the police served notice of the injunction that was still in effect and began steering the kids toward the paddy wagons. However, every time the police thought they had all the kids, another group would appear until they were warned that almost a thousand students were prepared to march. The police had to call in buses to transport all the kids, but it was all over by four. The same thing took place that Friday; but instead of mass arrests, the police decided to simply keep the students out of downtown. To do this, the police used fire hoses on the students. When ten students refused to back off, the firemen manning the hoses used what was called a monitor gun that combined the power of three hoses through one nozzle. Outrage exploded throughout the city, among whites as well as blacks. The police then decided that the hoses were not enough because more students continued to appear. They brought out K-9 units, allowing the dogs to attack, not only the protestors, but spectators as well.

As the public cried out against the use of the dogs and the hoses, the Birmingham officials called King out for using children. Robert Kennedy and Marshall called King and asked that he end the demonstrations for the protection of the children. King swore the marches would continue, however. That Saturday, the police waited outside the church where the protestors had originally come from, but quickly discovered they were slipping out of two different churches in twos or threes. The police followed these children to a local park where they hemmed them in to attempt arrests. However, the adult spectators attacked the police. Drawn by the publicity around the children, activists and reporters from all over the country descended on Birmingham. Celebrities were among those who came to town, including Guy Carawan, who was arrested attempting to enter a church where a mass meeting was taking place. Upon hearing the news, the congregation stood up and marched to the city jail, singing the whole way. For some unexplained reason, Bull Connors did not arrest them and they were not fired upon by the monitor guns.

Marshall came to Birmingham to begin negotiations with the white community. Marshall attempted to persuade King to stop any new demonstrations, but King essentially refused. King went to the Sixteenth Street Baptist Church and found that the police had sealed off the park where most of the demonstrations had taken place. The police chief promised Bevel that excessive force would not be used, but refused to shake on it. Children began to come out of the church along with older protestors. The demonstrators were immediately arrested. Despite the police captains promise, a woman was roughly treated in front of news photographers. Fearing a riot in response, King's aides called a halt to the demonstrations.

Levison saw that public opinion had shifted through evidence from his mailing campaign for fundraising. Levison decided to run an ad in the newspaper for the first time since the slander case against Abernathy and the other pastors, but the *Times* refused to run it. The mass meeting on Monday was so large that it overflowed to four separate churches. King made a speech about love. King then spent the rest of the night working on strategy with his fellow leaders. The next morning, King held a press conference to announce that the nonviolence movement had come of age in Birmingham, while white and black leaders alike prepared for another march.

At noon, a decoy group of students emerged from the Sixteenth Street Baptist Church, while large groups of students headed toward downtown from all four points on the compass. When the police realized what was happening, they attempted to fan out, causing their numbers to become thin. The young demonstrators had broken through the blockades and reached downtown. Business leaders downtown immediately contacted the President asking for intervention, but Kennedy stressed to the press that he was merely monitoring the situation. When a second wave of demonstrators approached the melee, a riot resulted with the police using dogs and fire hoses to turn back the demonstrators, and the demonstrators throwing rocks. In the aftermath a three church mass meeting took place. Later that night, the Kennedy's got word that the white businessmen of Birmingham were ready to strike a deal with Negro leaders.

In Mississippi two firebombs went off at the home of Hartman Turnbow, the first Negro to register to vote in Holmes County. By the time the sheriff arrived, Moses had already taken pictures and the FBI was on site investigating. To protect himself from political suicide, the sheriff accused Turnbow of bombing his own home and arrested him, as well as Moses and three other SNCC workers, on charges of arson.

When King sent a message to Shuttlesworth that they would be stopping the marches for a day while negotiations took place, Shuttlesworth marched out of his hospital room where he had been taken after being hit by the monitor gun to voice his objections in person. However, Shuttlesworth changed his tune after a talk with King. The decision was announced at a press conference that morning, but Governor Wallace quickly denied the possibility of negotiations soon afterward. The governor had sent state troopers to Birmingham and Bull Connor padlocked the Sixteenth Street Baptist Church. King and Abernathy were told, at a hearing for their Good Friday arrests, that their appeal bonds would be more than two thousand dollars. When they refused to pay, they were taken to jail. Once again, Robert Kennedy found himself in a position of needing to get King out of jail. Belafonte promised to get the money together, but King refused the money. A local bank owner bailed King out anyway. King attempted to barricade himself in his cell before announcing to the press that, if an agreement was not reached by Thursday, they would mount the largest demonstration yet.

A settlement was reached to desegregate the lunch counters and other public places downtown, to form a committee to eliminate discriminatory hiring practices, and to form a committee to communicate with black leaders. But King also wanted the jailed demonstrators out of jail on their own recognizance or on a reduced bail. When bond was not reduced, Robert Kennedy reluctantly agreed to help find resources through

Belafonte and King's friends in the labor unions to raise the money to bail out the jailed demonstrators. When Belafonte failed to raise the money because the banks were closed, Rockefeller anonymously helped out, securing the remaining sum. Almost the moment news of the settlement was released, white officials in Birmingham swore they would not stick to them.

King's brother, A.D., was just home when a bomb went off in his home. While evacuating his family, another bomb went off. Another explosion went off miles away at the hotel where King was staying. The crowd around A.D.'s home began to throw bricks at the police cars until he encouraged them to practice nonviolence. Violence broke out at the hotel as well, as people gathered to see the damage and began to throw rocks at the K-9 units. A group of pastors, headed by A.D., finally convinced the crowd to settle down and disperse. A group of state troopers, led by a man named Lingo, became frustrated by the demonstrators and proceeded to beat any Negroes they found in the street, whether they were part of the riot or not. By morning six businesses, several houses, and an apartment building had been burned to the ground.

The next day, the Kennedy Administration was scrambling to decide what to do next. It was clear that if the Birmingham settlement failed, the Negroes would be uncontrollable and the fight would spread to other cities. Marshall contacted the business leaders in Birmingham to ask for a renewal of the settlement, only to later learn that the leaders were quietly encouraging violence in the hopes of achieving marshal law. Kennedy finally decided to send in military troops under the guise of protecting the Birmingham settlement from extremists on both sides of the issue. However, Kennedy backed down when the violence settled down and the settlement was upheld.

King and his fellow leaders decided that using children in their fight was a good way to get national attention, and also to get the attention of the white leaders of Birmingham. The children were willing to go; and there were more than enough of them to make a difference, as compared to the few adults who had been willing to participate thus far. The idea worked because the first march swelled the jails to such a degree that it caused them to attract national headlines. However, the law enforcement people knew this was what King wanted, so they began to use other tactics to control the demonstrators. Fire trucks were brought in with high power hoses as well as K-9 units with attack dogs to keep the demonstrators confined away from the downtown area. This goes to the character, not only of King where he would be willing to use children, but to the law enforcement officials who could use high power hoses against children rather than be forced to put them in jail.

Kennedy knew he could not stay out of this any longer due to the use of children in the fight. Kennedy sent down a negotiator to help work out a settlement; but the talks took a long time, during which the children continued to demonstrate. This situation had caused a large media stir, as well as attracting celebrities and activists from all over the country. When King himself was once again arrested, the situation got out of hand. Kennedy knew something had to be done. This again goes to Kennedy's character, his political ambitions touching on the theme tradition vs. ambition, and his desire to do the right thing.

The tone of the book has again shifted with this chapter. The demonstration, which was the act of adults who understood what they were doing, had been violent and sad; but now children were involved. The tone of the entire movement changed with this act. This was no longer about a few unhappy blacks who wanted a change. This was about an entire race of people who demanded a change. This switch is noted in the tone of the book, as well as in the overall thesis in which the writer is engaged. The writer's purpose here seems to be more than just reporting actions that took place in history, but to introduce a serious note to an already terribly serious situation.

Chapter 21, The Firestorm,

Chapter 21, The Firestorm, Summary and Analysis

King's life had changed drastically at the conclusion of Birmingham. King was welcomed everywhere he went like a returning war hero. King was invited to a rally in Los Angeles. After making a fine speech, he went to a reception in the home of Burt Lancaster, where many of celebrities present made donations to the SCLC in the form of large amounts of cash. King then went to Chicago, where again thousands of dollars in donations to the SCLC were made. King suddenly found himself a much in demand speaker, a celebrity of sorts.

At the same time, the Kennedy Administration was dealing with the international and political fallout of the Birmingham crisis. The Soviet Union had aired thousands of commentaries on the Birmingham crisis. When Kennedy sent a message to a summit conference of the independent African nations, the prime minister of Uganda sent an official protest to the fire hoses and dogs utilized in Birmingham. Kennedy also came to realize that his Administration employed a large number of whites and hardly any blacks, setting a poor example of nondiscrimination in hiring. The President was advised to fix this before it became a problem. Kennedy was also concerned about copycat demonstrations like Birmingham breaking out all across the south, and seriously considered proposing a new civil rights bill. However, everything was in flux and no decision could be made at that time.

Robert Kennedy had a run in with a popular writer that was leaked to the press, so he suggested the writer, James Baldwin, gather a group of deep thinkers to explain the deep anger of the Negroes and their leader's inability to contain it. Baldwin gathered a great number of Negro celebrities together that included Harry Belafonte and Lena Horne, as well as a few activists. The meeting started quietly enough, until a young man from CORE became angry and told Kennedy he had no idea what trouble was and threatened to take up a gun against him. Belafonte, who did not understand why Kennedy was not speaking to the Negro leaders rather than this group of entertainers, began to worry that the young CORE members diatribe would make a permanent enemy of Kennedy. Several of those present attempted to make light of the situation. However it was too late. Kennedy saw the anger and began to understand a side to the civil rights movement he had not seen before, throwing him off balance and causing him to obsess with hiring Negroes within the Administration.

In Jackson, Mississippi, Medgar Evers, leader within the NAACP there, demanded of the mayor that a group be formed to discuss the same demands that had been granted in the settlement in Birmingham. The mayor refused; but Evers continued to push the idea over the rest of the month, threatening boycotts of businesses that supported the White Citizens Councils. The mayor at one time agreed to the discussions and then quickly withdrew his commitment. Four students and a white professor from Tougaloo College staged a sit-in at a lunch counter where they were doused with condiments and

beaten until the police arrived and arrested one of the victims and a perpetrator. At a mass meeting that night, Evers announced a massive offensive against segregation in Jackson. Wilkins got arrested in Jackson while King was telegraphing the White House, hoping that the time had finally come for an executive order against segregation.

Tensions continued to build in Jackson as Wilkins returned to New York to recruit celebrities. Evers increased the demonstrations in Jackson. In early June, a literacy teacher named Annell Ponder was traveling with a group of other recent teaching graduates of Septima Clark's school, when she went into a white bathroom in a rest stop outside Greenwood. Ponder and her fellow students were arrested when they attempted to explain their right to use the white bathrooms. At the county jail, the students were beaten with Ponder taking the worst of the beatings. Then the jailers shut up the jail to decide how to best protect themselves against the inquiries that were sure to come. At the same time, King was proposing a March on Washington. When another SNCC student went to the Winona jail, where Ponder and her fellow students had been taken to inquire about them, he too disappeared.

Washington was preoccupied with Alabama at this time, attempting to force Wallace to uphold the Birmingham settlement. Two Negro students were attempting to register at a local Alabama college, and Wallace was actually present at the school to physically block the students. Kennedy, who had military ready to deploy in Alabama, sent one of his advisors to negotiate with Wallace. Wallace made a stand to appear to attempt to stop the registration, but in the end the two students were allowed inside. At the end of this dilemma King sent a telegram to the President, informing him of bad conduct in law enforcement and again asking for help.

Kennedy decided that night to address the nation on the subject of civil rights. There was no speech ready and many of Kennedy's advisors were against the idea; but the President was determined. A speech was hastily written and Kennedy went before the nation and announced a new civil rights bill he was working on, as he spoke of equality within the country. It was his strongest stand on civil rights to date. As the President spoke, Medgar Evers was returning home from a strategy session and was shot in the back while walking up his own driveway.

In Winona, the missing teaching students were released from prison just in time to join Moses, who was working within a new teaching school there in Greenwood, in attending Evers funeral. Doar was also in Greenwood, filing suit against the Winona police department for the arrests and beatings of the students, as well as to order local officials not to interfere with integration at the bus station. A spontaneous march broke out after the memorial for Evers, which the local law enforcement met with dogs and hoses. As violence broke out, Doar moved forward and asked for peace, bringing forward several local leaders who finally were able to get the crowd under control.

While Robert Kennedy was dealing with anti-segregation protestors outside his office, King was creating a bail fund through the Gandhi Society in the name of Evers. This made Wilkins angry. He already felt it was King's fault Evers had died, since it had been the demonstrations in Birmingham that had caused Evers to begin the Jackson

demonstrations leading to his death. Wilkins had Mrs. Evers sign papers giving the NAACP control over any monies collected in her husband's name, causing resentment between Wilkins and King. King had been a thorn in the side of the NAACP for many years, with many leaders full of resentment for him due, in part, to untrue rumors that were perpetuated by King's enemies.

When King attended the funeral of Evers he attempted to keep a low profile, but even this did him little good because the current NAACP leaders in Jackson were stuck in a stalemate with the mayor. Wilkins went to Washington to ask for help and the Attorney General entered into negotiations with the mayor, successfully getting him to submit to many of Evers's original demands, including the hiring of black policemen.

King wanted to fix his trouble with the NAACP before the March on Washington and was disappointed that Kennedy's civil rights bill, which had seemed to hold such promise during his speech, was not all that it was supposed to be. King went to the White House as part of a group of Negro leaders to meet with Kennedy and discuss the Washington March. He was taken first to Marshall's office. Marshall wanted to stress to King, once again, the infiltration of Communist members in the SCLC. When King refused to be swayed by Marshall's arguments, he was taken to the Attorney General, who wanted to convince King of this danger before he orchestrated a massive demonstration on the nation's capitol. But King would not listen to him either. When King went to the Oval Office for his meeting with Kennedy, Kennedy took him out to the Rose Garden and told him to get rid of Levison and O'Dell. King continued to refuse. The meeting went on as planned and the decision to hold the march was confirmed by all the leaders present.

While Kennedy was in Germany, King held a rally in Detroit that was boycotted by the local NAACP organization. The rally was a huge success. Afterward, King had a meeting with his closest advisors, informing them of the pressure Kennedy had put on him to get rid of O'Dell and Levison. He advised O'Dell to sue the FBI for defamation of character. King and his people saw this attack by the Kennedy's as their way of attempting to weaken King and the SCLC, losing trust in the President's Administration.

In the aftermath of the Birmingham campaign, King had become a larger celebrity than he had been before. King used this newfound celebrity status to raise money for the SCLC to help with future demonstrations. King's work in Birmingham also served as inspiration to many other leaders, including Medgar Evers who began a similar campaign in Jackson, Mississippi. However, much more violence took place around Evers' efforts than King's. This included the severe beatings of several students, and the death of Evers himself that ironically took place on the very night that Kennedy made a speech in favor of civil rights, taking the most dramatic stand he had thus far.

The tone of the book has once again changed in this chapter. King has moved up a notch in intensity, already beginning to plan his infamous March on Washington. Kennedy also changed, as his brother, Robert, came face to face with the anger of the Negroes and realized how deep the hurt ran throughout the country. JFK chose to make a stand against segregation, in part to heal the rift caused by Birmingham, but also to

soothe the pain of those injured by many years of suppression. The civil rights movement has shifted once again in a new direction.

The theme of Gandhiism comes under assault in this chapter as well. King had preached nonviolence since the beginning of his career as a civil rights leader, attempting to protect his fellow activists from falling into the violent traps of the white oppressors. Evers attempted to follow this example and was killed for his efforts. A riot broke out on the day of his memorial service, with his grieving followers falling into the trap of violence, even as a member of the Justice Department stood among them and asked for peace.

A rift between King and the NAACP became clearer in this chapter as well. Many within the NAACP, an organization older than King's SCLC, resent King's successes and want him out of the way. Wilkins himself had always struggled in his relationship with King. He was torn between resentment and admiration, finding the death of Evers a final excuse to give in to his hatred. King needed the NAACP in order to pull off the March on Washington. He attempted to make amends, showing the reader some of his own character as well as the character of Wilkins. This attempt to make up, as well as the March on Washington, alerts the reader to some of the content of the final two chapters.

Chapter 22, The March on Washington,

Chapter 22, The March on Washington, Summary and Analysis

Wilkins ousted Rustin from the planning of the March on Washington, as well as throwing out half the attendees at a strategy session, leaving behind only the leaders of the various civil rights organizations involved in the march. In public, Wilkins and King appeared united in the planning of the march; but in private, their rift remained. King, in the interest of keeping on the Kennedy Administration's good side, informed O'Dell that he should begin looking for a new job. However, King realized too late the firing O'Dell on his own schedule only served to cause him to lose standing rather than gain it. King turned his attention to Levison, who was out of the country at the time, but could not bring himself to oust him. King instead asked Kennedy for evidence against Levison. Marshall implied to King that the Administration believed Levison to be a Russian, planted in the United States years ago by Stalin or Beria. King refused to take this flimsy evidence as reason to stop communications with Levison. As a result, Kennedy gave Hoover permission to wiretap both King and his lawyer James Evans.

Levison came home to find himself in the middle of suspicion. An article came out in the local Atlanta paper that announced King had a Communist running his New York office, with information that could only have come from the FBI. King felt attacked, and finally took Robert Kennedy's deal that he would break off all contact with O'Dell and Levison. In exchange, Kennedy would publicly declare the movement clear of any Communist taint. Levison broke off contact with King, which caused King great heartache at the loss of his friend. However, a wiretap in Jones's home revealed that King moved in with him for a short time and took advantage of the change of address to contact Levison. During this time King also revealed to Jones his habit of keeping a mistress, giving the FBI more fodder against him as an immoral person.

Johnson had come alive with the civil rights violence, causing concern for the Administration. Kennedy was so concerned that he considered sending Johnson out of the country before the March on Washington. In Americus some SNCC students began to picket the local theater to force integration. They were arrested for conspiracy against local laws, a capitol offense. The Federal government was unable to get involved; but a team of defense lawyers was able to win a federal court order aborting the charges as unconstitutional use of police power that November. In the meantime, the Justice Department brought charges against leaders of the Albany Movement for picketing Carl Smith's store after his role on the jury of the *Ware vs. Johnson* case. The case divided the Justice Department, putting Kennedy in a position where he was forced to support the indictments rather than appear sympathetic to a controversial cause.

A week before the march, while King and Wilkins were making speeches and appearing on television shows, Washington was preparing to be besieged by thousands of Negroes. Liquor sales were banned and Kennedy pre-drafted proclamations that would

employ almost twenty thousand troops and paratroopers. Rustin was in Washington as well, preparing for police protection, first aid stations, drinking fountains, and portable toilets. The day before the march, King locked himself in his hotel room to work on his speech. The march, which was attended by thousands as well as many celebrities, was essentially a mass meeting that was nationally televised. There was singing led by celebrities, while the attendees searched out seats near the Lincoln Memorial where the speeches would be made. Wilkins found himself announcing the death of W.E.B. Du Bois in Ghana, downplaying his Communist affiliations and praising his groundbreaking civil rights work. There was some discord backstage, as Shuttlesworth was left off the speakers list. He was allowed to make a small speech anyway, and speeches were edited.

Following many speeches by his colleagues, including a speech by John Lewis that had been a topic of controversy the day before, King came out with his carefully prepared speech. However, halfway through the speech King lost his place and began to preach, giving birth to his 'I Have a Dream' speech. Kennedy saw the speech on television; and at the post-march summit with civil rights leaders attempted to tell King how impressed he was. But King was not a man who took compliments easily. The civil rights leaders argued with Kennedy for new civil rights legislation, leaning toward a Title III law, based on the 1957 bill, which would allow the Justice Department to bring cases to federal courts against states that broke segregation laws.

Wilkins and King's angst against each other continued into the planning of the Washington march, although in public they gave the illusion of a united front. Even Kennedy got in on the promotion of the march, publicly giving the impression of a peaceful march while in the background he was planning for a major riot. Kennedy had changed his view on civil rights during this time. He spoke more freely about the movement at press conferences than he had throughout his term in office. This signals a change in the attitude of Kennedy, who had found sympathy within himself for the cause, as well as discovering that civil rights was not a career killer.

King was finally convinced that O'Dell and Levison's position in his SCLC would cause him trouble in his relationship with the Kennedy's. King never believed that either man was detrimental to his organization; but he listened to Kennedy because he needed to have Kennedy on his side when the negotiations on a civil rights bill began. King fired O'Dell, but continued his relationship with Levison, leading not only to tension in his relations with Kennedy, but to wiretaps revealing an immoral side to King's character. This left him exposed within the government and vulnerable to prosecution, or at least blackmail.

The march on Washington was a major turn in the civil rights movement. King's speech, spontaneous and from the heart, inspired those he spoke to that day, as well as generations thereafter. The entire march was peaceful and inspirational, pushing the movement in a positive direction. King had wanted to be a leader, and not a fireman. King wanted to be the one to lead, not to come in and put the fires out. King was ambitious, touching on a theme of the book. King had finally fulfilled that ambition with this march. King was by then the most famous civil rights activist in the country. He had

the power to orchestrate change, exactly what he had always wanted. Now the reader must wonder what the final chapter holds, and if King's work would all pay off.

Chapter 23, Crossing Over: Nightmares and Dreams,

Chapter 23, Crossing Over: Nightmares and Dreams, Summary and Analysis

In September, Governor Wallace fought the integration of three elementary schools in Birmingham, but stood down when Kennedy federalized the Alabama guard troops and withdrew them. Then a group of white students at West End High formed a movement to integrate classes while other students staged a sit-in at the mayor's office. Wallace went to Maryland and declared his intention to run in the 1964 presidential primary.

On Youth Day at the Sixteenth Street Baptist Church in Birmingham, a bomb went off outside the church, injuring many people and killing four little girls. Violence quickly broke out in the city streets, mostly white on blacks; but Wallace called in the state troopers in anticipation of angry Negroes taking revenge in the streets. Kennedy immediately sent Marshall to Birmingham to make sure there would be no violence. King arrived and assured the Administration that he would not stage a demonstration. Marshall went back to Washington, while King and the Negroes of Birmingham buried their dead. King then went to Washington to talk with Kennedy about the situation. King spoke of the large number of unsolved bombings and other injustices taking place against Birmingham Negroes. Kennedy was sending troops in to keep the peace under the leadership of two new emissaries and refused to withdraw them despite King's arguments.

At the end of September a group of officials from Birmingham came to speak to Kennedy. Kennedy asked them to hire some Negro sales clerks, begin biracial negotiations with local Negro leaders, and hire at least one Negro cop. The Birmingham leaders came up with many excuses why they could not do these things. They finally agreed only to support Kennedy's emissaries that he sent to Birmingham. Civil rights leaders were not happy with this deal. After the seventh annual SCLC convention, there was a board meeting in which the members urged King to organize a new campaign to help heal Birmingham from the church bombing. The idea was debated most of the night because King was reluctant to do anything that would cause a rift between him and the Kennedy Administration. King then made a speech at the closing of the convention, promising that if certain demands were not met he would return to Birmingham.

While King continued his speech tours and visited Birmingham often to keep track of the events there, Robert Kennedy found himself in a battle of wills with Hoover that ended in his signing a consent for Hoover to wiretap King's home. Wrapped up in a scandal that could ruin his brother's career, involving a woman and accusations of spying, Robert Kennedy also agreed to allow Hoover to wiretap Bayard Rustin. Levison became deeper involved in the book King was writing about Birmingham, putting out fires

regarding the tone of the book. In November, President Kennedy was assassinated. King and Levison both attended the funeral, although each was unaware that the other was there.

The bombings in Birmingham suggested that the march on Washington was seen as a threat by local whites that could not heal the rifts caused by the Birmingham campaign. Four little girls died, forcing the White House to send in troops. Yet there was nothing to encourage a long lasting change that would make events like this obsolete. Kennedy went to speak with Birmingham officials, but was unable to get any agreements out of them. The civil rights movement in Birmingham was at a standstill and would remain that way until after Kennedy's death.

King continued to fight for what he believed in after the march on Washington, without change in tactics, counting only on a closer relationship with the Kennedy Administration. However, King was unaware that Hoover was listening to his every word through wiretaps, after convincing Robert Kennedy of his danger to the Administration. Kennedy was also embroiled in another scandal having to do with his brother's infidelities, an odd comparison between Kennedy and King. In many ways they were different; but under the surface, they were quite the same.

The death of Kennedy would bring an end to a relationship that had seen King and Kennedy through many crises and much change in segregation throughout the country. King would continue to fight for civil rights, a theme of the book, only to come to his own death several years down the road. Again, parallels between the two men must strike the reader as ironic, considering their opposite nature and positions in the fight.

Characters

Martin Luther King Jr.

Martin Luther King Sr. or Daddy King

Ralph Abernathy

Roy Wilkins

Vernon Johns

Stanley Levison

Bayard Rustin

Medgar Evers

Robert Kennedy

Mahatma Gandhi

Objects/Places

The Montgomery Bus Boycott

The Montgomery Bus Boycott was a massive boycott of the public busing system in Montgomery, Alabama, after Rosa Parks was arrested for refusing to move from the grey area on board a public bus. The boycott lasted just over a year and resulted in a Supreme Court verdict declaring Alabama's segregated transit laws unconstitutional.

Lunch Counter Sit-ins

In 1960, a small group of Greensboro, North Carolina, college students decided to attempt to purchase a meal in a diner that only served whites. As a result of these students sitting at the counter all day and refusing to move until they were served, a much larger group of students joined them over the next few days, setting off the largest lunch counter sit-ins up to that point in the fight for civil rights. These sit-ins moved the Civil Rights Movement in a new direction, giving it momentum, and resulted in the creation of the SNCC.

Freedom Rides

The Freedom Rides were an experiment by a group of interracial students who were testing a Supreme Court ruling in which it was declared that segregation in bus stations was unconstitutional. The bus stations in the North complied with the rulings. However, there were riots at bus stations in Alabama and Mississippi upon arrival of the Freedom Riders.

Monitor Guns

Monitor guns were high power hoses that firemen used that combined three hoses into one nozzle. These monitor guns were used against protestors in Birmingham.

MIA

MIA, or Montgomery Improvement Association, was the organization formed to run the Montgomery Bus Boycott. King was elected president unopposed.

NAACP

NAACP, or the National Association for the Advancement of Negro People, was an organization founded in 1909 by W.E.B Du Bois. The NAACP was involved in many of

the demonstrations surrounding the Civil Rights Movement, including the Montgomery Bus Boycott.

SCLC

The SCLC, or Southern Christian Leadership Conference, was an organization that Martin Luther King Jr. created in order to unite anti-segregationists throughout the United States and become a driving force in the fight for segregation.

CORE

CORE, or the Congress of Racial Equality, was a Civil Rights organization that conceived and began the Freedom Rides in the spring and summer of 1961.

SNCC

SNCC, or Students Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, was a group created by college students that rose out of the lunch counter sit-ins that began in Greensboro, North Carolina. The SNCC became a driving force in many later Civil Rights demonstrations, including the Freedom Rides and the drive to register Negroes to vote.

Highlander Folk School

Highlander Folk School was a workshop of sorts that taught the Social Gospel, as well as fundamental education. Blacks and whites were allowed to mingle freely at the school. The school would eventually be used as a place to teach non-violent protest and to prepare Negroes to register to vote. Eventually the school would be disbanded by a court order.

Ebenezer Baptist Church

Ebenezer Baptist Church in Atlanta, Georgia, was a church that Martin Luther King Jr.'s grandfather was the pastor of and where Daddy King became pastor. Later Martin Luther King Jr. would join his father as pastor of Ebenezer.

Dexter Avenue Baptist Church

Dexter Baptist Church in Montgomery, Alabama, was the first church where Martin Luther King Jr. was pastor. Martin Luther King Jr. took over the congregation after Vernon Johns.

First Baptist Church

First Baptist Church of Montgomery, Alabama was a church for Negroes that split in 1910 to form two separates churches, First Baptist and Dexter Avenue Baptist Churches. First Baptist was home to many famous pastors over the years, including Martin Luther King Jr.'s good friend, Ralph Abernathy.

Themes

Civil Rights

The rights of Negro people were severely limited in America during the time in which Martin Luther King Jr. was coming out of school and beginning his first job as pastor at Dexter Avenue Baptist Church. Buses, public buildings, schools, and parks were all segregated, relegating the use of these places for Negroes to a certain section, or to alternate facilities that were often less than acceptable in standards. These separate facilities had been a way of life for many years, especially in the southern states; but the time had finally come when Negroes were ready to do something about it. Lawyers in Montgomery had seen the possibility of forcing a challenge to segregation by taking a segregation case to court for a long time, but a suitable defendant did not come along until the night Rosa Parks, a seamstress with a local department store and secretary with the NAACP, was arrested.

The arrest of Rosa Parks began the biggest, nonviolent protest thus far in Montgomery, Alabama in the form of a bus boycott. This protest continued for a little more than a year, with Negroes walking to work or shop every day rather than use the buses. The boycott ended with a Supreme Court ruling stating that bus segregation in Montgomery was unconstitutional. This success spurred many other protests across the nation in the next few years, including Lunch Counter Sit-ins, Freedom Rides, and widespread voter registration drives for Negroes. King's role in this protest as the president of the MIA led, not only to personal notoriety, but also to cement his role in the future of the Civil Rights Movement.

This was a time of unrest in the United States, a time when violence was apt to erupt in unusual locations. The fight would become bloody and murderous, with many in the south resisting change. However, many careers would be made, many advances achieved, and many historical moments experienced. Civil rights is a major theme of this book because without the Civil Rights Movement there would have been no opportunity for change to take place. There would have been no opportunity for Martin Luther King Jr. to have the impact on the world that he did.

Gandhiism

Gandhiism is the study and enacting of the nonviolent civil disobedience that Gandhi practiced as a political and spiritual leader during the Indian Independence Movement. King was a student of Gandhi, both before and during his time as a leader in the Civil Rights Movement, using many of Gandhi's methods in order to keep his protests from becoming unnecessarily violent. Many people who participated in the Civil Rights Movement and the subsequent protests learned this unique type of nonviolent protest. It was taught through teachers associated with the Highlander Folk School and the various organizations that sprang up in the early days of the Civil Rights Movement.

Part of this nonviolent study included protestors going to jail and insisting on serving out their sentences rather than paying a fine. Therefore they acknowledged no any truth in the charges brought against them. This often caused jails to become so overcrowded that local law enforcement organizations would have to let people go or make other arrangements for their confinement and care. King himself participated in this type of protest several times. Another part of this study included teaching protestors how to take a beating without fighting back or appearing to cower. This technique caused several protestors to take terrible beatings from angry and confused crowds. Other facets of this nonviolent protests included sit-ins and prayer-ins, in which the protestors would simply sit in a place where they wanted to protest and take any abuse offered without response or retaliation.

Although these techniques had many critics who suggested this type of behavior did little to change the attitudes of those prosecuting the protestors, or that the change was too slow, the techniques were widely used by King, his organizations, and many other organizations that came to be shortly after the Montgomery Bus Boycott. That makes Gandhiism a theme of this book, because it was a huge influence on the way the protests of the late fifties and sixties was carried out. It therefore a great impact on American history and the subject of this book.

Tradition vs. Ambition

Tradition vs. ambition is a theme of this book from two levels, first being the personal level as it affected King's life, and on a more worldly level as it affected the behaviors of those involved in the struggle for and against desegregation. King was the son of a pastor and the grandson of a pastor. Therefore it was understood that he, too, would become a pastor, illustrating the tradition side of this theme. King's father thought from the time his son was a baby that he would one day grow up and join him at the pulpit of his church, Ebenezer Baptist. However, King went through a period of rebellion as he grew older, as well as a test of faith after the death of his grandmother. King did not want to go into church service. King wanted to be a doctor. However, the reality of college and the lives of those around him caused King to change his mind. Tradition had brought him back to his father's profession. Y ambition would cause King to desire more education than his father believed necessary, and cause him to seek out a church of his own to lead.

Tradition touches on the worldly level of this Civil Rights Movement as well. People in the south had a long tradition of oppression when it came to the Negro community. Most people in the south had been raised with the belief that Negroes were unintelligent, soulless beings who needed to be guided and were too ungrateful for all they had done for them. This made it difficult for the white south to adjust to the demands Negroes were making in the design of their many protests. At the same time, many Negroes had grown up afraid to challenge the white community and their laws. Even in the face of the many successes the Civil Rights Movement had achieved, many Negroes were afraid to participate due to the murderous revenge that had been taken out on others who had participated. However, there were those who had the wisdom and the ambition to see a

future that would change all of this, and who fought for what was their right as human beings. This makes the theme of tradition vs. ambition an important theme in this book, not only because of the personal effects of this theme on Martin Luther King Jr.'s life, but for the effects it had on the world in general.

Persistence

Persistence is an important theme in this book. Without persistence, or an unwillingness to give up, many of the protests that took place during the Civil Rights Movement would have ended a bitter failure, leading to a lack of other actions. Persistence is noted in the Montgomery Bus Boycott, when people had to walk or share rides in an overcrowded carpool system just to get to work or to buy their groceries. King himself often feared that this inconvenience would end the protest before it found any success; but the people of Montgomery knew they would be taken care of and that justice would eventually prevail. So they continued to resist the buses, despite personal discomfort. Later, during the lunch counter sit-ins, students would often sit for hours at a time, hoping to be served, while knowing they would not. These protests lasted over periods of days and weeks, with some of the same students sitting at a counter for more than eight hours at a time, enduring insults and humiliation without giving in.

The Freedom Rides seem to be the greatest example of persistence in this book. The Freedom Riders were nearly burned to death in a bus, beaten to the point of hospitalization, and jailed. Not only did they continue, but more riders would come to the points of the worst riots in order to continue the fight. Even Attorney General Kennedy could not understand the stubbornness of these people or their determination to get themselves killed. However, these actions spurred on more protests that eventually led to the March on Washington and legislative changes that would forever change the way Negroes would be treated in America, making persistence one of the most important themes of this book.

Style

Perspective

Parting the Waters is written by Taylor Branch, a freelance writer and novelist. Although Branch is a white man, he is old enough to have lived through the Civil Rights era. He is a great historian who has done a vast amount of research on his topic, bringing to the reader a wealth of knowledge that might not be available in any other single volume work. Branch's perspective appears to be that of a writer who is clearly interested in discovering the truth in the country's history and presenting it to the reader in an unbiased and unembellished manner. This book tells the story of a volatile time in American history, without the bias of racial prejudice nor the sensitivity of a victim of the same racial prejudice.

The intended audience for this work would be intelligent readers who want to be educated, without getting caught up in dramatic embellishments. The book is written with a great deal of information packed into each chapter. It is a work that is heavy and difficult to read in only a few sittings, forcing a great deal of commitment from the reader. However, the book is greatly informative, shedding light on parts of American history that might have been previously hidden in the dark. It is a book that reveals the heroes of the Civil Rights Movement, as well as pointing out their flaws and mistakes. It presents the unvarnished truth for those ready to learn it. The impact of this work would be that of an eye-opening revelation, of a gleaning of truth, and an appreciation for history and those who made the largest impact on that history.

Tone

This work is done in a primarily objective tone. The author rarely makes his own opinion known throughout the work. Still, there are moments within the text where the reader can feel the author's outrage or disgust at the actions of the participants in certain situations, specifically the multiple arrests of many of the leaders of the Civil Rights Movement. These moments of subjective opinion are rare, however, leaving the bulk of the book's tone an objective, recitation of history. The author presents his book in a tone that is not unlike a history text for students, although the tone tends to be slightly less dry than the typical textbook.

The tone is direct, straight to the point, keeping the reader on track and away from distractions that a more narrative tone might create. This tone creates an impact on the reader by preventing the reader from missing important facts while enjoying some antidote that has little to do with the history being recited within the text. However, the work is not completely dry and void of narration. There are often times when the tone of the book is disrupted by snippets of conversation, prayer or speech recitation that help readers feel as though they were a part of the events being described. It is clearly a

historical tone; but the tone's objective nature does not take away from the excitement of the era being examined.

Structure

The book is divided into twenty-three chapters, each of these chapters containing at times more than sixty pages. Each chapter covers an important phase of Martin Luther King Jr.'s life or the life of the Civil Rights Movement. Also included within the book are short prefaces within which the author's explains the use of the word Negro within the text, acknowledgements, an index, and a notes section. The book's structure is not unlike other works of its type, including a great deal of information and an easily searched index, so that a student may use the book as a reference book rather than reading through the entire text to find the information required.

This structure is friendly to the reader, creating a well-organized tone that is easier to read, thanks to the easy to use index and chapters divided into a smart timeline the reader can follow. The book progresses from the birth of Dexter Avenue Baptist Church, through the marriage of Martin Luther King Jr.'s parents, his own birth, and the birth of the Civil Rights Movement. It follows this movement through the march on Washington in 1963. This organization and simple timeline create a book that can be used, not only for casual reading by the weekend historian, but also as a research tool for students of all ages. However, the book does put a lot of information into every chapter, creating long chapters with such a vast amount of information that the reader could become overwhelmed.

Quotes

"Vernon Johns was merely another invisible man to nearly all whites, but to the invisible people themselves he was the stuff of legends." Chapter 1, Forerunner, Vernon Johns, pg. 7

"King began his career at the age of twenty-five, in the year that witnessed the invention of the TV dinner and the microchip, the marriage of Joe DiMaggio and Marilyn Monroe, and the closing of the immigration center on New York's Ellis Island."

Chapter 4, First Trombone, pg. 113

"King would work on his timing, but his oratory had just made him forever a public person. In the few short minutes of his first political address, a power of communion emerged from him that would speak inexorably to strangers who would both love and revile him, like all prophets. He was twenty-six, and had not quite twelve years and four months to live."

Chapter 4, First Trombone, pg. 142

"During a recess, an AP reporter slipped to the front of the courtroom and handed King a note. Inside was a bulletin the reporter had ripped off the AP ticker: 'The United States Supreme Court today affirmed a decision of a special three-judge panel in declaring Alabama's state and local laws requiring segregation on buses is unconstitutional. The Supreme Court acted without listening to any argument; it simply said "the motion to affirm is granted and the judgment is affirmed."'" Chapter 5, The Montgomery Bus Boycott, pg. 193

"For those millions who did not happen to witness a live march, the civil rights issue remained a distant cause, arousing variously curiosity, foreboding, or hope."

Chapter 7, The Quickening, pg. 302

"The race issue was intruding on Kennedy's early presidency so persistently as to be irksome."

Chapter 10, The Kennedy Transition, pg. 397

"This time the mob used bricks and a heavy ax to smash the bus windows one by one, sending shards of glass flying among the passengers inside. The attackers ripped open the luggage compartment and battered the exterior again with pipes, while a group of them tried to force open the door. Finally, someone threw a firebomb through the gaping hole in the back window."

Chapter 11, Baptism on Wheels, pg. 418

"Then the Freedom Rides dropped precipitously and permanently from the headlines. The idea seemed to spread by osmosis that the South's best course, under the truce with the Justice Department, was to defend segregation quietly, under the color of law. Accordingly, the new Freedom Riders came to be funneled efficiently, almost protectively, into the Mississippi prison system. Their fate receded as an old story."

Chapter 12, The Summer of Freedom Rides, pg. 477

"'It's mealtime now,' Moses wrote. 'We have rice and gravy in a flat pan, dry bread and a 'big town cake'; we lack eating and drinking utensils. Water comes from a faucet and goes into a hole.

'This is Mississippi, the middle of the iceberg.'"

Chapter 13, Moses in McComb, King in Kansas City, pg. 523

"He told hem that not all whites were hostile, and that their movement was reaching people far away. 'No, we are not alone in this.'" Chapter 20, The Children's Miracle, pg. 763

"In Jackson, the unburied corpse of Medgar Evers already was a shrine to the altered state of American race relations. His murder was eerie and providential, so flushed with history as to seem perversely proper—shot in the back on the very night President Kennedy embraced racial democracy as a moral cause." Chapter 21, Firestorm, pg. 827

"King had crossed over as a patriarch like Moses into a land less bounded by race. To keep going, he became a pillar of fire." Chapter 23, Crossing Over: Nightmares and Dreams, pg. 922

Topics for Discussion

Discuss Martin Luther King Jr. What do you find the most impressive about King's childhood? What do you find the least impressive? What about his childhood and early adulthood surprises you the most? Does King's early life impress you as the life of a person who would come to be known as one of the greatest leaders in the Civil Rights Movement?

Discuss Daddy King. What do you think was Daddy King's biggest impact on King? Did Daddy King teach King how to be a leader? Did Daddy King support his son's work? Was Daddy King a supportive father or a jealous contemporary?

Discuss the Montgomery Bus Boycott. Why was this boycott so important to the Civil Rights Movement? How did this boycott make King famous? Why was King singled out, when there were other men involved in the workings of MIA? Would the Civil Rights Movement have begun in quite the same fashion if there had not been a Montgomery Bus Boycott? What would King's role in the Civil Rights Movement been without the bus boycott? Was the boycott a success? Discuss the pros and cons of the outcome of the boycott.

Discuss the lunch counter sit-ins. What was the point to these sit-ins? Were they a success? Were they a failure? What was the overall impact of these sit-ins on the Civil Rights Movement as a whole? What was King's role in these protests, if any?

Discuss the Freedom Riders. Compare and contrast the difference between the reactions received by the riders in the north and those received in the south. What were the differences? Why? Why were the law enforcement personnel in Alabama more receptive to the riders? Why was a bus burned? Why were there riots? Did the riders have a right to do what they were doing? If so, why did the white communities react like they did? Should the Freedom Riders have given up? Why didn't they?

Discuss Robert Kennedy. Why did Robert Kennedy make a phone call that got King out of jail after deciding not to get involved in the case? Did that phone call make his brother's election to the presidency possible? Why was Robert Kennedy more receptive to civil rights issues once he was Attorney General? Do you think his actions were politically motivated or motivated by his personal feelings of prejudice? Could Robert Kennedy have done more to promote civil rights?

Discuss the Communist Party. What was the Communist Party and why was it so feared in the fifties? Why were Rustin and Levison's association with this party such a detrimental thing for King? Why did the FBI bug both Levison and King? What was the FBI afraid of?

Discuss the Second Emancipation Proclamation. Why was this so important to King? What purpose would it have served? Why did Kennedy balk at the idea of implementing it?